

(c) *Joannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis collectanea*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford 1715) In the preface to the seventh volume of the *Itinerary* Hearne announced his intention of printing 'the three first Tomes of the *Collectanea* hereafter', observing that 'the Fourth Tome is the Province of another Person' (i.e. Anthony Hall).¹⁴⁵ He also pointed out that he was going to include some portions of text from the *Collectanea* in the *Itinerary* volumes, since that was where they belonged.¹⁴⁶ The folio manuscripts of Leland's remains are considerably less damaged than the quartos constituting the *Itinerary*, and Hearne's edition is taken from the autograph, except for some materials not found in Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 1-3. For these he made use of later transcripts.¹⁴⁷ As with the *Itinerary* he attempted to be as faithful to the original manuscripts as possible.¹⁴⁸ He also pointed out that the *Collectanea* 'are really more valuable than the *Itinerary*'.¹⁴⁹ The edition first appeared in 1715 in five volumes, it was followed by a second edition published in London in 1770 in six volumes, and this was reprinted in 1774.¹⁵⁰ Apart from booklists, the *Collectanea* contains many extracts from manuscripts that Leland had seen: it thus forms the backbone of *De uiris illustribus*.

II. 'INFYNYTE TREASURE OF KNOWLEDGE'

THE *DE VIRIS ILLVSTRIBVS*

A. Leland's Perusal of and Diligent Search through Monastic Libraries

During the late 1520s and early 1530s King Henry VIII and his advisors had turned to ancient chronicles in their attempt to obtain an annulment of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon and then to limit the pope's powers in England. Leland's old acquaintance, Thomas Howard, third duke of Norfolk (1473-1554), uncle to Anne Boleyn and a leading councillor, confronted Eustace Chapuys, the imperial ambassador, on 12 January 1531, citing King Arthur's

medieval past', in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. G. McMullan and D. Matthews [Cambridge 2007], 159-76, 259-63, at 161).

¹⁴⁵ See also his earlier comments in the letter he wrote to Richard Rawlinson on 28 October 1711: 'I do not care to be too forward in publishing any Proposals about printing Mr. Leland's *Collectanea*. I would first of all dispatch his *Itinerary*, the VIth Volume of which is now almost finish'd' (Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 3. 254).

¹⁴⁶ See *Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, 7. iv. On these materials, which appear in the appendix to vol. 7, see Harris, 'Early custodial history', 483-4. For a detailed examination of the manuscript sources for each volume of the *Collectanea* see Thom, 'Examination of the Manuscripts', 36-7.

¹⁴⁷ See Harris, 'Early custodial history', 483-4.

¹⁴⁸ For a detailed analysis see Thom, 'Examination of the Manuscripts', 40-41.

¹⁴⁹ Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 4. 32-3.

¹⁵⁰ On 9 May 1733 Hearne would write 'yet were I to reprint Leland's *Itin.* and *Collectanea*, I should do it as before Letter for Letter, without additions or alterations, but at present I have no thoughts of a new edition' (*Remarks and Collections*, 11. 197-98).

reign in the context of Henry's questioning of the powers of the papacy.¹⁵¹ Norfolk also provided Henry with at least one manuscript, a fourteenth-century copy of Guillaume de Nangis' world chronicle, now BL MS Royal 13 E. IV, which was marked up while in Norfolk's keeping and then further annotated by Henry himself.¹⁵² The highlighted passages concern questions of consanguinity in marriage, the superiority of imperial over papal authority, and related issues. It is precisely this sort of material that was invoked in the Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome of April 1533, where, 'divers sundry old authentic histories and chronicles' having been cited, it was declared that 'this realm of England is an empire', independent of 'the authority of other foreign potentates'.¹⁵³ By 1533, then, Henry's advisors would have been well aware of the advantages of a close examination of the monastic libraries, and from their perspective Leland would be the obvious man to undertake it: not only had he the right connexions, but he had already shown in Oxford and Paris an interest in ancient manuscripts, as his poetry makes clear.

On 31 May 1533 Anne Boleyn made her entry into the City of London and this was followed on the next day by her coronation at Westminster Abbey. Originally the plans of the city officials for these events had been relatively modest, but the Privy Council, represented by Norfolk and Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's former client, expanded them dramatically, using the devices set out in verses penned by Leland and his friend Nicholas Udall.¹⁵⁴ Given the success of the pageants, and given his antiquarian leanings, then, it is not surprising

¹⁵¹ G. Nicholson, 'The Act of Appeals and the English Reformation', in *Law and Government under the Tudors. Essays Presented to Sir Geoffrey Elton on His Retirement*, ed. C. Cross, D. Loades, and J. J. Scarisbrick (Cambridge 1988), 19–30, at 23–5. Even earlier, in his dedicatory preface to *A supplicacyon for the beggers* (?Antwerp ?1529), Simon Fish observed: 'The nobill king Arthur had never ben abill to have caried his armie to the fote of the mountaines to resist the coming downe of lucius the Emperoure if suche yerely exactions [by the clergy] had ben taken of his people' (fol. 2v). (I thank Philip Schwyzer for this reference.)

¹⁵² See *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, H2. 1000. D. Williman and K. Corsano have undertaken a full study of this manuscript, to which they have kindly given me access in advance of publication. Norfolk continued to make use of medieval chronicles, and at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace cited an ancient Latin text on the rights of the earl marshal: see the entry on Thomas Howard by M. A. R. Graves in *ODNB*.

¹⁵³ *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary*, ed. G. R. Elton, 2nd edn (Cambridge 1982), 353–4. For a commentary see J. Guy, 'Thomas Cromwell and the intellectual origins of the Henrician revolution', in *Reassessing the Henrician Age. Humanism, Politics, and Reform 1500–1550*, ed. A. Fox and J. Guy (Oxford 1986), 151–78.

¹⁵⁴ E. Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Oxford 2004), 218–30. The verses emphasized the new queen's fecundity and thus formed part of the attempt to win Londoners over to the new marriage. Like Leland, Udall seems to have been rewarded for his efforts and he soon became headmaster of Eton College (G. Kipling, 'He that saw it would not believe it': Anne Boleyn's royal entry into London', in *Civic Ritual and Drama*, ed. A. F. Johnston & W. Hüsken [Amsterdam & Atlanta 1997], 39–79, at 51; R. H. Osberg, 'Humanist allusions and medieval themes: The "receyving" of Queen Anne, London 1533', in *Medievalism in the Modern World*, ed. R. Utz & T. Shippey [Turnhout 1998], 27–41). As Kipling has suggested, it was no doubt through Norfolk that Leland became involved in the celebrations. Kipling also speculates that Leland brought Udall into the project as a repayment

that, as he later proclaimed in the New Year's Gift, Leland was granted by the king a 'moste gratius commission yn the xxv. yere [22 April 1533–21 April 1534] of yowr prosperus regne, to peruse and diligently to serche al the libraries of monasteries and collegies of this yowre noble reaulme'.¹⁵⁵ Commission is probably not meant in a formal sense, however, and in *De uiris illustribus* the term Leland used was 'principis diploma', a letter from the king, rather than the more official 'diploma publicum'.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, he was no doubt thinking of the permit issued by the emperor in the late classical world entitling the bearer to use the *cursum publicus*.¹⁵⁷

A diploma of Francis I of France for Jean de Gagny provides a remarkable parallel for Leland's activities. Gagny became rector of the University of Paris in 1531 and almoner to Francis I in 1536: it is likely that the two men would have met during Leland's years in Paris. An apologist for traditional religion, Gagny published a commentary on the Pauline epistles misattributed to Primasius in 1537. In the preface, addressed to Francis, Gagny described how, encouraged by the king, he rooted through the perpetual twilight of the French monastic libraries looking for rare and precious treasures. His task could have been a difficult one, he pointed out, since the ignorant monks obstinately refused admittance to their collections, but Francis came to the rescue providing a

for the money Udall had lent him when he was at Oxford. *Carmen* 35 is the poem Leland sent Udall in thanks for his benefactions.

¹⁵⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 281: 'chathedral' has been deleted before 'collegies'. In his gloss on the passage Bale noted complacently that this took place 'before their utter destruccyon, whyche God then appoynted for their wyckednesses sake' (*Laboryouse journey*, sig. Bviii^r). Writing in 1598 Francis Thynne, son of William Thynne, editor of the 1532 edition of Chaucer's works, claimed that his father 'had comissione to serche alle the libraries of Englande for Chaucers Workes, so that oute of alle the Abbies of this Realme (whiche reserved anye monumentes thereof) he was fully furnished with multitude of Bookes' (*Animadversions uppon the Annotacions and Corrections of Some Imperfections of Impressiones of Chaucers Works*, ed. G. H. Kingsley, rev. F. J. Fünivall, EETS o.s. 9 [1875], 6). This assertion, like the one just before it concerning the search for fuller texts of the *Squire's Tale*, is probably a fabrication, quite possibly based on *Laboryouse journey*, sig. Bviii^r, to the wording of which it is closely similar.

¹⁵⁶ In his *Historiae Brytannicae defensio* (RSTC 20309; London 1573, 112) Leland's friend Sir John Prise (1501/2–1555) described Leland's document as a 'diploma': 'Leylandus ille antiquitatis Brytannicae conquisitor curiosissimus (quem ob eam animi propensionem Rex Henricus, eo nomine octauus, ad bibliothecas huius regni omnes perscrutandas suo Diplomate regio commendatum amandauerat)' (Leland, that most diligent collector of the antiquity of Britain, whom King Henry VIII had sent forth, recommended in his royal letter, to examine all the libraries of this realm). The *Historiae Brytannicae defensio* was not published until 1573, but an early draft was composed before 1545, and there is also a somewhat later version that resembles the printed text.

¹⁵⁷ As early as 1862, Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, deputy keeper of the public records, pointed out that 'no such commission as that here mentioned is enrolled' (*Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, RS 26, 3 vols in 4 [London 1862–71], 1/1. xxxviii). It is worth noting, however, that among Cromwell's remembrances for approximately this period there is a reference to some sort of a warrant for 'John Leyland' (LP 7. 923).

'diploma publicum' ('lettres patentes' in the French version) commanding that all libraries be made accessible:

There were forests of material in your kingdom which their custodians did not allow access to. You promised to help and gave me a letter (*diploma publicum*) which empowered me to examine the libraries of your kingdom. . . . I began to sweep the libraries (*librarias uerrere*) of the monasteries which I came near while travelling in your company and found near a hundred volumes of no less worth (*non inferioris notae*) than the Primasius. You conceived the plan not only of building up a library but of publishing *in commune philologiae bonum* the most important, and I chose Primasius.¹⁵⁸

It is not precisely clear when this diploma was issued, but it would have been in the early 1530s, and Gagny's travels and library examinations resonate with Leland's enterprise.¹⁵⁹ Like Gagny, Leland characterized the majority of the monastic libraries as dark and dingy places, whose contents had been hidden from the public view; he was examining them, so he stated, 'to the intente that the monumentes of auncient writers, as welle of other nations as of this yowr owne province, mighte be brought owte of deadely darkenes to lyvely lighte, and to receyve like thankes of the posterite as they hoped for at such tyme as they employed their long and greate studies to the publique wealthe'.¹⁶⁰ Neither man could be sure of a warm welcome, and at the Benedictine abbey at Dijon, for example, Gagny discovered:

lorsque j'y parvins, il [i.e. Brother Anthony, the prior] me dissuadait à cause de la poussière excessive et de la moisissure de découvrir la bibliothèque. J'ai deviné aussitôt que quelque drachme précieuse pouvait être cachée dans la vile poussière, et je n'étais pas un faux devin. En effet, en plus d'avoir trouvé plus de trente volumes pleins de piété et d'érudition jusque-là inconnus de nous, je tombai sur les poèmes de saint Alcimius Avitus, évêque de Vienne.¹⁶¹

Likewise, when Leland arrived at the Franciscan convent in Oxford the community attempted to deny him access to the library.¹⁶² Although the authority of his royal letter forced them to 'unlock the doors', he was—unlike Gagny

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in the translation of R. W. Hunt, 'The need for a guide to the editors of patristic texts in the 16th century', *Studia patristica* 17 (1982), 365–71, at 368; P. Petitmengin and J. P. Carley, 'Malmesbury—Sélestat—Malines: Les tribulations d'un manuscrit de Tertullien au milieu du XVI^e siècle', *Annuaire des amis de la Bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat* (2003), 63–74, at 64; Carley and Petitmengin, 'Pre-Conquest manuscripts from Malmesbury abbey', 199–201.

¹⁵⁹ Leland's commission also has resemblances with that of Jean de Tillet, bishop of Meaux (d. 1570), who obtained royal authorization to collect manuscripts from French libraries.

¹⁶⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 281.

¹⁶¹ Quoted in modernized form in A. Jammes, 'Un bibliophile à découvrir, Jean de Gagny', *Bulletin du bibliophile* (1996), 35–81, at 50.

¹⁶² The friars had long had a reputation as hoarders of books, on which see M. A. Rouse and R. H. Rouse, 'The Franciscans and books: Lollard accusations and the Franciscan response', repr.

in this case—deeply disappointed in what he discovered: ‘filth and neglect. I actually found some books, but I should not willingly have paid threepence for them’.¹⁶³

On his journeys Leland travelled by horseback and does not appear to have had any companions.¹⁶⁴ It would have been possible for him to cover significant distances, but his progress, according to his own descriptions, must have been a relatively leisurely one.¹⁶⁵ It thus stands in contrast to the examinations of the religious houses conducted by Richard Layton and Thomas Leigh, who travelled more than a thousand miles during the first two months of 1536, visiting some 121 houses. When they acted as commissioners for surrenders after the monasteries had been dissolved their movements were equally impressive.¹⁶⁶

In 1478, the topographer and author William Worcestre (1415–1480/85) kept a diary of his journey from Norwich to St Michael’s Mount in Cornwall. In 1480 he travelled from Norwich to London, across to Oxford, and down to the

from *Studies in Church History: Subsidia* 5 (1987) in their *Authentic Witnesses. Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, IN, 1991), 409–24. Most famously, the author of *Jack Upland* complained as early as 1400: ‘Frere, what charite is it to gadere up the bokis of Goddis lawe, many mo thanne nedith you, & putte hem in tresorie, & do prisone hem fro secular preestis & curatis . . . ?’ (*Jack Upland, Friar Daw’s Reply, and Upland’s Rejoinder*, ed. P. L. Heyworth [Oxford 1968], 70; I have modernized thorn, eth, and yogh). For the response of William Woodford, regent master of the Oxford Greyfriars ca 1372–3 to these sorts of accusations see E. Doyle, ‘William Woodford, O.F.M. (c. 1330–c. 1400): His life and works, together with a study and edition of his *Responsiones contra Wiclevum et Lollardos*’, *Franciscan Studies* 43 (1983), 17–187, at 179–80; Rouse and Rouse, ‘Franciscans and books’, 416–20; J. Summit, *Memory’s Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago and London 2008), 18.

¹⁶³ Below, 481. For a brief discussion of Leland’s account see J. Catto, ‘Franciscan learning in England, 1450–1540’, in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. J. G. Clark (Woodbridge 2002), 97–104, at 97–9.

¹⁶⁴ On the only reference to a guide see *Leland’s Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith 4. 7: ‘Riding a mile and more beyond Morle I saw on the right hond a place nere by of Mr Aderton, and so a ii. miles of to Lidiate Mosse, in the right side wherof my gide said that ther were rootes of fyrrer wood’. On another occasion he described how he crossed the river Trent by ferry while his horse had to wade: ‘And thens a good mile to Oringgam feri, where my horsys passid over Trent *per vadum*, and *I per cymbam*’ (ibid. 4. 18). Both these references are pointed out by Chandler (*John Leland’s Itinerary*, xviii).

¹⁶⁵ On distances J. Parkes remarks (*Travel in England in the Seventeenth Century* [London 1925], 61–2): ‘for the well-seasoned traveller—who was of necessity a good horseman—there were also advantages [to riding on horseback]. Ground could be covered at a speed impossible in a coach; a hundred miles a day was on occasions accomplished though sixty was more agreeable and thirty or forty more usual in a journey extending over a period of any length’. Particularly detailed accounts are given in G. H. Martin, ‘Road travel in the Middle Ages: Some journeys by the warden and fellows of Merton College, Oxford, 1315–1470’, *Journal of Transport History*, n.s. 3 (1976), 159–78. More generally see C. Delano-Smith, ‘Milieus of mobility: Itineraries, route maps, and road maps’, in *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*, ed. J. R. Akerman (Chicago 2006), 16–68, 294–309. On 3 October 1542 Leland’s friend Sir Thomas Wyatt set out from London to Falmouth (about 250 miles) to meet the Spanish envoy and died at Sherborne around 6 October on his return journey. He would, in other words, have covered around four hundred miles in three or four days.

¹⁶⁶ See the entry for Layton by P. Cunich in *ODNB*.

West Country.¹⁶⁷ Although Worcestre came lower down the social scale than Leland—and class as well as connexions was important in these matters—his diary does provide a parallel.¹⁶⁸ Worcestre recorded where he dined or stayed: sometimes with priests, sometimes with private individuals, and sometimes at monasteries. He also suffered the inevitable hardships of life on the road. En route to Bodmin, for example, his horse fell and this delayed progress; near Warminster, probably at Stockton, he was arrested. Expenses included wax candles, paper, wine, and food as well as maintenance for his horse and its equipment.¹⁶⁹ A somewhat later and perhaps even closer analogy can be found in the travels of the cartographer John Speed, who journeyed during the summer months (as Leland appears normally to have done) and who also had official authority for his activities.¹⁷⁰

Although some of Leland's booklists suggest that he was given information by local religious about nearby houses of the same order that would be worth visiting, he must have done preliminary research before he set out, and there is evidence to this effect in several places.¹⁷¹ An unpublished list of religious foundations in England and Wales, followed by 'Nomina episcopatum Angliae et quot comitatus ad quemlibet episcopatum pertinent' is found in BL MS Add. 38132, fols. 28–39, which at one time was part of the *Collectanea*.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ See William Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. and trans. J. H. Harvey (Oxford 1969).

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.* 34–43. For calculations of Worcestre's average journey in a day see *ibid.* xvii.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.* 38–41. Martin concludes ('Road travel in the Middle Ages', 172): 'What emerges from the whole series of records, however, is that although travel by road in the Middle Ages was comparatively slow, it could be systematic and regular, and it was undertaken as a matter of course. . . . It had its own, predictable, difficulties and expenses: horses had continually to be fed, reshod, and cosseted; saddles and girths wore out, to be repaired and replaced. A sick horse poses formidable problems, no less daunting than those set by a recalcitrant machine. Bad weather, political disturbances, and local disorders might disrupt communications, as they still can, but the emphasis that has been laid on the casual and the picturesque in medieval society, and especially in its travelling habits, has too often obscured the efficacy of its institutions, the wide range of its concerns, and its real accomplishments'.

¹⁷⁰ In 1606 Speed began his work in Winchester and then travelled as far west as Dorchester before turning north and making his way into South Wales. 'The next year, he was in Warwick in June and then moved to East Anglia. By mid July, he was as far north as Lincoln. In early August he was in Flint in North Wales. He then went north, possibly as far as Carlisle, before moving south again through Kendal and Lancaster, first returning to North Wales and then travelling to Derbyshire and Staffordshire. . . . The distances that Speed travelled each day varied. On 1 September 1606, he was in Hereford; two days later, he was 35 miles away in Brecknock, and by 5 September he was 40 miles further on in Cardiff. In 1607 he was in Ely on 5 July. On the 7th he was probably surveying Huntingdon, 21 miles away, before travelling 19 miles to Peterborough to map it the next day' (S. Bendall, 'Draft town maps for John Speed's *Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*', *Imago mundi* 54 [2002], 30–45, at 41).

¹⁷¹ See Delano-Smith, 'Milieus of mobility', 38–9 on early printed itineraries. The first she records was printed in 1542. Leland was acquainted with Sir Brian Tuke (d. 1545), master of the posts, to whom he presented a New Year's gift of ancient coins (*Carmen* 222); Tuke would have had a good knowledge of routes and distances.

¹⁷² For a description of this manuscript—the other portions of which have all been printed—see *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. xxx; 2. 117–18; Harris, 'Early custodial history', 475, 483 (F4).

The arrangement is county by county with further divisions into *archiepiscopatus*, *episcopatus*, *abbatia*, *prioratus*, *castra*, and *castella*. The list of English foundations is in a scribal hand, but the annotations are by Leland himself. These notes correct details, add new information such as the names of other houses (including supplemental lists for Richmondshire and 'In episcopatu Dunelmensi' [Durham]), give distances, mark places where there was an 'error', or mention recent developments—'stondeth', 'doun', 'late put down', 'lately suppressid', 'long syns doun', and so forth. The Welsh list (fol. 39) and following material is in Leland's own hand.¹⁷³ When the lists were first compiled is not apparent, but it is perhaps possible to pinpoint one stint of annotation since Leland lists Castle Acre—whose library he had seen in 1534—as down, whereas West Acre 'stondeth': the former was suppressed on 22 November 1537 and the latter on 15 January 1538.

Leland would no doubt have been the guest of the abbot or prior at the houses whose libraries he examined, staying in the lodgings provided for important visitors.¹⁷⁴ He provides a vivid account of his *modus operandi* in the well-known description of his visit to Glastonbury:

A few years ago I was at Glastonbury in Somerset, where the most ancient and at the same time most famous abbey in our whole island is located. By the favour of Richard Whiting, abbot of that place, I had intended to refresh my spirits, wearied by the long effort of my studies, until a burning desire to read and learn would inflame me afresh. This desire, however, came upon me more quickly than I thought it would. So I immediately went to the library, which is not open to all, in order to examine most diligently all the relics of most sacred antiquity, of which there is so great a number that it is not easily paralleled anywhere else in Britain. Scarcely had I crossed the threshold when the mere sight of the ancient books struck my mind with an awe or amazement of some kind, and for that reason I stopped in my tracks for awhile. Then, having saluted the *genius loci*, I spent some days searching through all the bookcases with the greatest curiosity.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ The sheets of paper on which the lists were written were originally folded, possibly to render them portable, and the present order is not the original one, as Leland's foliation shows: fol. 28=1; fol. 29=2; fol. 35=3; fol. 31=4; fol. 34=5; fol. 30=6; fol. 36=7; fol. 37=8; fol. 38=9. Folios 32–33, which repeat the lists for Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, were originally separate: Leland did not foliate them and they were folded into four rather than two; fol. 39 was also separate. Worcester carried with him 'the original folded sheets of paper of which the books are composed'; see his *Itineraries*, ed. and trans. Harvey, xx.

¹⁷⁴ On monastic hospitality in general, especially to the poor, see F. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford 1990), 228–46.

¹⁷⁵ Below, 67, 69. (See Plate 1.) Writing to Hearne on 7 March 1714 Browne Willis observed that he found in Hall's *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis* a valuable description of the library at Glastonbury that he thought Hearne ought to include in his account of the monastery (Hearne, *Remarks and Collections*, 4. 318).

Clearly he was an honoured guest and planned to enjoy the abbot's hospitality while he recovered from the rigours of travel.¹⁷⁶ Although Leland indulged in literary tropes in *De uiris illustribus*, and no doubt exaggerated his burning desire to see the library as soon as possible, his enthusiasm is obvious. The passage also conveys a sense of his methodology: he spent a considerable length of time—some days—examining the contents of the library shelf by shelf, listing forty-four books.¹⁷⁷ At Glastonbury he found amongst other treasures a copy of Stephen's Life of Bishop Wilfrid, which the abbot allowed him to borrow or inspect ('copiam mihi fecit').¹⁷⁸ He also saw a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Life of Merlin, which, as he related in c. 161, he read avidly while he was staying at the monastery. In a passage in c. 200, later to be deleted, he described how he had a work by John of Cornwall in his hands and was beginning to read it when Whiting called his attention elsewhere, presumably to show him another book:

And, unless I am very much mistaken, I have seen at Glastonbury in Somerset another work he composed, but its name has disappeared entirely from my memory. Gentle reader, you cannot know how much I am vexed by my carelessness. The book was actually in my hands and my first taste of it had pleased me greatly, when suddenly Richard Whiting, abbot of that monastery, always to be counted among gentlemen, called my attention elsewhere. Later I forgot to seek it out again. But a fault should be forgiven of one who recognizes it.¹⁷⁹

Like Gagny Leland requisitioned material both for himself and for the king.¹⁸⁰ Not long before he arrived at Glastonbury, he visited the house of Austin canons at Southwick, where he borrowed a copy of Henry of Hunt-

¹⁷⁶ When Leland composed this chapter, some three years before Whiting was executed in 1539, he was proud of his friendship with the abbot and described him as 'a truly splendid man and my special friend', a phrase he prudently deleted when he returned to his manuscript in the 1540s; below, 67 (see Plate 1); also c. 77 (175), where he later removed his characterization of Whiting as 'my greatest friend'. Not all monastic accommodation was as comfortable as that provided at Glastonbury to the chosen few. In 1477 Worcester complained about Holme St Benets, whose library Leland later saw, citing 'filthy linen, cabbage without salt, new ale, stony bedding, a filthy stable, sword-like hay, stingy hospitality, a chilly fire in the chimney' (*Itineraries*, ed. and trans. Harvey, 2–3). Nor did Worcester lodge with the abbot of Glastonbury on his visit in 1480, although he proudly related that he dined in the abbot's hall by favour of the abbot's secretary (*ibid.* 260–61).

¹⁷⁷ By his own account (c. 128) he was also at St Albans for several days going through the library, which, as he pointed out, was a famous one (below, 273).

¹⁷⁸ Below, 174. Leland used the same expression (as well as 'mutuo accipi') to describe a copy of the *Historia Brittonum* which he borrowed from Thomas Soulemont: see *Collectanea*, 3. 45, 47; also below, 280.

¹⁷⁹ For the Latin text see below, 386.

¹⁸⁰ According to the New Year's Gift there were three potential destinations for manuscripts retrieved from the monastic houses: 'Firste I have conserved many good autors the which other wise had beene like to have perischid to no smaul incommode of good letters, of the whiche parte remayne yn the moste magnificent libraries of yowr royal palacis. Parte also remayne yn my custodie. . . . Farthermore

ingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, now BL MS Arundel 48, which he never returned and which John Bale later saw in his private library.¹⁸¹ At Sherborne he obtained a copy of the *Narratio metrica de sancto Swithuno* attributed to Wulfstan Cantor.¹⁸² Bath abbey provided a copy of the Acts of the Council of Constantinople presented to the monks by King Æthelstan himself.¹⁸³ From Malmesbury he appropriated a now lost copy of Tertullian's works and perhaps the manuscript of Alcuin's letter surviving as BL MS Cotton Tiberius A. xv, fols. 1–173.¹⁸⁴ He borrowed several manuscripts from St Augustine's, Canterbury, and described these as 'penes me . . . mutuo sumpta'. After the dissolution, when there was no monastery to which to return the manuscripts, he struck out the 'mutuo'.¹⁸⁵

In his account of Nennius (c. 47) Leland included a brief description of his visit in 1534 to the Cistercian monastery of Jervaulx in Yorkshire. Once the abbot had read the king's letter, so Leland informed his readers, he 'showed me every kindness and took me immediately into his library, well filled with books. Then he went off to his official duties, and I eagerly sought out ancient manuscripts'.¹⁸⁶ As at Glastonbury, Leland characterized himself as an assiduous searcher after antiquities. More to the point, he states specifically that he was left on his own in the library, and he would therefore have been able to explore at his leisure and without restrictions. During his rummaging he found a manuscript with the title 'Nennius on the origin of Britain', now Oxford, St John's College, MS 99 (s. xii^{ex}). He turned to it enthusiastically but was disappointed in what the text revealed. He later astutely decided that the original text of Nennius had been greatly tampered with, so that 'instead of the real Nennius some kind of deceitful trifler dressed up as the real Nennius emerged'. Like modern editors he concluded that 'many ancient authors have perished altogether through the fault of over-diligent compilers of this kind'.¹⁸⁷

At this juncture, however, he had not distinguished in his own mind between the original text and the monastic contaminations. He was thus rela-

parte of the examplaries curiously sought by me and fortunately founde in sundry places of this yowr dominion, hath beene enprinted yn Germany' (Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 281–282). A fuller discussion is found in J. P. Carley, 'The dispersal of the monastic libraries and the salvaging of the spoils', in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland 1 To 1640*, ed. E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (Cambridge 2006), 265–91, at 275–81.

¹⁸¹ *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A31. 1; Bale, *Index*, 163.

¹⁸² Below, 271.

¹⁸³ Below, 263.

¹⁸⁴ For these and other possible borrowings from Malmesbury see Carley and Petitmengin, 'Pre-Conquest manuscripts from Malmesbury abbey'.

¹⁸⁵ Below, 504.

¹⁸⁶ Below, 121. He does not name his host, but it would have been Adam Sedbergh, elected as abbot in 1533 and hanged at Tyburn on 26 May 1537 for his alleged participation in the Pilgrimage of Grace.

¹⁸⁷ On Leland and Nennius see C. Brett, 'John Leland, Wales, and early British history', *Welsh History Review* 15 (1990–91), 169–82, at 171–4.

tively harsh in his judgement of this author: 'Scribit confuse et sine iudicio, sordidis etiam uerbis, non dubitans fabulas subinde interserere plus quam aniles' (He writes confusedly and without discernment, and in wretched vocabulary, not hesitating repeatedly to insert exceedingly foolish fables).¹⁸⁸ Shortly before arriving at Jervaulx he had been at the Arrouaisian monastery at Bourne, where he had seen a manuscript containing a 'Historiola de Britannia'.¹⁸⁹ He took notes from it, describing these as coming 'Ex chronico incerti auctoris, sed antiqui, de rebus Britannicis, quod repperi in Burnensi monasterio Lindensis prouinciae' (From a chronicle concerning British matters, written by an unknown but ancient author, which I found in the monastery at Bourne in the province of Lincoln).¹⁹⁰ The manuscript can probably be identified as Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, MS Llanstephan 175, pp. 1–52 (s. xiii), which contains a copy of the *Historia Brittonum* lacking the preface attributing it to Nennius.¹⁹¹ Later Thomas Soulemont (d. 1541) lent him another copy, from which he also took notes and in which his characteristic *maniculi* appear.¹⁹² He subsequently realized that the Nennius who was the (supposed) author of Soulemont's manuscript also composed the text found at Bourne: 'Nam ille habebat exemplar non mutilum, & sine praefatione, ut meum erat' (For he [i.e. Soulemont] had an exemplar that was not defective and lacking the preface, as mine was).¹⁹³ In a late addition to his original chapter he described his comparative study of these three manuscripts: 'I have since [having been at Jervaulx] sought anxiously in many places to find out whether manuscripts of Nennius survive elsewhere; and at last, after much effort, I have found two very ancient manuscripts from which I have pieced together the history, although it is not free from corruption, of the author'.¹⁹⁴ As this instance, among others, makes apparent, the order in which he saw manuscripts provides important

¹⁸⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 41; *Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z10. 2.

¹⁸⁹ *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A3. 1; see also J. P. Carley, 'John Leland and the contents of English pre-dissolution libraries: Lincolnshire', *TCBS* 9.4 (1989), 330–57, at 346–7.

¹⁹⁰ *Collectanea*, 3. 45.

¹⁹¹ On the association with Bourne see D. N. Dumville, 'The sixteenth-century history of two Cambridge books from Sawley', repr. from *TCBS* 7 (1977–80) in his *Histories and Pseudo-histories of the Insular Middle Ages* (Aldershot 1990), 8. 440 n. 15. The manuscript later belonged to Sir Edward Dering, and probably came to him from Cotton (C. G. C. Tite, 'Lost or stolen or strayed': A survey of manuscripts formerly in the Cotton library', repr. from the *British Library Journal* 18 [1992] in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector. Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and His Legacy*, ed. C. J. Wright [London 1997], 262–306, at 281; R. Ovenden, 'The libraries of the antiquaries [c. 1580–1640] and the idea of a national collection', in *Cambridge History of Libraries*, ed. Leedham-Green and Webber, 527–61, at 536).

¹⁹² Soulemont's copy, with an erased *ex libris* mark from Sawley abbey, Lancashire, is now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 139 (AD 1164).

¹⁹³ *Collectanea*, 3. 45. He also listed marginal annotations from Soulemont's copy: *ibid.* 47–9.

¹⁹⁴ Below, 123. He was indulging in some degree of poetic licence here, since he actually saw the Bourne manuscript before the one at Jervaulx. William Worcestre saw a copy at Walden abbey (Essex) in 1478, but Leland does not appear to have noticed it, or else it had disappeared by the time of his visitation.

clues concerning the evolution of his understanding of the authors he was describing and the works they had written. Without a detailed knowledge of his booklists and precisely when they were made Leland's entries in *De uiris illustribus* can be deceptive, the information they provide misleading.

1. The Sequence of Journeys and the Booklists

As has been long realized, Leland's booklists are extraordinarily important tools for bibliographers, historians, and literary scholars alike, since Leland was often the last, if not indeed the only, person to report on books contained in individual libraries.¹⁹⁵ These lists were also the foundation documents for *De uiris illustribus*, and it will be necessary here to examine in some detail the likely sequence of Leland's travels, as revealed by an analysis of Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3 and Top. gen. c. 4, in order to gain an understanding of his working procedures. Leland's lists need, moreover, to be read against the *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* by Johann Trithem (1462–1516), since this work provided him with a mental framework as he examined the monastic libraries. Trithem's text suggested what was well known, and what was rare and thus worthy of being listed. The lists must also be seen as cumulative: items recorded by Leland at the beginning of his travels he would find of less interest three years and many library visitations later. Ultimately Leland's lists were *aides-mémoires*; they were in no sense catalogues, but rather notes intended to help him when he came to compose his grand narrative histories. Unlike *De uiris illustribus*, moreover, they were private and never intended for print. They were above all selective: absences from lists are not the same as lacunae in collections.¹⁹⁶

The booklists—some short, some substantial—are found in the third volume of the *Collectanea*, now Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3.¹⁹⁷ It is highly unlikely that the surviving lists were fieldnotes, but it is almost certain that they were made soon after each journey. On occasion there is a heading with the name of the house, followed by a blank space or by topographical and etymological

¹⁹⁵ For example, the Cistercian order had over 130 houses in England and Wales by the end of the Middle Ages. A mere twenty-seven lists of books survive; of these sixteen are lists made by Leland and in thirteen cases he is the only witness.

¹⁹⁶ In *Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England* (New York, NY, 1972), 90–91, Antonia McLean states that 'Leland's lists must be used with caution. . . . He missed, for example, the *Exeter Book*, several manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, an Anglo-Saxon manuscript of Bede at Worcester, Alfred's translation of *Gregory's Pastoral Care*, the *Abingdon Chronicle*, and some early books of Homilies and a Prayer Book'. McLean's criticisms—and she is only one of many who have made similar complaints—misinterpret what he was doing, and are typical of an anachronistic approach characteristic of much modern bibliographical scholarship, or rather, historical scholarship using bibliographical insights.

¹⁹⁷ First printed by Hearne, they are being re-edited for the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, where they appear under the institutions where they were compiled.

notes, but no mention of books.¹⁹⁸ It is by no means certain that all the lists Leland compiled still survive.

By the present arrangement of the *Collectanea* groups of lists are physically separated from one another by other materials, and they form at least two distinct entities: Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 253–274 and pp. 5–66.¹⁹⁹ The order in which the houses are reported within each sequence coheres geographically, allowing the inference to be drawn that the lists as a whole reflect Leland's actual movements. Some of the individual lists from Cambridge and Oxford colleges can be dated to the 1540s, but the monastic investigations all took place between 1533 and *ca* 1536 (or slightly later in the case of the Austin friars of London), after which point Leland temporarily put aside the *De uiris illustribus*. In what follows I bring together the evidence—there are several sorts—to establish that the lists were compiled in the following order: pp. 253–270=Guildford to Evesham (summer 1533); pp. 270–274=Stratford Langthorne to St Albans (1533–4); pp. 5–9=Faversham to Dover (plus Battle) (early 1534); pp. 9–44=Dunstable to Ramsey (with the Cambridge lists dividing the sequence) (1534); pp. 47–53=London (1534–5+later list); pp. 56–63=Reading to Oxford (1535).²⁰⁰ The following discussion is a long and complex one, the

¹⁹⁸ The purpose of these headings is not clear, but when he wrote up his notes Leland may have been planning to add further information at a later date. The royal agents who compiled similar lists of titles in Lincolnshire houses (lists that at one time were attributed to Leland) for removal to the royal collection provided explanations when they gave no titles under a place-heading: there was nothing pertaining to their matter, the books were printed books, the prior was absent, or the plague prevented them from entering the house ('causa pestis') (J. R. Liddell, 'Leland's' lists of manuscripts in Lincolnshire monasteries', *EHR* 54 [1939], 88–95). The 'pestis' raging at the Gilbertine house in Sixhills and the Austin friary at Boston must have been the sweating sickness. Since the last outbreak had been in 1517 and the disease did not return again until 1551, the Lincolnshire document must have been compiled in 1528, when there was a summer epidemic in which Lincolnshire religious were particularly hard hit. On outbreaks see J. A. H. Wylie and L. H. Collier, 'The English sweating sickness (*Sudor Anglicus*): A reappraisal', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 36 (1981), 425–45, at 431. This early dating of the Lincolnshire list—scholars, myself included, have universally put it slightly later—suggests that Wolsey may well have been behind the earliest stage of monastic examinations. On the Lincolnshire list (now BL MS Royal Appendix 69) and its relationship to the royal library see more generally *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, xxxiii–xxxix.

¹⁹⁹ The booklet beginning with Guildford and carrying up to St Albans appears to be made up as follows (I calculate using pagination and noting first and last page of a bifolium): 253[254]; 255+274; 257+272; 259+270; 261+268; 263+266. (Further materials on St Albans follow on pp. 275–280. It is likely that pp. 279–280 originally came before pp. 275–278.) Apart from pp. 275–278 (which has a hand with a crown above it) the watermark found in this booklet (including pp. 279–280) is Briquet 1255. What seems to be another booklet, Faversham to Battle, uses paperstock with a different watermark (Piccard 1479*). It begins with a group of singletons (5–16), followed by a bifolium (17–20) and another singleton (21–22). Next comes a more clearly integrated structure: 23+62, 25+60, 27+58, 29+56, 31+54, 33+52, 35+50, 37+48, 39+46, 41+44, 63–64, 65–66.

²⁰⁰ There are several anomalies for which no definitive explanation can be given. For example, the Oxford lists end on p. 63, which is the recto of a singleton, and this is followed on p. 64 by the Salisbury Dominicans. Cerne, Keynsham, and Bristol are found on p. 65 (the recto of another singleton), and Battle takes up the following page. For a tabulated list of the libraries Leland examined, arranged alphabetically, see Appendix 1.

arguments at times exceedingly detailed, but it is key to an understanding of *De uiris illustribus* and of Leland's prose writing in general. It also elucidates, or at least stands as a coda, to a goodly portion of the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues where, up to now, the lists have usually been described as 'c. 1536-40'.

(a) *Leland's 1533 route: Guildford to Evesham*²⁰¹ In a number of the chapters of *De uiris illustribus* written in what I have called Stage I, Leland described monasteries as still intact and functioning, although he would later emend 'nunc' to 'nuper'. Some of these monasteries were not dissolved until the late 1530s, but others were covered by the Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries of 1536, such as the Benedictine priory at Hurley in Berkshire, where he noted before revision that 'nunc monachi Christo . . . seruiunt' (see Plate 4; c. 223). Elsewhere Leland referred to manuscripts he had recently seen in the Benedictine house at Glastonbury.²⁰² According to c. 441 Leland travelled to Wells from Glastonbury, and the booklists preserved in the *Collectanea* indicate that after Wells he went on to Bath.²⁰³ When Leland returned to Somerset in 1542 he observed that he had last been at Bath 'an 9 yere sins', which is a very specific number and should be taken at face value.²⁰⁴ What this establishes, then, is that his first trip to the West Country occurred in 1533, the same year in which he received his letter from Henry VIII granting him access to the monastic libraries.

Leland no doubt set out from London early in June, just after the festivities celebrating Anne Boleyn's coronation. One of his primary destinations would have been Glastonbury. The choice of Glastonbury, where Arthur's tomb was to be found and where there was a rich collection of ancient manuscripts, was an obvious one, both for the sake of his own concerns and for those of his patrons, Norfolk in particular.²⁰⁵ In c. 96 Leland stated that two years previ-

²⁰¹ In my discussions I provide both a reference to the *Collectanea* and a citation of the appropriate volume, where available, in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues. This series uses sigla based on a letter-and-numeral code to specify booklists from different institutional libraries, and a following numeral to indicate the specific entry within a list. The dates of dissolutions are drawn from D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales* (London 1953), supplemented by S. M. Jack, 'Dissolution dates for the monasteries dissolved under the Act of 1536', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 43 (1970), 161-81. I have used 'diss.' (i.e. 'dissolved') to include dissolutions, transfers, and voluntary surrenders. The term thus corresponds to 'D.' as employed by Knowles and Hadcock.

²⁰² 'aliquot abhinc annis' (cc. 25, 441); 'nuper' (cc. 77, 161). Glastonbury was dissolved in 1539 and its abbot executed on 15 November.

²⁰³ Below, 649. In cc. 173 and 453 'nuper' is used to describe his trip to Wells; in c. 122 'paucis abhinc annis' is used for Bath.

²⁰⁴ See J. P. Carley, 'John Leland at Somerset libraries', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 129 (1985), 141-54, at 143. On the dating of the 1542 itinerary see below, xcvi.

²⁰⁵ The purported letter written to Pope Eleutherius by King Lucius requesting that missionaries be sent to Britain is quoted three times in the *Collectanea satis copiosa*, the collection of documents

ously he had found a manuscript at Glastonbury containing riddle collections by Tatwine, Symphosius, Aldhelm, and Eusebius.²⁰⁶ He then added: 'I had also found the riddles of Symphosius and Aldhelm earlier at Winchester in the monastery of Hyde'.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, in c. 23 he related that he had seen a copy of William of Malmesbury's *Life of St Patrick* at Glastonbury, but was disappointed since in it 'there was nothing more than in the one which I had found a little earlier at *Medimna* or Christchurch, Twinhamburne by its older Saxon name'.²⁰⁸ Based on the evidence of these entries, then, it can be shown that after leaving London Leland approached Glastonbury from the south coast. This, in fact, is precisely the pattern the arrangement of this particular group of his booklists reveals.

First in this sequence is a list of three titles taken from the Dominican house at Guildford in Surrey (diss. 10 October 1538).²⁰⁹ From Guildford Leland travelled down to the Cistercian monastery at Waverley (diss. on or near 25 March 1537). The titles of books at Waverley, as David N. Bell has observed, must have been copied from a lost catalogue (or at least after the perusal of a catalogue).²¹⁰ Apart from titles Leland listed the names of authors of *Lives* of Thomas Becket that he copied 'ex prologo cuiusdam autoris qui egregium librum scripsit de uita sancti Thomae' (from the prologue of a certain author who wrote an exceptional book on the life of St Thomas).²¹¹ The library seems to have been somewhat depleted by 1533, since two books from the catalogue were missing when Leland examined the library. One of these was *De connubio*

compiled just after 1530 and used as a source text for the formulation of the various acts proclaiming England's independence from Rome. The archives at Glastonbury would have been a natural place to examine for further information about this increasingly important matter. On Lucius and this letter see in particular F. Heal, 'What can King Lucius do for you? The Reformation and the early British church', *EHR* 120 (2005), 593–614.

²⁰⁶ The corresponding entry in his booklist is *English Benedictine Libraries*, B44. 24.

²⁰⁷ For the entry in the Hyde list see *ibid.* B51. 2.

²⁰⁸ There are extracts from the Christchurch copy of the *Life of St Patrick* in Leland's notebooks with a marginal explanation that 'Hunc librum inueni apud canonicos Christicolos de Twinham, siue Medimnenses, in prouincia Auoniae littoralis' (I found this book among the canons of Christchurch, Twinham—or *Medimna*—in Hampshire; *Collectanea*, 3. 273–5). After the extracts Leland has noted 'Sed hactenus in nullo exemplari de reditu scriptum aliquid uidi; nescio an quod ille opus forsan imperfectum reliquerit, an quod codices, in quos incidi, mutili fuerint, quorum duos Glessoburgi inueni . . .' (But up to now I have not seen anything written of his return in any exemplar. I do not know whether he perhaps left this work unfinished or whether the manuscripts which I happened upon were mutilated: I found two at Glastonbury) (*ibid.* 275–6).

²⁰⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 253 (*Friars' Libraries*, D4). Henry VIII had a hunting lodge within the precincts. In 1530 and 1531 he gave the community a reward of £5, and in 1530 a friar called Anserois received £12 10s through the agency of the duke of Norfolk: see *The Privy Purse Expences of King Henry the Eighth*, ed. N. H. Nicolas (London 1827), 63, 150. After its dissolution the king retained the priory and turned it into a royal residence.

²¹⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 253 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z27).

²¹¹ In many instances Leland later deleted 'sanctus' before Becket's name, but he was inconsistent about this: these were, after all, private notebooks, not meant for general perusal.

Iacobi by Robert, prior of St Frideswide: 'liber nusquam ibi comparuit'. Not long afterwards Leland saw a copy of Robert of Cricklade's *Defloratio Historiae naturalis Plinii* at Hartland in Devon. As a result of this new discovery he revised his Waverley list and added after this entry (Z27. 5) the comment: 'Fortasse hic est Robertus Crikelandensis, qui collegit Flores Plinii, quorum exemplar est Hartlandiae'. (He was correct.) After Waverley Leland travelled into Hampshire to Winchester, where he listed four titles at the Benedictine abbey of Hyde (diss. in April 1538), one of which was the copy of Symphosius referred to above.²¹² He did not mention any books from the cathedral library, but in c. 32 (Stage I) he attested to having seen there a copy of Roger of Howden's chronicle 'Ventae Simenorum in bibliotheca Petrina' (the library of St Peter's at Winchester).²¹³ The Austin priory at Southwick (diss. 7 April 1538) was his next destination. Here he listed three books, one of them a copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* in Old English, and another the copy of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum* that he borrowed from the canons.²¹⁴ At the nearby Austin priory of St Denys in Southampton (diss. 11 July 1536) he reported only one book.²¹⁵ Next he came to the Cistercian abbey at Netley (diss. 16 July 1536), followed by its mother house at Beaulieu (diss. 2 April 1538).²¹⁶ Although, as we have seen, he consulted a copy of William of Malmesbury's Life of St Patrick at the Austin priory of Christchurch (diss. 28 November 1539) he did not list it, noting only a copy of 'Leges aliquot regum Saxonice'.²¹⁷

In his 1542 itinerary Leland listed books at Salisbury cathedral, eighteen

²¹² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 253 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B51). When he later returned to Winchester he noted, using the past tense, that 'in this suburbe stode the great abbay of Hyde, and hath yet a parochie chirche. . . . The bones of Alfredus, king of the West-Saxons, and of Edward his sunne and king, were translatid from Newanminstre, and layid in a tumbre before the high altare at Hyde: in the which tumbre was a late founde 2. litte tables of leade inscribid with theyr names. And here lay also the bones of S. Grimbald and Judoce' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 272).

²¹³ In extracts from a copy of Howden (*Collectanea*, 3. 173) Leland noted 'Lindisfarne Britanнице, ut est in codice Ventano, dicebatur Medcaut, nisi mauis legere Medcant'. He claimed to have looked, unsuccessfully, for the works of Gildas at Winchester (c. 32).

²¹⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 253 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A31). After its surrender the priory passed to John White, who complained about what had been left behind, only four feather beds and the furniture old and rotten (*LPL* 13. 748). He did not mention books, but he must have taken possession of part of the collection since he donated seven manuscripts from Southwick to St John's College Oxford in 1555.

²¹⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 253 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A30).

²¹⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 253–254 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z15; Z1).

²¹⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 254 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A8. 1). See c. 8 (Stage I), where Leland stated that 'no doubt a good part of the Martian laws lies buried in the laws which I recently saw and laboriously read at *Medimna* or Christchurch, Hampshire'; also c. 115 (Stage I): 'He [Alfred] also compiled a book of laws in the English tongue, of which I saw a very old copy a few years ago at *Medimna*, or Christchurch at Twinhamburne'. In *The Making of English Law. King Alfred to the Twelfth Century 1 Legislation and Its Limits* (Oxford 2001), 228 n. 263, Patrick Wormald states 'that the "Leges aliquot regum Saxonice" seen by Leland at Christchurch . . . fits Nero A.i (A) better than other unplaced survivals'. BL MS Cotton Nero A. 1 has marginal annotations by Leland's friend Robert Talbot (1505/6–1558).

miles, as he then observed, from Christchurch.²¹⁸ By the time of this latter journey, however, the dissolutions had occurred: the friaries at Salisbury had disappeared and he simply pointed out where the Dominicans and Franciscans had 'formerly' been located.²¹⁹ In the *Collectanea* there is, however, a list of three books from the Dominicans at Salisbury (diss. in 1538) at the top of a verso of a singleton that concludes the list of books at New College, Oxford on the recto.²²⁰ The rest of the page is blank. Since there is no evidence that Leland was back in Salisbury before 1542 it seems likely that this list was compiled in 1533 and that he travelled up to Salisbury after Christchurch, even if this was not, perhaps, part of his original intention.

From Hampshire (or Wiltshire) Leland travelled into Dorset, and the first library he described was that of the Benedictine abbey at Abbotsbury (diss. 12 March 1539).²²¹ He then turned north towards Sherborne, perhaps via the Benedictine abbey at Cerne (diss. 15 March, 1539), where he took excerpts from an ancient codex and from a Life of St Eadwold: these are found on the recto of a singleton which follows the folio ending with the Dominican list at Salisbury.²²² The copy of Wulfstan's Life of St Swithun which he acquired from the Benedictine abbey at Sherborne (diss. 18 March, 1539), now Bodl. MS Auct. F. 2. 14 (*SC* 2657), also contains the 'Versus contra monachos' by 'Serlo of Canterbury', a text which he described in c. 121 (Stage II) as having seen at Sherborne.²²³

From the Cluniac priory at Montacute in Somerset (diss. 20 March 1539) he listed one book.²²⁴ He next dropped down to the Cistercian abbey at Forde in Dorset (diss. 8 March 1539), where he listed nine titles.²²⁵ He also copied a distich from an old book: 'Sis licet Anthemis Polyphemus, maximus Atlas | Laurigeros de me noli sperare triumphos'.²²⁶ In his account of John of Forde (c. 206; Stage I) Leland complained that many of the author's works 'are now

²¹⁸ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, I, 263. (Leland calculated using a longer mile than ours.) For his notes on Osmund's foundation charter of 1091, and his statement that 'Osmundus libros scribere, ligare ac illuminare non fastidiuit' see *ibid.* 2, 162. In c. 85 (Stage II) Leland pointed out that works by Ecgberht were still to be found at Salisbury, and in an addition to c. 200 (Stage II) he noted that there was a copy of Michael of Cornwall's *Inuectiua contra magistrum Henricum Abrincensem* in the cathedral library. In both instances the information was to be found in his booklist.

²¹⁹ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, I, 260.

²²⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 64 (*Friars' Libraries*, D10).

²²¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 254–255 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B1).

²²² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 65 (*Collectanea*, 4, 67).

²²³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 255 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B94. 9). His extensive extracts from the Life are found in *Collectanea*, I, 151–6, and he annotated the manuscript as well. When he returned in 1542 he observed that the prior 'lying yn the toun can bring me to the old librarie yn Shirburne' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, I, 153). See Carley, 'Dispersal of the monastic libraries', 283.

²²⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 255 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B56).

²²⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 255–256 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z8).

²²⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 255. See also above, n. 74.

missing as a result of the negligence of his community'.²²⁷ In the margin beside the entry in the Forde list for 'Omeliae Gileberti episcopi Herefordensis' (i.e. Gilbert Foliot) Leland has inserted a manicule, which indicates that the book was of particular significance to him.

Although Leland had an entry for the Cistercian abbey at Newenham in Devon (diss. in 1539) and mentioned the river Axe, he did not list any books.²²⁸ He noted only one book at the Cistercian abbey at Dunkeswell (diss. 14 February 1539), although there is space for further entries.²²⁹ At Exeter he listed books in the library of the canons at the cathedral.²³⁰ On his 1542 journey he compiled another list from this library, and there are overlaps between the two.²³¹ Concerning the Dominican convent (diss. 15 September 1538) whose library he had examined in 1533 he observed in 1542: 'there was an house of Blake Freres in the north side of the cemiterie of the cathedrale chirch, but withoute the close. The Lorde Russelle hath made hym a fair place of this house'.²³² One of the books owned by the Dominicans was William Shirwood's commentary on the *Sentences*, and in c. 239 (Stage I) he stated that he had seen this two years ago or more ('duobus abhinc aut eo amplius annis') at the Dominican house in Exeter. At the Benedictine alien priory at Totnes (diss. ?23 August 1536) he noted one book only.²³³ The Cistercian abbey at Buckfast (diss. 25 February 1538) yielded titles of seventeen works, eleven of which are no longer known to survive.²³⁴ From the Austin house at Plympton (diss. 1 March 1539) he listed six titles.²³⁵

Plympton is the most southerly and westerly of the houses for which lists

²²⁷ He also observed that John was buried in the monastery which the present abbot, Thomas Chard, had recently restored magnificently and at great expense.

²²⁸ *Collectanea*, 4. 150.

²²⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 256 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z6).

²³⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 256–257 (*Collectanea*, 4. 151).

²³¹ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 230. The second time he gave the correct incipit for Bartholomew of Exeter's *Dialogus contra Iudaeos* (Bodl. MS Bodley 482 [SC 2046]); earlier he had rendered 'Quamuis' as 'Omnis'. In the second list he noted a copy of 'Fasciculi Zizaniorum Ioan. Wiclif': it has subsequently disappeared. In c. 413 (Stage II) he observed '[Thomas] Ringstead wrote on the Proverbs of Solomon—although when I saw this book at Exeter it was attributed to Richard Ringstead, unless the librarian had made a mistake'. It appears in the 1533 list and is so attributed in Bodl. MS Bodley 829 (SC 2720) (Exeter, s. xv), which must be the copy seen by Leland.

²³² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 257 (*Friars' Libraries*, D3); *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 228.

²³³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 257 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B103). In 1542 he pointed out that 'there was a priorie of Blak Monkes at the north est side of this paroch chirch impropriate to the priorie of Totenes' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 218).

²³⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 257–258 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z3). In his account of Thomas of Sutton (c. 305; Stage II) he observed in an added aside that he had recently seen John Sutton's works at Buckfast. His account of William Slade (c. 446; Stage I) derives from the books he saw at Buckfast.

²³⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 258 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A28).

survive, and there is nothing for Cornwall.²³⁶ There is a heading for the Cistercian house at Buckland (diss. 27 February 1539), slightly north and west of Plympton, but no titles are recorded. From the nearby Benedictine abbey at Tavistock (diss. 3 March 1539) Leland listed four titles and also took excerpts from the Life of St Rumon.²³⁷ The next list comes from the Arrouasian abbey at Hartland (diss. 22 February 1539), where he also took extracts from the Life of St Nectan.²³⁸ There is a heading for Barnstaple priory (diss. in 1536); it replaces a deleted entry for Cleeve abbey in Somerset (diss. 6 September 1536), which is moved to the next page where there is also blank space left for entries.²³⁹

From the Austin priory at Taunton in Somerset (diss. 12 February 1539) only three titles are listed, although space was left for further entries.²⁴⁰ After Taunton, Leland journeyed to the Benedictine abbey of Glastonbury (diss. in 1539). As he had anticipated, the abbey yielded a number of rare books.²⁴¹ After Glastonbury he travelled to Wells, in whose cathedral library—which much impressed him—he found a variety of texts concerning the Wyclifite controversy.²⁴² In c. 173 (Stage I) he referred to the copy of William of Newburgh's *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, which he had recently discovered ('nuper . . . repperi') at Wells, and in c. 453 (Stage I) he cited the copy of Nicholas Radcliff's *De uiatico salutari animae immortalis* he found recently while 'foraging among the treasure house of ancient writers'. In c. 565 (Stage I) he described the velvet bindings of manuscripts containing works by Thomas Chaundler that could be found at Wells.

²³⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 117–124 contains a series of notes in English on places in Cornwall (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 315–26; *Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, 7. 113–23). This consists of a bifolium and two singletons, all of which have been folded horizontally across the middle. Although the arrangement makes a sequence difficult to reconstruct, it must have been composed before 1536, since at least two religious houses that were dissolved in that year are described as still functioning; see *John Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Chandler, 61. In c. 32 (Stage I) Leland stated that he had 'rummaged through many nooks and crannies all over Wales' looking for manuscripts of Gildas. According to a suppressed passage in his chapter on Geoffrey of Monmouth (c. 161, written *ca* 1535) he observed that he had recently seen ancient *tabulae* in Wales attached to the pillars of churches. Perhaps his visit to Cornwall took place at the same time as he first travelled through Wales; see below, xcvi–xcviii. If these trips occurred before 1533, when he received his commission, this would explain why he compiled no booklists as such for Cornwall and Wales.

²³⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 259 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B97).

²³⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 259 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A12); *Collectanea*, 4. 153.

²³⁹ *Collectanea*, 4. 153.

²⁴⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 260 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A32).

²⁴¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 260–262 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B44).

²⁴² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 262–264. See Carley, 'John Leland at Somerset libraries', 141–2; J. P. Carley and V. Law, 'Grammar and arithmetic in two thirteenth-century English monastic collections', *Journal of Medieval Latin* 1 (1991), 140–67. On a later journey he described the library quarters: 'Thomas Bubwith made the est part of the cloyster with the litle chapel beneth and the great librarie over it having 25. windowes on eche side of it' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 291).

After Wells Leland travelled to the Benedictine cathedral priory at Bath (diss. 27 January 1539), where he listed six titles, four of which were medical works.²⁴³ According to c. 171 (Stage I) he saw a manuscript at Bath from which he discovered that Adelard of Bath had lived during the reign of Henry I. In c. 122 (Stage I) he observed that, when he had been at Bath a few years previously examining the 'treasures of venerable antiquity', he found books formerly owned by King Æthelstan, and in one of these (now BL MS Cotton Claudius B. v) he apparently inserted verses of his own composition before presenting it to the royal library.²⁴⁴ This is the earliest identifiable example of a book he removed from the monasteries to the royal libraries. Bath is the last of the Somerset houses to be found in this sequence as it is laid out in the manuscript, but there are two further lists on the stray singleton that began with Cerne, and these must have been compiled on this trip. The first is from the Victorine convent at Keynsham (diss. 23 January 1539) and the second from that at Bristol (diss. 9 December 1539).²⁴⁵

Crossing into Wiltshire, Leland arrived at the Benedictine abbey at Malmesbury (diss. 15 December 1539) during a period of crisis: the abbot had recently died, and there was a power struggle between the candidate favoured by the community and the one put forward by Leland's patron Thomas Cromwell.²⁴⁶ In cc. 101 and 166 (both Stage I) he claimed that he had recently been at Malmesbury abbey, and in c. 71 (Stage I) he observed that the monks still ('adhuc') pointed out relics associated with Aldhelm.²⁴⁷ The list of books is followed by an extract from the *Eulogium historiarum*, described as 'Ex libro antiquitatum Meldunensis coenobii ad uerbum transcripta'.²⁴⁸

As he moved from Wiltshire into Gloucestershire, Leland noted books in the Austin abbey of Cirencester (diss. 19 December 1539), some eight miles

²⁴³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 264 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B8).

²⁴⁴ Carley, 'John Leland at Somerset libraries', 143–4. The verses are no longer found in the manuscript, which, however, has been tampered with; its flyleaves have been rearranged, and it has an added miniature. On fol. 5r a tenth-century hand has described it as a gift from King Æthelstan to Bath abbey (S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss [Cambridge 1985], 143–201, at 160).

²⁴⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 65 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A13, A6).

²⁴⁶ For the booklist see Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 264–265 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B54); for the political situation see Carley and Petitmengin, 'Pre-Conquest manuscripts from Malmesbury abbey', 203–204.

²⁴⁷ When he returned to Malmesbury in 1542 he stated that 'ther was an image set up yn thabbay chirch yn honor of this John Scotte. This is John Scotte that translatid Dionysius out of Greke into Latine' [i.e. Iohannes Scotus Eriugena] (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 132). He had seen this work in 1533 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B54. 13.)

²⁴⁸ *Collectanea*, 4. 157–8. It would seem likely that Leland took possession of this copy since detailed notes from the text and from the *Continuatio*, which survives uniquely in BL MS Cotton Galba E. vii, are found in the *Collectanea* (2. 301–14; 3. 395–8). Galba E. vii contains marginal notes in a hand that might possibly be Leland's. For other Malmesbury books he obtained see above, lix.

distant—as he would observe in 1542—from Malmesbury.²⁴⁹ He listed ten titles, four of which were works by Alexander Nequam, and two by Robert of Cricklade.²⁵⁰ In his entry for Odo of Morimund (c. 180; Stage I) he pointed out that his *Analytica ternarii* was to be found in the library at Cirencester (A9. 3). He also took extracts from a copy of John of Worcester's chronicle.²⁵¹ On a later occasion, so it seems, but sometime before the dissolution, he stopped at Cirencester again and spoke with the abbot.²⁵²

The first item in Leland's list from the Benedictine abbey at Gloucester (diss. 2 January 1540) was a copy of Osbern Pinnock of Gloucester's *Panormia*, for which he provided an incipit.²⁵³ According to c. 151 (Stage I) this text was the only one of Osbern's works to remain at Gloucester. The others, as Leland observed both in this chapter and in the booklist, had been transferred to the royal library.²⁵⁴ These survive in BL MS Royal 6 D. ix. Although this manuscript may possibly have been written at Gloucester, it was brought to Henry VIII's collection from the Lincoln Carmelites in 1528, and Leland's speculation about its earlier provenance was thus inaccurate.²⁵⁵ His statement that he had already seen other writings by Osbern in the royal library is not, however, an addition to the list and may indicate that he had a working knowledge of that collection before he set out on his travels. In c. 219 (Stage I) Leland noted that the homilies of Samson of Canterbury (B49. 14) were extant in the library of Gloucester.

Next he came to the nearby Austin priory at Lanthony secunda (diss. 10 March 1539) situated in the southern suburbs of Gloucester.²⁵⁶ Along with the commentary on Matthew by Claudius of Turin he listed four other books, including Clement of Lanthony's *Vnum ex quattuor*; when he wrote his entry on Clement (c. 199; Stage I) he referred to the priory in the present tense.²⁵⁷ At the Benedictine abbey at Tewkesbury (diss. 9 January 1540) he recorded five titles,

²⁴⁹ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 130.

²⁵⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 266 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A9).

²⁵¹ *Collectanea*, 3. 276–89: 'Hoc Chronicon, quod in Coriniensi bibliotheca reperi, deductum fuit ad annum domini 1153' (289). In his account of Alexander Nequam (c. 218; Stage I) he mentioned the annals of Cirencester ('Annales Coriniensis').

²⁵² *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 3. 102: 'The Abbat of Cirecestre told me that aboutt Cirecestre should be crosse meating of al the iiiii. wayes'. At this time, as he would also do in 1542, he commented on the etymology of the name.

²⁵³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 266–267 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B49).

²⁵⁴ Early in 1531 the abbot of Gloucester sent books to the royal collection (*Libraries of King Henry VIII*, xxxvii).

²⁵⁵ *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, H2. 1240; also xxxiii–xxxvi. For a further discussion see Carley, 'John Leland and the contents of English pre-dissolution libraries: Lincolnshire', 331.

²⁵⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 267 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A18).

²⁵⁷ He did later correct 'nunc est' to 'nuper . . . erat' in his reference to Lanthony prima in Brecon (diss. in 1539).

including the Life of St Thomas of Canterbury ('S. Thomae Cantuariensis') by Herbert of Bosham.²⁵⁸

Passing into Worcestershire Leland betook himself to Worcester, where he compiled a list of titles from the Benedictine cathedral priory (diss. 18 January 1540).²⁵⁹ According to c. 276 (Stage II) he saw at Worcester a copy of the *De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliae* attributed to Henry Bracton: it is not, however, found in the list.

Although the sequence of booklists suggests that Leland may have turned south after Worcester it is also possible that he made a detour north and east at this point to examine the library established by the fifteenth-century antiquary John Rous at St Mary's Church in Warwick as well as the chantry at Guy's Cliffe just outside Warwick, which he described in c. 585 (Stage I) as the most beautiful site he had ever seen. According to c. 150 (Stage I) the trip to Warwick was a recent one.²⁶⁰

Turning back in the direction of Oxfordshire he stopped at the Benedictine house at Pershore (diss. in January 1540), which, like Worcester, Gloucester, Lanthony, and Cirencester, had sent manuscripts to the royal collection several years earlier.²⁶¹ Next he came to the Benedictine abbey at Evesham (diss. in January 1540), from which manuscripts had been sent to the royal collection early in 1531.²⁶² In the account of Adam of Evesham (c. 193; Stage I) he recalled his examination of the treasures contained in the library; he also pointed out that he preferred 'monastic leaders who are well read rather than well fed'. By the mid 1530s this would have been a widely held sentiment.

Back in Gloucestershire he found a cache of Aelred of Rievaulx's writings, as well as Jean Halgrin d'Abbeville's *Sermones*, at the Benedictine abbey of

²⁵⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 268 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B98). In *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 150–63, there is a set of notes he took, almost certainly before the dissolution, from the Tewkesbury chronicle, although not the display copy that survives as Bodl. MS Top. Glouc. d. 2. (SC 54301): see J. M. Luxford, 'The founders' book', in *Tewkesbury Abbey. History, Art, and Architecture*, ed. R. K. Morris and R. Shoesmith (Almeley, Herefordshire, 2003), 53–64, 293–4, at 55.

²⁵⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 268 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B118). One of these was a Life of St Ecgwine, probably by Byrhtferth of Ramsey, which is found in a Worcester manuscript, now BL MS Cotton Nero E. 1, fols. 24r–34v. Nevertheless, the Life from which Leland took extracts (*Collectanea*, 2. 298–301) can be identified as that by Dominic of Evesham. Books from Worcester had been transported to the royal collection earlier in the decade (*Libraries of King Henry VIII*, xxxviii).

²⁶⁰ Leland quoted from Rous's writings in a number of chapters written in his earlier hand, and also took extracts from them: see *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 2. 151–68; Sharpe, *Latin Writers*, 304–305. For his later account of Warwick and Guy's Cliffe—'a place of pleasure, an howse mete for the muses'—see *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 2. 40–46. For the various medieval book collections at St Mary's, Warwick see *The Libraries of the Collegiate Churches*, ed. J. M. W. Willoughby, CBMLC (forthcoming).

²⁶¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 268 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B65); *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, xxxvii–xxxix.

²⁶² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 269 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B31); *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, xxxvii.

Winchcombe (diss. 23 December 1539), some seven miles, as he would later point out, from Evesham.²⁶³ He gave headings and left spaces for entries for the Cistercian abbeys of Hailes (diss. 24 December 1539) and Bruern in Oxfordshire (diss. 13 October 1536), but did not provide any titles, no doubt because he did not get to the houses, perhaps for want of time. The last list drawn up from this trip relates to the Benedictine abbey at Eynsham, close to Oxford (diss. in December 1539).²⁶⁴ It is followed on the same leaf by another unrelated set of travels beginning with Stratford Langthorne in Essex.

(b) *Stratford Langthorne to St Albans* No doubt setting out again from London, Leland began this sequence with the Cistercian abbey at Stratford Langthorne (diss. 18 March 1538), where he observed in his booklist that the library contained 'Omnia fere opera Stephani Cantuariensis', but did not give specific titles.²⁶⁵ In his chapter on Stephen Langton (c. 224; Stage I), however, he pointed out that 'nunc extant/ Super duodecim Prophetas'. Later he changed 'nunc extant' to 'nuper extabant' and added 'in bibliotheca Stratfordensi propter Lugiae fluminis ripas'. After 'Prophetas', he then listed other works by Langton. Following Stratford Langthorne comes a heading, followed by a blank space, for 'Marten abbay' (presumably Merton priory in Surrey, not even in the same county). From the abbey of Austin canons at Waltham, Essex (diss. 23 March 1540) he listed ten titles.²⁶⁶ The first is a copy of Robert Pullen's *Sententiae*, but curiously Leland related in his chapter on Robert (c. 148; Stage I) that fate had 'so far prevented me from seeing any of his books'.²⁶⁷ In spite of the fact that he ignored the Waltham manuscript in his compilation of the Pullen chapter, nevertheless, two other works from this list, both of which included incipits—'Vocabularius Alexandri Necham' (A39. 3) and 'Floriloquium philosophorum Ioannis Wallensis' (A39. 4)—found their way into the first version of *De uiris illustribus* (cc. 218 and 300). The Cistercian abbey at Coggeshall (diss. 5 February 1538) yielded four titles.²⁶⁸ One of these was Odo of Canterbury's commentary on the Pentateuch (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 54), which, according to c. 180 (Stage I), John

²⁶³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 269 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B112); *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 2. 53. Evesham and Winchcombe are approximately ten modern miles apart.

²⁶⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 270 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B34).

²⁶⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 270 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z24).

²⁶⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 270 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A39).

²⁶⁷ Leland's account of Robert is an expansion of a brief statement found in his extracts from Rous's *De antiquitate academiarum Britannicarum* (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 2. 153), and he states that 'I have briefly noted these facts from John Rous of Warwick's book *On the Universities of Britain*'. He gives the name as 'Polenius' based on Rous ('Poleyn'), whereas in the Waltham list the form is 'Pulli'. Either he drafted this chapter almost immediately after he saw Rous's writings and did not revise after he visited Waltham, or his denial of having seen any of Robert's writings is the result of an oversight.

²⁶⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 270–271 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z5).

Stokesley, bishop of London (1475–1539), had seen ‘when he was recently examining all the bookcases of the Coggeshall monastery library’.²⁶⁹ For the Benedictine abbey at Colchester (diss. in 1539) Leland had four entries, one of which was ‘Omnes fere Latini poetae’.²⁷⁰ He listed twenty-two titles from the Benedictine abbey at Bury St Edmunds (diss. 18 November 1539), one of which was found in the convent in the monks’ library.²⁷¹ Another provides the only evidence from manuscript sources that Robert Kilwardby was the author of a commentary on Ezekiel (B16. 12).²⁷² Leland listed eight titles from the library of the Benedictine abbey and cathedral priory at Ely (diss. 1539), only two of which were by English authors: Bede and Aldhelm.²⁷³ Of the three works whose titles he recorded in the library of the Benedictine abbey at Saffron Walden back in Essex (diss. 22 March 1538) one was a copy of a chronicle by Peter of Henham, which formed the basis for c. 233 (Stage I): ‘ex ueteri exemplari quod nuper in bibliotheca Vallidenensis monasterii reperi’.²⁷⁴

According to the list of books from the Benedictine abbey of St Albans (diss. 5 December 1539) Matthew Paris’ ‘pulcherrima historia’ had been stolen before Leland saw the library.²⁷⁵ The list is followed by extracts from the *Gesta abbatum*, an ‘antiqua tabula’, and a ‘historiola e Gallica in Latinam uersa’.

²⁶⁹ Made bishop of London in 1530, Stokesley was one of the compilers of the *Gravissimae atque exactissimae illustrissimarum totius Italiae et Galliae academiarum censurae* and was probably involved in the compilation of the *Glasse of truthe* (London 1532). A conservative in religion, he was, nevertheless, a strong advocate of the royal supremacy.

²⁷⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 271 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B22).

²⁷¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 271–272 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B16). See also his description of the monastery before its dissolution in the commentary to the *Cygneia cantio*: ‘solem non uidere urbem situ elegantiore . . . aut coenobium illustrius, siue quis dotationem, seu amplitudinem, aut magnificentiam incomparabilem aquis rationibus expendat. Diceret plane coenobium urbem esse: tot portae, partim etiam aereae, tot turres, et templum, quo nullum magnificentius, cui et alia tria egregio opere nitentia uno, et eodem coemeterio sita, subseruiunt. Amniculus, de quo superius, mediis monasterii septis illabitur, duplici ponte arcuati operis peruius’ (the sun does not shine on a more beautifully situated town . . . on a monastery more famed for its endowments, size, and splendour. There are so many gates, some of brass, so many towers, and a church unsurpassed by any other [joined by three more in the finest style, all situated within the churchyard] that it makes you think that you were looking on a city. A small stream, to which I referred above, winds through it, spanned by a bridge with twin arches) (*Cygneia cantio*, ed. Hearne, 54).

²⁷² See also c. 270 (Stage I).

²⁷³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 272 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B28).

²⁷⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 272 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B84). In the *Catalogus* Bale has ‘quod in Vualdensi bibliotheca olim extabat’ (1. 270).

²⁷⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 273 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B91). The autograph copy of the *Historia Anglorum* was owned by Duke Humfrey (1390–1447) and then by John Russell, bishop of Lincoln (d. 1494), who stated that he would consider the book to be a loan from the monks of St Albans, if it could be proved to be theirs. It is not certain, however, that it ever got back to them, and it was presumably this book that eluded Leland when he examined the library. It was annotated by Polydore Vergil and later became part of the royal collection (*Libraries of King Henry VIII*, H2. 1041). For other St Albans books that had been alienated and then reclaimed see R. M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066–1235*, 2 vols (Woodbridge 1982), nos. 34–5.

Several chapters in *De uiris illustribus* describe the library and its books (cc. 14, 128, 195, 246, 249, 314, 453). In c. 14 he stated that he had recently read the historians of St Albans, and in c. 128 he described having spent several days at the monastery, where he examined the treasures of the collection. In his chapter on Ralph of Dunstable, or Ralph of St Albans as he called him (c. 314), the only one written in Stage II, he was more specific and explained that it was the monk [Thomas] Kingsbury, a great lover of antiquity, who showed him the library.²⁷⁶

Although Leland observed in his account of Ralph of Dunstable that he had come across the *Vita metrica S. Albani* at St Albans approximately ten years previously this title is not found in his booklist as such. A note has, however, been added in the left-hand margin in a different ink, stating that 'Radulphus, monachus S. Albani, scripsit uitam S. Albani & Amphibali carmine heroico. De hoc Radulpho Ioannes Frumentarius, abbas S. Albani, inter illustres uiros mentionem fecit'.²⁷⁷ Leland first came across John Wheathampstead's *Granarium* when he examined the university library at Oxford around 1535. At this time he copied out names and works of individuals mentioned by Wheathampstead, including one Ralph, about whom he noted 'Radulphus est, si recte memini, ibidem qui uitam scripsit S. Albani carmine plane docto et eleganti'.²⁷⁸ Leland must, then, have visited St Albans before he got to the university library in Oxford, where he would link Wheathampstead's Ralph with the individual whose writing he had recently seen at St Albans. If the entry for Ralph of Dunstable provides a *terminus ante quem*, the one for Nicholas Radcliff (c. 453) provides a *terminus post quem*. One of the manuscripts that Leland had seen at Wells cathedral in the summer of 1533 was 'Nicolai Radclyf monachi S. Albani determinationes de Eucharistia'.²⁷⁹ That he visited St Albans after this discovery is made clear by the assertion that his information on Radcliff derived from his recent visit to Wells, whereas when he got to St Albans he discovered that the monks did not even know his name.

(c) *Faversham to Dover* Leland observed in a set of English notes on Kent that: 'Faversham . . . hath a great abbey of blake monkes of the fundation of King Stephane'.²⁸⁰ From its library (diss. 8 July 1538) he noted seven titles, only two of which were by English authors.²⁸¹ Concerning Canterbury itself

²⁷⁶ On Kingsbury see J. G. Clark, 'Reformation and reaction at St Albans abbey, 1530–58', *EHR* 115 (2000), 297–328, at 301, 309, 315, 316, 326–7.

²⁷⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 273 (*Collectanea*, 4. 163). A 'Vita S. Albani carmine non indocto scripta' is found in the excerpts 'ex libro de gestis Offae regis' which come immediately after the list.

²⁷⁸ *Libraries of Oxford*, UO4. 14. 'est' and 'ibidem qui uitam' are added between the lines. He also pointed out in c. 314 that Ralph had been praised by Wheathampstead.

²⁷⁹ See Carley, 'John Leland at Somerset libraries', 148.

²⁸⁰ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 47–71, at 68. These notes, found in Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 125–148 (146–148 are blank), were made at different times. Some, however, are the result of a visit that can be very closely dated, since both the Premonstratensian abbey at West Langdon and the

Leland pointed out that: 'In the towne be xiiii. parochie chyrches, and the cathedral chyrch of blak monkes. Withowt the walles be iii. parochie chyrches. The monastery of S. Augustine, blak monkes: S. Gregoryes, blak chanons'.²⁸² In his account of Thomas Sprott (c. 287; Stage I) he related that 'when I was riding all over Kent searching out antiquities . . . I made it my business to visit the library of St Augustine's, a rich storehouse of ancient manuscripts'.²⁸³ Neither Sprott's chronicle nor that of William Thorne (c. 160; Stage I), to whom by his reckoning Sprott was much indebted, are found in his list of titles from the Benedictine abbey (diss. 30 July 1538).²⁸⁴ Nor does it contain the copy of the Laws of Henry I, which, according to c. 145 (Stage II), he had seen at St Augustine's some ten years earlier. That he was at St Augustine's after he had visited St Albans is made clear by his paraphrase from Goscelin of Canterbury's *Historia, miracula, et translatio S. Augustini* concerning the origin of St Martin's Church in Canterbury (BA7. 22): he observed that 'Extat adhuc, condita ex longissimis et latissimis lateribus more Britannico, ut facile

Benedictine priory at Dover had been suppressed 'a late' (Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 127–128): the former fell on 13 November 1535, the latter on 16 November. On the other hand, the Premonstratensian abbey of St Radegund at Bradsole, to be diss. 26 October 1537, was still functioning (Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 128). Likewise the house of Austin canons in Canterbury seems still to have been extant (Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 137), and it did not fall until around 25 March 1537. One section of the Kentish material (Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 129–136) has been inserted among the other notes, and attests to a new phase in Leland's activities. As Oliver Harris has pointed out to me (in a private communication), it may be significant that these notes, which seem more coherently organized and appear to represent a further stage of development than many of his other travel notes, are found in the folio rather than the quarto notebooks (which contain the itineraries)—i.e. the folio notes must have been written in a study and would not have been as easy to transport as the rough notes constituting the quartos.

²⁸¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 5 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B35). Based on his research at Faversham Leland attributed the *Miracula inuentionis beatae Milburgae uirginis* by Odo, cardinal bishop of Ostia (B35. 7), to Odo of Canterbury (c. 180; Stage I).

²⁸² *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 59.

²⁸³ He included a short history of the library in this chapter. He stated as well that several years earlier 'many famous authors' had been removed from St Augustine's to the royal library, i.e. ca 1530, when materials were being gathered from a variety of monastic libraries. One of these is a glossed copy of Leviticus, now BL MS Royal 3 A. II, which has a manicule beside an interpolated verse in Leviticus 18 that reads: 'Et uxorem fratris sui nullus accipiet'. Leland himself acquired for the royal library BL MS Royal 1. A. XVIII, probably a gift of Æthelstan: he inscribed verses similar to those he claimed to have entered in BL MS Cotton Claudius B. v; see above, lxix.

²⁸⁴ *St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, BA7. Leland's extracts from Thorne's chronicle are printed in *Collectanea*, 3. 51–4. See also *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 52. In c. 344 (Stage I) he acknowledged Thorne as his source of information about Thomas Poucyn, abbot of the monastery 'quod est in principe Cantiorum suburbio'. He later changed this to 'quod nuper Durouerni floruit'. Apart from books in the library, he saw and handled grants by King Ethelbert and Eadbald 'in archiuis monachorum Augustinensium' (BA7. 23). The ancient psalter which he saw (BA7. 26)—possibly to be identified as the Vespasian Psalter (BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. 1)—was likely kept with the ceremonial treasures rather than in the library.

est uidere in ruinis Verolamiensibus'.²⁸⁵ He noted only one book from the Austin priory of St Gregory (diss. around 25 March 1537).²⁸⁶

Shortly after Leland's trip Richard Layton made a visitation to Kent, in the autumn of 1535, and in c. 590 Leland would later blame Layton's drunken servants for a fire that occurred in October in the prior's lodgings beside the upper library at the Benedictine cathedral priory of Christ Church (diss. in 1540). Like fellow antiquary John Twyne, Leland lamented the loss of Cicero's *De republica* amongst the treasures, but he also claimed that other volumes had been saved.²⁸⁷ Although his list, taken before the fire, was a substantial one,²⁸⁸ he later supplemented it with excerpts from Henry Eastry's catalogue (surviving in BL MS Cotton Galba E. iv, fols. 1–186).²⁸⁹ When he examined the library of Canterbury College, Oxford, he concluded that much of the cathedral library, including Hucarius' now lost *Homiliae dominicales* (c. 131; Stage II) and Stephen Langton's lost *Hexameron* (c. 224; addition to Stage I) had been transferred to Oxford from the mother-house. His later entry on William Gillingham (c. 282; Stage II) was based on the *tabula* that he saw on 'a column where the choir of the church faces north'.²⁹⁰ In the notes accompanying the booklist he referred to Thomas Becket several times; in one instance he prudently deleted the 'S' before 'Thoma' and added 'Beket' afterwards, but in another he omitted to do so.

Leland listed two titles from the library of the Benedictine priory at Dover (diss. 16 November 1535), the second of which was a 'Historiola de antiquitate

²⁸⁵ See O. Harris, 'John Leland and the "Briton Brykes"', *Antiquaries Journal* 87 (2007), 346–56, at 349–50. According to Leland's own account it was the ruins of Verulamium rather than the monastic library that drew him to St Albans (c. 314; Stage II).

²⁸⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 7 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A7).

²⁸⁷ See N. Ramsay, 'The cathedral archives and library', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay, and M. Sparks (Oxford 1995), 341–407, at 372; also C. de Hamel, 'The dispersal of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century', in *Books and Collectors 1200–1700*, ed. J. P. Carley and C. G. C. Tite (London 1997), 263–79, at 273. Twyne was Leland's source for various pieces of information: see *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 50. Much later Twyne showed him a copy of a work by John Wheathampstead (c. 530; addition to Stage II).

²⁸⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 7–8 (*Collectanea*, 4. 10).

²⁸⁹ *Collectanea*, 4. 120–21. He referred to the catalogue or titles from it in cc. 5, 87, 131, 180, 183, 212, 257: all his references are, of course, in Stage II. After the dissolution this portion of Galba E. iv was owned by Twyne, who no doubt provided Leland with access to it.

²⁹⁰ In his Peterhouse list he comments (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC49. 55): 'De hoc Gulielmo [Byrhtferth of Ramsey] eruditus sic annotauit in margine libri: Vnde in quadam tabula in ecclesia metropolitana Saluatoris Cantuar. quam fecerat quidam doctor theologiae, monachus eiusdem loci, nomine Gulielmus Gyllingham de uiris illustribus, uidelicet de sanctis et egregiis doctoribus, qui hactenus fuerunt in ordine monachorum . . .'. On *tabulae* in general see A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England 2. C. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London 1982), 495. For his notes 'ex ueteri codice coenobii S. Saluatoris Cantuariarum' see *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 70–71.

Douarensis oppidi'.²⁹¹ He also took notes 'Ex tabula pensili' at the hospital of St Mary or Maison Dieu (diss. 11 December 1544).

(d) *Battle* According to c. 180 (Stage I) Leland had seen the tomb of abbot Odo of Canterbury, when he visited the Benedictine abbey at Battle, Sussex (diss. 27 May 1538) a short time earlier. Battle is relatively near Canterbury, and it is likely therefore that Leland compiled this list when he was assembling those in Kent.²⁹² Written on the verso of the singleton containing the unrelated West Country lists, it consists of nineteen titles, compiled in part from a lost catalogue.²⁹³

(e) *Dunstable to Cambridge* Following a space after the entry for Maison Dieu in Dover is a sequence of lists beginning in Bedfordshire and extending to Cambridge and beyond. Leland has a heading for the Austin priory at Dunstable (diss. 20 January 1541) and several pieces of historical information, presumably taken from a document he saw there, but no references to books.²⁹⁴ As well as describing the early history of the Austin priory at Newnham (diss. 2 January 1541) Leland gave the title, with incipit, of a work no longer known to survive, Roger of Salisbury's commentary on the Psalms.²⁹⁵ According to c. 360 (Stage II):

A few years ago, as I was riding through the county of Bedford intent upon my search for old books, I came to the Cistercian monastery of Woburn, originally founded by Viscount Hugh de Bolebec. Not finding any manuscript treasures, as they had been destroyed in a recent fire, I betook myself to Warden, where there was another Cistercian monastery and a library crammed with ancient manuscripts, among which my attention was caught by a finely illuminated codex with the title 'Nicholas Stanford's Moralities on Genesis'.

There is no entry for Woburn (diss. 14 June 1538), but if the order of the lists

²⁹¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 8 (*Dover Priory*, BM2. 2). He made extracts 'Ex chronico Douarensis monasterii' (*Collectanea*, 3. 50–51; *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 55), which he used in a passage later to be deleted in his *Life of Geoffrey of Monmouth* (c. 161; Stage I).

²⁹² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 66 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B9). There is also a more discursive account concerning a lost *Life of Odo* about which the abbot had told him.

²⁹³ One of the books that was in the catalogue but which had been transported to Brecon before Leland got to the library was a copy of the *Historia Brittonum* attributed to Gildas (B9. 9): see *Assertio Arturii*, ed. Mead, 100; Brett, 'John Leland, Wales, and early British history', 174.

²⁹⁴ When he returned to Dunstable after the dissolution he noted that St Fremund's relics were buried in the priory along with those of two other benefactors (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 127).

²⁹⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 9 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A24). Elsewhere he noted that 'Newenham Abbey was translatyd from S. Paules in Bedford' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 33), and recalled a comment by the last prior, John Burne (*ibid.* 1. 101). Leland does not have an entry for Roger in *De uiris illustribus*.

reflects his movements Leland went from Dunstable to Woburn and then to Newnham before Warden, rather than going from Dunstable to Newnham and then back to Woburn and Warden.²⁹⁶ Apart from Nicholas Stanford's lost commentary on Genesis, described as a 'doctissimus liber', Leland found much at Warden (diss. 4 December 1537) to interest him, and he listed nineteen titles.²⁹⁷ One of these was a copy of Richard Pluto's *Vnde malum*—like the Stanford commentary no longer known to survive—which he described in c. 212 (Stage II) as being one of a group of books he found at Warden 'in antique script'. In his account of Thomas Waleys (c. 345; Stage II) he characterized Warden as 'a place full of excellent manuscripts'. On a later journey through Bedfordshire, however, he would make reference, without comment, to 'the late suppressid abbay of Wardon'.²⁹⁸

Travelling north and east into Huntingdonshire, Leland came to the Benedictine alien priory at St Neots (diss. 21 December 1539). He did not list titles, but according to c. 113 (Stage II) he saw:

two badly written tracts on the life of St Neot, but the author's name was suppressed in both manuscripts. One of them was for liturgical use in the church; the other, written partly in prose, partly in verse, was more remarkable for its affected kind of eloquence than for its fidelity to historical facts.²⁹⁹

In his chapter on King Alfred (c. 115; Stage I) he described how he had recently come across an 'abridgement of Asser's *Annals*', i.e. the *Annals of St Neots*, when he had visited the priory. The manuscript, annotated by Leland, survives as Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 7. 28 (770).³⁰⁰

At 'Gumicester, uulgo Godmancester' he gathered information concerning the origin of the name 'Gumicester' based on a version of the *Life of St Machutus*. He observed that the printed 'libellus' he had examined gave the form 'Guinnicestriae' but that he had seen a manuscript with 'Gumicestriae'. There is also an added marginal note with a brief extract 'ex libello qui est

²⁹⁶ The exact date of the fire is unknown, but William Petre referred to it in a letter of 11 May 1538: see G. S. Thomson, 'Woburn abbey and the dissolution of the monasteries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. 16 (1933), 129–60, at 158–9. The last abbot of Woburn, Robert Hobbes, who was executed for treason in 1538, was one of many who saw the break from Rome as temporary. Ordered to surrender all the papal bulls owned by the monastery, he did so only after having made copies: see R. Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 2nd edn (Houndmills 2006), 26.

²⁹⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 10 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z26).

²⁹⁸ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 101.

²⁹⁹ Below, 235. See Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 11; also *English Benedictine Libraries*, 589, where Sharpe identifies the latter as *Vita I*. As well as describing the relics of the saint, the account in *Collectanea*, 4. 14 includes short extracts 'ex libro de uita S. Neoti'. These extracts come from a lost copy of the so-called 'Bec' *Life*, or *Vita II*: see *The Annals of St Neots with Vita prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D. N. Dumville and M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 17* (Cambridge 1985), cxii. See also the edition of the *Vita I* by Lapidge in the same volume (111–42).

³⁰⁰ Ed. Dumville, in *Annals of St Neots with Vita prima Sancti Neoti*, 1–107.

Eboraci apud monachos Marianos de uita S. Machuti episcopi' that gave the form 'Guminae ciuitas'.³⁰¹ In the heading for Huntingdon 'Isodunum' has been corrected to 'Venandunum' in accordance with Leland's later usage. Leland observed that the monks of the Austin priory (diss. 11 July 1538) 'display' (*ostendunt*) a cup that belonged to King Stephen, but he did not list any books from the priory's collection. From the library at the Austin priory at Barnwell (diss. 8 November 1538) he listed the titles of seven works, one of which, Elias of Thriplow's *Contra nobilitatem*, is not known to survive.³⁰² Another, now London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 10 (A2. 7), has many notes in his hand.

The Cambridge lists are complex and were assembled at different times.³⁰³ The first, taken from the 'common library' of the university collection (built over the west range of the schools), follows on directly from Barnwell and contains six items.³⁰⁴ Leland attributed William de Montibus' *Distinctiones theologicae* to William Shirwood (c. 239; Stage I) and stated that he had seen this work in the public library at Cambridge (UC6. 4), which puts this list indubitably in the early period, since the Shirwood entry was one of the first to be written. (See Plate 5.) The lists from the friars' libraries all come early.³⁰⁵ That of the Austin friars (diss. in 1538/9) yielded eight titles.³⁰⁶ One of these (A2. 8) is taken from a manuscript of the lost sermons of Ralph of Arundel, the entry on whom (c. 223; Stage I) must have been written early in 1536 or shortly before. At the Dominican house (diss. in 1538) Leland found four titles worthy of note, and at the Franciscan friary (diss. in 1538) five.³⁰⁷ In his chapter

³⁰¹ *Collectanea*, 4. 14 (Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 11). The note contains a direct quote from the St Mary's, York list (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B121. 6): the Life from which this is drawn is related to *Bibliotheca bagiographica Latina* 5117, which, however, has the form 'Guinnicastrum'. Later still Leland found a copy of the Life of Machutus by Bili, from which he took extracts (*Collectanea*, 2. 430–32) and which formed the basis for c. 39 (Stage II). At this point he added after the earlier marginal note: 'Nuper didici natum fuisse in Guenta, parte Suthwalliae, autoritate Bili leuitae'.

³⁰² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 12 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A2).

³⁰³ The lists from college libraries were certainly compiled after those of the friars' libraries and after Leland's first examination of the public library, but there is no indication that they were put together at the same time. In the commentary to the *Cyanea cantio* Leland affirmed that he had revisited Cambridge seven years previously (*Cyanea cantio*, ed. Hearne, 68). If one calculates from the publication date, then this visit took place in 1538. On the other hand, the letter of introduction written from Barnwell, on which see below, xcix, indicates that Leland travelled to Bury St Edmunds in November 1539 and his reference in the *Cyanea cantio* may be to this journey, presuming he started from Cambridge. He began his northeastern itinerary from Cambridge in 1541. There must have been other visits as well, when he compiled some of the very late lists.

³⁰⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 12 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC6. 1–6).

³⁰⁵ On the large group of manuscripts, identified and analysed by N. R. Ker, that were gathered up from the Cambridge friaries shortly before the dissolution and sent abroad where they were acquired by Cardinal Marcello Cervini (Pope Marcellus II) see J. P. Carley, 'John Leland and the contents of English pre-dissolution libraries: The Cambridge friars', *TCBS* 9.1 (1986), 90–100, at 93–4, and the references cited therein.

³⁰⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 12 (*Friars' Libraries*, A2).

³⁰⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 13 (*Friars' Libraries*, D2, F2).

on William of Nottingham (c. 271; Stage I) he observed that he once saw at Cambridge a copy of William's *Epistola de obedientia*, and this title is given in his list from the Franciscan convent.

A manuscript at Jesus College—the booklist for which was written in a slightly different script from those that go before—provided Leland with information for his entry on John Free (c. 577; Stage II).³⁰⁸ The list 'In bibliotheca publica minori' of the university library (over the east range of the schools) has been separated by the lists on the friars' libraries from that 'in bibliotheca publica maiori', presumably because Leland saw the two libraries at different times.³⁰⁹ John Wycliff's *tres libelli de rebus sophisticis et dialecticis* is one of the titles in the list of the library at Corpus Christi College ('In bibliotheca collegii D. Benedicti').³¹⁰ It is also one of the works to which Leland refers in his entry on Wyclif (c. 427). This entry is not part of the second stage as such, but it does not represent the earliest phase of composition either, as is indicated by the revisions to the spelling of Wyclif's name and the fact that the entry required an added leaf. Leland's entry for William of Bath (c. 364; Stage II) derives from a now lost manuscript of sermons that he saw at Trinity Hall; this work is nowhere else attested.³¹¹ King's Hall yielded two titles of works by continental authors.³¹² Of the seven entries for Pembroke College three are works by Walter Burley, and these titles appear in c. 378 (Stage II).³¹³ At Queens' College Leland noted forty-four titles.³¹⁴ At Clare Hall he listed thirty titles; as at many other of the Cambridge libraries, including Jesus, the university library, Gonville Hall, and Peterhouse, he appears to have consulted a catalogue before looking at the books themselves, since he refers to items as missing.³¹⁵ The original entry written for Robert Allington (c. 471; Stage I) was later emended to include the titles he saw at Clare (UC15. 1–2). Likewise, he later inserted a reference to Richard of Wallingford's *Quadripartitum* in c. 470 (Stage I), based on the manuscript he saw in this library (UC15. 14). According to c. 516 (Stage II) he saw John Somer's *opuscula* at Peterhouse, which must be an error for Clare, where he noted 'Opuscula fratris Ioannis Somer de conuentu Franciscanorum apud Bridgwater' (UC15. 3). In c. 581 (Stage II) he listed a copy of Lewis of Caerleon's *Tabulae de rebus astronomicis* that he had seen at Clare (UC15. 6); and in c. 210 (Stage II) he noted a copy of Roger of Hereford's *Theorica planetarum* and another work of a similar nature, attributed to Robert Grosseteste, which he had come across at Clare 'a few years ago' (UC15. 22–

³⁰⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 13 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC28).

³⁰⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 14 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC6. 7–11).

³¹⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 14 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC23). The Wyclif text is UC23. 10.

³¹¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 14 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC59).

³¹² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 14 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC41).

³¹³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 14 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC44).

³¹⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 15–16 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC52).

³¹⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 17 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC15).

23). In his entry for Simon Bredon (c. 373; Stage II) he observed that Simon's commentaries on Ptolemy's *Almagest* could be found at Cambridge (UC15. 15) and that his *Tabulae de rebus astronomicis uidelicet de latitudine quinque planetarum* still existed: they were among the texts he saw at Clare (UC15. 5, 19). The entry on Richard the Englishman (c. 257) was written in the second phase, but manuscripts Leland saw at Gonville Hall (UC27. 7) and Peterhouse (UC49. 14) caused him to revise it even later.³¹⁶

With seventy-nine titles Peterhouse is the longest of the Cambridge lists.³¹⁷ According to c. 500 (Stage II), a manuscript at Peterhouse contained a copy of Alphidius' *De lapide philosophorum* and Roger of Hereford's unidentified *Expositiones de rebus metallicis* (UC49. 2–3). In c. 183 (addition to Stage II) Leland stated that he had seen Alfred of Shareshill's *De motu cordis* at Peterhouse (UC49. 56) and in c. 376 (Stage II) that John de Sacro Bosco's *Algorismus* was in the library at Peterhouse (UC49. 78).

(f) *Thetford to Ramsey via East Anglia, Yorkshire, and County Durham* The postscript to a letter sent to Cromwell on 5 June 1534 by Sir George Lawson, treasurer of Berwick, refers to Leland's recent visit to York:

as Maister Leylond and I did walke in the Cathedrall Church of Yorke he perceyved a table hangyng upon the walle within the said Church and ther found the reigne of divers kinges of this realme emonges whiche he found one lyne of a king that took the kingdome of the pope by tribute to hold of the Church of Roome, which I cutt oute of the said table and raysed the same and herein I send you the title therof as it was in the said table.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ For Gonville see Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 18 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC27).

³¹⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 19–22 (*Libraries of Cambridge*, UC49. 1–79). Leland also took notes 'owte of a booke of Chroniques in Peter College Library', stating that the book had been copied by a master of Peterhouse: 'was of his owne hand' (*Collectanea*, 2. 471–2). The Peterhouse list is followed by ten titles 'apud Grenum' in a more compact hand (UC49. 80–89). Leland must have discussed authors with 'Green', since he added a note beside 'Geometria Bradwardini' in the Peterhouse list (UC49. 71) stating that 'Scripsit etiam Arithmetica, ut Grenus adfirmat'. There are further clues about this individual in *De uiris illustribus*: he cited the opinion of Thomas Green, 'the glory of our British mathematicians', in his description of John de Sacro Bosco (c. 376; Stage II); and in his account of John Ashendon (c. 362; Stage II) he listed UC49. 82, adding that he had seen this work 'in the possession of the distinguished mathematician Thomas Green'. (He also cited the testimony of Thomas Green in Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 55; *Collectanea*, 4. 57.) One of the works owned by Green was 'Copia de quantitate anni, autore fratre Somor', and in Leland's account of John Somer (c. 516; Stage II) he observed that, apart from the tractates at Peterhouse, 'uidi priuatim eius libellum de quantitate anni' (emphasis mine). In his reference to the copy of John de Lineriis' equatory that he once saw at Cambridge (c. 370; addition to Stage I) he was no doubt alluding to UC49. 81, 85, which establishes, as one would assume, that Green was a Cambridge man.

³¹⁸ See J. S. Purvis, 'A Leland discovery', *Antiquaries Journal* 31 (1951) 200–201; also *LP* 7, app. 23. The *tabula* survives as York, Minster Library, MS Add. 534, and the reference is to King John's submission to the pope: see N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries 4 Paisley–York* (Oxford 1992), 824–6. (After the passing of the Act of Supremacy in November 1534

It must, therefore, have been before this date that Leland was at York compiling his booklists. These lists, moreover, form part of a discrete booklet that begins at the Cluniac priory at Thetford (diss. 16 February 1540)³¹⁹ and ends with Balliol College, Oxford. After the entry for Thetford is a heading, but nothing else, for Ipswich (which would have been a significant diversion from the route he was taking). This is followed by the Benedictine alien priory at Eye (diss. 12 February 1537), where Leland recorded having seen the ancient Red Book of Eye.³²⁰ The next list was drawn from the Benedictine abbey at Wymondham (diss. ca 1538).³²¹ In his chapter on Richard of Wallingford (c. 470; Stage I) Leland stated that he had recently seen a computus attributed to Roger of Wallingford at Wymondham (B119. 2), but that it was no doubt actually written by Richard.

Leland listed books from four libraries at Norwich: the Benedictine cathedral priory (diss. 6 April 1539), the Dominican convent (diss. in November 1538), the Franciscan convent (diss. in 1538), and the Carmelite convent (diss. in 1538).³²² In c. 223 (Stage I) he described the library at Norwich cathedral priory as crammed with good books, including the homilies of Ralph Acton, and this title occurs in the booklist (B60. 6). He stated that he had examined the library two years previously, and since he also described the Benedictine priory at Hurley as still functioning, this chapter cannot have been written after 1536. It is another indication, if one were needed, that the compilation of this group belongs to 1534. In c. 289 (Stage II) Leland pointed out that an 'amiculus' (i.e. John Bale) had made an earlier journey to Norwich to seek out materials that he might be interested in viewing, and he listed among them Alberic of London's *Scintillarium poetarum* ('Albritius de origine deorum').³²³ Written in darker ink from the other lists, squeezed into the lower portion of the page and divided into two columns rather than one, this list was copied from another document, presumably deriving from Bale, rather than from an examination of the library itself; there are items in it that had subsequently been stolen, including the *Scintillarium poetarum*. Leland must nevertheless have got into the library, since he observed that a copy of John Reade's chronicle had been there a few

references to the pope had to be excised from all books and other documents.) This episode, as recounted by Lawson, gives a good sense of how careful Leland was as an observer.

³¹⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 23 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B99).

³²⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 24 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B32). He also listed a copy of Fulcher of Chartres' *Historia Hierosolymitana* in a marginal note.

³²¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 25 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B119).

³²² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 25 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B60; *Friars' Libraries*, D8, F8, C6).

³²³ In his epitome of *De uiris illustribus* (on which see below, cxxxv–cxlix) Bale listed other authors to whom he had introduced Leland, including Adelard of Bath, whose *Quaestiones naturales* (like the *Scintillarium poetarum*) appears in Leland's list from the Carmelite convent (C6. 2, 14): see Sharpe, 'English bibliographical tradition', at 112.

years previously (c. 400; Stage II). He also stated that the Norwich Carmelites 'even now' point out the tomb of Adam Hemlington (c. 494; Stage I).³²⁴

From the Benedictine abbey of Holme St Benets (diss. in 1539), some eight miles or more from Norwich as he observed in c. 249 (Stage I), Leland recorded five titles, including Henry of Huntingdon's *Herbal*.³²⁵ Travelling north and west, he compiled a list from the Austin priory at Walsingham (diss. 4 August 1538).³²⁶ This was followed by books from the Cluniac priory at Castle Acre (diss. 22 November 1537).³²⁷ Although Leland entered a heading for King's Lynn and left space for titles there are no entries, presumably because he did not actually get there.

Crossing into Lincolnshire he came to the Benedictine abbey at Crowland (diss. 4 December 1539).³²⁸ He saw an 'antiqua tabula' from which he took extracts, and recorded the titles of six books 'in bibliotheca'.³²⁹ According to c. 217 (Stage I), 'When I was recently visiting all the most celebrated libraries in the whole of England, provided with the commission of my patron, the most learned King Henry VIII, I found in the midst of the East Anglian fens, in the library of Thorney, a complete copy of Joseph [of Exeter's *Bellum Troianum*]', and he took extracts from it. His list of five titles from the Benedictine abbey (diss. 1 December 1539) does not, however, include this title.³³⁰ There are fifteen entries from the library of the Benedictine abbey at Peterborough in Northamptonshire (diss. 29 November 1539).³³¹ Back in Lincolnshire Leland saw a copy of the *Historia Brittonum* at the Arrouaisian abbey at Bourne (diss. in 1536). He took notes from it and later, as we have seen, identified it as having been written by Nennius.³³²

Apparently Leland planned to travel north to Sempringham, for which he entered a heading, which, however, is followed by a blank space. The next list comes from the Benedictine priory at Spalding (diss. in 1540), where he noted two titles.³³³ There are headings without entries for Swineshead and Boston,

³²⁴ 'ibidem' was later substituted for 'etiam nunc'.

³²⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 26 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B50). He also obtained a copy of Dudo of Saint-Quentin's *De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, which Bale later saw in his library: Bale, *Index*, 492: 'Historia Normannorum, apud fennicolas S. Benedicti'.

³²⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 26 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A37).

³²⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 26 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B19).

³²⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 27 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B25).

³²⁹ He did not include titles of works now found in Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 852, although he copied extracts into one of his notebooks and took possession of the manuscript itself: see Carley, 'John Leland and the contents of English pre-dissolution libraries: Lincolnshire', 351–3.

³³⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 28 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B101).

³³¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 28 (*Peterborough Abbey*, BP23).

³³² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 29 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A3), above, lix–lx.

³³³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 29 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B96). In 1531 manuscripts were transported from Sempringham and Spalding to the royal collection: see *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, xxxvii.

but two titles are listed from the Cistercian abbey at Revesby (diss. ca 1539).³³⁴ One of these, a copy of Robert of Bridlington's commentary on the minor prophets (Z17. 2), had been noted by the earlier compilers of the Lincolnshire list, BL MS Royal Appendix 69, but it had not been removed to the royal collection and it was therefore still *in situ* for Leland to see. Although there was a heading for the Cistercian abbey at Kirkstead, where the earlier royal agents had listed seven books, including a copy of Robert of Bridlington's commentary on Exodus, Leland himself recorded no titles. He noted two works from the Premonstratensian abbey at Topholme (diss. in 1536), where one book had earlier been removed to the royal library.³³⁵ At the Benedictine abbey at Bardney (diss. 1 November 1538) he took extracts from an ancient chronicle written in English, and noted five titles, one of which is found in the Lincolnshire list but not marked for removal to the royal library.³³⁶ Although Leland took extracts from a *tabula* affixed to a column in the cathedral at Lincoln, surprisingly he does not appear to have visited any of the religious houses in the city.³³⁷ The last Lincolnshire house whose library Leland examined was the Austin abbey at Thornton-on-Humber (diss. in 1539).³³⁸

Crossing the Humber into Yorkshire, Leland made a heading and compiled notes concerning Beverley but did not list titles,³³⁹ and there are headings only for Meaux and Watton. His chief interest at the Austin priory at Bridlington (diss. in 1537)³⁴⁰ was in the works of Robert of Bridlington (A5. 6–19); in c. 172 he observed that when in the library, even if he had been there for only a very brief time, he saw and handled Robert's writings. He made various observations about Malton but did not mention the Gilbertine priory. As he worked his way south to York he next came to the Austin priory at Kirkham (diss. 8 December 1539).³⁴¹ The third of the three items he noted was a 'Historiola de uirtute

³³⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 29 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z17).

³³⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 29 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, P7); *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, H2. 568.

³³⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 30 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B6).

³³⁷ The compilers of Royal Appendix 69 noted books in the cathedral library, at the Gilbertine priory, and at the houses of the Carmelites, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Austins: see Liddell, 'Leland's' lists of manuscripts in Lincolnshire monasteries', 89–91.

³³⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 31 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A35). Petrus de Vineis' *Epistolae* (now BL MS Cotton Vespasian A. xi), a work noted by Leland, also appears in the Lincolnshire list, but it was not marked for removal to the royal library.

³³⁹ On a later journey he discussed the collegiate church and the 'late' houses of the Dominicans and Franciscans (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 46–7).

³⁴⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 32 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A5). The last prior, William Wood, was executed in 1537 for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, along with the abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, the ex-abbot of Rievaulx, and the ex-prior of Guisborough.

³⁴¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 33 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A14). The entry for Kirkham has been placed in the right half of the page with a vertical line separating it from blank headings for two place-names 'Sininga' and 'Doue'.

Gualteri Espec'. He would later identify this as Aelred of Rievaulx's *Relatio de standardo* and would add 'autore Alredo, abbate Riaeuallensi' after 'Espec'.³⁴²

Leland was disappointed by what he saw at York Minster ('iam fere bonorum librorum nihil est'), especially since the library had been extolled by Alcuin (c. 88; Stage I with additions) for its great quantity of books in both Latin and Greek.³⁴³ Although he listed only two titles, he observed in c. 203 (Stage I) that, when he had recently been at St Peter's in York, he had seen 'trifles' (*nugae*) written, so he believed, by John of Howden. From the Benedictine abbey of St Mary (diss. 26 November 1539) he listed the titles of twenty works, nine of which derived from the same manuscript (now Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 193+BL MS Cotton Tiberius A. xv, fols. 181–194).³⁴⁴ He did not mention other religious houses in York, although he would describe these in his later itineraries.³⁴⁵

In 1533 Leland had seen William of Newburgh's *Historia rerum Anglicarum* at Wells, and he was disappointed that there was not, as might have been expected, another copy at the Austin priory at Newburgh (diss. in 1539); he did, however, find here a copy of William's *Explanatio sacri epithalamii in matrem sponsi*.³⁴⁶ From the library at the Cistercian abbey at Byland (diss. in 1539) he made four entries.³⁴⁷ One of these was a sermon collection by Gilbert of Hoyland (Z4. 3), which in c. 274 (Stage I) he described as having recently been seen by him at Byland. He listed twenty-three titles at the Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx (diss. 3 December 1538), and is our only witness for most of the works of Walter Daniel, which, as he pointed out in c. 170 (Stage I) 'today remain in the library of Rievaulx'.³⁴⁸ Next he came to the Benedictine abbey at Whitby (diss. 14 December 1539), where he found several saints' lives including

³⁴² See also the entry for Aelred (c. 169; Stage I), where the following title has been added to the text: 'De uirtute Gualteri Espec, Scottos profligantis, alias De standardico bello'.

³⁴³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 34 (*Collectanea*, 4. 36). Leland credited Ecgberht (c. 85 [Stage II]; c. 88 [Stage I, with additions]) with the foundation of this library.

³⁴⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 34 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B121). According to c. 372 (Stage I) this manuscript was still to be found at St Mary's, York. In his discussion of Richard of York (c. 160; Stage II), on the other hand, he described the abbey in the past tense: 'which was magnificently situated at York on the river Ouse'. Gervase of Louth Park is described (c. 168; Stage II) as a monk of 'the late celebrated monastery' of St Mary's at York.

³⁴⁵ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 54–6.

³⁴⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 35 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A23). He was particularly interested in William because of the latter's attack on Geoffrey of Monmouth. He mentioned the priory in his 1538 itinerary (on which see below, xcvi–xcviii) when he came to it from Byland (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 12).

³⁴⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 35 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z4). Significantly later he added a marginal comment beside his entry for 'Rodbertus super Leuiticum' (Z4. 1): 'Robertus forsan prior Brillendune' [i.e. Robert of Bridlington].

³⁴⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 35–36 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z21). Bale's entry for Daniel in the *Catalogus* (1. 213) is based very closely on Leland, but he has changed 'hodie . . . extant' to 'extabant olim'. Leland observed (c. 169; addition to Stage I) that he had seen Aelred's tomb at Rievaulx.

two lives of St Thomas of Canterbury; he did not remember later to delete the 'S' before Thomas's name.³⁴⁹ In the library of the Austin priory at Guisborough (diss. in 1540) he noted four works.³⁵⁰ Although he made a thorough search of the library he did not find a copy of Walter of Guisborough's chronicle, which, however, he had seen earlier at Wells.³⁵¹

Moving into County Durham, Leland noted titles from the Benedictine cathedral priory at Durham itself (diss. in 1539).³⁵² Amongst these were the works of Lawrence of Durham, which, as he observed in c. 174 (Stage I), were still extant at Durham.³⁵³ Although he made brief topographical notes at Newcastle-upon-Tyne and described place-names, he mentioned nothing about books. In his account of Ceolfrith's life (c. 82; Stage I) he stated that when he was recently at the priory at Tynemouth (diss. 12 January 1539), a cell of the Benedictine abbey at St Albans, he took the opportunity to visit the cell of Durham at Jarrow (diss. in 1536), where there were only three monks. They showed him Bede's oratory and small altar; he also copied out an inscription which he later integrated into his account of Ceolfrith. At Tynemouth itself he noted a 'Chronicon autore monacho Albanensi sed incerto nomine', which can be identified as BL MS Cotton Faustina B. ix, fols. 76r–145v.³⁵⁴ Such was his eagerness to examine it, so he tells his readers (c. 425; Stage I), that he immediately skimmed through it, reading quickly. Obviously this was not enough, however, and he took possession of the manuscript: according to Bale it could later be found in his library. He also saw an anonymous *Vita S. Oswini*, from which his short excerpts are found in Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 177–180 as well as in his chapter on Trumhere (c. 58; Stage II).³⁵⁵

Leland then turned south and west. He wrote a heading for the Premon-

³⁴⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 36 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B10). In c. 67 (Stage I) he provided a brief discussion of the monastery at Whitby, describing it as still functioning.

³⁵⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 38 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A11). He referred to these works in *De uiris illustribus*, stating specifically that he had seen Robert Winchelsea's *quodlibeta* at Guisborough (c. 319; Stage I).

³⁵¹ See his comments in c. 296 (Stage I).

³⁵² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 38 (*Collectanea*, 4. 41). Earlier in 1534 there had been a raid on the palace of Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, at Bishop's Auckland. The dangers of possessing the wrong sort of books were becoming more and more apparent—this would culminate in 1539 when the abbot of Glastonbury was accused of treason after 'the counterfeit life of Thomas Bequet' and divers pardons, copies of bulls, and such were found in his possession—and Leland's examination of their libraries must have made some of the custodians nervous.

³⁵³ He saw, no doubt, Durham University Library MS Cosin V. iii. 1, which contains a selection of Lawrence's writings. On his extracts from texts associated with the Red Book of Durham (*Collectanea*, 2. 365–92) see H. H. E. Craster, 'The Red Book of Durham', *EHR* 40 (1925), 504–32.

³⁵⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 40 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B93. 1). See J. P. Carley, "Cum excuterem puluerem et blattas": John Bale, John Leland, and the *Chronicon Tinemutensis coenobii*, in *Text and Controversy from Wyclif to Bale. Essays in Honour of Anne Hudson*, ed. H. Barr and A. M. Hutchison (Turnhout 2005), 163–87, at 168–83.

³⁵⁵ *Collectanea*, 4. 113–14. For an edition of the text see *Miscellanea biographica*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society 8 (London 1838), 1–59.

stratensian abbey at Easby (diss. in 1536), along with a sentence describing its situation, but his first booklist on the return journey was compiled from the Cistercian abbey at Jervaulx (diss. in 1537).³⁵⁶ Next he came to the Cistercian abbey at Fountains (diss. 26 November 1539), where he listed eight titles.³⁵⁷ At Fountains, as he pointed out in c. 239 (Stage I), he read verses written by one Shirwood, whom he would identify as the English humanist John Shirwood, bishop of Durham (d. 1493).³⁵⁸ Although he made notes about topographical features at the Cistercian abbey at Kirkstall (diss. 20 November 1540) he listed no titles, and for the Benedictine abbey at Selby (diss. 6 December 1539) there is a heading only. The list of four titles from the Cluniac priory at Pontefract (diss. 23 November 1539) has been inserted in the left-hand margin beside an account of the 'oppidum'.³⁵⁹ Included are 'Omeliae Roberti Genty' and 'Omeliae Gulielmi Dampont' (B66. 2–3). In his account of Robert Gentle (c. 463; Stage I) he stated that 'Comparat codex omiliarum hoc autore [Robert Gentle] in bibliotheca monasterii Pontisfracti'. When he returned to the *De uiris illustribus* after the dissolutions he changed 'Comparat' to 'Comparuit' and added 'nuper'.³⁶⁰ He also pointed out that Dampont's homilies formed part of the same manuscript.

There are headings but not entries for the canons of Worksope (the Austin priory diss. 15 November 1538),³⁶¹ and Welbeck (the Premonstratensian abbey diss. 20 June 1538). Both Newstead (the Austin priory diss. in 1536) and Melton Mowbray were treated by a single sentence describing rivers.

Elected in January 1534, a matter of months before Leland's arrival on the

³⁵⁶ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 40–41 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z10). Apart from the two titles he listed (one being 'Nennius'), Leland also saw at Jervaulx the chronicle later attributed to John Brompton, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 96, and his notes from it are found immediately following the booklist (*Collectanea*, 4. 44). In *Richard III's Books. Ideals and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud 1997), 285–6, A. F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs provide a description; they also maintain that it passed from Jervaulx to the royal library or to Leland himself. Certainly it was later owned by Peter Osborne, whose wife was Cheke's niece. (Cheke died in Osborne's house in London.) Unlike Bale, who would later examine the manuscript, Leland realized that Brompton was not the author and he described it as having been written by an unknown author.

³⁵⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 41–42 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z9). William Thirsk, who resigned as abbot on 20 January 1536, took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace and was executed in 1537. In a suppressed chapter on Richard Fastolf (Stage I between cc. 164 and 165) Leland changed 'iam sit' to 'nuper . . . fuerit' in his description of Fountains abbey.

³⁵⁸ Although he did not include Shirwood's verses among the titles from Fountains, he did add in the margin of the Durham list that 'D[ominus] Bellous significat mihi Ioannem Shiruodum scripsisse opusculum de laudibus Angliae carmine'. I have not been able to discover the identity of this individual.

³⁵⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 43 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B66).

³⁶⁰ Bale (*Catalogus*, 2. 92) gave 'Comparuit nuper (sic habet Lelandus)'.

³⁶¹ He would later state that 'the priorie of the blak cha[nons] the[re] was a thing of [great buildinges, and a place of sepulture to the afore sayde noble men]' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 89; also *ibid.* 4. 17).

scene, the last abbot of the Austin abbey at Leicester (diss. in October 1538) was John Bouchier, who was apparently Cromwell's nominee. Leland noted six titles from the collection, although there is space in the manuscript for further entries.³⁶² The Austin priory at Launde (diss. in December 1539) produced three titles, one of which Leland later emended, changing 'Gemssae (*sic*) libellus ad Cleopatram de menstuis et matrice' to 'Cleopatra de genitura'. There was space left for further entries.³⁶³

Leaving Leicestershire and continuing east, Leland arrived at the Cistercian abbey at Sawtry in Huntingdonshire (diss. in 1536), where he noted two books, neither of which is known to survive.³⁶⁴ The last list appearing in this sequence was made at the Benedictine abbey at Ramsey (diss. in 1539), where Leland recorded an inscription as well as ten titles.³⁶⁵ Although he did not mention him in either of the relevant booklists, he observed in c. 138 (Stage II) that he had seen a copy of Oswald of Ramsey's writings both at Glastonbury and at Ramsey. At some point after the dissolution Leland saw a fourteenth-century catalogue of the library at Ramsey, of which only fragments survive (probably B67). In an addition to c. 121 (itself written in Stage II) he listed titles of works by 'Serlo of Canterbury' found in (a now lost portion of) the Ramsey catalogue. He also observed (c. 323; Stage II) that the same catalogue listed Hebrew books collected by Gregory of Huntingdon and Robert Dodford. An addition to c. 180 (Stage I) states that the monks of Ramsey used to read Odo of Cheriton's *Summa de poenitentia*, and no doubt this information came from the catalogue. According to an addition to c. 241 (Stage II), William of Peterborough's *Euphrastica* and his *Liber partium* (B68. 63, 517) were formerly found at Ramsey. Leland stated that much of his information about William came from John Faunte (Infantius), a former monk of Ramsey.³⁶⁶ Faunte was also the source for his Life of Lawrence Holbeach (c. 553; Stage II).

(g) *London* A blank leaf (pp. 45–46) follows Ramsey (it forms a bifolium with pp. 39–40). The London houses come next and these were originally followed by two blank leaves, a verso and a recto (pp. 54 and 55).³⁶⁷ This is

³⁶² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 43–44 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A21).

³⁶³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 44 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A19). At Launde, as at Bath and Taunton, Leland focused on medical texts.

³⁶⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 44 (*Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, Z22). Both are recorded in *De uiris illustribus*: Henry of Huntingdon, *De lege Domini* (c. 167; Stage I), and Laurence of Durham, *Epistola ad Hathewisam* (c. 174; Stage I).

³⁶⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 44 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B70). At least ten books found their way into the royal collection in the early 1530s: see *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, xxxvii. For extracts from a Ramsey cartulary and a now lost series of obits of Ramsey's founders see *Collectanea*, 2. 580–88.

³⁶⁶ *BRUO* 1501–1540, 335.

³⁶⁷ Significantly later, after 1543, Leland copied names from the *Catalogus uetus* of Merton College into this blank space. He did not come across this catalogue until late, but he used it when revising *De uiris illustribus*. (See Plate 8.)

followed by lists beginning with Reading and ending with Oxford. What this would appear to suggest, taken with other evidence, is that the London lists were compiled after Leland returned home in the autumn of 1534, and that he subsequently set out to examine college libraries at Oxford, presumably in the spring of 1535, that is, shortly before the arrival of the royal visitors.³⁶⁸ Moreover, he himself stated in a chapter written in Stage I (c. 32) that he had been in the library at Merton College the year before ('anno superiori'), and it was in 1536 that most of the entries in Stage I were written.

The London lists begin with St Paul's cathedral library. In c. 204 (Stage I) Leland related that 'once, however, when I betook myself to the library of St Paul's out of intellectual curiosity and to read, I found a *Description of England* written more faithfully than elegantly by . . . Colman'. Nevertheless, Colman's name does not appear among the twenty-one titles in his list.³⁶⁹ In his account of Thomas Winterton (c. 468; Stage I) he narrated that he had recently found a copy of Winterton's *Absolutio super confessione Iohannis Wyclef* at St Paul's, and this title is found in the list along with its incipit. His chapter on Robert Allington (c. 471; Stage I) was based on the copy of the *Determinatio de adoratione imaginum* he saw at St Paul's. He would later expand the entry based on manuscripts he saw at Clare College, Cambridge, and would change the form of the name from 'Alingtonus' (as in the booklist) to 'Alaunodunus' to reflect his revised practices. Two other chapters, both written in Stage II (cc. 186 and 243), mention St Paul's: in one case (William of Ramsey) the title appears in the list; in the other (Roger of Waltham) it does not. When he composed the entry for Ralph Baldock (c. 333; Stage I) Leland knew of Ralph only through the copy of now lost annals written by one John of Bury, which had been lent to him by William, Lord Mountjoy (d. 1534); he stated that he himself had never seen the text. Later, however, he found a copy at St Paul's—this was no doubt on a visit subsequent to the one when the list of books was compiled—and he revised his entry accordingly.³⁷⁰

At the church of St Peter-upon-Cornhill, which is known to have possessed a good library, Leland noted four books, including Robert Cowton's commentary on Lombard's *Sentences*.³⁷¹ Cowton did not, however, find his way into *De uiris illustribus*. Among the fifteen titles from the Benedictine abbey at Westminster (diss. in 1540), were William Sudbury's lost *Tabula super Lynam* (B108. 1) and his *Tabula super libros S. Thomae de Aquino* (B108. 7).³⁷² Nevertheless, Sudbury does not appear in *De uiris illustribus*. A group of five

³⁶⁸ See F. D. Logan, 'The first royal visitation of the English universities, 1535', *EHR* 106 (1991), 861–88.

³⁶⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 47 (*Collectanea*, 4. 47–8).

³⁷⁰ In another section of the *Collectanea*, devoted to documents at St Paul's, there are extracts from *tabulae* given by Ralph to the church (*Collectanea*, 2. 353–7).

³⁷¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 47 (*Collectanea*, 4. 48).

³⁷² Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 47–48 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B108).

texts (B108. 9–13), of which four are not known to survive, probably formed a single manuscript; one fragment may survive as Westminster Abbey, MS 34/2. Leland's chapter for Ralph of Arundel (c. 223; Stage I), based in part on the entry found here (B108. 4), was first composed while the Benedictine priory at Hurley (diss. in 1536) was still functioning.

Leland listed forty-four titles from the Franciscan convent in London (diss. in 1538).³⁷³ One of these was a commentary on Aristotle's *Logica*, no longer known to survive, which he attributed to 'Winchelsea' (F7. 25).³⁷⁴ Another, which contained a copy of a *pseudo*-Roger Bacon, *De retardatione accidentium senectutis* (F7. 28), had had material removed from it. This included Bacon's *Antidotarius* as well as another text; the latter might have been 'De uniuersalibus', as far as Leland could tell 'ex cuius erasi tituli uestigiis' (F7. 29).

The Dominican priory (diss. in 1538) yielded thirty-one titles.³⁷⁵ A group of six titles were bracketed together with the marginal note prefaced by 'Lelandus' that: 'Omnes excisi e forulis et furto sublati'. Leland refers to this group in three chapters of *De uiris illustribus*. According to c. 183 (Stage II) he once saw a copy of Alfred of Shareshill's *De motu cordis* at this library, and according to c. 238 (Stage II) he knew that Aldruidus' *De quintis essentiis* was once found there. In his account of Adelard of Bath (c. 171; Stage I), on the other hand, he stated that he had been at the Dominican house 'a few years ago', and he also related that Adelard's *problemata* had been stolen since he had seen it, affirming that it was part of a larger manuscript also containing Alfred, Aldruidus, a book by Alexander Aphrodiseus, *On Time*, and a short work of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, *On Comets*.³⁷⁶

The London library that impressed Leland most was that of the Carmelites (diss. in 1538). He maintained that, in spite of losses, 'there is still no library in London to compare with that of the Carmelites for the number or the antiquity of its manuscripts' (c. 532; Stage I), and he listed sixty-one titles, for some of which he gave detailed information concerning the manuscripts in which they were found.³⁷⁷ In his account of Richard Rolle (c. 372; Stage I),

³⁷³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 49–50 (*Friars' Libraries*, F7).

³⁷⁴ In his discussion of Thomas Winchelsea in c. 319 (Stage I)—he later learned he was called Thomas—Leland pointed out that he had seen this work at the house of the London Franciscans. Nor did he know the first name of 'Vuodham' (F7. 18) when he compiled the list, but when he discovered it later, he inserted Adam in the margin of the list: see also c. 248 (Stage II).

³⁷⁵ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 50 (*Friars' Libraries*, D7).

³⁷⁶ He stated specifically that he had seen the manuscript and that it had been stolen only later. This statement is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of the list itself, since the manuscript had certainly been stolen by the time it was compiled. The last item on the list, Cassiodorus' *Variae* (D7. 23), had also been stolen, which suggests that Leland was in fact copying a catalogue as well as examining the actual manuscripts.

³⁷⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 51–52 (*Friars' Libraries*, C5). No doubt this is one of the libraries over whose loss Bale, ex-Carmelite that he was, grieved when he wrote in 1549: 'In the famousse cytye of London, is but one knowne library, so farre as I can learne, whyche also by faver I have seane

he mentioned three works, one a misattribution, that he had seen at this convent.³⁷⁸ His chapter on Robert Ivory (c. 452; Stage I) was also based on his visit to the Carmelite convent, where he once 'saw' a copy of the commentary on Revelation.³⁷⁹ He came across a copy of Thomas Brome's *Lectura in theologia*,³⁸⁰ which he listed in his chapter on Brome (c. 418; Stage I), noting as well that Brome 'was buried in the Carmelite convent, as I recently discovered from his epitaph'.

Leland found thirteen titles worthy of note in the library of the Austin friars (diss. in 1538).³⁸¹ One of the books, 'Wiclif de legibus, et de ueneno', was found 'in cubiculo bibliothecarii'.³⁸² This list, written slightly later than those coming before it, does not take up the full page. Information deriving uniquely from it, including the citation of the Wyclif text, is inevitably found in additions to the original text of *De uiris illustribus*: the *Oculus moralis* by a pseudo-Grosseteste, Grosseteste's unidentified *De fide futurae resurrectionis* and *Tonitruum contra curiam Romanam*, his *De modo confitendi* (all four listed in c. 269), John Pecham's *De numeris mysticis* (c. 301), and the chapter on John Tonneys (c. 587).

(h) *Reading to Oxford* After the originally blank pages (pp. 54–55) following the London lists, there is a new sequence beginning with Reading, where Leland appears to have stopped en route to Oxford to examine the library at the Franciscan convent (diss. 13 September 1538).³⁸³ Next he visited Abingdon, where he made some historical notes before listing three titles from the library of the Benedictine abbey (diss. 9 February 1538).³⁸⁴ It is likely that he took possession of the second of these, Godwin of Sarum's *Meditationes*, in the unique copy that may later have passed to his friend Thomas Caius and which now survives in Bodl. MS Digby 96 (*SC* 1697).³⁸⁵ Concerning the fragmentary copy of Joseph of Exeter's *Antiocheis*, Leland observed in his account of Joseph (c. 217; Stage I) that it had recently come into his hands while he was 'clearing

ouer. But alas for pytie, that it shoulde be reported of so noble a cytie, to have but one lybrary, and that to be so slendre a thing as it is. The tyme hath bene, whan it hath had a great nombre of the noblest libraries in all Christendome, their destruccyon at this daye, of men godly mynded, is muche to be lamented' (*Laboryouse journey*, sig. Gii^r-v).

³⁷⁸ *Friars' Libraries*, C5. 59–60.

³⁷⁹ *ibid.* C5. 35.

³⁸⁰ *ibid.* C5. 33.

³⁸¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 53 (*Friars' Libraries*, A6).

³⁸² It is described as *De noua praeuaricantia mandatorum* in the 'List of Identifications' to the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues series, but this identification is not certain, and it is more likely *De mandatis*.

³⁸³ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 56 (*Friars' Libraries*, F10).

³⁸⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 56 (*English Benedictine Libraries*, B3).

³⁸⁵ See Carley, 'Dispersal of the monastic libraries', 279.

out the dust and moths of the library of Abingdon'.³⁸⁶ The Austin abbey at Osney (diss. in 1539) furnished six titles.³⁸⁷

The first collection to be examined at Oxford was found in the university library, the list of whose books can be divided into several distinct parts.³⁸⁸ Leland began with nine titles, at least one of which he must have obtained from a catalogue since he described it as 'furto sublata' (UO4. 6). In the case of two other entries (UO4. 3, 5), however, he observed that there had been excisions, so presumably he had seen the manuscripts themselves. The ninth item (UO4. 9) was John Wheathampstead's *Granarium*, which he saw and examined; he listed five titles under the heading 'Ex Granario eiusdem' (UO4. 10–14).³⁸⁹ His hand then became considerably more compressed, and there is a list of titles, four of which are stated to be missing, crowded into two columns to fit into the space before the entry for the Oxford Carmelites (UO4. 15–38). One of these (UO4. 30) is a copy of pseudo-Robert Grosseteste, *Compendium scientiarum*, which apparently formed part of a larger manuscript that included Grosseteste's authentic *De luce*, *De colore*, *De artibus liberalibus*, *De iride*, and *De cometis et causis ipsarum* (UO4. 29). Leland has a *signe de renvoi* linking this with UO4. 4 ('Summa philosophie Roberti Lincolniensis'), which in turn has a note under Leland's own name stating: 'in quo libro tractat de formis, de luce, de coloribus, de iride, de cometis, de utilitate liberalium artium'. Presumably Leland saw a list of contents in a manuscript that began with the *Summa philosophiae* and assumed that these genuine works comprised a part of it. He also noticed from the manuscript itself or the contents list that the *Compendium scientiarum* was now missing: 'sed liber excisus' (UO4. 5). It seems probable that the final section of the university library list (UO4. 15–38) was, like the first, taken from a catalogue and that he then compared it with the books he had actually seen. Apart from those listed Leland came across

³⁸⁶ As c. 217 (Stage I) indicates, his interest in Joseph was a long-standing one. It began in the mid 1520s ('not so many years ago') when he found an unattributed fragment of the *Bellum Troianum* at Magdalen College in Oxford. Two years later when he was in Paris he discovered two further copies, both incomplete, one of which had the name 'Joseph' in the margin. Later still, in 1534, he found a complete text at Thorney which in turn alerted him to the existence of the *Antiocheis*, for which he sought high and low without success until he found the Abingdon fragment.

³⁸⁷ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 56 (*Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A26). One of these was a copy of Thomas Gascoigne's *Vita S. Hieronymi* mentioned in c. 526 (Stage II); Leland wrote a marginal note in the booklist stating that 'in libro Balei de Baccalaureis Carmelitarum ordinis erat mentio de Thoma Gascoyne, baccalaurio Oxoniensis, sed is ait Carmelitam hominem fuisse non magnae eruditionis', but it is not clear to which of Bale's works he was referring. Elsewhere Leland recorded extracts 'Ex tabula annalium Osneiensi coenobii' (*Collectanea*, 3. 331–2). In 1542, according to the *Itinerary*, 'one Mr. James Bayllie of Oxford hath a peace of a booke of the actes of the abbates of Osney' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 125).

³⁸⁸ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 56–57 (*Libraries of Oxford*, UO4).

³⁸⁹ In his account of Wheathampstead (c. 530; Stage II) he observed that the *Granarium* could now ('nunc') be found in the library established by Duke Humfrey at Oxford. According to c. 256 (Stage II) Walter of Margam (UO4. 10) was praised in the *Granarium*; the *Granarium* is also cited in c. 207 (Stage I) on 'Walter' of Vinsauf (UO4. 11) and in c. 314 (Stage II) on Ralph of Dunstable (UO4. 14).

other manuscripts in the university library, which, no doubt, he visited on a variety of occasions: a copy of Thomas Waleys' *Campus florum*, which is a late addition to Stage II in c. 345 (see Plate 7); Jean Corbechon's translation into French of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum* (c. 348; Stage II); and Robert Wantham's now lost treatise on grammar (c. 519; Stage II).

After the university library are notices from two friaries. For the library of the Carmelites (diss. in 1538) Leland gave thirteen titles.³⁹⁰ The Dominicans (diss. in 1538) provided two titles.³⁹¹ Leland also observed that Thomas Jorz and Richard Fishacre were buried in the Dominican church; he would include this information in c. 306 (Stage I) and c. 259 (Stage I) respectively. In his chapter on Nicholas de Gorran (c. 338; Stage II), written after the suppressions, Leland described having rummaged 'through the dust of the Dominican library in Oxford'.

In his chapter on William Shirwood (c. 239; Stage I) Leland stated that 'in his book *In Praise of the Art of Mathematics*, dedicated to Clement IV, bishop of Rome, which I saw recently in the library of Merton College, Oxford, Bacon praises Shirwood so highly that he is ready to award him the palm in anything pertaining to the varied knowledge of the sciences'. *De laudibus mathematicae*, which survives in two manuscripts, is incomplete in its present state, and there is no evidence that it was dedicated to Pope Clement IV.³⁹² It does not appear in Leland's list of books from Merton College, but there is an entry that reads 'Epistola Rogeri Baconis instar libelli ad Clementem papam' with an incipit 'Sanctissimo patri', and this can probably be identified as the introductory epistle to the *Opus tertium*.³⁹³ In the *Collectanea*, moreover, there is a set of extracts from the *Opus tertium* under the heading 'Ex epistola Rogeri Baconis ad Clementem pontificem Romanum'.³⁹⁴ The first contains a reference to Shirwood's great wisdom, exceeding that of Brother Albert [Magnus]. It thus seems possible, then, that Leland confused the two works when he cited Bacon in his account of Shirwood.³⁹⁵

Leland wrote a heading for the Franciscans, and appended a more muted version of the celebrated denunciation of their collection that appears in the

³⁹⁰ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 57 (*Friars' Libraries*, C7).

³⁹¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 58 (*Friars' Libraries*, D9).

³⁹² See G. Molland, 'Roger Bacon's *De laudibus mathematicae*: A preliminary study', in *Texts and Contexts in Ancient and Medieval Science*, ed. E. Sylla and M. McVaugh (Leiden and New York 1997), 68–83, at 82.

³⁹³ Ed. J. S. Brewer, in *Fr Rogeri Bacon opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, RS 15 (1859), 3–310. The incipit would, of course, pertain to any epistle written to the pope.

³⁹⁴ *Collectanea*, 3, 333–4.

³⁹⁵ Note, however, that in his extracts from John Rous's *De antiquitate academiarum Britannicarum* Leland has under 1249: 'Frater Rogerus Bacon in epistola de laude artis mathematicae ad Papam Clementem, Gulielmum Lincolnensem thesaurarium (f. cancellarium) natione Anglum supra sydera extollit nomine eruditionis. Joannes Rowse scribit hunc appellatum fuisse Shyrwood . . .' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 2, 161).

De uiris illustribus (c. 269; Stage I). It reads: 'Apud Franciscanos sunt telae araneorum in bibliotheca, praeterea tineae et blattae, amplius quicquid alii iacent nihil, si spectes eruditos libros. Nam ego, inuitis fratribus omnibus, curioso bibliothecae forulos omnes excussi' (In the library of the Franciscans there are spider webs, but apart from bookworms and moths there is nothing else if you are looking for learned books. For I carefully examined all the bookcases of the library in spite of the objections of all the friars).³⁹⁶ According to c. 248 (Stage I) he did, nevertheless, see and read in the library, perhaps not on this occasion, a catalogue of Franciscan writers.³⁹⁷

The bottom margin of the last leaf of the Balliol list (pp. 61–62) has been trimmed or damaged, with the result that a small amount of text has been lost. This is the unique instance, moreover, where Leland does not indicate a new list: there is no heading for the New College list that begins at the top of p. 63. Pp. 61–62 are conjoint with the beginning of the booklet (Thetford and Eye, pp. 23–24), the text from p. 23 spills over the fold on to p. 62, and that from p. 24 runs on to p. 61. The whole of the New College list, as well as the unrelated following lists (pp. 63–66), are found on singletons, however, and no doubt another singleton is missing between the present pp. 62 and 63. This would have contained further titles from the Balliol list, the beginning of the New College list with its identifying title, and perhaps even other lists between them.³⁹⁸ Even in its present form, nevertheless, the Balliol list is the longest of the Oxford group, containing more than a hundred titles, many of which were classical texts rather than writings by English authors.³⁹⁹ Most can be identified with surviving volumes. This list seems, moreover, to have been composed in at least two stints (UO22. 1–17, 18–113) representing different visits.⁴⁰⁰ As with Balliol the New College list has many classical authors, as

³⁹⁶ *Collectanea*, 4. 60.

³⁹⁷ This is not the same as the copy of Thomas of Eccleston's *De aduentu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, which he later discovered at Queen's College, Oxford.

³⁹⁸ In *De uiris illustribus* Leland claimed to have seen Stephen Langton's lost *Hexaameron carmine heroico* at Canterbury College, Oxford (c. 224; Stage I). He also stated that a copy of Hucarius' *Homiliae dominicales*, from which he quoted, but which is no longer known to survive, was in this library (c. 131; Stage II). At Durham College, he saw a copy of Geoffrey of Aspill's *De generatione et corruptione* (c. 495; Stage II). He also described 'turning out the bookshelves of King's College library' in Oxford (c. 253; Stage II), although this was presumably after he was made a prebendary in 1543.

³⁹⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, pp. 58–62 (*Libraries of Oxford*, UO22).

⁴⁰⁰ The titles of biblical commentaries by Thomas Doking (c. 311; Stage I) derive from UO22. 11. The entry on John Capgrave (c. 555; Stage I) includes the commentary on Acts which he saw at Balliol (UO22. 13). Leland listed Robert Holcot's commentary on the minor prophets (UO22. 12), which he also saw at St Paul's in London, in c. 411 (Stage I), but he later added that other of Holcot's short works could be found at Balliol. When he composed his entry for John Sharpe (c. 443; Stage I) he had not come across the *Quaestiones* on Aristotle's *De anima* (UO22. 108), stating categorically that he had not seen any works apart from the two he listed. Nor had he seen Robert Allington's *Literalis sententia super Praedicamenta* (UO22. 108), although he later inserted this title in his entry for Robert (c. 471; addition to Stage I). The basis for his account of Roger Whelpdale (c. 473; Stage II) derives from UO22. 108.

well as a group of works by Boccaccio.⁴⁰¹ Based in part on a catalogue, it was, like the Balliol lists, written in Leland's later hand. It thus postdated the royal visitation of 1535 when, as Richard Layton gloatingly observed, 'we found all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Duns [Scotus], the wind blowing them into every corner'.⁴⁰²

2. Later Library Visits and the Welsh Itinerary

As we have seen, by 1535, when Leland began to write up his findings, he was not the only individual commissioned by the king to visit the monasteries. On 21 January Thomas Cromwell had been appointed vicegerent for a general visitation of the religious houses.⁴⁰³ His first commission pertained to finance and resulted in the *Valor ecclesiasticus*. His second concerned the internal conduct of the houses, and the records suggest that it was primarily a means for gathering damaging testimony about the monasteries. This evidence was used to good avail in the final session of the Reformation Parliament, which assembled in February 1536; by 18 March both houses of parliament had passed a bill for the dissolution of houses with an annual income of less than £200, known as the Act for the Suppression of the Lesser Monasteries.⁴⁰⁴ Cromwell next established the Court of Augmentations, which came formally into being on 24 April 1536, and on the same day commissions for dissolution were issued.

Anne Boleyn had quarrelled with Cromwell over the planned dissolutions and, according to her chaplain William Latymer, a delegation of abbots and priors came to seek her protection, probably soon after the bill was passed in March.⁴⁰⁵ After her fall—she was beheaded on 19 May—Cromwell succeeded her father as Lord Privy Seal on 2 July 1536, and six days later was created a baron. On 18 July, Cromwell was appointed vicegerent for the whole church and in all ecclesiastical affairs.⁴⁰⁶ It was in a very real sense the beginning of the end for monastic life in England, and Henry's response, when Jane Seymour

⁴⁰¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 63 (*Libraries of Oxford*, UO69).

⁴⁰² Quoted with brief commentary by Logan, 'First royal visitation', 877. Leland, who was primarily a bibliographer rather than a polemicist, did mention, however, commentaries on the *Sentences* by various authors, and Logan notes (878) that in any case 'Peter Lombard may have continued to be studied at Oxford at least until 1547 and possibly until 1552'.

⁴⁰³ For what follows see F. D. Logan, 'Thomas Cromwell and the vicegerency in spirituals: A revisit', *EHR* 103 (1988), 658–67.

⁴⁰⁴ See R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford 2001), 70–74.

⁴⁰⁵ On Anne and the monasteries see Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 307–12.

⁴⁰⁶ As Logan observes ('Thomas Cromwell and the vicegerency in spirituals', 667): 'one must . . . distinguish between the visitational vicegerency (21 January 1535–18 July 1536) and the full vicegerency (18 July 1536–29 June 1540). In early 1535 Cromwell had his mind focused on a visitation, particularly of the religious houses, and only when in the course of the late summer of that year he realized the implications of the inhibitions [i.e. the suspension of the local bishop's authority during a visitation] did he seize the opportunity and amplified the vicegerential business, being urged by his advisers to use licences as a means of reinforcing the royal supremacy. The limitations of a visitational vicegerency—when the visitation ended, so did the vicegerency—were obvious, and Cromwell, riding the crest of

tried soon afterwards to intervene on behalf of the religious houses, was that she should 'attend to other things, reminding her that the last Queen had died in consequence of meddling too much in state affairs'.⁴⁰⁷

Leland seems quickly to have taken advantage of the rising fortunes of his old friend and patron, and on 12 July he was granted his licence of non-residence at Peuplingues.⁴⁰⁸ According to Anthony Wood, moreover, Leland wrote to Cromwell on 16 July, requesting assistance in preserving books that were fast being dispersed: 'whereas now the Germanes perceiving our desidiousness and negligence, do send dayly young scholars hither, that spoileth them, and cutteth them out of libraries, returning home and putting them abroad as monuments of their own country'.⁴⁰⁹ Leland's letter must have been composed in reaction to the news of the suppressions: he would have realized that preservation rather than recording needed to become his top priority.

Most modern scholars have accepted Bale's dating of the New Year's Gift to January 1546, which, as is shown above, is almost certainly incorrect, and this has had consequences for the tentative datings of the itineraries taken after the completion of 'official' library visitations. Given Leland's declaration in the New Year's Gift that he had spent the last six years in travel, it has generally been assumed that they began around 1539/40, the year of the Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries, when monastic libraries would no longer have been available for Leland's examination.⁴¹⁰ Matters are made complex by the disarray of Leland's surviving papers.⁴¹¹ Only one itinerary,

royal favour, in July 1536 was given a vicegerency pure and simple, without limit in power or term, save only that he served at the king's good pleasure'.

⁴⁰⁷ Quoted from *LP* II. 860 by Ives, *Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 312.

⁴⁰⁸ See above, xxiii. This was one of a number of similar licences granted at this time.

⁴⁰⁹ Wood claimed to be quoting a now lost document among the 'Papers of State' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, I. 198).

⁴¹⁰ Chandler, for example, argues (*John Leland's Itinerary*, xxviii): 'The starting-point must be Leland's own words in his *New Year's Gift* to Henry VIII. . . . If we take his words at face value, his wanderings must have begun in 1540 and been completed in 1545'. This was manifestly not the case, as Chandler goes on to affirm: 'in fact, as we shall see, it is likely that he was already on the road during 1539, and many of his preliminary notes were gathered over several years before that, no doubt when he was busy visiting monastic libraries'. Also, J. Scattergood notes ('John Leland's *Itinerary* and the identity of England', in *Sixteenth-Century Identities*, ed. A. J. Piesse [Manchester 2000], 58–74, at 61): 'And in 1539 the bibliographer also redefined himself and became a topographer. His last monastic visit may have been to Bury St Edmunds. . . . Thereafter, travel to catalogue manuscripts turned into travel for the purpose of giving an account of the landscape of England and Wales'. In her edition, however, Toulmin Smith observes that 'Leland is believed to have made his journeys in or about the years between 1536 and 1543', that is soon after the first Act (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 3. viii). She makes, however, no mention of the New Year's Gift in this context.

⁴¹¹ In the early seventeenth century William Burton (above, xlv) wrote 'Begunne about 1538, 30 H. 8' in the upper margin of the first folio recto of the first and third volumes of the itinerary, probably altering from an earlier '1542, 34. H. 8'. In his own transcription of the material Burton wrote on the second flyleaf: 'The Itinerary of John Leiland the famous Antiquarie. Begunne before or about

in fact, can be dated with absolute certainty: the one to the West Country undertaken in 1542, for Leland has written 'Quinta die Maii Anno D. 1542' in the top margin of the first folio.⁴¹² A reference in *De uiris illustribus* indicates that the northeastern itinerary, which began in Cambridge, took place during the king's summer progress north from London through Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire to York in 1541, i.e. three years later than Burton assumed.⁴¹³ Chandler has shown that the West Midlands itinerary probably took place in 1543, and that Leland set out from Great Haseley, to whose living he had been presented in the previous year.⁴¹⁴ There is evidence that he made further trips after his return to composition; in 1544 he travelled to West Knoyle, where he was a prebendary.⁴¹⁵

The precise sequence of Leland's journey(s) into Wales is not clear, but the dates must have been early.⁴¹⁶ Although it is impossible to map out his exact movements, it is certain that on one trip he travelled up from Strata Florida to Newtown and Welshpool and then over the border into Shropshire

an. do. 1538, an. 30 H. 8', 1538 being emended, it seems, from 1536 (see *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. xxv.) Chandler points out that Burton's date was an altered one and that in any case '1538 is an antiquarian guess, added to the manuscript long after it was written' (*John Leland's Itinerary*, xxvii). The first volume begins with Cambridge. No doubt Burton had noticed that in the commentary to the *Cygneia cantio* Leland stated that he had revisited Cambridge seven years previously (see above, n. 303): logically, then, one might assume that this particular trip began around 1538.

⁴¹² *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 107. Chandler, *John Leland's Itinerary*, xxviii–xxix, discusses internal evidence that supports this dating, and concludes (xxix) that 'there can be little doubt that the West Country itinerary dates from 1542'.

⁴¹³ See c. 165: 'A few years ago, however, when the most illustrious King Henry VIII of England was visiting York, once the chief city of the Brigantes, I happened to turn aside to Ripon, also a city of the Brigantes, formerly of great fame'. There is other evidence as well. In the notes charting this itinerary Leland observed that the Fitzwilliams—including 'the grauntfather and father to my Lorde Privy Seale'—were buried at the Austin friary in Tickhill (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 36). William Fitzwilliam, first earl of Southampton, succeeded Cromwell as Lord Privy Seal in 1540 and retained the office only until 1542. Leland also pointed out that Oundle was now 'alottid . . . onto the Quene's dowre' (ibid. 4) and, as Chandler observes (*John Leland's Itinerary*, xxx) this did not occur until January 1541. Although Leland seems to have followed after the royal progress he did not take precisely the same route. He did note, however, that the king hunted at 'a great park of his owne' at Pipewell (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 1. 13), that he dined near Scausby and near Thorpe Waterville (ibid. 99), and that he lodged at Berkhamstead Castle (ibid. 104–105). Leland ended his account at Hampton Court, which is where the progress finished on 24 October. For Henry's itinerary see R. W. Hoyle and J. B. Ramsdale, 'The royal progress of 1541, the north of England, and Anglo-Scottish relations, 1534–1542', *Northern History* 41 (2004), 239–65, at 263–5.

⁴¹⁴ Chandler, *John Leland's Itinerary*, xxix–xxx.

⁴¹⁵ See the preface to Chandler's edition of *John Leland's Itinerary*, x.

⁴¹⁶ Toulmin Smith (*Leland's Itinerary*, 3. viii–ix): 'And as in mentioning other suppressed houses [such as Chirbury priory] he speaks of the great abbey of Wigmore without alluding to its suppression (p. 48), which would be under the Act of 1539, we have here a further limit of date, so that the Welsh journeys may be fairly placed as having been made between 1536 and 1539. It is difficult to say whether he took the whole of Wales in one journey or in several; the sequence of notes and narratives is so broken that it is impossible to think that he actually saw all or even most of the places of which he writes'.

at Alderbury.⁴¹⁷ From Alderbury he went on to Shrewsbury and thence to Haughmond abbey (diss. 9 September 1539). Next he travelled north as far as Northumberland and down through Durham, Yorkshire, Nottingham, and finally back to London via St Albans and High Barnet.⁴¹⁸ By the time he got to Thurgarton priory it was no more (diss. 14 June 1538), but Cockersand seems still to have been standing,⁴¹⁹ as was Worksop,⁴²⁰ Pipewell,⁴²¹ and others too. At Bedford he described notable tombs in the Franciscan church; the Franciscan house was surrendered on 3 October 1538.⁴²² It seems likely, therefore, that this journey was begun in spring of 1538 and ended some time late that summer or early autumn.⁴²³

Probably this was the first of his itineraries as such, that is, the New Year's Gift must have been composed after his trip to the West Midlands in 1543 and he was including 1543 in his reference to 'these vi. yeres paste'. If so, this represents the one itinerary (in opposition to library examinations) when there really were a goodly number of functioning monasteries for him to visit. What is remarkable in this context is that he did not seem particularly interested in the contents of their libraries.⁴²⁴ For example, in his chapter on Eadmer of Canterbury (c. 147) Leland stated that 'I shall inform my reader that Eadmer's history comprised six books; I found it in Haughmond abbey, which stands a mile or more away from the noble market town of Shrewsbury'.⁴²⁵ He did

⁴¹⁷ He appears to have seen the houses at Strata Florida and Whitland while they were still functioning, and both fell in February 1539. Neath abbey, which was suppressed at the same time, he described as 'the fairest abbay of al Wales' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 3. 51). According to his account Cardigan priory still stood as a cell to Chertsey (ibid. 3. 51). Both fell on 19 June 1538. In this account, as in several others, his description may include memories from an earlier visit to Wales: Cwmhir, for example, went in 1537, but he almost certainly saw the building before it was suppressed (ibid. 3. 52). He referred to Brecon (ibid. 3. 105) as gone, and it fell in 1538. He also described Pembroke Monkton (diss. in 1539) as suppressed, and this is probably a result of his having revised his original notes.

⁴¹⁸ Toulmin Smith (*Leland's Itinerary*, 4. v) characterizes the English component of the trip as 'the only portion with any claim to be written narrative of the Itinerary'.

⁴¹⁹ 'Thens to Cokersand an abbay of Cistertienses about half a mile of, standing veri blekely and object to al wynddes' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 10). It fell on 29 January 1539. On occasion, however, 'standing', 'stondith', and variants thereof may simply apply to the buildings rather than the community at large.

⁴²⁰ 'Ther is at the south side of the priory cowrt a very fair great gate of hewyn stone' (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 4. 17). Worksop went down on 15 November 1538.

⁴²¹ 'Pipwel Abbay [diss. 5 November 1538] stondith in Rokingham Forest' (ibid. 4. 21).

⁴²² ibid. 4. 22-3.

⁴²³ Chandler (*John Leland's Itinerary*, xxix) suggests that the notes on Cumberland, Hadrian's Wall, and Carlisle may have been compiled on this journey, but since Leland noted on the latter trip that the cathedral priory at Carlisle was the last in which there were canons regular (see *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 5. 52), this is impossible.

⁴²⁴ He did, however, list books in other locations, as at Salisbury cathedral, during these later years.

⁴²⁵ This chapter, like the one before it, is written in a way that varies slightly from that of most of the entries in Stage I; the leaf on which it occurs was added to the original booklet. According to Bale Leland later owned a copy of Eadmer, no doubt the one from Haughmond, and it has been suggested that this can be identified as BL MS Cotton Titus A. IX, but there is no concrete evidence to

not, however, make a list of books in the library.⁴²⁶ Although he relayed a 'meri tale' told him by the abbot of Whitland, and gathered information from a monk of Strata Florida, he made no notes about the books in these libraries either.⁴²⁷

Leland returned to Bury St Edmunds after the dissolution, and a copy in his own hand of a letter of introduction survives, dated from Barnwell on 9 November in an unspecified year:

In right hartly maner I commend me onto yow. And where as Master Leylande at this praesente tyme cummith to Byri to see what bookes be lefte yn the library there, or translatid thens ynto any other corner of the late monastery, I shaul desier yow apon juste consideration right redily to forder his cause, and to permitte hym to have the use of such as may forder hym yn setting forth such matiers as he writith for the kinges majeste. In so doying ye shaul bynde me to show on to yow at al tymes like gratitude: for if I were present at this tyme with yow I wold gladly my self fulfil his honeste requeste. Thus fare ye wel this ix of Novembre at Barnewelle.⁴²⁸

Bury was surrendered on 4 November 1539, and one of the commissioners was Leland's friend, Sir John Prise, who appropriated at least three books.⁴²⁹ The abbey was despoiled immediately after the dissolution, the plate and best ornaments taken into the custody of the king.⁴³⁰ At the same time that they wrote to the king about the plate, the commissioners asked if they should deface the church and other buildings. They must have received an affirmative answer, since within a few weeks all the lead had been stripped from the church and monastery.⁴³¹ That Leland was authorized 'to see what bookes be left yn the library there' must indicate that the letter was written in 1539: by 1540 there would have been no library left to examine.⁴³² Although on this particular occasion (late in the year and not part of an itinerary as such) Leland was actively pursuing books in a monastic library, his mission was quite different

substantiate this. See Bale, *Index*, 64; also E. M. C. van Houts, 'Camden, Cotton, and the chronicles of the Norman conquest of England', repr. from *The British Library Journal* 18 (1992) in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector*, ed. Wright, 238–52, at 248.

⁴²⁶ Elsewhere he noted down information about Acton Burnell provided by the abbot of Haughmond, Thomas Corveser (*Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 5. 230).

⁴²⁷ *ibid.* 3. 123.

⁴²⁸ BL MS Add. 38132, fol. 17v; printed with slight inaccuracy in *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 2. 148.

⁴²⁹ See N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', repr. from *The Library in his Books, Collectors and Libraries. Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London and Ronceverte 1985), 471–96, at 484, 487 (J. 29, P. 16, P. 17).

⁴³⁰ See Sharpe in *English Benedictine Libraries*, 48.

⁴³¹ See VCH *Suffolk* 2 (1907), 67.

⁴³² Nor is it impossible that the letter was to be sent under Prise's name. Barnwell is on the way to Cambridge from Bury; Prise was still at Bury on 7 November and his movements immediately after he left Bury are unknown.

from what it had been earlier in the decade. He was no longer compiling lists of authors, but instead he was gathering up materials—and this is what ‘have the use of’ must mean—to take away in order to set forth and write up matters for the king. Here we almost certainly have a specific allusion to the *Antiphilarchia*, which, as we have seen, must have been in the most general sense a commissioned work. The two visits to Bury thus show the real shift in emphasis in his library researches after the mid 1530s: in the earlier part of the decade Leland was laying the groundwork for his *De uiris illustribus* and related works; by 1539 he was much more narrowly focused in his goals.⁴³³

B. ‘*Al ready begune and in a greate forwardenes*’: *Stages of Compilation*⁴³⁴

The *De uiris illustribus* was, as a whole, composed in two distinct stages, the first more or less coinciding with the reign of Anne Boleyn, the second begun after Leland’s six years of investigation of the English landscape. There are a variety of ways, some already discussed, to distinguish between these stages.

As we have seen, Leland’s monastic travels began in 1533 with his journey to the West Country and then up into the West Midlands. Establishing this makes it possible to give a specific date of composition for the first phase—Stage I—of *De uiris illustribus*, since Leland observed in c. 96 that he discovered a copy of Tatwine’s riddles ‘two years ago, when I was at Glastonbury in Somerset’. He must therefore have begun writing in 1535. The first flurry of activity continued into 1536 and slightly beyond, since in c. 249 he related that William Repps, abbot of Holme St Benets, was also bishop of Norwich, and the monastery was not annexed to the bishopric until 1536.⁴³⁵

In his account of Gervase of Chichester (c. 187; Stage II) Leland stated that ‘ten years ago, when I was curiously searching through the treasures of the libraries of Gloucestershire, I came by a lucky chance across the commentaries of this Gervase on the prophet Malachi’.⁴³⁶ Since he visited Gloucester in the second half of 1533 this entry must have been composed late in 1543, assuming that ten years is an accurate number rather than an approximation.⁴³⁷

Immediately after Gloucester Leland travelled to Lanthony, where he saw a copy of Claudius of Turin’s commentary on Matthew.⁴³⁸ In c. 110 (Stage II) he refers to this copy, which, as he relates, he removed ‘to Henry VIII’s palace library nearly twelve years ago’. (See Plate 2.) Containing the Westminster

⁴³³ On the two visits to Bury see Carley, ‘Dispersal of the monastic libraries’, 274–5.

⁴³⁴ Appendix 2 provides in tabulated form the evidence for the two stages of compilation.

⁴³⁵ Repps was elected bishop from May 1536 and consecrated on 11 June: see J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priories of the Province of Canterbury c.1066 to 1540* (Oxford 1997), 550.

⁴³⁶ This work appears in his Gloucester booklist: see *English Benedictine Libraries*, B49. 16. Leland has placed a pointing finger by this entry.

⁴³⁷ There are two other allusions in Stage II to libraries he saw a decade earlier: St Augustine’s (c. 145) and St Albans (c. 314).

⁴³⁸ *Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, A18. 5.

inventory number 207, it survives as BL MS Royal 2 C. x.⁴³⁹ Twelve years from 1533 would take us to 1545. It is possible, moreover, to be even more specific. Since Leland cites Gesner's *Bibliotheca universalis*, which was not issued (in Zurich) until September 1545, Leland could not therefore have composed this entry much before the end of the year.⁴⁴⁰

In addition to these references to specific dates, changes in orthography attest to a rethinking of the material over the span of a dozen years. According to the New Year's Gift, Leland planned to clarify the names given to Britain by the ancients in his *Liber de topographia Britanniae primae*:

Wher as now almoste no man can welle gesse at the shadow of the auncient names of havens, ryvers, promontories, hilles, woddes, cities, tounes, castelles, and variete of kind<r>edes of people that Caesar, Livie, Strabo, Diodorus, Fabius Pictor, Pomponius Mela, Plinius, Cornelius Tacitus, Ptolemaeus, Sextus Rufus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Solinus, Antoninus, and divers other make mention of, I truste so to open this wyndow that the lighte shaul be seene so longe, that is to say by the space of a hole thousand yaeres, stoppid up, and the olde glory of your renowmid Britaine to reflorisch thorough the worlde.⁴⁴¹

With the exception of Fabius Pictor Leland had extracted pertinent passages from all these authors in what is now BL MS Cotton Julius C. vi and cited most of them in *De uiris illustribus*.⁴⁴² He quoted from writings by Caesar, Pomponius Mela, Pliny, and Tacitus in c. 1; Strabo in cc. 1, 2, and 3; Ammianus Marcellinus in cc. 2 and 3 (all Stage II). He alluded to Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheca historica* in Poggio's translation, which he attributed to John Free, in c. 577 (Stage II) and to Sextus Rufus in c. 23 (Stage I). The Antonine Itinerary and the Latin text of Claudius Ptolemy's *Geography*, with both of which Leland was familiar by the mid 1530s, were particularly important in terms of place-

⁴³⁹ See *Libraries of King Henry VIII*, H2. 650. On Claudius (d. ca 827) see P. Boulhol, *Claude de Turin. Un évêque iconoclaste dans l'Occident Carolingien* (Paris 2002). Claudius attacked the cult of images and relics as well as rejecting pilgrimages and the intercession of the saints. He was a man, as Leland shrewdly realized, whose writings were well worth preserving in Henry's arsenal of anti-papal documents.

⁴⁴⁰ He had not included Claudius in his first draft of *De uiris illustribus* because, quite correctly, he did not suspect this writer was English. It was Gyraldus' *Historia poetarum* that provided him with this information, which he considered more accurate than Gesner's subsequent claim that Claudius was Irish.

⁴⁴¹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 285. In 'The beauties of the land: Bale's books, Aske's abbeys, and the aesthetics of nationhood', *Renaissance Quarterly* 57 (2004), 99-125, at 110 n. 29, Philip Schwyzer suggests that there is a specific allusion to King Arthur in Leland's evocation of a period of a thousand years during which historical and religious 'light' was stopped up in England: 'The reference, in a text belonging to the 1540s, to "a whole thousand yaeres" is by no means merely rhetorical. King Arthur, for Leland the preeminent prototype of Henry VIII in his role as Christian Emperor, had departed for Avalon in 542'.

⁴⁴² I follow modern foliation in my citations from Julius C. vi.

names. In Julius C. vi, fols. 64r–65r he copied out the ‘Iter Britanniarum’, to which he referred in cc. 14, 234, 340, and 463 (all Stage I).⁴⁴³ He made extensive notes from Ptolemy in Julius C. vi, fols. 66r (‘Tabula prima Europae’) and 67v–70r (‘E recenti traditione Michaelis Villanouani’).⁴⁴⁴ Ptolemy is cited as an authority in cc. 6, 23, 81, 90, 92, 203, and 440 (all Stage I).

Besides restoring ancient names, moreover, Leland wished to establish a general system for rendering English place-names (and to a lesser extent personal names) in a suitable classical form for deployment in his own writings.⁴⁴⁵ The beginnings of Leland’s revised system appeared in the ‘Syllabus et interpretatio antiquarum dictionum’ to his 1543 *Genethliacon illustrissimi Eäduerdi principis Cambriae*, where he had ‘Visisaxon-’, for example, rather than the form ‘Westosaxon-’ which he had used in the 1530s, ‘Eaduerd-’ rather than ‘Edouard-’, ‘Maildulphi curia-’ rather than ‘Meldunen-’ for Malmesbury. He noted, too, that King Alfred founded ‘Isiacas scholas, quas nunc a uado Isidis pro Ouseforde, Anglice, sed corrupte, Oxforde appellant’.⁴⁴⁶ In the case of Canterbury, which he had originally called ‘Dorobernia’, he now switched to ‘Durouernum’, observing that ‘Durouernum, Ptolemaeo & Antonino ciuitas cognita. Beda hanc uocat Doroberniam. A Saxonibus Cantewarbyri, id est, Cantiorum curia, dicta est’.⁴⁴⁷ A number of other names, however, still remained in the form he had used when he first began writing up *De uiris illustribus*: ‘Alfred-’, for example, or ‘Huntendunen-’.

Other revisions, such as ‘Vilugia-’ for ‘Viliana-’ (Wiltshire), first appear in the *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae* (1544), where there is an ‘Elenchus antiquorum nominum’. Under ‘Badonicus mons’ he observed, for

⁴⁴³ The ‘Annotationes in eam partem Itinerarii Antonini quae ad Britanniam spectat’, compiled by his friend Robert Talbot was published by Hearne (*Itinerary*, 3. 143–84): see J. M. Levine, *Humanism and History. Origins of Modern English Historiography* (Ithaca and London 1987), 87–8; also A. L. F. Rivet, with an Appendix on the place-names by Kenneth Jackson, ‘British section of the Antonine Itinerary’, *Britannia* 1 (1970), 34–82.

⁴⁴⁴ The latter is taken from the 1535 Lyons edition of Michael Servetus (writing as Villanovanus), which contained tentative identifications of place-names. These are the extracts transformed by Bale into Leland’s suppositious *Descriptio Angliae*: see above, xxxiii.

⁴⁴⁵ On the humanist approaches to the latinization of vernacular names D. Hay writes (*Polydore Vergil. Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* [Oxford 1952], 126–7): ‘This was a trick adopted by some humanist writers, but not by all. The learned school of Biondo adopted the barbaric nomenclature of their sources more or less without modification, and even some of the purists were prepared to accept this inconvenience in the interests of accuracy. But Bruni and the rhetorical historians rejected it (together with frequent quoting of dates and other rude and clumsy devices)’. Hay points out some of Vergil’s ‘astonishing transformations’ when he latinized. On the other hand, in his *Historia maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae* the Scottish historian John Mair (ca 1467–1550) refused to convert place-names to Latin for fear of confusing his readers: see Shrank, *Writing the Nation*, 89. By Shrank’s interpretation Leland ‘defamiliarizes the landscape, a use of renaming that makes additional assault on Cornish and Welsh identity’.

⁴⁴⁶ *Genethliacon*, ed. Hearne, xxxii.

⁴⁴⁷ *ibid.* xxxiv. Both Ptolemy and the Antonine Itinerary are mentioned in the ‘Syllabus’, as are Sextus Rufus, Tacitus, and Fabius Pictor.

example, that 'Ptolomaeo Graeco Thermae, Antonino Latino Aquae solis, aliis quoque Balnea'.⁴⁴⁸

By the time the *Cygnea cantio* was printed in 1545 Leland had made further changes in forms of names, and these appear in his lengthy 'Commentarii in *Cygneam cantionem*'. He provided some of his own explanations for the emended versions, as well as noting forms used in the Antonine Itinerary and in Ptolemy.⁴⁴⁹ Early on his voyage down the river the swan encounters *Hydropolis*, a former bishopric known in the vulgar tongue as Dorchester, and the commentary elucidates on Leland's form:

Hic si quis me roget cur urbi Graecum nomen attribuam, huic ego respondebo, non potuisse nomen aut aptius, aut significantius, facile inueniri, quod decorum uocabuli ad plenum explicaret. Hydor Graecum belle exprimit illud contractum Dor Britannicum. Cestre, siue Castre, a Latina descendit origine. . . . Nihil igitur periculi si Graeca Graecis cohaereant. Certe rectius hoc quam Latina Graecis miscere, id quod manifeste in Dorchester apparet.⁴⁵⁰

(If somebody were to ask me why I assign a Greek name here, I would respond to him that a more apt or expressive word could not be easily found to display fully the fitness of the name. The Greek *Hydor* beautifully expresses the British contraction *Dor*. *Cestre* or *Castre* descends from a Latin origin. . . . There is no danger therefore in connecting Greek with Greek. Certainly this is more correct than mixing Latin names with Greek ones, which clearly appears in Dorchester.)

In a (perhaps) more playful conceit he called Greenwich 'Viridis sinus', but he did retain 'Grenouicus' as well.

During the almost dozen years he worked on *De uiris illustribus*, then, Leland's thoughts about orthography evolved significantly, and on various occasions he went through the manuscript crossing out and revising. Nevertheless, not all his changes, especially in the case of personal names, were related to an attempt to find a classicized form of name: etymology, for example, was another criterion. Appendix 3 covers major changes to names, but it is not comprehensive and does not include isolated instances of revision unless they show a pattern.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ *Assertio Arturii*, ed. Mead, 148. For his clash with Polydore Vergil over the modern identification of Mount Badon see below, cxxiv–cxxv.

⁴⁴⁹ He gave, *inter alia*, a detailed discussion of 'Balnea', including references to these two sources. Elsewhere in the commentary he quoted Ptolemy in Greek and also made reference to Tacitus, Sextus Rufus, Strabo, Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Pliny, among other authorities.

⁴⁵⁰ Commentary to *Cygnea cantio*, ed. Hearne, 74. For a fuller discussion see Carley, 'John Leland's *Cygnea cantio*', 234.

⁴⁵¹ Leland made other orthographic changes: addition of an *i* after the *e* in the accusative plural of *i* stems, a common practice among the humanists, as in *omneis*; *abbas* to *abba*; *achademi-* to *academi-* (a very late change); *aliquamdiu* to *aliquandiu*; *caussa* to *causa*; *heremit-* to *eremit-* (a very late change);

When Leland began to compose *De uiris illustribus* in the mid 1530s monastic life was under threat, but there was no indication that it was about to end forever. Leland was well aware of the corruptions in the system, observing, for example, in c. 146 that 'Aelmer, who was prior of the monastery of Christ Church in the metropolitan see of Canterbury, showed a diligence in perusing the works of the ancient authors which the monks of our time, better fed than taught, do not willingly share'.⁴⁵² Nevertheless, it was reform rather than dissolution that he advocated: 'We must therefore beware lest, just as once upon a time kings allowed monks the use of their palaces and ancient cities, so, by a swing of the pendulum, they now demand the monasteries themselves for palaces and cities'.⁴⁵³ Written *ca* 1536, these were prophetic words! Even though he did transfer books to the royal collection, he still envisaged a network of functioning monastic libraries throughout the kingdom. By 1543, when he returned to *De uiris illustribus*, the end had come and there was no hope of revival within the foreseeable future. Leland's task had now become more urgent: it was his memory that would guarantee that the names of Britain's great writers would not fall permanently into oblivion. His more frenzied activity in the face of 'such a great cataclysm' (c. 241; Stage II) can be seen in the entries themselves (and sometimes in the very handwriting). It is clear that from his perspective the tenth-century depredations of the Norsemen (like those of the Saxons) had been visited on England all over again: 'At last it struck him, as he [the early twelfth-century chronicler Simeon of Durham (c. 160; Stage II)] deliberated, that by far the most necessary and useful action would be meticulously to seek out the remains of the libraries which had been sacked by the Danes'.⁴⁵⁴ History had repeated itself and his obligation had become the same as that of the earlier Anglo-Norman historians he admired so much.⁴⁵⁵ He took the monastic historian Ranulf Higden (c. 354; Stage I) as his intellectual model, and his aspiration was to accomplish for his times what Higden did for an earlier period:

I cannot easily say how much gratitude he deserves from his country on this account, for he abridged into one volume of history information which

litter- to *liter-*; *nibillominus* to *nihilominus*; *perbenni* to *perenni*. He also revised verb tense, as in past imperfect to subjunctive or simple past to future perfect. When going over the text he looked for synonyms to replace repetitions of words or words from the same root, as in *illustrat* to *inradiat* because *illustribus* occurs nearby.

⁴⁵² Below, 291.

⁴⁵³ Below, 497.

⁴⁵⁴ Below, 307, 309.

⁴⁵⁵ In an address to the Society of Antiquaries in 1600 Arthur Agarde, deputy chamberlain of the Exchequer and antiquary, also compared the carnage wreaked by the dissolution of the monasteries to the raids of the Saxons and Danes and the destructions of William the Conqueror: see Harris, 'The greatest blow to antiquities that ever England had': The Reformation and the antiquarian resistance', in *The Reformation Unsettled. British Literature and the Question of Religious Identity, 1560-1660*, ed. J. F. van Dijkhuizen and R. Todd (Turnhout 2008), 227-44, at 232-3.

he had found hitherto, lying around in dark libraries, scattered and in no clear order in the works of various authors. As befitted a man of honour, moreover, he was not content with this and wished to keep intact the reputation of each of those of our authors whom he had excerpted, by always including his name. He did not follow so devoutly in the footsteps of others, nevertheless, that he was prevented from passing his own judgement from time to time, and with some authority.⁴⁵⁶

No doubt he trusted that posterity would view him in the same light as he viewed his fourteenth-century predecessor, and in this he was right.

1. Sources

In his chapter on the ancient British writers Plemmydius and Oronius (c. 10), Leland observed that as a result of wars and disasters it was almost impossible to reconstruct the early history of his nation. The only remedy was, in his opinion, 'to enquire diligently at home and abroad, to search through every bookcase, and finally to inspect libraries more thoroughly'.⁴⁵⁷ As we have seen, this serves as a good description of his own efforts for more than two decades and, apart from monastic trawls, these efforts included active interaction with other scholars, European and English, engaged in similar endeavours.

(a) *'A late writer': Johann Tritheim* Leland's general model was Johann Tritheim, whose *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Basel 1494) included 963 authors, amongst whom a significant number were Englishmen, and listed some seven thousand titles. Each entry had a short summary of the author's life, followed by a list of works with (whenever possible) their incipits. It was precisely this format that Leland would adopt in 1535: authors ordered chronologically, each entry giving the author's life and dates, where these were available, followed if possible by titles and incipits. Leland's debt to Tritheim was, however, much greater than an organizational one. Knowing full well in 1535 that his researches were not complete and that there were many other authors and texts buried in the dust and cobwebs of the monastic libraries, Leland used Tritheim's text as a kind of structural foundation for the bibliographical map he was drawing, that is, he took the English writers found in Tritheim as fixed points as he laid out the booklets that would make up his finished work. They formed the chronological (and other) markers around which to organize further entries as he came across new authors. What Leland appears to have done at the very beginning of the compilation of *De uiris illustribus*, then, was to copy out from Tritheim names, perhaps some biographical information, and lists of titles, often leaving space above

⁴⁵⁶ Below, 569.

⁴⁵⁷ Below, 29.

and below—sometimes on subsequent leaves as well—for added material and future entries. Generous margins also helped.

On occasion, as in the case of the writings of Æthelnoth, the eleventh-century archbishop of Canterbury (c. 129; Stage I), Tritelheim was Leland's primary authority:

I will not hide from you, reader, that although I have read much about this author, nothing that he wrote has ever come into my hands in all the infinite and varied mass of books which I have seen. Nevertheless, since Tritelheim, undoubtedly a man of tremendous diligence and no less breadth of reading, has honoured him with a place in his catalogue, I shall not maintain that he should be excluded from my account.⁴⁵⁸

Nevertheless, 'since [Æthelnoth] is drawn faintly and obscurely and in sketchy lines by Tritelheim, who barely knows even the shadow of his name' Leland saw his role as one of 'depict[ing] him in his true colours, that is, in purple'. It was precisely the process he described in the New Year's Gift: 'I have more expatiatid yn this campe . . . as yn a thing that desired to be sumwhat at large, and to have ornature'.⁴⁵⁹

When Leland had not seen a particular work cited by Tritelheim he gave only qualified endorsement: Aelred of Rievaulx (c. 169; Stage I) may have written a commentary on Luke 'if what Tritelheim reports is true'.⁴⁶⁰ Leland was even more doubtful about other aspects of the German's scholarship, especially his interpretation of English personal and place-names. In his account of Eadmer (c. 147; Stage I) he stated: 'it comes into my mind that Tritelheim mentions Emond, monk of Canterbury and disciple of Anselm, claiming that he wrote on the same subjects which are treated by Eadmer. In this matter I dissent from Tritelheim's authority and venture to affirm boldly that the name is a fantasy of his'.⁴⁶¹ Concerning Sertorius (c. 355; Stage I), the English archbishop of Ravenna, he observed: 'Certainly, I find it extraordinary that as far as I can remember I have never read a thing about this Sertorius except in Tritelheim. Hence, my guess is that his name was corrupted by Tritelheim, who offends in this way almost every time he mentions one of our writers'.⁴⁶² He further charged that Tritelheim called John Thompson (c. 465; Stage I) by 'the prodigiously corrupt name of "Campscen"'.⁴⁶³ Not surprisingly, as Leland consulted other authorities over the years and examined further libraries, he found more and more new information, more details to correct from Tritelheim's account,

⁴⁵⁸ Below, 275.

⁴⁵⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 283.

⁴⁶⁰ Below, 341.

⁴⁶¹ Below, 293, 295.

⁴⁶² Below, 571.

⁴⁶³ Below, 673.

especially in terms of chronology: this was to be expected, in his opinion, given the German abbot's general ignorance of English affairs.

(b) *'Balaeus uero clarius, lucidius, uigilantius': John Bale and Writings Derived from Bale* It is not precisely clear when Leland first met John Bale, but it was before Bale defected from the Carmelite order in 1536: in c. 274 (Stage I) Leland still described him as 'Ioannes Balaeus, Carmelita'.⁴⁶⁴ Since, as Leland affirmed, Bale (in the guise of 'a dear friend') visited Norwich before Leland's tour of East Anglia and the northeast in 1534, they must have known each other before then and their friendship can therefore be securely dated to approximately 1533 at the latest.

Bale's own researches during these years, 1533 to 1536, provide a very close parallel to Leland's. By 1533 Bale had become prior of the Carmelites at Ipswich, and in 1534 he assumed the priorship of the house at Doncaster. According to the *Summarium* (1548) he began to examine the libraries of the English Carmelite and Austin houses in the same year as Leland received his commission:

Nam cum certis argumentis praeuidissem anno Christi M.D. xxxiii Anglorum coenobiis iustissimam, ob nefanda inhabitantium scelera ac ueritatis contemptum, imminere destructionem. Ad eorum statim singulari Dei dono, me contuli bibliothecas, qui mihi tunc magis erant familiares ac beneuoli, utpote Carmelitarum & Augustinensium.⁴⁶⁵

(For since in 1533 I had foreseen by means of true arguments that the most just destruction of the monasteries of England was near at hand on account of the abominable sins of their inhabitants and their contempt for truth, through the singular gift of God I immediately betook myself to libraries of the Austins and Carmelites, who were familiar to me and welcoming.)

Less well connected than Leland, Bale carried no letter of introduction from the king and thus had restricted access to libraries:

Quod & apud Dominicanos ac Minoritas, Carthusianos, Brigidanos, aliosque sectarios fecissem quoque, si non inciuliter introitum mihi negassent. Ob illud idem ingratitudinis uitium, Praemonstratenses, Crucigeri, Trinitarii, Gilbertini, Sambonitae, Roberti fratres & alii, qui speciosissimis apud Britannos gaudebant aedibus, hic nullum inter eruditores locum habent.⁴⁶⁶

(I would have done the same at the Dominicans and Minorites, Carthusians,

⁴⁶⁴ 'Ioannes' and 'Carmelita' are interlinear additions to 'Balaeus'. After having written the entry Leland realized that the surname needed further identification, since this was the first reference he had made to Bale in the text.

⁴⁶⁵ Bale, *Summarium*, fol. 246v.

⁴⁶⁶ *ibid.* fols. 246v–247r.

Brigittines, and other orders too if they had not rudely refused me entrance. On account of the same vice of ingratitude the Praemonstratensians, the Crutched Friars, the Trinitarians, the Gilbertines, the ‘Sambonitae’, the Trinitarians [of Knaresborough], and others, who rejoiced in the most showy houses in Britain, have no place here among the learned.)

Like Leland, Bale continued his bibliographical peregrinations for three years, and the sorts of information he sought out match the contents of Leland’s own booklists: ‘triennio fere laboravi in colligendis diuersorum librorum autoribus & titulis, cum quorundam eorum initiis’ (I laboured three years in collecting the authors and titles of various books, along with the incipits of certain of them).⁴⁶⁷

After his defection from the Carmelites Bale abandoned his examination of the libraries of the East Anglian religious houses and took up a post as a stipendiary priest at Thorndon in Suffolk. That same summer, over the course of two months, he composed his *Anglorum Heliades* at Ipswich.⁴⁶⁸ By Bale’s own account it was Leland who encouraged him to concentrate on the English Carmelites: ‘Et quia nullus poterit etiam si Linceos habuerit oculos omnia prospicere, mihi prouintiam iniungis ut Carmelitarum in Angliam ingressum, progressum, et tandem illustrium uirorum cathologum tibi depingam’ (And, since no one can hope to see everything even if he were to have the eyes of Lynceus, you have assigned me the task to describe for you the coming into England of the Carmelites, and how the order has grown since then, and to compile for you a catalogue of its illustrious men).⁴⁶⁹ Not surprisingly, therefore, he dedicated the text to Leland, addressing it to him as ‘doctissimo uiro, sibi que amicissimo, Ioanni Leylando, Londinensi theologo rhetorique suauissimo’.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁷ On the relationship of Bale’s scholarship to that of earlier historians of the Carmelite order A. Jotischky writes (*The Carmelites and Antiquity. Mendicants and Their Pasts in the Middle Ages* [Oxford 2002], 214): ‘Bale’s work, like that of many of his fifteenth- and sixteenth-century predecessors, was not very original, in the sense that the historical tradition assumed as a starting-point had already been established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The importance of Bale’s contribution lies in demonstrating the vigour of that tradition and its widespread dissemination throughout the Carmelite provinces. Both the nature of Bale’s work—his magpie-like compilation of historical material—and the nature of its survival, in unpublished copy-books and notebooks, show not only what Carmelites knew of their corporate history, but also how local traditions and variations developed alongside the “official version” of the order’s history . . .’

⁴⁶⁸ ‘In presentis operis editione per duos fere menses laborans, ad ultimum effectum perduxi anno post natum Saluatorem MCCCCXXXVI’ (BL MS Harley 3838, fol. 112v).

⁴⁶⁹ *ibid.* fol. 3v.

⁴⁷⁰ The *Anglorum Heliades* survives only in BL MS Harley 3838, which was written by a professional scribe, possibly in anticipation of presentation to Leland. Nevertheless, as Fairfield observed (*John Bale*, 158–9; 191 n. 1), internal evidence establishes that this particular manuscript cannot have been transcribed until the end of the decade. The second part, moreover, consists of later notes in Bale’s own hand, and so it must have remained in Bale’s possession rather than going to Leland. It accompanied Bale into exile in 1540, and he noted John Birde’s promotion to the newly created see of Chester in

Several months after Bale composed the *Anglorum Heliades*, that is, on 25 January 1537, Leland wrote a letter to Thomas Cromwell on Bale's behalf—Bale had been detained in the Porter's Ward for his preaching—in which he commended Bale's 'learning, judgment, and modesty'.⁴⁷¹ He also observed that Bale was 'worthy of better fortune than to be a poor parish priest', and it was no doubt this sort of recommendation that Bale was anticipating with the dedication of the *Anglorum Heliades*.⁴⁷² The letter to Cromwell, along with Bale's own response to the charges, may have led to Cromwell's patronage of the former Carmelite.⁴⁷³

Bale requested that Leland examine and correct his efforts—'Pro uiribus efficiens ut quam ocys te auspice, te autore, te iudice in lucem exeant' (Seeing to it by all possible means that they may see the light of day as soon as possible with you as inspirer, promoter, and judge)⁴⁷⁴—but it is not clear that the *Anglorum Heliades* (or as much of it as he saw) was especially valued by Leland.⁴⁷⁵ Although the two men described many of the same authors, Leland cited Bale by name only in cc. 274 (Gilbert of Hoyland), 366 (William of Coventry), 377 (Godfrey of Cornwall), 385 (Richard Acton), 420 (Robert Hardeby; Plate 8), 476 (Philip Repingdon), 518 (Thomas Peverell), 531 (William [?Ufford] the Carmelite), 542 (John Haynton), and in deleted passages in 308 (Humphrey Necton) and 551 (Richard Witchingham).⁴⁷⁶ Gilbert of Hoyland was a Cistercian, and it is possible that Bale's communication was a verbal one since no written source is mentioned: according to Leland Bale corrected Trithem on Gilbert's floruit, but he did not know on what evidence ('at qua autoritate mihi plane incertum'). In the entries for Hardeby, Peverell, Haynton, and Witchingham the reader is simply provided with Bale's name or told that he 'meminit' or 'colligit'.⁴⁷⁷ The other references are more specific: Leland refers

1541 on fol. 110v. Presumably, too, it is the copy listed by Bale among those books left behind when he fled Ireland in 1553: see McCusker, no. 72. There is no proof, therefore, that Leland ever received a complete copy of the *Anglorum Heliades*, in spite of the dedication.

⁴⁷¹ *LP* 12/1. 230. Leland wrote because Cromwell's 'weighty matters' did not permit a personal meeting.

⁴⁷² Fairfield, *John Bale*, 40: 'Still without a post outside the order, he spent two months or so writing a history of the English Carmelites (his *Anglorum Heliades*) for the antiquary John Leland . . . and judging from the tone of Bale's introduction to the little chronicle, he hoped very much that Leland would put in a good word for him'.

⁴⁷³ *ibid.* 48: 'So Cromwell rescued Bale from the clutches of the conservative Bishop Stokesley . . . and set him to work, if not as his 'official playwright' at least as one small pawn in the propaganda offensive against the Bishop of Rome'.

⁴⁷⁴ BL MS Harley 3838, fol. 4r.

⁴⁷⁵ Leland obtained much of his original information about the Carmelites from Trithem, but some of his corrections to the *Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* may have come from Bale.

⁴⁷⁶ In most of these cases Bale is given as a source of information about dating rather than providing titles of works: Leland, like modern bibliographers, seems to have treated Bale's imaginative speculations in this regard with caution.

⁴⁷⁷ In the entry for Witchingham 'a Ioanne Baleo' has been deleted.

to Bale's 'collectaneis' (Godfrey of Cornwall and Philip Repingdon, the latter an Austin); his 'collectaneis, quibus illustria Carmelitarum facta deprædicat' (William the Carmelite); his 'collectaneo . . . de eruditis Carmeliticis scriptoribus' (Humphrey Necton); his 'catalogus . . . de scriptoribus Carmeliticis' (Richard Acton); and 'quodam collectaneo de Carmelitis' (William of Coventry). The majority of the citations are in Leland's later hand, but five—Gilbert of Hoyland, William of Coventry, Robert Hardeby, Humphrey Necton, and Richard Witchingham—were written during his first stage of composition. None of them represents direct quotations from the *Anglorum Heliades* and, in fact, Bale does not mention Richard Acton or William the Carmelite at all in this particular work. Leland must therefore have also consulted others of Bale's partially completed histories of his order.⁴⁷⁸ In *De uiris illustribus* there are two entries for Godfrey of Cornwall (c. 377 and a short entry between cc. 287 and 288), and no doubt Leland intended to delete the latter. Both late additions, they contain much of the same information, but the former cites Bale's collections as a source.⁴⁷⁹ When he first wrote about Godfrey Leland did not know when he lived, but he later learned from Bale that he flourished around 1340. He therefore incorporated this fact into his entry and moved the chapter to a more appropriate chronological position. The *Anglorum Heliades* (BL MS Harley 3838, fol. 63v) gives Godfrey's floruit as 1336, whereas another of Bale's accounts of the English Carmelites, Bodl. MS Selden supra 41 (SC 3429), fol. 168v, has 1340.⁴⁸⁰ Leland's source must, therefore, be the latter or a related text rather than the former. Acton, Hardeby, and William the Carmelite do not, however, appear in Selden and it is not clear whence the information from Bale derived.

In contrast to Leland (and Polydore Vergil too for that matter), Bale wrote his *Anglorum Heliades* with extraordinary speed, and no doubt it is to this haste that Leland was alluding when, in his chapter on William of Coventry, he described it as 'a certain hurriedly assembled collection on the Carmelites'.⁴⁸¹ This reference shows that Leland must have come across a version of the *Anglorum Heliades* before he put together the entry on William. He almost certainly used information from the *Anglorum Heliades* to update the chapter on the Carmelites from St Faith's (c. 398). Having described four individuals with this surname he added in a similar hand: 'After I had finished writing this, Benedict of St Faith's came to my attention. He was a man both learned and unusually prudent, as well as extremely skilful in the conduct of political affairs, virtues which made him known to many great men in Rome, especially

⁴⁷⁸ On Bale's writings in general see Fairfield, *John Bale*, 157–64.

⁴⁷⁹ In addition to c. 377 Leland also mentioned Godfrey in an addition to c. 264, written in Stage II, alleging as his authority those who wrote lives of the illustrious Carmelites ('ut ex his apparet qui illustrium Carmelitarum uitas scripserunt').

⁴⁸⁰ On Selden supra 41 see Fairfield, *John Bale*, 159–61.

⁴⁸¹ Below, 579.

one Henry of Naples, cardinal bishop of St Sabina, by whose favour Benedict acted as legate in matters pertaining to the church of Rome'.⁴⁸² In the *Anglorum Heliades* Bale has 'Benedictus de Sancta Fide, Henrici Sabinensis episcopi et Neapolitani cardinalis sacellanus, cum magno equorum et hominum apparatu, ecclesie negotia legatus tractabat' (Benedict of St Faith's, chaplain to Henry, bishop of Sabina and cardinal of Naples, conducted ecclesiastical affairs as an ambassador with a large train of men and horses).⁴⁸³

In cc. 277 (Simon Stock), 349 (Osbert Pickenham), and 409 (John Hornby), all written during Stage I, Leland cited the *De illustribus patribus ordinis Carmelitarum catalogus* of Laurent Bureau of Dijon, composed around 1500.⁴⁸⁴ This work no longer survives, but Bale, who would quote from it in the *Anglorum Heliades*, took extracts (now BL MS Harley 1819, fols. 13v–16v; 65v–70v) when he was in Moulins in 1527.⁴⁸⁵ Other extracts, perhaps deriving from a manuscript Bale saw in the Low Countries, are found in Bodl. MS Selden supra 41, fols. 376r–385v. Leland quoted verses on Osbert which appear in the *Anglorum Heliades* as well as in Harley 1819 and Selden supra 41, but the *Anglorum Heliades* citation lacks the first two lines. The verses on Stock are found in the *Anglorum Heliades* and Selden supra 41, but not in Harley 1819. Leland thus cannot have derived his information from the *Anglorum Heliades* or from Harley 1819, but must have seen Selden supra 41 or abstracts from it when citing Bureau.

John Baconsthorpe (c. 374) presents a slightly different set of problems. When Henry VIII began to question the validity of his marriage to Catherine of Aragon his advisors took a particular interest in Baconsthorpe, who had maintained that the pope had no right to dispense in prohibited degrees of consanguinity—precisely Henry's position concerning the papal annulment sanctifying his first marriage. Not surprisingly, therefore, Baconsthorpe was cited as an authority in the government-sponsored *Grauiissimae atque exactissimae illustrissimarum totius Italiae et Galliae academiæ censuræ* published anonymously ca 1530 (RSTC 14286) and quickly translated into English by Thomas Cranmer as *The determinations of the moste famous and excellent universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unlawful for a man to marry his brother's*

⁴⁸² Below, 611.

⁴⁸³ BL MS Harley 3838, fol. 33v. When Bale later came to compose the *Catalogus* he quoted from Leland's chapter rather than from the *Anglorum Heliades*, but both elaborated and inserted his own commentary in brackets, noting that rather than being learned, Benedict was a notorious rascal (*insignis nebulo*); that so-called political affairs were really treacheries (*proditiones*); and that the great men in Rome were foxes (*uulpibus uulpes*); *Catalogus*, 2. 156–7. This was characteristic of Bale's reactions to Leland's relatively flattering descriptions of writers of the Catholic past, even those borrowed from Bale's own writings; see also below, cxliv–cxlviii.

⁴⁸⁴ On Bureau see Sharpe, 'English bibliographical tradition', 88–9.

⁴⁸⁵ See R. Copsey, *The Hermits from Mount Carmel*, Carmel in Britain 3 (Faversham and Rome 2004), 292. Bale's extracts have been edited by C. Jackson-Holzburg in *Zwei Literaturgeschichten des Karmelitenordens*, Erlangen Studien 29 (Erlangen 1981), 170–205.

wife and the pope hath no power to dispense therewith (RSTC 14287).⁴⁸⁶ He was therefore one of the individuals Leland was concerned to glorify. When Leland first compiled his entry, however, he had not seen the verse tribute to Baconsthorpe composed by Bureau, and he drew his information from Tritheim, supplemented by two further titles of works which he himself had seen in the Carmelite house in London. Bureau's verses do, however, appear in the Milan edition of Baconsthorpe's commentary on the *Sentences* (1510), which also has verse commendations by Baptista Mantuanus and Paul Pansa: Bale copied all three poems into his notebooks. Given their shared interests, it was probably Bale who alerted Leland to the Milan edition from which he revised his entry, deleting the last section of the original text, and inserting a bifolium in the manuscript in order to include the verses, along with other information he had gathered on Baconsthorpe since reading Tritheim.

(c) *Leander Alberti* (1479–1552) Another book consulted by Leland after 1536 was Leander Alberti's *De uiris illustribus ordinis Praedicatorum* (Bologna 1517).⁴⁸⁷ He came across this work on the Dominicans fairly soon after his first phase of writing, no doubt alerted to it by Bale, who had cited it in the *Anglorum Heliades*; the hand in the entries in which he cites it is very similar to that employed in Stage I (Plate 7).⁴⁸⁸ When he added the chapter on Thomas of Sutton (c. 305; Stage II) as a result of reading Alberti, he also realized that this would be a convenient place (because of the similarity of names) to include John Sutton, whose works he had recently seen ('nuper') at Buckfast, where he visited in 1533.⁴⁸⁹ His added chapter on William Masset (c. 302) was based on Alberti, but in fact Masset is one and the same as William Macclesfield, who had been described in c. 306 along with Walter of Winterbourne and Thomas Jorz.⁴⁹⁰ Originally Leland had confessed himself ignorant about what these three men had written:

Quod denique ad libros spectet, quos illi olim scripsisse feruntur; in praesentia nihil habeo aliud quod rectius in medium adferam, quam Vergilianum illud: 'Dicite, Pierides, non omnia possumus omnes'. Quanquam si quid

⁴⁸⁶ For a discussion of the relationship between Leland's entry for Baconsthorpe in *De uiris illustribus* and Bale's in the *Catalogus* see J. P. Carley, 'Misattributions and ghost entries in John Bale's *Index Britanniae scriptorum*: Some representative examples "Ex bibliotheca Anglorum regis"', in *Anglo-Latin and Its Heritage*, ed. S. Echard and G. R. Wieland (Turnhout 2001), 229–42, at 237–9.

⁴⁸⁷ He cited Alberti in eleven different entries (cc. 302, 305–306, 320, 322, 324–5, 345, 411, 413, and 419).

⁴⁸⁸ Spellings that he would later modify also appear in these entries. In c. 413 the pope is described as 'pontifici Romano maximo'; 'maximo' would later be deleted.

⁴⁸⁹ He hadn't listed John Sutton earlier because he did not know where to place him: this is one of the many examples (on which see below, cxxxviii), where he had to create alternative methods to supplement strict chronological order.

⁴⁹⁰ See Carley, 'John Bale, John Leland, and the *Chronicon Tinemutensis coenobii*', 175–7.

huiusmodi librorum posthac ad manus meas peruenerit non grauabor equidem huic catalogo adponere.⁴⁹¹

(Finally, concerning the books they are said to have written, all I can assert is this line from Virgil: "Tell, O muses, we cannot all do all things". If any of their books do later come into my hands, indeed, I shall gladly add them to this catalogue.)

After having read Alberti, however, he added a reference ('et Leandri Alberti libro tertio De doctis Praedicatoriae sectae uiris'), deleted the passage 'nihil habeo . . . adponere', inserting instead 'Cum haec scripsissem' (which he then removed), and finally placed the following after 'praesentia':

a Leandro Alberto didici Thomam Anglicum, cardinalem, egregium uolumen super *Sententias* edidisse, et sex germanos ex eodem utero eductos compraedicatorios habuisse, uiros religione, modestia, et uirtute praeclaros, quorum unus, nomine Gualterus, a Clemente quinto apud Pictones in Gallia archiepiscopus Armacanus anno Domini MCCCVI declaratus est.

(I have now learnt from Leander Alberti that Thomas of England, the cardinal, wrote a notable volume on the *Sentences*, and that he had six half-brothers, sons of the same mother, fellow Dominicans, men outstanding for religion, modesty, and virtue, one of whom, named Walter, was appointed archbishop of Armagh by Clement V in the year 1306 at Poitiers in France.)

(d) '*Antiquarius magnus*': Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus (1479–1552) As his references in the commentary to *Cyanea cantio* make clear, Leland must have obtained a copy of the *Historia poetarum tam graecorum quam latinorum dialogi decem* of the Italian scholar and poet Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus very soon after its publication by Michaël Isingrin in Basel in 1545.⁴⁹² He immediately set about revising *De uiris illustribus* based on information he discovered from Gyraldus, whom he characterized as 'well versed in all the languages and arts which befit a gentleman' (c. 10) and whose text he cited five other times (cc. 32, 59, 87, 110, 237).

(e) '*Scriptorum collectori diligentissimo*': Conrad Gesner (1516–1565) Almost

⁴⁹¹ Below, 524.

⁴⁹² Leland dated the preface of the *Cyanea cantio* to 29 June ('tertio Calendarum Iul.') 1545, and the references to the *Historia poetarum* indicate that he must have been revising right up to the last moment. Presumably a copy had been acquired at the Frankfurt book fair in the spring (perhaps by Reyner Wolfe himself, who travelled regularly to the fair); thus Leland could have examined it very soon after it appeared. (I thank David McKitterick for this suggestion.) On the varying dates of the bi-annual fair (spring and autumn) see J. L. Flood, "Omnium totius orbis emporiorum compendium": The Frankfurt fair in the early modern period', in *Fairs, Markets, and the Itinerant Book Trade*, ed. R. Myers, M. Harris, and G. Mandelbrote (New Castle, DE, and London 2007), 1–42, at 4–6.

certainly the last work to be consulted by Leland was Conrad Gesner's *Bibliotheca uniuersalis*, a copy of which he acquired shortly after its publication by Christoph Froschauer in September 1545.⁴⁹³ Including some 3,000 authors and around 10,000 titles, the *Bibliotheca uniuersalis* was organized alphabetically, according to christian name, rather than chronologically as had been the case with Trithem and his followers. Like Leland, Gesner made use of Trithem and was concerned about the loss of the great libraries of the past. In *The laboryouse journey* Bale refers admiringly to the *Bibliotheca uniuersalis* and the manner in which it was compiled as a model to be emulated:

As it was ones noysed abroade in our tyme, that Conradus Gesnerus a great learned man of Tygur in Germany, was minded to put fourth his universall Bibliotheke of all kindes of wryters, a nombre of learned men in Germany, Fraunce, & Italy, serched out the names of many straunge authors, with the tytles of their workes, and sente their good labours unto him to amplifie the same. So ded the printers also the cataloges and registres of their printed workes, to the furtheraunce of good learninge and honest report of their names, as undoubted they all for so doynge are worthe.⁴⁹⁴

Leland cited Gesner in fifteen entries (cc. 110, 176, 231, 232, 237, 257, 269, 301, 342, 347, 350, 374, 380, 431, 461), primarily to supplement earlier material. In two cases—John of Anneville (c. 237) and Claudius 'Clemens' (c. 110)—he has incorrectly expanded the roster of British writers on the strength of the testimony both of Gyraldus and Gesner. In fact the former can be identified as the Frenchman John of Alta Villa, and Claudius was the ninth-century bishop of Turin.⁴⁹⁵

The entry on Richard the Englishman (Plate 6; c. 257) is particularly complex. It was originally written soon after Leland returned to the *De uiris illustribus* in 1543, and filled the lower portion of p. 210. Leland observed that, although Richard was reputed to have written a great deal, he himself knew only two titles: 'Scripsit librum de signis et Correctorium alchemiae. Alia quoque scripsisse eum fama refert, quae temporis obscurat inuidia'. The

⁴⁹³ As Flood observes ('Frankfurt fair', 6), printers were under pressure to get books out in time for the fair: 'To cite one example: the Zurich publisher Christoph Froschauer took 2,000 copies of his folio and octavo editions of Joachim von Watt's *Epitome trium terrae partium* to the Frankfurt fair in 1534 and managed to sell half of them'. Wolfe knew Froschauer, who maintained a stall: see I. L. Snively, Jr, 'Zwingli, Froschauer, and the Word of God in print', *Journal of Religious and Theological Information* 3/2 (2000), 65–87, at 76. On Gesner in general see H. Fischer, 'Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) as bibliographer and encyclopedist', *The Library*, 5th ser. 21 (1966), 269–81, who observes that 'the publication of a bibliography of such a vast scope was made possible by Gessner's open and receptive mind allied to a phenomenal memory, remarkable diligence, and complete command of Greek and Latin, the learned tongues of the age, and of Hebrew' (270).

⁴⁹⁴ *Laboryouse journey*, sig. Fv^r. Gesner knew John Bale—they met during Bale's exiles—and dedicated his *Mithridates* (1555) to the Englishman, who in turn dedicated the thirteenth century of his *Catalogus* to Gesner.

⁴⁹⁵ See above, n. 440.

reference to alchemy reminded Leland of a title that he had seen some years earlier in Henry Eastry's catalogue of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, 'Arturus de Alkimia',⁴⁹⁶ which he decided to include here: 'Hic quoniam in alchemiae mentionem incidimus, commode lectorem admonebo fuisse quendam Arturium, Anglum, in alchemiae cognitione admirabilem, cuius de eadem opusculum olim in bibliotheca Fani Seruatoris Durouerni extitit'.⁴⁹⁷ Slightly later he saw a 'Volumen magistri de re medica' at Peterhouse in Cambridge (MS 178) and included it in his list of books from this college.⁴⁹⁸ Using a *signe de renvoi* he then added the cautious statement in the limited space in the left and lower margin of his original entry on Richard that:

Grantae Giruorum in bibliotheca Petrina extat uolumen de re medica, autorem praeferens Richardum. Nec tamen pronuncio eundem esse cum hoc nostro alchemico. Constat Richardum aedidisse uolumen cui Repressiua titulus. At nescio an idem opus sit quod et Petrina in bibliotheca eminet.⁴⁹⁹

After he obtained a copy of the *Bibliotheca uniuersalis* he returned to the entry and, based on the titles found in Gesner, added after 'de signis', but above the line, 'prognosticis, alterumque de urinis, tum etiam Anatomiam, Galenum secutus'.⁵⁰⁰ He also inserted 'multa' after 'Alia quoque'. In the margin above 'eminet', where because of lack of space it appears to follow the end of the original entry (i.e. 'extitit'), he also noted that 'Gesnerus coniectura ductus addit libellum de signis februm, Basileae impressum. [S]ymphorianus Champierius Richardi Anglici meminit'.⁵⁰¹ Not surprisingly, Anthony Hall believed that the information from Gesner came after 'extitit', which made it seem as if the English alchemist Arthur rather than Richard wrote on the symptoms of fevers. It is an error that has been picked up by subsequent bibliographers.

2. 'Polydorus censor certe molestissimus': Leland and Polydore Vergil

After Leland became insane in 1547 Polydore Vergil accused him of vanity and voiced scepticism about his ability ever to have finished all his vaunted

⁴⁹⁶ *Collectanea*, 4. 121.

⁴⁹⁷ 'Anglum' is an addition. It was the name Arthur that made him decide that the alchemist was an Englishman.

⁴⁹⁸ *Libraries of Cambridge*, UC49. 14; UC48. 298. Just before he got to Peterhouse he saw a copy of 'Tractatus qui dicitur Repressiua autore Richardo medico' at Gonville Hall (UC27. 7).

⁴⁹⁹ Below, 460.

⁵⁰⁰ See *Bibliotheca uniuersalis*, 1. 582r. Gesner also listed 'De phlebotomia', which Leland did not include, presumably because he had not come across it elsewhere. The *Anatomia* and *De urinis* were found in the manuscript at Gonville Hall, now Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 95/47.

⁵⁰¹ After the list of titles Gesner had added 'De aliis adhuc nihil uidi. Symphorianus Champierius. Huius Richardi etiam esse puto librum de febris, seu signis februm, qui impressus est Basileae apud Henricum Petri, cum operibus Clementii Clementini in fol'. The reference is to the 1535 edition of Clementinus Clementi, *Lucubrationes*, which included *De signis februm*. Bale also made use of Champier as a source: see *Index*, 87.

projects.⁵⁰² The enmity between the two men was a longstanding one,⁵⁰³ and Leland, for his part, was deeply critical of his Italian rival, about whose criticism he claimed to be unconcerned.⁵⁰⁴

Vergil (ca 1470–1555) arrived in England in 1502 and, encouraged by Henry VII, began work on his *Anglica historia* around 1506–1507.⁵⁰⁵ An early draft was completed in 1512–13, but it was then put aside and the first version (carrying down to 1509) appeared in print only in 1534, issued by Johann Bebel in Basel.⁵⁰⁶

There are a variety of theories about why Vergil waited so long to publish the text and why it appeared exactly when it did.⁵⁰⁷ Richard Koebner has suggested that Vergil's rejection of the Arthurian tradition and his attack on Geoffrey of Monmouth offended Henry VIII at the time of the completion of the first draft, that the king refused to accept the dedication, and that apart from some revisions and additions the project therefore remained in limbo for the next twenty years.⁵⁰⁸ Denys Hay has argued that a revised text was substantially

⁵⁰² For a general discussion of Leland and Vergil see Carley, 'Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur', in *King Arthur. A Casebook*, 185–204.

⁵⁰³ Leland may have known Vergil from the time of his boyhood schooling at St Paul's, since Vergil was almost certainly acquainted with John Colet, the founder of the school. In later years Leland and Vergil would cultivate the same circles of humanist scholars, including Thomas More, Thomas Linacre, William Latimer, and Cuthbert Tunstall.

⁵⁰⁴ Note, for example, his statement: 'Haec ego de Polydoro modeste satis, ut arbitror, & candide retuli, quem interim aperte de me male loqui, & sentire certo scio, id quod susque deque fero' (I report these things about Polydore candidly and modestly enough, I think, whom in the meantime I know for certain to speak and to think badly of me, to which I am indifferent) (Commentary to *Cygneae cantio*, ed. Hearne, 76).

⁵⁰⁵ The standard account of Vergil's life remains that of D. Hay, *Polydore Vergil. Renaissance Historian and Man of Letters* (Oxford 1952), but see D. R. Woolf, 'Genre into artifact: The decline of the English chronicle in the sixteenth century', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 19 (1988), 321–54, at 325–8; also the entry by W. J. Connell in the *ODNB*. According to A. B. Cobban, 'Polydore Vergil reconsidered: the *Anglica Historia* and the English universities', *Viator* 34 (2003), 364–91, at 365, 'the *Anglica Historia* ranks as one of the first histories of England that, by the standards of the time, could be described as relatively critical and objective in tone'. For a comparison of the writings of Vergil and Leland see C. Brett, 'John Leland and the Anglo-Norman historian', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 11 (1989), 59–76, at 63–6.

⁵⁰⁶ My quotations are taken from the on-line text edited and translated by D. F. Sutton from the 1555 edition <www.philological.bham.ac.uk/polverg/>, although my translations are not always identical to his.

⁵⁰⁷ The description of the events leading up to the publication of the *Anglica historia* in 1534 is taken from my forthcoming article 'Arthur and the antiquaries'.

⁵⁰⁸ See R. Koebner, 'The imperial crown of this realm': Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 26 (1953), 29–52, at 35–6. S. Mottram, 'Reading the rhetoric of nationhood in two reformation pamphlets by Richard Morison and Nicholas Bodrugan', *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005), 523–40, at 537, suggests that 'Vergil had completed his original manuscript in 1513, but Henry had seen fit to prohibit its publication during the interim period. This prohibition was related to Vergil's refusal in the *Anglica Historia* to accept the historicity of the Arthurian legend that Norfolk would later use to uphold Henry's pretensions to empire in the English Church'. In fact, there is no evidence that the king ever read the text in order to refuse a dedication. The only manuscript of the early version is now Rome, Vatican City, Bibl. Apostolica,

completed between 1521 and *ca* 1524, but that its publication was likely delayed because of the evolving crisis over Henry's first marriage.⁵⁰⁹ Koebner also dated the revisions to the early 1520s. Like Hay, he believed that it was the publication of Vergil's edition of Gildas' *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* in 1525 that allowed him to put forth such a strong 'anti-Arthurian position'.⁵¹⁰ Because, by this reading, Henry's concern with England's independent status from Rome in the 1530s made the *Anglica historia* a welcome text, and since Vergil had revised his original manuscript to emphasize the precedents for Henry's imperial status and in particular the link to Constantine the Great, he was able to maintain his humanist principles on the question of Arthur in the printed edition: 'Unknowingly assisted by the Spanish ambassador's sarcasm [that is, Chapuys'], Vergil had here the last word in his long-standing quarrel with the king [over King Arthur]'.⁵¹¹ Koebner envisaged a very close collaboration between author and Henry's 'henchmen', arguing that in return for supporting Henry's imperial pretensions Vergil was 'permitted to clear his scholarly conscience' and maintain his historiographical principles regarding the veracity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of King Arthur. Stewart Mottram has also argued that the publication of the *Anglica historia* in 1534 was officially sanctioned, and indeed he gives the king himself full credit as the motivating agent: 'It was no coincidence, however, that Henry chose eventually to publish Vergil's chronicle at a time coincident with the 1533 Appeals Act, for if the *Anglica Historia* dismisses aspects of the Arthurian legend, it on the other hand enthusiastically affirms the historicity of Norfolk's assertion that "Constantine reigned here, and the mother of Constantine was English"'.⁵¹²

According to a letter he wrote to Erasmus on 19 June 1532, Vergil had recently been recalled to Italy. As Vergil explained to Erasmus, Bebel, who had printed most of his writings, was visiting England and the two men had met: 'Fuit nuper nobiscum Bibelius, qui rem meam nauiter curauit; illum docui de rebus meis et quemadmodum reuocor in Italiam' (Bebel was recently amongst us and he diligently troubled himself about my business; I told him about my plans and how I have been called back to Italy).⁵¹³ Presumably by 'rem

MS Urb. lat. 497–98. This was written in Vergil's own hand, and probably given to the Italian scribe Federico Veterani for copying when Vergil was in Italy in 1514–15. Hay suggests that Vergil may have picked up the scribal copy (and perhaps a presentation copy as well) when he returned to Italy in 1516–17, but that he then realized 'that drastic revision would now be needed before the book could be presented to the king' (*Polydore Vergil*, 14, 80–81).

⁵⁰⁹ Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, 82. According to a letter to his brother Gian Matteo, first written in 1517 and prefacing the 1521 edition of his *De inuentoribus rerum*, Vergil had not yet completed the text: see Polydore Vergil, *On Discovery*, ed. and trans. B. P. Copenhaver (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 14–15.

⁵¹⁰ Koebner, 'Henry VIII, Constantine the Great, and Polydore Vergil', 36.

⁵¹¹ *ibid.* 46.

⁵¹² Mottram, 'Reading the rhetoric of nationhood', 537.

⁵¹³ *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen and others, 12 vols (Oxford 1906–58), 10. 2662.

meam' Vergil meant the printing of the *Anglica historia*, which, as we have seen, had been in a state of near completion for some time.⁵¹⁴ Vergil did not leave England immediately after he sent this letter to Erasmus, however, and it was not until 6 June 1533, soon after Anne's coronation, that he received licence to travel abroad.⁵¹⁵ The dedication to Henry of the *Anglica historia* was written in London in August 1533 just before Vergil's departure for the Continent, where he remained until 1534.⁵¹⁶ Shrewdly, he had added imperial references to his previously revised text to suit the current political situation—minor word changes or small additions—and had deleted some potentially inflammatory material.⁵¹⁷ Nevertheless, it was by no means rewritten in the early 1530s as a piece of Henrician propaganda and was not treated as such by Thomas Cromwell or Henry's other advisors. The final impetus to print, in other words, seems to have come from the meeting with Bebel rather than pressure from the king or his advisors.⁵¹⁸

From Leland's perspective the appearance in print of the *Anglica historia*, with its questioning of the traditional 'British history' and in particular the very existence of King Arthur, as well as its celebration of England's good relations with Rome, could not have come at a worse time. For Leland, Arthur was a cornerstone of the imperial edifice proclaimed by the Act in Restraint of

⁵¹⁴ Certainly this is how William J. Connell interprets it in *ODNB*, when he observes that in this letter Vergil 'was discussing the printing of the *Anglica historia* with Bebel'. Connell also suggests (private communication) that Vergil originally delayed publication because he wanted to look at sources, especially classical ones such as Caesar, Tacitus, Pliny, and Strabo, that were readily available in the ducal library at Urbino. After he returned to England from Italy in 1515 he came into conflict with Cardinal Wolsey, and was even briefly arrested, and this caused further delays.

⁵¹⁵ *LP* 6. 737. 5 (p. 330): 'Master Polidor Virgil, archdeacon of Wells. Licence to go beyond the sea on business, with 6 servants and 6 horses, baggage, &c.'

⁵¹⁶ Gransden suggests that 'Vergil probably took the manuscript for this edition to the continent in 1533, when the crises preceding Henry VIII's marriage to Anne Boleyn seemed to have been resolved by the marriage itself' (*Historical Writing in England*, 2. 432).

⁵¹⁷ In 'The manuscript of Polydore Vergil's "*Anglica historia*"', *EHR* 54 (1939), 240–51, at 248, D. Hay observes that the marriage of Catherine of Aragon to Prince Arthur, for example, is much played down in the printed text, and Vergil removed the statement 'Et quia tam affinitas quam nescio quid aliud obstat, quod ecclesiastici iurisconsulti iustitiam publicae honestatis appellant, quominus ea sponsalia rite fieri possent, idcirco apostolica auctoritate utrumque impedimentum sublatum est' (And because both affinity and something or other else, which canon lawyers call 'iustitia publicae honestatis', stood in the way of their marriage, both impediments were removed by apostolic authority).

⁵¹⁸ Given the events that took place in the years immediately after publication, the *Anglica historia* would have become less and less attractive to Cromwell and his circle. As Dana Sutton points out in his introduction to the on-line edition, paragraph 8: 'Throughout his history, the theme of English sanctity dominates: he never tires of telling us, for example, of the foundation of monasteries and other religious institutions (including university colleges) as acts of piety. Therefore, predictably, his account of the martyrdom of Thomas à Becket beginning at XIII. 6 is wholly supportive of Thomas in his quarrel with Henry II. And, beginning with his description of the reign of Henry I (XI. 3) he tends to side with the Pope in the long-running battle of whether English bishops should be appointed at Rome or at London'. Hay observes that the monasteries are described as still functioning even in the later editions, and that Vergil's sympathy to the old religion is apparent (*Polydore Vergil*, 114, 171).

Appeals to Rome and solidified by the Act of Supremacy. It is not surprising, therefore, that he quickly began work on a refutation of Vergil in the form of a full and, as he saw it, accurate account of the early sources for British history 'that this yowr reaulme shaul so welle be knowen ons payntid with his natives coloures, that the renoume therof shaul gyve place to the glory of no other region'.⁵¹⁹ The first draft of the *De uiris illustribus*, put together in 1535–6, was conceived and directed against Vergil, and its deleted passages, in particular, make this clear. Through the persuasive powers of his 'diploma' from the king, Leland had permeated some of the most esoteric libraries in the realm. In these he came across significant works by hitherto unknown writers, which he planned to bring to the attention of the learned world. By this means the glories of the English past, including accounts of the historicity of Arthur, would be vindicated in the face of Vergil's assaults: 'I can prove with arguments as certain, clear, and truthful—not to say as numerous—that Arthur existed, as the Duncce can that Caesar existed'.⁵²⁰

As Hay has pointed out, Vergil was deeply concerned with stylistic matters, and the printed text of the *Anglica historia* was considerably more polished than the earlier manuscript version: 'the twenty years which had elapsed had borne a conscious Ciceronian outlook which approved some of the original matter but led to the rewriting of pages at a time and the garnishing of the whole with longer, more resonant Latin, displaying a surer sense of the classical, the ancient word'.⁵²¹ In the fifteenth-century Italy of Vergil's predecessors eloquence was generally speaking considered the mark of the historian, whose job, as Leonardo Bruni articulated it, was above all to persuade.⁵²² There was, nevertheless, a counter-current, exemplified by Flavio Biondo, which empha-

⁵¹⁹ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 286.

⁵²⁰ Below, 313. 'Duncce' is Richard Robinson's equivalent for Leland's 'Codrus' (the poet ridiculed by Virgil) in his 1582 translation: see *Assertio Arturii*, ed. Mead. In *De uiris illustribus* Leland also used other examples apart from Arthur to uphold Henry's imperial pretensions. In c. 44, for example, he observed that 'such was Dinoot's learning, therefore, that he judged correctly that Rome did not have the jurisdiction to confirm, on religious pretexts, an immigrant race in the rule of a land which did not belong to it. If this were allowed, then there would be no pretext for casting any rulers out of their realms' (below, 115, 117).

⁵²¹ Hay, 'Manuscript of Polydore Vergil's "Anglica historia"', 245. In his prefatory letter to Henry VIII Vergil complained about the arrangement and style of the medieval annals, stating that he had to polish and adorn these accounts.

⁵²² See *The 'Anglica historia' of Polydore Vergil A.D. 1485–1537*, ed. D. Hay (London 1950), xxvi–xxviii. As Hay observes (xxvii), history writing was closely connected to diplomacy in the Italian city states and what was called for was a 'brilliance of execution which would sweep away any doubts about the matter by admiration of the manner in which the story was told'. There is an extensive literature on the role of eloquence in Renaissance humanism, of which the fundamental study is H. H. Gray, 'Renaissance humanism: the pursuit of eloquence', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 24 (1963), 497–514. Gray concludes (514) that 'it was the pursuit of eloquence which united humanists of all shades. To ignore the impact of eloquence and of the ideas associated with it is to distort the mentality of humanism and to disregard a vital dimension of Renaissance thought and method'.

sized detachment and 'a determination to establish what were the facts'.⁵²³ The sixteenth-century antiquarian approach, which grew out of this latter school, was concerned with the conveying of so-called objective knowledge about the past.⁵²⁴ Hay suggests that, as foreigners, the Italians were able to write the histories of England and France with less subjectivity than native writers, and he thus puts Vergil in Biondo's school.⁵²⁵ This is not, however, the way Leland saw it, and his insistence on Vergil's rhetorical skills was a means precisely of challenging his reliability:

following the doctrine of some Pythagorean or other, he has firmly persuaded himself that the soul of eloquent Cicero has migrated directly into his own breast after so many centuries and that with its help he has so thoroughly mastered the golden river of flowing eloquence that, relying on it alone, he can easily turn flies into elephants and elephants back into flies.⁵²⁶

In other words Vergil could through his mastery of language 'transmit Eng-

⁵²³ '*Anglica historia*' of Polydore Vergil, ed. Hay, xxvii.

⁵²⁴ See the comments of Patrick Collinson on this topic: 'If we want to find in the sixteenth century the sense of anachronism, of the past as another country where they did things differently, and as an ever shifting target, the essence of historical thought, then we have to turn from the history written in that century to other intellectual areas and pursuits, not at the time considered to be part of history. Antiquaries, in the sixteenth century, were a different species from historians. . . . History, as Cicero had defined it, was a branch of rhetoric. . . . What antiquaries got up to was closer to what we should regard as historical scholarship' ('John Foxe as historian', in Foxe's '*Book of Martyrs*', Variorum Edition Online <www.hrionline.ac.uk/johnfoxe/apparatus/collinsonessay.html>). For a discussion of the scholars who have examined these different approaches to the past and the historiographical issues involved see D. Woolf, 'Disciplinary history and historical discourse. A critique of the history of history: The case of early modern England', *Cromohs* 2 (1997), 1–25.

⁵²⁵ 'But it should be observed that both Paolo Emilio and Polydore Vergil, in writing the histories of foreign countries, were able to apply detachment and objectivity more easily than native writers, in Italy or elsewhere. Indeed, their very employment was suggested by a desire to present French and English history to the critical scrutiny of Europe; the sanction of international humanism was precisely what the French and English dynasties wished to invoke. To secure this they were willing to jettison portions of the national myth which (for other reasons) they encouraged among native authors' ('*Anglica historia*' of Polydore Vergil, ed. Hay, xxvii–xxviii). This too is a point that Vergil makes in his preface to Henry VIII: 'Sed cum illam regustarint, dubio procul intelligent aniles fabulas minime cum uero consentire, et amorem patriae suos interdum autores spoliassse iudicio, priuasse intelligentia, orbasse sensibus, id quod in nos cadere non potuit, qui proinde nullius aurbis inseruimus, et demum, cognita ueritate, non poterunt non probare historiam sancte et sincere confectam' (But when they [i.e. the English, and perhaps Scots and French, readers] have digested these things, they will undoubtedly understand that old wives' tales do not agree with the truth, and that patriotism has sometimes robbed their writers of their judgement, deprived them of their intelligence, and stripped them of their senses, none of which things have been able to befall me, since I have not written so as to flatter any man's ears, and in the end, the truth being grasped, they cannot help but approve of a history written honorably and sincerely). In his account of the first inhabitants of Britain Vergil presented his readers with varying authorities and let them choose among them, 'quia historia rerum gestarum narratio est, non item diuinatio' (for history is the narration of things that have been done, but not divination) (*Anglica historia*, ed. and trans. Sutton, 1. 18).

⁵²⁶ Below, 311. For the proverb 'Elephantum ex musca facis' see Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1. 9. 69.

lish history with the worst of bad faith'.⁵²⁷ It was this to which Leland as an antiquary objected and for which he took Vergil to task.⁵²⁸

In spite of his acknowledgement of its eloquence, Leland dismissed the *Anglica historia* as a 'knotty, tangled, cluttered, confused, and altogether formless web'.⁵²⁹ In a particularly scathing passage he observed:

Not sufficiently foolish at home Polydore wished (if the gods were willing) to be, and to be seen to be, even more foolish abroad. Prudently imitating the nature of the elephant, therefore, he conceived a history of British antiquity without having travelled in the land, or understood the language, or examined the records of ancient libraries with sufficient diligence—or rather, with any diligence at all. Finally, after thirty years or more, he has given birth to this history, struggling and without a midwife, and it is still crude and ill-formed in many respects. So now, imitating (as I hear) the efforts of the bear, he is licking away at his newborn cub in the hope of making it more beautiful.⁵³⁰

This is not the only passage in which he showed his contempt for Vergil's desultoriness in venturing into print (a fault to which he himself would prove to be all too prone), and he pointed out that:

at last, so that he seem not to pledge his soul, fearing that when it passed away the elegance of the Roman tongue should pass away with it, he wrote his history with more confidence than reading or understanding of the sub-

⁵²⁷ Below, 557. In the commentary to the *Cygne cantio*, as elsewhere, Leland emphasized Vergil's sacrifice of substance for style: 'Vtinam Polydorus tam oculatus fuisset testis in rebus Britannicis, quam interim est tersus, nitidus, elegans' (Would that Polydore was as perceptive a witness in matters pertaining to Britain as he is neat, clear, and elegant) (*Cygne cantio*, ed. Hearne, 76).

⁵²⁸ Levine, *Humanism and History*, 82, points out that Leland 'understood clearly and before anyone else in England that the many new devices of Italian humanism could be employed not only to resuscitate classical antiquity but to recover the whole of the British past'. Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought*, 131, considers that 'Leland's [method] was that of the humanist critics of sources, of Valla and his followers, and was essentially the better of the two. Polydore demolished Arthur on logical grounds, but the argument was a negative one. Leland defended Arthur by showing that a negative argument was fruitless and made his point by a careful examination of the surviving sources'. This stands in contrast to the earlier view, most forcefully articulated by Kendrick: '[Leland] remained medieval in mind, as many antiquaries of his day, and after his day, remained medieval; for he was the victim of that kind of patriotic fervour that permits no tampering with national faith in a dearly cherished national myth. We see him as a man two-faced, in one direction looking hopefully forward into a new era of empirical research and practical survey, and at the same time looking with affection backward to the writing-desk of the medieval scholastic chronicler-antiquary where a traditional fable might be repeated without unrestful inquiry or impertinent sixteenth century doubt' (*British Antiquity*, 63).

⁵²⁹ Below, 637.

⁵³⁰ Below, 331. On the long gestation period of the elephant see Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1. 9. 11. By contrast the bear was thought to deliver her cub thirty days after conception—and the number thirty is ironically significant here. It was said to emerge unformed, the mother then licking it into shape.

ject, at the same time holding back its publication not for the nine years recommended by Horace but, if it pleases the gods, for thirty and more.⁵³¹

He also referred with bitter irony to Vergil's dispute with Erasmus concerning whose collection of proverbs came first:

when he saw that he and the muses did not get on well together, he changed to a freer form of discourse, taking on a subject in which he might show what that Ciceronian fluency could do. But at about the same time the same subject had been discovered by some barbarous Dutchman, whom the common herd liked a thousand times better than an Italian Duncie. He took offence at this and complained that he had been openly insulted, and that a barbarian had cunningly beaten him to it and taken possession of that glory which he himself had deserved on the best of grounds.⁵³²

Leland's chief objection was, however, that the Italian had not searched archives and was unfamiliar with the ancient languages of Britain.⁵³³ Leland perceived himself as a worthy successor to the antiquary John Rous (*ca* 1420–1492), and he himself examined several of the latter's works which are no longer known to survive. It was Rous's familiarity with earlier sources that caused him to compare the native historian with his Italian successor: 'Here I may seem to be insulting Polydore, the Italian, if I boldly compare Rous, a Briton, with him. But in fact, if I may speak freely and without any dissimulation, Polydore is so paltry by comparison with Rous in terms of deeper reading of our antiquities (even if he is endowed with far greater eloquence) that he cannot hold a candle to him'.⁵³⁴

⁵³¹ Below, 311.

⁵³² *ibid.* On this dispute see Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, 22–3, 26, 172, who concludes that '[Vergil's] works do not contain the abuse and scurrility with which even holy men addressed their rivals at the time, and his brief skirmish with Erasmus over the priority of their *Adagia* suggests that he was exceptionally modest and good mannered. Erasmus was wrong, yet Vergil in the end, and without rancour, allowed him to get his own way' (172).

⁵³³ Apart from the statements in *De uiris illustribus* see the commentary to the *Cygneae cantio*, ed. Hearne, 76, where Leland claims that 'Nae ille tum exegisset opus immortalitate plane dignissimum: modo & eadem opera cognitionem utriusque linguae, uidelicet Britannicae & Saxonicae, tanquam ad coronidem adiecisset. At ille interim laudandus plurimum, qui domi sedens, & numero ueterum auctorum de rebus in Britannia gestis scribentium praesidio destitutus, praestitit in tanta angustia, quanta potuit alius quisquam maxima' (Indeed, he would then [with perceptiveness as well as eloquence] have produced a work truly worthy of immortality, if only this same work had added as a crowning touch knowledge of the two languages, that is, British and Saxon. But he must, nevertheless, be greatly praised who, sitting at home and destitute of the manifold assistance of ancient authors who wrote of the happenings in Britain, achieved in such a huge lack as much as any other person was able). For a discussion of Vergil's competence (or at least keen interest) in precisely these areas see Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 2, 437–9.

⁵³⁴ Below, 795. Elsewhere, however, Leland was less charitable about Rous and in the commentary to the *Cygneae cantio* characterized him as 'uir maioris longe diligentiae, quam iudicii' (a man of considerably more diligence than judgement) (*Cygneae cantio*, ed. Hearne, 80).

In some passages Leland appears to be addressing Vergil directly as he reprimands him for his shortcomings. The original version of the chapter on Maugantius (c. 28), contemporary of Merlin, for example, must be read as a challenge to Vergil. It begins with Leland's vindication of this figure—'Maugantius would consider himself neglected, despised, and insulted if he were not numbered among learned men; certainly, inasmuch as it depends on me, I shall be mindful of my duty'—and then, in the deleted section, he compares his act of restoration with Vergil's negligence:

But Polydore, an Italian and pure honey of Urbino, may begrudge him his place among the famous. The reason for this is that he appears on the public streets of Geoffrey of Monmouth, of whom Polydore is an avowed enemy. Polydore may be an Attic muse, he may possess a golden stream of eloquence, or, if this is more pleasing, he may even be a Geoffrey-killer, as long as he turns a blind eye to my efforts here. But why do I hesitate? I know for certain that he will take it in his stride.⁵³⁵

Leland regretted that none of Maugantius' works had survived but this was a result, so he explained, of the British rout under Saxon hands. And if Vergil did not accept this explanation then so much the worse for him: 'Go now, Polydore, if this displeases you, and mint the counterfeit coin of your history over again'.⁵³⁶

A constant traveller himself, Leland held in the greatest esteem earlier writers who made use of first-hand observation. Concerning Dafydd Morgan of Llandaff (c. 574 [573]) he pointed out:

Himself a bard (as the Welsh call their native poets), he consulted the bards on the sacred antiquity of Britain. He visited as many places of high repute as there are or ever have been in Wales, and examined them with enquiring eyes. . . . It remained for him, having collected a rich store of antiquity in this way, to produce the expected harvest from the crop he had sown with such labour.⁵³⁷

And, as Leland could not resist observing in a coda to this description, Dafydd's assiduousness contrasted markedly with Vergil's more lackadaisical approach: 'If Polydore Vergil had ever made use of the same precise attentiveness, he would have left a permanent monument to posterity, especially since he has at his fingertips an elegant style of Latin prose'.⁵³⁸

In his commentary on the New Year's Gift John Bale described Leland as 'a man lerned in many sondrye languages, as Greke, Latyne, Frenche, Italian,

⁵³⁵ Below, 81.

⁵³⁶ *ibid.*

⁵³⁷ Below, 779, 781.

⁵³⁸ Below, 781.

Spanyshe, Brittyshe, Saxonyshe, Walshe, Englyshe, and Scottyshe'.⁵³⁹ In the *Collectanea* there are Old English and Breton word lists.⁵⁴⁰ There is also some evidence of Leland's linguistic prowess in the *De uiris illustribus*. To counter Vergil's scepticism about Arthur, for example, Leland drew on Welsh names, observing that 'Among the airy crags of Brycheiniog there is a place which the Welsh call *Cather* or *Cair Arture* in their language, which means Arthur's Chair or Fortress. If Arthur had never existed, they would not have given any such name to the place'.⁵⁴¹ Well acquainted with the Antonine Itinerary and perhaps even possessing a copy of the *Notitia dignitatum* (the official listing of ancient Roman civil and military posts), Leland was particularly concerned about the relationship between Roman place-names and the British ones they might have replaced. Like Vergil, Leland made use of etymology in his analysis of the origin of place-names.⁵⁴² In many cases, however, he challenged Vergil on specifics as, for example, in the case of York.⁵⁴³ Likewise, by Leland's account:

in the same place [as *Segontium*] there has grown up a noble city called by the more recent Britons *Cair Arvon*, a name for which I shall not refuse to give an etymology. *Cair* means 'fort', *Arvon* is a composite word from *Ar* and *Mon* with the letter *m* mutated into a *v*. *Ar* means 'against', or 'straight across from'; *Mon* is *Mona* or Anglesey. Thus, taken together, *Cair Arvon* signifies 'the fort situated directly opposite the isle of Anglesey'. This city was superbly repaired and fortified by Edward I and later gave its name to his son Edward, who was born there. Let this be enough said for the benefit of antiquaries.⁵⁴⁴

Which antiquaries might benefit from this etymology is made clear from the entry on *Mona* in the 'Syllabus et interpretatio antiquarum dictionum' to the *Genethliacon*, where Leland points out that 'Polydorus Vergilius, uir cum magna lectione, tum iudicio in rebus multis plane singulari, aliter sentit, contenditque miris modis ex Meuania Monam facere' (Polydore Vergil, a man

⁵³⁹ *Laboryouse journey*, sig. Biii^r. Bale's correspondent also referred to Leland's wide knowledge of languages.

⁵⁴⁰ On the extracts 'ex antiquissimo Dictionario Latinosaxonico' (i.e. Ælfric's *Glossary*) (*Collectanea*, 4, 134–6) see R. E. Buckalew, 'Leland's transcript of Ælfric's *Glossary*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), 149–64. For the list 'Ex Dictionario Britannico' (i.e. Jean Lagadeuc's *Catholicon*) see M. Swanton, 'Une version perdue du *Catholicon* de Jean Lagadeuc', *Études celtiques* 15 (1976–8), 599–605.

⁵⁴¹ Below, 315.

⁵⁴² See Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, 90–92, on Vergil's 'use of linguistic evidence'.

⁵⁴³ Below, 121, 123. In the mid-sixteenth-century translation of the 1546 edition of the *Anglica historia* up to 1485 there are marginal references to Leland on names. Beside the statement in Book 1 that Ebranc built the city of York between 'the rivers Usa and Fossa' the note states that 'thei are called Isis and Urus of Leland, whearof he calleth Yorkeshire, Surouicana prouincia'; see *Polydore Vergil's English History from an Early Translation*, ed. H. Ellis, 2 vols, Camden Society 29 and 36 (1844 and 1846), 2, 34.

⁵⁴⁴ Below, 561.

with both great reading about and a clearly remarkable judgement about many things, believes differently and strains in a wonderful manner to identify Mona as Man).⁵⁴⁵ In the case of Mount Badon Leland's attack on Vergil ties in directly with his case for the historicity of Arthur, since this was the only one of Arthur's legendary battles to appear in the *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* (although not attributed to Arthur): 'If anyone should ever be in any doubt about the identity of the place named Mount Badon in Gildas' short history, let me state that it is Bath, and I would rather go looking for it in Anticyrae than to search for it among the Black Mountains across the Severn in the manner of Polydore'.⁵⁴⁶

There are many other examples of this sort, and Leland felt strongly that his research into place-names was far superior to Vergil's. Among his short poems is one addressed to Vergil in which he asserts categorically his own primacy in this area:

Primus ego asserui nostrae sua nomina gentis
 Urbibus antiquis, ne, Polydore, neges.
 Et quae Cimmeriis obducta fuere tenebris,
 Accipere novum (me referente) diem.⁵⁴⁷

(I was the first person to identify ancient cities by our names, do not deny it, Polydore. And those things that had been enveloped in Cimmerian darkness were brought back to light by my restoration.)

Not only did Leland contrast Vergil's shoddy research (as he saw it) with his own more thorough, more scientific endeavours, he also accused the Italian of ingratitude to those who went before. In particular he defended Geoffrey of Monmouth: 'Whatever manner of man Geoffrey may have been, I know for certain that Polydore was forced to follow him in hundreds of places or else remain silent'.⁵⁴⁸ Leland also took Vergil to task for not acknowledging his debt to William of Malmesbury: 'Whatever his history is like, we owe a good part of it (if you remove a little of the eloquence in which Polydore excels) to

⁵⁴⁵ *Genethliacon*, ed. Hearne, xxxviii. Vergil comments: '... Mona insula nominatissima, quam mutatione unius literae Manam uocant, quae ab aquilone Scotiam, ab ortu aestivo Angliam, ab occasu mare Hybernicum habet propinquum. . . . sunt qui audeant affirmare Monam esse eam quam Angliseam appellant, quae Walliae adiacet, estque Bangoriensis diocesis' (. . . the very famous Isle of Mona, which through the mutation of one letter is called Man, having Scotland as its neighbour to the north, England to the east, and Ireland to the west . . . some are so bold as to affirm that Mona is that island which men call Anglesey, lying hard by Wales, and that it belongs to the diocese of Bangor) (*Anglica historia*, ed. and trans. Sutton, 1. 12–13). The Welsh cartographer Humphrey Llwyd (1527–1568) also took Vergil to task on this: see I. and M. Roberts, 'De Mona druidum insula', in *Abraham Ortelius and the First Atlas*, ed. M. van den Broecke, P. van der Krogt, and P. Meurer (Utrecht 1998), 347–61.

⁵⁴⁶ Below, 15, 17. For this latter suggestion see *Anglica historia*, ed. and trans. Sutton, 3. 12.

⁵⁴⁷ *Carmen* 170.

⁵⁴⁸ Below, 347.

William of Malmesbury, whether Polydore likes it or not. There will be no need of proof here, when the fact itself is clearer than the midday sun; yet William complains at his name and honour being suppressed in total silence in such a long work'.⁵⁴⁹ The most severe condemnation, however, comes in the chapter on Leland's admired Ranulf Higden (c. 354):

of the many historians of ours whom he audaciously but dishonestly and meanly ransacked, he has barely mentioned one or two of them by name—apart from Bede and his possibly fictitious Gildas, that is—and then only to insult them. I would say more of Polydore's arrogance here, if I did not fear his dislike, but I do not fear it so much that I dare not openly maintain that Ranulf was superior to him 'by two full octaves' in digging out the mysteries of Britain's past. . . . I say this to prevent the Italian from ascribing too much to himself concerning our affairs on the grounds of his fine style.⁵⁵⁰

In Leland's view, then, Vergil was, in spite of his fine rhetorical feathers, a virtual plagiarist as well as a manipulator of evidence.⁵⁵¹

What occurred in the years following the first draft of the *De uiris illustribus*, and why did Leland remove so many of his comments about Vergil when he returned to his text? Only one deletion suggests any subsequent moderating of his earlier censure: when he came to revise his account of Gildas (c. 32) he did strike out the epithet 'nugacissimus' to describe his old sparring partner.⁵⁵² In other writings that appeared in print in the 1540s, however, he showed himself deeply contemptuous of Vergil, and in the *Assertio Arturii* continued to caricature him as Codrus. There is no indication, in other words, of a reconciliation between the two men or a reappraisal on Leland's part of the *Anglica historia*.

By the time he returned to the *De uiris illustribus* after more than half a decade of travel and note-taking, Leland had clear ideas about the various volumes that were meant to grow out of this research, and he was able to articulate them in the New Year's Gift. As we have seen, his *Liber de topographia Britanniae primae* would provide a key to the names used by classical writers for English places and would rectify many of Vergil's errors. Likewise, his

⁵⁴⁹ Below, 331. In the dedication to the manuscript version of the *Anglica historia*, to which Leland of course would not have had access, Vergil does praise William, and Matthew Paris too. BL MS Royal 13 D. v (St Albans, s. xiii'), which was annotated by Vergil, contains a copy of both William's *Gesta regum Anglorum* and Geoffrey's *Historia regum Britannie*. Vergil also examined the St Albans' autograph copy of Matthew Paris' *Historia Anglorum*, now Royal 14 C. vii: above, n. 275.

⁵⁵⁰ Below, 569.

⁵⁵¹ Vergil's history continued to be read critically in the seventeenth century, and in 1628, for example, the Oxford alumnus Edward Littleton stated: 'What have we to do with Polydore Vergil? One Vergil was a poet, the other a liar' (quoted in Woolf, 'Genre into artifact', 330; for this and other examples see also his *Reading History in Early Modern England*, 23–5.)

⁵⁵² Hay (*Polydore Vergil*, 96 n. 2) suggests that Leland regretted his attack on Vergil about John Rous and he therefore deleted that particular offending passage, but there is no evidence to support this hypothesis.

understanding of the relationship between the *De uiris illustribus* and the much more inchoate *Ciuilis historia* had evolved considerably. Many of his rebuttals of Vergil, he realized, would fit more appropriately in the *Ciuilis historia*, and he therefore decided to delete cross-references to the latter book in the *De uiris illustribus*, as in the case of New Troy: 'I know that Polydore has written differently and has other thoughts about *Trenouantum*, but neither Caesar nor Ptolemy, on whom he places inordinate reliance for knowledge of our affairs, will sufficiently support him in this, as I shall show by obvious proofs in my book *Civil History* or *The Antiquity of Britain*'.⁵⁵³ By far the longest chapter of the first draft of *De uiris illustribus*, however, concerned Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose reputation Leland wished to defend against the attacks of medieval historians, such as William of Newburgh, as well as moderns such as Vergil and Hector Boece.⁵⁵⁴ Once he published the *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis Britanniae* in 1544, much of what he had to say about Vergil had become redundant and he removed it, probably in 1543/4 when he was working on this tract. (See Plate 3.) The tone in the *Assertio* was even more strident and dismissive than it had been in the chapter on Geoffrey, Leland concluding that his opponent was 'so fainte harted, luke warme & so negligent that he makes me not onely to laugh, but also to be angry (as while he is contrary to truth, and filled with Italian bitterness) I know not whether he smile or be angry'.⁵⁵⁵ Leland did not, it is clear, mellow with age.

C. 'Facundia nulla peribit': Leland's Prose Style

In the dedicatory letter to the *Anglorum Heliades* Bale emphasized the eloquence of Leland's written style:

Non possum non admirari in scribendo tum facilitatem tum sermonis elegantiam. Verborum enim pondere, sententiarumque grauitate, nulli, nec ipsi cedis Ciceroni.⁵⁵⁶

(I cannot help but admire the facility of your writing and the elegance of your

⁵⁵³ Below, 17. In his chapter on William of Malmesbury (c. 166) he stated that there would be a 'broader field' on which to meet Vergil in the *Civil History*. See also his comment in the *Cygnea cantio* (ed. Hearne, 98), concerning Vergil's identification of this site with Northampton, called 'Tranton' in the vernacular.

⁵⁵⁴ On his contempt for Boece see above, n. 98. In the *Scotorum historia* (1527) Boece had written (in Book 7) that unlike Geoffrey he consulted ancient authors and that therefore his history varied greatly from Geoffrey's. (I thank Dana Sutton for pointing this out to me.)

⁵⁵⁵ *Assertio Arturii*, ed. Mead, 53; the Latin is on 122: 'tam languens, tepidus, & remissus, ut mihi non risum modo, uerum etiam stomachum, dum falsus & Italo persufus aceto nescio an rideat, an stomachetur'. (See Horace, *Satires*, 1. 7. 31.)

⁵⁵⁶ Harley 3838, fol. 4r-v. By 1536 Leland had published nothing—although he had prepared verses for Anne Boleyn's coronation as well as composing other short occasional verse—and, as far as we know, the only prose work on which he had begun was the *De uiris illustribus*, to which Bale must therefore be referring.

diction. For you yield to nobody, not even Cicero himself, in the balance of your language and the gravity of your thoughts.)

Although he concerned himself primarily with the Latin writers from the British past Leland did acknowledge some individuals who composed in English, describing Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 505), for example, as 'the fairest ornament of the British lyre'. What singled Chaucer out among medieval poets, in Leland's opinion, was that he 'did not desist until he had raised our language to such purity, such eloquence, such concision and grace, that it could justly be ranked among the cultured languages of the nations'.⁵⁵⁷ Chaucer's accomplishment was all the more impressive, moreover, given that 'he was born at a barbarous hour'.

In spite of this regard for Chaucer's English poetry (as well as that of Gower [c. 493], the 'first to polish our native language'),⁵⁵⁸ and, among his own contemporaries, that of Thomas Wyatt and of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, true eloquence in Leland's view resided above all in knowledge of and ability to compose with purity in the ancient languages. Concerning the twelfth-century treasurer of York, John de Belmeis (c. 175), for example, he pointed out that John did not 'consider it sufficient to have the bare knowledge of scholarship, unless he also added eloquence, that is, skill in languages'.⁵⁵⁹ To some extent, moreover, Leland's division of *De uiris illustribus* into four books corresponded with his sense of the ebb and flow of eloquence in Britain. The Roman occupation represented a high point: 'At the time when Alban flourished [d. ca 304], a high standard of learning prevailed in Britain, the great contribution of the Romans who had made [Britain] a province; and the nobles were renowned for their practice of eloquence and the other established arts'.⁵⁶⁰ The Roman withdrawal signalled the beginning of linguistic barbarism which would lead to the decline into medieval Latin, and this created a disjunction between content and meaning. After the advent of the Anglo-Saxons the medium was, as it were, no longer the message. It was this lamentable situation, which culminated in the scholasticism of the medieval universities, that the English scholars in the fifteenth century, those individuals, almost all noblemen, who made the journey to Italy to sit at the feet of Guarino of Verona and his ilk, began to remedy: 'Heaven bestowed upon my fellow-countryman, John Free, born in London [ca 1430] the good fortune to be the first Englishman . . . who through honest and profitable toil restored his homeland, foully oppressed by barbarity, completely to the pristine health which it had enjoyed above

⁵⁵⁷ Below, 705, 707.

⁵⁵⁸ Below, 695. Interestingly, Leland had never heard of Langland, whom Bale named as a prophet of the new age.

⁵⁵⁹ Below, 349.

⁵⁶⁰ Below, 47.

all human imagination under Roman rule'.⁵⁶¹ By the time of Leland's own generation—that is, the intellectual community he had hoped to chronicle in the fourth book of *De uiris illustribus*—the transformation was complete: 'In the reign of the most illustrious King Henry VIII', Leland maintained, 'so many remarkable men have come from this academy [Cambridge], "trained to perfection" not only in the three languages but in every kind of discipline, that they have restored all Britain to the ancient eloquence it had once received from the Romans'.⁵⁶² As he would proudly state in one of his epigrams, England was experiencing a veritable 'instauration bonarum literarum'.⁵⁶³

Like modern scholars, both Bale and Leland admired Bede (c. 87), Bale, however, admitting some qualification on theological grounds: 'He was acquainted with the mysteries of the Christian faith, in truth as firmly as the iniquity of his time permitted'.⁵⁶⁴ According to Leland, on the other hand, Bede stood out like a beacon in the early period—in spite of his silence about King Arthur—specifically because 'apart from fruitfully occupying himself with almost every kind of scholarly discipline, he knew both the languages, Latin and Greek, so well that in that age, when almost all Europe was occupied by barbarians, he was held to be a miracle of eloquence'.⁵⁶⁵ Likewise, Leland found some verses that rose 'to real eloquence' in the Life of St Swithun by

⁵⁶¹ Below, 783.

⁵⁶² Below, 137. Leland normally concerned himself with Latin and Greek, but here he may have included Hebrew in his equation; alternatively he may have been referring to English. (On the ambiguity of his use of the term 'three languages' see Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 21.) Although he himself knew no Hebrew, Leland admired the trilingual curriculum of the University of Louvain. When he needed an assistant, he wrote to his 'frende master Bane, student yn Lovaine', requesting help 'in procuring me at Lovaine a toward young man, aboute the age of xx. yeres, learnid in the Latine tungue and versifying; and that beside can yn the Greke tungue *sine cortice natara*'. (This letter dates from London on 12 November of an unspecified year; printed in *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Toulmin Smith, 2, 145–6.) Mr Bane is almost certainly the Hebrew scholar and religious conservative Ralph Baynes (d. 1559), a graduate of St John's College, Cambridge, who left England for Paris probably during the 1530s and returned during Mary's reign, when he became bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. He appears in the *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain*, ed. E. Reusens, J. Wils, and A. Schillings, 10 vols (Brussels 1903–67), 4, 358 (no. 88): 'Rodolphus Bayn, Anglus, maior' (19 January 1548), and again on 12 July 1548 (4, 368 [no. 148]). (I thank Richard Rex for this reference.) It seems likely that Baynes did not go to Louvain until well into the 1540s, so this letter was probably written very late in Leland's working life. Leland's connexions with Baynes and with Louvain in general may be revealing, since, as Peter Marshall has pointed out, it was viewed as a Catholic stronghold and a 'centre of resistance to Henry VIII' towards the end of the regime (*Religious Identities in Henry VIII's England* [Aldershot 2006], 247).

⁵⁶³ *Carmen* 198. Generally speaking, modern scholars accept Leland's optimistic appraisal of the linguistic situation in his time: see, for example, McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics*, 72.

⁵⁶⁴ 'Fidei uero Christianae mysteria tam solide, quantum eius temporis dabat iniquitas, nouit' (Bale, *Catalogus*, 1, 94).

⁵⁶⁵ Below, 187. Leland was not the first humanist to hold Bede up as an example. In 1444 Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II) praised the Latin style of Adam Moleyns (d. 1450), but added 'sed fuerunt et alii apud Anglos Tullianae cultores eloquentiae, inter quos uenerabilem Bedam nemo non posuit' (but among the English there were other cultivators of the eloquence of Cicero,

the tenth-century monk Wulfstan Cantor (c. 126). And in the post-Conquest period of linguistic debasement he also noted anomalies, the most impressive of whom was his beloved Joseph of Exeter (d. 1210; c. 217): 'I cannot marvel enough how in that rude and barbarous age his ease of expression increased until it was correct, eloquent, and well formed in all respects'.⁵⁶⁶

Wulfstan and Joseph of Exeter were both poets, trained in the subtleties of language, and Leland inevitably found less to commend among prose writers. Concerning the Dominican friar and scholar Nicholas Trevet (d. in or after 1334; c. 332), he observed:

you should not be unaware, most learned reader, that that age was not as fortunate as it might have been if one is seeking purity of language, splendid ornamentation of rhetoric, or forceful eloquence. Still, it did not lack for subject-matter full of the greatest seriousness, weight, and majesty—virtues which still contain something for the scholar to praise, even if they do not bring with them that golden and full river of eloquence.⁵⁶⁷

There were, however, rare exceptions among the prose writers, such as Ralph Bocking (d. after 1272; c. 260), who wrote a *Life of St Richard of Wyche*, bishop of Chichester in the thirteenth century: 'not only a scholar, but a man of eloquence too—something rather rare in those times'. Leland describes Ralph's *Life* as a 'lovely' book, still venerated in his time by the canons of Chichester.⁵⁶⁸ His criteria for excellence in this case, as in so many others, were radically different from Bale's, who contemptuously dismissed the *Life*: 'In the work concerning the life of [Richard] which he wrote, [Ralph] commends the man on account of false learning, deceptions, lies, idolatry, papal arrogance, torment of consciences, injuring of souls, rebellion towards the king and other similar impostures'.⁵⁶⁹

In spite of his reservations about the lack of rhetorical sophistication in past ages and his pride in the restoration of *bonae literae* in his own lifetime, Leland nevertheless condemned the tendency of the moderns to dismiss writers from the medieval past just because their Latin was barbarous: 'There are plenty in our time who, having taken a sip of the nectar of both languages, have the audacity to despise, emphatically and beyond all measure, theologians who were endowed with solid, abundant, and vigorous learning'.⁵⁷⁰ Leland did not

amongst whom no one would deny a place to the venerable Bede) (*Epistulae*, no. 143, ed. R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* 61 [Vienna 1909]).

⁵⁶⁶ Below, 271.

⁵⁶⁷ Below, 549.

⁵⁶⁸ Below, 465. By contrast, in his *ODNB* entry C. H. Lawrence criticizes the 'oleaginous rhetoric of his style, which sometimes obscures his meaning'.

⁵⁶⁹ 'In eius nempe uitae, quam scripsit, opusculo, a pseudodoctrina, praestigiis, mendaciis, idololatria (sic), fastu pontificio, conscientiarum carnificina, animarum laesione, rebellione in regem, et similibus imposturis ipsum commendat' (Bale, *Catalogus*, 1. 321).

⁵⁷⁰ Below, 687.

dispute that ideally one should have both style and substance, but he wished his readers also to remember that ‘although “he who mingles the useful with the pleasant wins all approbation” (as if to say that matter which is good in itself becomes still more worthy with the addition of eloquence), nevertheless one who deals with a useful subject with more good faith and labour than skill and elegance should not be deprived of his reward’.⁵⁷¹ Eloquence without content, moreover, is nothing but ‘purple rouge ill-suited to a deformed body’,⁵⁷² and those medieval theologians who were concerned with truth rather than mere ornament deserved commendation. ‘In those days’—he writes about Thomas Waleys (c. 345) who probably died in 1349—‘men did not seek out the pomposities of oratory or the trappings of eloquence through painful labour; rather, they sought out the strength of the best knowledge to be an ornament not to the mouth but to the mind’.⁵⁷³

Leland made good use of the distinction between form and content in his ongoing battle with Polydore Vergil. Although he prided himself on the ‘ornature’ of his own writing he gladly yielded place to Vergil in this regard. Where Vergil failed as a historian, however, was in his inability to see beyond the barbarous style of the medieval writers to the soundness of their arguments. By Leland’s own metaphor, the history Vergil minted so eloquently was a counterfeit one and owed what little substance it had to the medieval historians he so contemptuously derided. Leland identified himself, then, with historians such as William of Malmesbury and theologians such as Thomas Waleys, who cared more about meaning than mere adornment, even though he himself planned to add stylistic adornment to increase accessibility among the fastidious:

I truste right shortly so to describe your moste noble reaulme, and to publische [i.e. to make public] the Majeste and the excellent actes of yowr progenitors (hitherto sore obscurid booth for lak of enprinting of such workes as lay secretly yn corners, and also bycause men of eloquence hath not enterprisid to set them forthe yn a florisching style, yn sum tymes paste not communely usid in England of wryters, otherwise welle lernid, and now yn such estimation that except truethe be delicately clothid yn purple her written verites can scant finde a reader); that al the worlde shaul evidently perceyve that no particular region may justely be more extollid then yours for trewe nobilite and vertues at al pointes renowned.⁵⁷⁴

It has generally been assumed, perhaps even by some of Leland’s own contemporaries, that this passage indicates a plan to rewrite according to correct classical usage the medieval chronicles he had collected.⁵⁷⁵ In fact, he was al-

⁵⁷¹ Below, 583.

⁵⁷² Below, 621.

⁵⁷³ Below, 559.

⁵⁷⁴ Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 3, p. 281.

⁵⁷⁵ See, for example, Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, 21–2. As his excerpts in the *Col-*

most certainly referring to his own intended writings and the manner in which they would glorify England's past. What the *De uiris illustribus* represents in part is an account, and a detailed one, of the acts of Henry's noble progenitors and other illustrious individuals as revealed by British writers. Presented with eloquence—substance and style united—these were the fragments he shored up against the ruins of the monastic dissolutions.⁵⁷⁶

III. THE EDITIONS

A. 'Such and so confounded': *The Manuscript*

1. Physical Makeup and Mise-en-Page

Written on paper and in a modern binding, Bodl. MS Top. gen. c. 4 has been trimmed since Leland's time: it now measures, generally speaking, 185 × 280 mm. Leland made use of several stocks of paper with the following watermarks:

- a. Briquet 1255 ('shield with bird'). This was used for many of the entries in Stage I and was also employed for entries in Stage II written on formerly blank pages. It constitutes the main paper stock.
- b. Briquet 11383; Piccard XVII. V. 1618 ('hand with flower'). This paper stock was not used for entries in Stage I, but it appeared soon afterwards. A number of entries in a characteristic hand, not quite identical to Stage I (cc. 180, 218, 246 etc.), are written on this paper. It is found at the

lectanea from medieval chronicles show, Leland was himself a meticulous editor, and as a rule he did not normally silently emend but rather put his alternative reading above the line.

⁵⁷⁶ No doubt Leland did hope that the books he gathered in his study would also be printed, but there is no evidence that he saw this as a task he himself could accomplish. Bale, who was aware of the immensity of the task, suggested assembling a team to publish those medieval authors worthy of note: 'Lete one noble man therfore, nowe that the scryptures are plenteously spredde, bring fourth one noble author, and an other empreinte an other, to the conservacion of Englandes Antiquitees. In lyke case lete one ryche merchaunte brynge one worthye worke of an auntyent wryter to lyght, and an other put fourth an other, to the bewtie of our nacyon. Besides the Bryttyshe authors, whome I oft named afore, lete one bryng fourth *Bedas de gestis Anglorum*, an other Willyam of Malmesbery *de gestis Pontificum & Regum*. Lete an other brynge fourth Simeon of Durham wyth Rycharde and Johan of Haugustalde, an other Aldrede, and Wyllyam of Rievall wyth Marianus the Scott, an other Giraldus Cambrensis, an other Henry of Huntynghton, an other Alphrede of Beverlay, an other Florence of Worcestre, and an other Walter of Excestre, an other Roger Hoveden, an other Mathew Parys, on other Johan Bever, an other Radulphus Niger, an other Radulphus de Diceto, an other William Newburg of Bridlington, an other Johan of Oxforde, an other *Scala temporum*, an other *Flores historiarum*, Asserius, Observus (*sic*), Gervasius, Stephanides, and Richardus Divisiensis of Winchestre, wyth a wonderfull nombre besydes' (*Laboryouse journey*, sig. Fvii^r–Fviii^r). On his scheme see P. Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge 2004), 63–75, who maintains that Bale did not accomplish this project because he was ultimately convinced that the 'texts dearest to his heart' did not exist: 'In short, Bale's project of national beautification in *The Laboryouse Journey* may have had less to do with the production of printed texts than with the production of nostalgia' (73).