

CATALOGUE OF PRINCIPAL SOURCES USED IN 1577 EDITION OF HOLINSHED'S CHRONICLES

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This catalogue is the first of four to be made available as components of work now in progress on Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Unlike the other three, this one forms a discrete, integral, part of the *Chronicles*, having been published within the preliminaries to both editions. It was presumably intended to catalogue only the principal authors used by Holinshed in compiling the first edition of 1577 (no additions were made to it ten years later). The number of sources mentioned in passing in the text is considerably greater than those presented here. It is intended that the second list will cover named authors who are incidentally referred to, and that the third will contain, and as far as possible identify, the anonymous sources cited, while the fourth (and shortest) will provide references to information originating in personal contacts. Thus what follows here represents an attempt at explicating what is only a selection of Holinshed's sources. This list is nevertheless a very wide-ranging one, containing books relating to many countries besides England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Presumably this is at least partly due to the *Chronicles*' having developed from a project for a vast universal history - an appendix at the end contains references to other national histories which may have originated in the same plan, and whose publication may even have seemed still possible in 1577.

It should be remembered that in sixteenth-century England texts circulated widely in partial or complete transcripts, and where it is surmised that a particular manuscript was used, this should be understood as meaning either that manuscript or a copy of it. Four of the works in this catalogue have so far evaded identification – nos. 30, 119, 150, 153. Any suggestions as to what these titles can have been, or for other improvements, will be gratefully received. At this stage references to modern authors have been kept to a minimum. Those cited in abbreviated form are:

G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval cartularies of Great Britain: a short catalogue* (1958)

A. Gransden, *Historical writing in England*, 2 volumes (1974, 1982)

C.L. Kingsford, *English historical literature in the fifteenth century* (Oxford 1913, reprinted New York, 1962)

ODNB, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (used in its online version)

John Stow, *A survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford, 2 volumes (Oxford, 1971)

References to Holinshed's text are to the six volumes of the 1807-8 reprint of the second edition.

The Names of the Authors from whome this Historie of England is collected

A

1 Aelius Spartianus: one of the six alleged authors of the so-called *Historia Augusta*, a collection of lives of Roman emperors probably written by one man around the end of the fourth century. First published at Milan 1475 as part of an edition of Suetonius, appeared in several sixteenth-century editions either attached to more substantial works or in collections of lesser historical/biographical Latin writings. Given its present-day title by Isaac Casaubon in his critical edition of 1603. The contributors to Holinshed regarded the supposed writers of the *HA* as individual historians – for the remaining five see nos. 2, 63, 99, 164, 176 below.

2 Aelius Lampridius: one of the 'authors' of the *Historia Augusta*, see no. 1 above

3 Asserius Meneuensis: Asser of St David's (d. 909), bishop and biographer. Although Holinshed is highly likely to have known Matthew Parker's edition of Asser, published in 1574 as *Ælfridi regis res gestae*, he cannot be shown to have used it. Sometime before September 1572 he made an English translation of what purported to be the life of Alfred for John Stow – see B.L., MS Harley 563 fol. 51r; but this appears to have been an abridgement of the chronicle of John of Worcester (no. 64 below), which includes large extracts from Asser's text. The account of Alfred using material ultimately derived from Asser mentions the latter in passing, but does not name him as a source – Vol. I, 674-6. *ODNB* entry.

4 Alfridus Beuerlacensis: Alfred of Beverley (d. 1154x7), author of chronicle known as *Annales*. Not printed until 1716. Five surviving manuscripts, one of which (now in France) belonged to Lord Burghley. *ODNB* entry.

5 Aeneas Syluius Senensis: Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius II (1405-1464). A prolific author, his *Commentarii*, containing his account of his embassy to Scotland in 1435, were not printed until 1584. His poetry is briefly cited at Vol. II, 94. His writings that seem most likely to have been used for Holinshed are his life, prefacing *Opera quae extant omnia*, Basel 1551, 1571,

and *Cosmographia*, Venice 1501-3, which contains a brief account of Scotland. But it is possible that he was principally known at second hand – references added in 1587 to his account of, and comments on, the murder of James I in 1437 seem to be taken from John Lesley's *De origine, moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum libri decem*, Rome, 1578 (Vol. V, 426-8).

6 Auentinus: Johann Georg Thurmair, known as Aventinus (1477-1534). Author of several books on German history; his *Annales Boiorum libri septem*, Ingolstadt, 1554, is cited Vol. I, 430.

7 Adam Merimouth with additions: Adam Murimuth (1274/5-1347), ecclesiastic, diplomat and historian, wrote *Continuatio chronicorum* covering period 1303-1347; an anonymous continuation runs to 1380 – cited for 1379 at Vol. II, 725. No printed edition before 1722. At least nine manuscripts survive, of which either Queen's College, Oxford, MS 304, or the now badly damaged B.L., MS Cotton Otho C.ii seem the likeliest to have been used by Holinshed, since both contain the continuation. *ODNB* entry.

8 Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus: Antonino Pierozzi or De Forciglioni, archbishop of Florence (1389-1459). A prolific writer, mostly of pastoral and theological works; Holinshed could have used his *Chronica*, 3 parts, Lyon, 1527. Cited by way of Fabian, Vol. I, 712.

9 Albertus Crantz: Albert Krantz (*d.* 1517), German historian, wrote several important works on the history of northern Europe; in-text references (e.g. Vol. I, 730-1) suggest that his *Chronica regnorum aquilonarum*, Strasbourg (?), 1562 is most likely to have been used by Holinshed.

10 Alexander Neuill: Alexander Neville (1544-1614), secretary to Archbishop Matthew Parker and author of *De furore Norfolciensium Ketto duce* (1575), an account of the 1549 Norfolk rising (cited Vol. III, 974, 979, 980). *ODNB* entry.

11 Arnoldus Ferronius: Arnoldus Ferronus or Arnold du Ferrond (*d.* 1563), *De rebus gestis Gallorum libri IX*, Paris, 1550. Continuation of Paulus Aemilius (see no. 136 below), published with the latter's history, Paris, 1550, 1555, 1569.

12 Annus Viterbiensis: Joannes Annus, or Giovanni Nanni, of Viterbo (*d.* 1502), literary forger. Probably represented here by his notorious *Commentaria...super diversorum auctorum de*

Antiquitatibus, Rome, 1498 (and several later editions), which provides texts of Berossus (see no. 24 below), Manetho, and other non-existent authorities for the history of pre-Christian Europe.

13 Amianus Marcellinus: Ammianus Marcellinus (*d. c.* 390), historian of the Roman empire 353-378. Numerous editions of his *Res gestae* published from 1474 onwards.

14 Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France: Claude Paradin, *Alliances généalogiques des Rois et Princes de Gaule*, Lyon, 1561.

15 Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet: Jean Bouchet, *Les annalles dacquittaine faictz et gestes en sommaire des Roys de France et Dangleterre...*, Poitiers, 1524, and numerous subsequent editions – may be cited in its 1557 edition (as *Les chroniques de Aquitaine*) at Vol. III, 1012, referring to Anglo-French war in 1549.

16 Annales de Bourgoigne per Guillamme Paradin: Guillaume Paradin, *Annales de Bourgongne*, Lyon, 1566.

17 Annales de France per Nicol Giles: Nicole Gilles, *Annales et croniques de France*, Paris, 1562, further editions 1570 and 1573.

18 Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir: Jacobus Meyer, *Commentarii sive annales rerum Flandricarum libri septendecim*, Antwerp, 1561, cited at Vol. I, 687, as 'James Maier in the annales of Flanders'.

19 Antonius Sabellicus: Marcus Antonius Coccius Sabellicus [Marco Antonio Sabellico] (1436-1506), historian and classical scholar. Cited as a source for giants and barnacle geese (Vol. I, 21, Vol. VI, 18). The former, at least, occur in his *Enneades sive Rhapsodia historiarum*, a world history first published at Venice, 1498, subsequent editions Lyon, 1535, Basel, 1538 (part of two-volume *Opera*). *Opera omnia* published at Basel, 1560.

20 Antonius Nebricensis: Antonio de Lebrija the elder (*d.* 1522), humanist scholar, probably *Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis rerum a Fernando et Elisabe Hispaniorum felicissimis regibus gestarum* [translation of the chronicle of Hernando del Pulgar], Granada, 1545, 1550. The same volume contained the chronicles of Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez – see no. 156 below.

21 Aurea Historia: the 'Historia aurea', an unprinted history of the world up to 1347, is described by Thynne (Vol. IV, 948) as the work of 'John Anglicus', who is now identified as John Tynemouth (*fl.* c. 1350). It survives in three complete manuscript texts (Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 10-12; Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 240; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MSS 5, 6) and several abbreviations. *ODNB* entry.

B

22 Biblia Sacra: countless possibilities, though if the title is taken literally, the use of a *Latin* Bible seems worthy of comment.

23 Beda venerabilis: the Venerable Bede (673/4-735), author of *Historia gentis ecclesiastica Anglorum*. First printed at Strasbourg between 1475 and 1480, reprinted 1500, 1506. Improved text published at Antwerp 1550, reprinted 1566. The *Historia* also constituted volume III of Bede's *Opera omnia*, 8 volumes, Basel, 1563. An English translation by the Catholic exile Thomas Stapleton was published in 1565, John Stow had acquired a copy by February 1569. *ODNB* entry.

24 Berosus: historically, Berossos, a Hellenistic scholar of the third century BC; re-invented, or perhaps just invented, as Berosus Babylonicus, or the Chaldaean, in 1498 by Annius Viterbiensis (no. 12 above), as a source for very ancient history. Berosus's suppositious writings were frequently reprinted until their claims to historicity were demolished by Gaspar Barreiros in 1565, but by then they had taken in John Bale, John Caius and others.

25 Brian Tuke knight: Sir Brian Tuke (*d.* 1545), an important figure in Henry VIII's government. Described in 1531 as reading out in the House of Commons the opinions of continental universities on the lawfulness of Henry VIII's first marriage, Vol. III, 767. Also had significant scholarly interests, supplying his friend John Leland with medieval manuscripts and writing the preface to the edition of Chaucer by William Thynne, the father of Francis. His opinion cited Vol. I, 431. *ODNB* entry.

26 Blondus Forliuensis: Blondus Flavius Forliviensis, Flavio Biondo of Forli (1392-1463), humanist and historian. Was the author of three major historical writings on classical Rome and its eclipse – *In Romam instauratam* (1444-6), *De Roma triumphante* (1459), and *Historiarum ab*

inclinacione Romanorum imperii decades (1483), each appearing in several subsequent editions, separately and also (from 1483) together. Cited on the decline of the Roman empire, Vol. I, 541, 552, perhaps from editions of what seem to have been all Biondo's historical writings, published at Basel in 1531 and 1559. Quoted on the value of the mark at Vol. VI, 237.

27 Bermondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house: perhaps the lost cartulary of Bermondsey Abbey, recorded in the 16th century and possibly identical with the 'long book old bound in folio' owned successively by Sir Robert Cotton and John Selden (Davis, *Medieval cartularies* no. 45). But the fact that it is cited under 1370 and 1407 makes it likelier to be the text printed by the Rolls Series as *Annals of Bermondsey*, surviving only in B.L., MS Harley 231, which covers the period 1042-1432.

C

28 Cæsars Commentaries: Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 BC). His *Commentarii*, reports on his military achievements, were first printed Rome, 1469, with numerous subsequent editions. First English translation a partial one by John Tiptoft, *Julius Cesar's Commentaries...as much as concernyth thys realm of England*, printed by William Rastell, London, 1530. Succeeded by a complete translation by Arthur Golding, *The eyght bookes of Caius Julius Caesar*, London, 1565, which does not, however, use the word 'Commentaries' in its title. *ODNB* entry.

29 Cornelius Tacitus: Cornelius Tacitus (56/7-after 113 AD), Roman historian. Writings began to be printed in the 1470s, but a complete text of all that survives today was first published at Rome only in 1515, with other editions following. Holinshed clearly used the *Agricola* and the *Annales*. No English translation of any of Tacitus's works was printed until the 1590s. *ODNB* entry (under Gnaeus Julius Agricola).

30 Chronica Chronicorum: its seventh book cited Vol. III, 931, as source for Lanfranc's general council of 1075. Unidentified. It has been suggested that it was the *Liber Chronicarum* of Hartmann Schedel, first published at Nuremberg in 1493, but that says nothing of Lanfranc's council. Although Schedel is cited by Harrison (as 'Hermannus Schedelius', Vol. I, 45) for an event on the continent, it is not in fact easy to see why this book should have been particularly useful for British history. Yet both Hall and Stow, as well as Holinshed, name the Chronica

Chronicorum among their principal sources. The chronicle of John of Worcester (no. 64 below) bore the title *Chronica Chronicarum*, but says nothing of the 1075 council.

31 *Chronica de Dunstable*, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there: presumably what is now B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius A. x, fols. 5-115, the only surviving text; printed by the Rolls Series as the *Annals of Dunstable*.

32 *Chronicon Io. Tillij*: Jean du Tillet (*d.* 1570), author of *Chronicon de regibus Francorum*, Paris, 1539 and afterwards, published both as a supplement to Paulus Aemilius (no. 136 below) and as a separate publication. Also wrote historical works in French, one of which on the evidence of a reference to 'la vie du Charles septiesme', was cited by William Patten in additions made in 1587 (Vol. III, 170) – could have been either *La Chronique des Rois de France...*, 1549, or *Receuil des rois de France*, 1580. One of his writings was used by Francis Thynne for the de Montfort earls of Leicester (Vol. IV, 636-7).

33 *Chronica de Eyton*, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne: identifiable as B.L., MS Harley 3643, chronicle of Thomas Otterbourne, formerly at Eton College – see Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, 21-3. *ODNB* entry.

34 *Chronicles of S. Alban*: perhaps the anonymous St Alban's chronicle, covering the period 1422-1431, found in B.L., MS Harley 3775, a manuscript known to John Stow – see Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, 150-1. A second possibility is the *Annales monasterii Sancti Albani*, a chronicle of the years 1423 to 1440 by John Amundesham, surviving in B.L., MS Cotton Claudius D.i, a third is the unidentified 'register booke belonging sometime to the abbeie of saint Albons', cited under 1446 at Vol. III, 208.

35 *Chronica de Abingdon*, a booke of Annales belonging to that house: citations from between 1263 and 1306 (Vol. II, 458-540, *passim*) show that this is not the well-known history of Abingdon Abbey preserved in B.L., MSS Cotton Claudius C. ix, fols. 105-202 and Claudius B. vi, but an adaptation and amplification made at Abingdon Abbey of those parts of the chronicle of Walter of Guisborough that cover the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. Presumably Holinshed used the text that is now Cambridge University Library, MS Dd. ii.5, presented by Matthew

Parker, who recorded it as 'Chronicon Abindon per R. Gisburnum' – it is cited at Vol. II, 538, as 'the booke that belonged to the abbeie of Abington'.

36 Chronica de Teukesberie: probably the text printed by the Rolls Series as *Annals of Tewkesbury*, from B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra A. vii, fols. 9-69v.

37 Claudianus: Claudius Claudianus (fl. 395-404), Roman poet, his political poems constitute a major source for the western Roman empire around 400, and are cited as such at Vol. I, 548-50, with English translations attached. At least ten editions of his *Opera omnia* printed between 1493 and 1571.

38 Chronicon Genebrard: Gilbert G  n  brard (1535-1597), monk and scholar. Author of *Chronographia in duos libros distincta*, Paris, 1567, second edition Louvain, 1572.

39 Chroniques de Normandie: citation at Vol. II, 3, identifies this as *Chroniques de Normandie*, by an anonymous author, printed by Guillaume le Talleur at Rouen, 1487, and several times reprinted.

40 Chroniques de Britaine: probably Alain Bouchard, *Les grandes chroniques de Bretagne*, Paris, 1514, reprinted 1531, 1532, 1541 (presumably the work cited under that title at Vol. III, 160).

41 Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauvage: Denis Sauvage (1520-c. 1587), *Cronique de Flandres, anciennement compos  e par auteur incertain et nouvellement mis en lumi  re par D. Sauvage*, Lyon, 1562.

42 Continuation de Historie and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauvage: Denis Sauvage, *Continuation de l'histoire et cronique de Flandres...*, Lyon, 1562. Perhaps the 'Additions of the chron. of Flanders' cited at Vol. III, 18.

43 Couper: probably Thomas Cooper (c. 1517-1594), 'Cooper's chronicle', continuation of the *Epitome of cronicles* by Thomas Lanquet (see nos. 170-1 below), London, 1549, 1560, 1565. *ODNB* entry.

44 Cuspinianus: Joannes Cuspinianus [Spiessheimer] (1473-1529), editor and historian; his appearance among 'the writers of the Romane histories' (Vol. I, 528) suggests the use of his *De Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis opus insigne*, Strasbourg 1540, Basel, 1561.

45 Chronica Sancti Albani: The major St Albans chroniclers have their own entries (nos. 78, 123, 167, 178 below). This may be a duplicate of no. 34 above, or a general work like the *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, begun by Matthew Paris and continued by Thomas Walsingham, surviving as B.L., MS Cotton, Claudius E. iv.

46 Caxtons Chronicles: William Caxton (1415x24-1492), *The Chronicles of England*, London, 1480, numerous subsequent editions – a version of the *Brut*, with some London material added. *ODNB* entry.

47 Carion with additions: Johann Carion (1499-1537/8), *Chronica*, first published in German, Wittenberg, 1532, Latin translation published at Halle, 1537, several later editions. Probably used by Holinshed in a translation by Walter Lynne, *The thre bokes of Cronicles whyche Iohn Carion...gathered wyth great diligence of the beste authours...*, with additions by Johann Funck of Nuremberg, London, 1550

48 Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire. Possibly the lost register of Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire, recorded in the early eighteenth century in the possession of the first earl of Macclesfield (Davis, *Medieval cartularies* no. 290). But seems more likely to be the Croxden Abbey chronicle surviving in B.L., MS Cotton Faustina B. vi, fols. 69-94, cited in Stow's *Annales* (1592), 351, as his authority for events at Croxden under the name of its author, William Shepesheved. For Holinshed, as for Stow, 'Croxden' is a source for events in the first half of the fourteenth century – Vol. II, 556, 605, 607. *ODNB* entry on Shepesheved.

D

49 Diodorus Siculus: Diodorus Siculus (fl. 1st century BC), Greek-speaking author of a universal history in forty books, known in its Latinate form as *Bibliotheca Historica*. Fifteen books survive. First Latin edition at Bologna, 1472, several later editions. Translated into Italian and French, but only partly into English, by Thomas Stocker, *A right noble and pleasant history of the successors of Alexander the great...*, London, 1569.

50 Dion Cassius: Lucius Claudius Cassius Dio (c. 165-after 229), author (in Greek) of a Roman history in eighty books, of which eighteen survive complete, the rest being represented by fragments and summaries. Valuable for the invasions of Britain by Julius Caesar and Claudius. The only substantial editions available to Holinshed appear to have been the Greek text published by Isaac Casaubon at Paris in 1548, and the Latin translation of Wilhelm Holtzman (Xylander) published at Lyon in 1559.

51 Dominicus Marius Niger: Domenico Mario Negri (fl. c. 1490), geographer. Author of *Geographiae Commentariorum Libri XI*, edited by W. Weissenburg, Basel, 1557 (cited Vol. I, 427). Written much earlier - makes no reference to the New World.

E

52 Edmerus: Eadmer (c. 1060-c. 1126), monk and historian, author of *Vita Sancti Anselmi* and *Historia novorum*. Former, which survives in several manuscripts, printed as *Fratr̃is Edimeris Angli de Vita D. Anselmi archiepiscopi Cantuarensis* at Antwerp, 1551. Latter, cited in text (Vol. II, 69) as the principal source for Anselm and his successor, was only accessible in manuscript, either Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 452, or (in abbreviated form) B.L., MS Cotton Titus A. ix. *ODNB* entry.

53 Eusebius: Eusebius of Caesarea (d. c. 340), historian. Most likely to be represented by his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Written in Greek, numerous Latin translations from ?1473 (Strasbourg) onwards. Published in same volume with Bede at Strasbourg 1500, Haguenau 1506. Greek text published at Paris 1544. *Opera*, two volumes, Basel 1549. Latter also included Eusebius's *Life of Constantine* and his *Chronicon*, a world history adapted by St Jerome and previously published separately with additions from c. 1475. No English translation until that of Meredith Hanmer, *The Auncient Ecclesiasticall Histories...*, London, 1577 – too recent for Holinshed.

54 Eutropius: Flavius Eutropius (d. c. 380), historian. *Breviarium historiae Romanae*, an epitome of Roman history, printed at Rome 1471, with its continuation by Paulus Diaconus (see no. 136 below). Usually published with other historical works, but separate editions at Poitiers 1553, Basel 1561. English translation by Nicholas Haward, *A briefe Chronicle...*(1561).

55 Encomion Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir, containing much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein his praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obtained by reason thereof that title: *Encomium Emmae*, first printed 1619. Survives in two medieval manuscripts, one of which, formerly the property of Lord Burghley, is now MS Lat. 6235 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The other, B.L., MS Additional 33241, had been transcribed by the antiquary Thomas Talbot (a friend of Stow) in 1566, and other copies appear to have been in circulation, judging by the citation at Vol. I, 728, describing the *Encomium* as a book which 'although there be but few copies thereof abroad, giveth undoubtedlie great light to the historie of that time...'. For Emma see *ODNB* entry.

56 Enguerrant de Monstrellet: Enguerrand de Monstrelet (*d.* 1453), historian. Wrote his *Chronique* as sequel to Froissart. Originally covered period 1400-1444, extended by additions to 1516. Several editions, best that of Denis Sauvage, Paris, 1572.

57 Eulogium: probably *Eulogium historiarum* (referred to as such Vol. I, 191), a world history to 1364 by a monk of Malmesbury Abbey, whose autograph survives as Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.7.2. Harrison refers to 'the monke of Malmesburie, which wrote the historie intituled Eulogium historiarum', Vol. I, 82. It is unclear if he knew of its valuable continuation to 1413 by more than one author, B.L., MS Cotton Galba E.vii. But as the latter belonged to John Dee, and was known to John Stow, it is likely that Holinshed's associates were aware of it.

58 Edmund Campian: Edmund Campion (1540-1581), scholar and Roman Catholic missionary to England. His 'History of Ireland' of 1571 (Bodleian Library, MS Jones 6 fols. 3-102, generously made available in modernized form by the Rev. Mark Anwyll) formed the basis of the much fuller description and history which Holinshed and Richard Stanihurst contributed to the 1577 edition of the *Chronicles*. It contains a description of Cardinal Wolsey quoted at Vol. III, 756 (from where it clearly influenced the relevant passage in Shakespeare and Fletcher, *Henry VIII*, iv.ii). Vol. IV, 447, cites 'Ex libro cui titulus A Discourse of Edmund Campion dedicated to certeine lords of the councell', better known as Campion's 'Challenge' or 'Brag'. *ODNB* entry.

F

59 Fabian: Robert Fabyan (*d.* 1513), historian. Author of *The Newe Cronycles of England and of Fraunce*, published 1513 with no author named. Second edition, 1533, published as *Fabyan's Cronycle newly prynted*; subsequent editions 1542 (two) and 1559. *ODNB* entry.

60 Froissart: Jean Froissart (1337?-c. 1404), historian. *Croniques de France, dangleterre, descoce...et lieux circunuoisins* first printed at Paris c. 1495, several subsequent editions. English translation by John Bourchier, second Baron Berners, as *The cronycles of Englande, Fraunce, Spayne...and other places adjoyninge*, 2 vols, 1523-5. *ODNB* entry.

61 Franciscus Tarapha: Francisco Tarafa (1495-1556), canon of Barcelona Cathedral and historian. Cited as a source for the mythical history of Spain at Vol. I, 428, so presumably his *De origine ac rebus gestis regum Hispaniae liber*, Antwerp, 1553.

62 Franciscus Petrarcha: Francesco Petrarca [Petrarch] (1304-1374), poet and scholar. Among his many writings, only his *Trionfi* was available in English – *The tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke*, translated by Henry Parker, Lord Morley, London, ?1555. Otherwise there are numerous alternatives, albeit depending on the perceived linguistic competence of Holinshed's team. No. 108 below suggests that at least one of them knew Italian. Among texts available in Latin, *Epistole familiares*, Venice 1492, constitute one possibility, and *De rebus memorandis et viris illustribus in Vitae: vitae virorum illustrium*, biographical writings by Cornelius Nepos and others, Basel, 1563, may be another. Perhaps *Opera omnia*, 4 vols., Basel 1554, is likeliest.

63 Flavius Vopiscus Siracusanus: one of the 'authors' of the *Historia Augusta*, see no. 1 above

64 Floriacensis Vigorinensis: John of Worcester (*fl.* 1095-1140), chronicler, the author of the world history formerly attributed to Florence of Worcester. Survives in five twelfth-century manuscripts. Holinshed's last citation is under 1115, but B.L., MS Harley 563, fols. 1-49, a copy by John Stow of a translation of this chronicle made by Holinshed, shows that the latter knew the chronicle in its longer version, extending to 1140, available in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS, 157,. *ODNB* entry on John, with Florence as his co-subject.

G

65 Gvicardini Francisco: Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), politician and historian. *L'istoria d'Italia*, Florence, 1561. Latin translation, *Historiarum sui temporis libri viginti*, Basel 1566, 1567. French translation by H. Chomedey, *L'Histoire d'Italie*, Paris, 1568. No English translation until 1579.

66 Guiciardini Ludouico: Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589), Florentine merchant and writer (and nephew of Francesco). References in Vol. IV, 183, 201 make it likely that this is *Commentarij...della cose piu memorabili in Europa specialmente in questi Paesi bassi...*[1529-1560], Antwerp, 1565, Latin translation, *Commentariorum...de rebus memoralibus...*, Antwerp, 1566. But could also be *Descrittione...di tutti i Paesi Bassi*, Antwerp, 1567, French translation, *Description de tout le Pais-Bas*, Antwerp, 1568 (English translation 1597).

67 Gildas Sapiens: Gildas (probably fl. 6th century), historical writer. *Gildas Britannus Monachus...de calamitate, excidio & conquestu Britannie...*, Antwerp (probably), 1525, edited by Polydore Vergil and Robert Ridley, reissued 1541, 1555, 1568, 1569. Re-edited by John Joscelin, as *Gildae cui cognomenti est Sapientis, de excidio et conquestu Britanniae*, London, 1568. *ODNB* entry.

68 Galfridus Monemutensis, alias Geffrey of Monmouth: Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1154/5), romancer and historian. Author of *Historia regum Britanniae*. Very widely circulated in manuscript. Printed as *Britanie utriusque regum principum origo et gesta insignia...*, Paris, 1508, 1517. *ODNB* entry.

69 Giraldus Cambrensis: Gerald of Wales (c. 1146-1220x1223), author of very wide-ranging historical, topographical and political writings. Only manuscripts available in 1577, for details see R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales, 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982), 213-21. Gerald's *Topographia Hibernica* and *Itinerarium Kambriae* are referred to in text, and so, mysteriously, is a 'Topographia Britanniae' (Vol. VI, 82), a book that he planned but never wrote. John Hooker's translation of *Expugnatio Hibernica* for the 1587 edition of Holinshed was one of the very first of Gerald's texts to be made available in print. *ODNB* entry.

70 Guilielmus Malmesburiensis: William of Malmesbury (c. 1090-c. 1040), historian. No printed texts available until 1596. Principal writings cited are *Gesta regum Anglorum*, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* and *Historia novella*; his *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie* was known to Harrison by

1587 – Vol. I, 40. Numerous manuscripts available of all four works. They are always cited individually, but the *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum* are occasionally bound up together, and it was common for the *Gesta Regum* and *Historia novella* to be treated thus, while in at least two volumes all three major texts keep company – B.L., MS Royal 13 D.v and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.5.34 (formerly Matthew Parker's). *ODNB* entry (with list of known writings).

71 Galfridus Vinsauf: Geoffrey de Vinsauf (*fl.* 1208-1213), poet. His writings include a lament on the death of Richard I (a passage is quoted by Thynne, Vol. III, 1039, though this could have been taken from the *Chronicle* of Nicholas Trevet, no. 130 below). But there can be little doubt that Holinshed, like Thomas Gale in 1687, attributed to Geoffrey the account of Richard I's early reign and crusade known as *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, by an Augustinian canon named Richard, possibly identifiable as Richard de Templo. The description of Richard's physical appearance, ascribed to 'Gal. Vinsaf' at Vol. II, 270-1, is taken verbatim from the *Itinerarium*. It may be that Holinshed, like Gale, used the text of the latter that is now Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.i.25, misattributing authorship because it also contains poems by Vinsauf. *ODNB* entries on Vinsauf and Richard.

72 Guilielmus Nouoburgensis: William of Newburgh (1135/6-c. 1198), historian. Also cited, following Leland, as William Parvus. Author of *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, covering the period 1066-1198. At least nine MSS survive, of very variable quality. Also a printed edition, *Rerum Anglicarum libri V Guilielmo Neubrigensi*, published by Willem Sylvius at Antwerp, 1567. Despite its inadequacies, a citation of 'Wil. Nubrigen.' by Thynne (Vol. IV, 689) suggest that it was used by the latter. *ODNB* entry.

73 Guilielmus Thorne: William Thorne (*fl.* 1397), chronicler. Author of a history of St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, building on that of Thomas Sprott (no. 166 below). No printed text available until 1652. Survives in two manuscripts, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 189, and B.L., Add. MS 53710, the latter being an extended and amplified version of the former. *ODNB* entry.

74 Gualterus Hemmingford, alias Gisburnensis: Walter of Guisborough, formerly known as Hemmingford or Hemingburgh (*fl.* c. 1290-1305), chronicler. No printed edition before 1697. Text survives in eight authentic manuscripts. A citation under 1336 (as 'Walter Gisburgh', Vol.

II, 604) suggests that Holinshed used Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 250, a sixteenth-century transcript containing a continuation for the years 1327-1346. *ODNB* entry.

75 Geruasius Dorobernensis: Gervase of Canterbury (c. 1145-c. 1210), chronicler. No printed edition before 1652. Of surviving manuscripts, likeliest seems to be B.L., MS Cotton Vesp. B.xix, which contains Gervase's *Chronica* and *Acta pontificum Cantuariensis ecclesie*, both apparently used by Holinshed, but not his *Gesta regum* or *Mappa mundi*, which he does not seem to have read, though the former, at least, was potentially valuable for the reign of John. However, the last two are cited in additions by Francis Thynne (Vol. IV, 682, 704), suggesting that he had consulted the surviving texts in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 438.

76 Gervasius Tilberiensis: Gervase of Tilbury (d. c. 1222), author. His *Otia imperialia*, a wide-ranging compilation of historical, geographical and ethnographical information, was not printed until 1707. It survives in thirty manuscripts, eight of them in British repositories, of which B.L., MS Cotton Vespasian E.iv, fols. 2-99, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 414 (Matthew Parker's copy) seem the likeliest to have been accessible to Holinshed. *ODNB* entry.

77 Guilielmus Gemeticensis, de ducibus Normaniæ: William of Jumièges (fl. 1026-1070), chronicler. Author of *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, survives in four redactions and numerous manuscripts. Latest citation is under 1107, which however refers forward to the death of Duke Robert of Normandy in 1134 (Vol. II, 56), indicating that Holinshed used either redaction E, made by Orderic Vitalis and ending around 1113, or F, by Robert de Torigni, continuing to at least 1135. The latter, not least because it includes a fuller text than E of the chronicle of Dudo of St Quentin, on which William based his own chronicle (Dudo is cited by Thynne, Vol. IV, 812), seems the likelier. Possibilities include Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 181, and the manuscript now separated into B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A.viii, and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, MS 177/210 – the second part formerly belonged to William Harrison. *ODNB* entry.

78 Guilielmus Rishanger: William Rishanger (1249/50-after 1312), monk and chronicler. No printed text available. Citations from 1260 and 1263 (Vol. II, 452, 457) suggests that Holinshed was using B.L., MS Cotton Claudius D.vi, which contains Rishanger's account of the Barons' Wars. *ODNB* entry.

79 Guilielmus Lambert: William Lambarde (1536-1601), antiquary. His *Archaionomia* (1568), a pioneering collection of Anglo-Saxon laws, is cited in detail Vol. I, 639, 690. Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, published in 1576 but completed in 1570, was known to William Harrison in time to be cited at length by him the following year (Vol. I, 257-8), raising the possibility that Harrison had seen it in manuscript. *ODNB* entry.

80 Georgius Lillie: George Lily (*d.* 1559), scholar. Made several contributions to *Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hyberniae, et Orchadum*, edited by Paolo Giovio, Venice, 1548. They include 'Nova et antiqua locorum nomina in Anglia et Scotia', referred to as his 'Book of the names of ancient places', Vol. I, 319. *ODNB* entry.

81 Guilamme Paradin: Guillaume Paradin (*c.* 1510-1590), historian. As well as his *Annales de Bourgogne* (no. 16 above), wrote books on English affairs, notably *Anglicae descriptionis compendium*, Paris, 1545, and *Afflictae Britannicae religionis & rursus restitutae Exegema*, Lyon, 1555. His *De Motibus Galliae et expugnato receptoque Itio Caletorum anno MDLVIII*, first published at Lyon, 1558, and reissued in Vol. III of S. Schardius, *Opus historicum*, Basel, 1574, was used in the latter format by Fleming for additions in 1587, Vol. IV, pp.93-4, 102, 140.

H

82 Higinus: presumably Caius Julius Hyginus (*c.* 64 BC-17 AD), writer on astronomy and mythology. Probably *Fabularum liber*, Basel, 1535, 1549, 1570 – also contains his *Poeticon Astronomicum*. Cited as source for the mythical daughters of Danaus and for the divinity of Neptune, Vol. I, 432, 438.

83 Henricus Huntingtoniensis: Henry 'of Huntingdon' (*c.* 1088-*c.* 1157), historian. His *Historia Anglorum*, not printed before 1596, survives in some forty MSS. These include Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 521, annotated by Stow, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 280 (Matthew Parker's copy). Vol. I, 572, referring to 'corrupted copies' of Henry's chronicle, implies the use of, or at least awareness of, more than one manuscript. *ODNB* entry.

84 Henricus Leicestrensis: Henry Knighton (*d. c.* 1396), canon of Leicester Abbey and historian. His *Chronicle* not printed before 1652, available in two manuscripts, B.L., MSS Cotton Tiberius C.vii and Claudius E.iii, fols. 169r-307v. Numerous additions to the 1587 edition's account of the reign of Richard II, citing Knighton as authority, were made by Abraham Fleming, who

lamented this source's breaking off in 1395 (*recte* 1396). A folio reference accompanying one of these (Vol. II, 795) suggests that Fleming used the second (and inferior) of the manuscripts referred to above. *ODNB* entry.

85 Hector Boecius: Hector Boethius (c. 1465-1536), historian. *Scotorum historiae a prima gentis origine liber xvii*, Paris, 1527. Scots translation by John Bellenden, *Hystory and croniklis of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1536, supplied the material (in English version by William Harrison) for Holinshed's 'Description of Scotland'. Addition by Abraham Fleming under 1296 cites Boethius in Paris edition of 1574, along with Bellenden's earlier translation – Vol. II, 515. *ODNB* entry.

86 Historie Daniou: probably Jean de Bourdigné (d. 1547), *Hystoire agregative des annalles et cronicques Daniou* [i.e. d'Anjou], Paris and Angers, 1529.

87 Historia Ecclesiastica Magdeburgensis: *Historia Ecclesiastica, integram Ecclesiae Christi ideam...complectens*, 13 vols., Basel 1559-74. A massive and undisguisedly protestant church history down to 1400, the work of the so-called Magdeburg Centuriators, led by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575).

88 Henricus Mutius: Ulrich Hugwald (1496-1571), teacher and historian, author of *De Germanorum prima origine*, Basel, 1539.

89 Historia quadripartita seu quadrilogium: *Quadrilogus*: a four-part compilation of lives of St Thomas Becket, made 1198/9 and expanded shortly afterwards by Roger of Crowland. Available in manuscript, B.L., MSS Stowe 52 and Harley 2, and also as *Vita et processus sancti Thome cantuarensis martyris...*, Paris, 1495. The lives include one by Herbert of Bosham, cited as 'Herebertus' (Vol. IV, 690). *ODNB* entries on Crowland and Bosham.

90 Hardings Chronicle: John Hardyng (1377/8-c. 1464), author of an extended verse chronicle. An earlier, longer version of it survives as B.L., MS Lansdowne 204. The second, revised text was printed (twice) in 1543 as *The chronicle of Jhon Hardyng* by Richard Grafton, who also supplied a prose continuation. No doubt the later version was used, as it certainly was by Harrison - Vol. I, 196. *ODNB* entry.

91 Halles Chronicle: Edward Hall (1497-1547), historian. *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke...*, London, 1548, 1550, 1560. *ODNB* entry.

92 Henricus Bradshaw: Henry Bradshaw (*d.* 1513), hagiographer. Author of *The holy lyfe and history of saynt werburge...*, London, 1521, a work with a substantial historical component – cited Vol. I, 446. He was also reported to have written an account of the city of Chester, which may account for the attribution to him of ‘the life of saint Werborough and a certeine chronicle’ in the list of authors of the reign of Henry VIII, Vol. III, 864. *ODNB* entry.

93 Henricus Marleburgensis: Henry of Marlborough (*d.* in or after 1421), Anglo-Irish chronicler. Compiler of ‘Cronica excerpta de medulla diversorum cronicorum’, which survive, in slightly damaged form, as B.L. MS Cotton Vitellius E. v, fols. 197r-261v. Clearly unknown to Campion, they were consulted throughout by Holinshed, e.g. Vol. VI, 242, but were particularly useful to him for the fifty years after 1370, when the annals preserved by Philip Flattisbury (no. 184 below) came to an end. *ODNB* entry.

94 Herodianus: Herodian (*d.* c. 240), historian of the Roman empire 180-238. Latin translation by Politian, *Historiae de imperio post Marcum*, published at Bologna 1493, many subsequent re-issues. First Greek edition, Louvain, 1525. English translation (from the Latin) by N. Smyth, *The History of Herodian...treating of the Romaine Emperors after Marcus*, published in London, ?1550.

95 Humfrey Luyd: Humphrey Llwyd (1527-1568), antiquary. Vol. I, 323, refers to ‘the Latine copie of the description of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid’, presumably *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum*, Cologne, 1572, described thus to distinguish it from the English translation by Thomas Twyne, *The Breviary of Britayne*, London, 1573 (which may be cited as *Humfred Lhoid in brev. Brit.* at Vol. V, 672). Llwyd’s *De Mona, druidum insula...*, published in Ortelius, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, 1570, is also cited, Vol. I, 431. His *Cronica Walliae*, completed in 1559 but not published by David Powel until 1584 as *Historie of Cambria, now called Wales*, appears to have been known to Holinshed in manuscript. The names of Llwyd and Powel appear together in the margin of Vol. II, 338, at a point where the text refers to ‘our late Chronographers’ (Powel was in fact still alive), and there are citations of ‘D.Powels historie of Wales’ and ‘D.Powel in hist.Camb.’ at Vol. III, 481, and Vol. IV, 238.

I

96 Iohannes Bale: John Bale (1495-1563), historian. Numerous references to his bibliographical writings, of which his *Scriptorium illustrium Maioris Brytannie...catalogus*, two volumes, Basel, 1557-9, was probably the most often used, though his *Illustrium Maioris Britannie summarium*, Wesel, 1548, is also cited (Vol. V, 344), as is *The Apologie of Johan Bale...*, ?1555, referred to as 'his apologie against vows' (Vol. VI, 237). Also wrote *Acta Romanorum pontificum usque ad tempora Pauli IV*, Basel, 1558, translated as *The Pageant of Popes* by John Studley, London, 1574. *ODNB* entry.

97 Iohannes Leland: John Leland (c. 1503-1552), antiquary. His *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii regis*, London, 1544, cited Vols. I, 577, IV, 293. No reference noticed to Leland's *The Laboryouse Journey & Serche...for Englandes Antiquitees*, ed. John Bale, London, 1549, but his unpublished papers were extensively used, especially by William Harrison, who comments on their 'motheaten, mouldie, & rotten' condition, and the way that 'his annotations are such and so confounded, as no man can (in a sense) picke out anie sense from them by a leafe together...' – Vol. I, 109. Leland was also a poet, and the 1587 edition quotes from or alludes to several of his epigrams and longer poems – Vols. III, 796, 863, 926, 1011, 1058, 1062, IV, 283. Some had been published, but others may have derived from the collection of Leland's verse made by John Stow, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tanner 464.iv. *ODNB* entry.

98 Iacobus Philippus Bergomas: Iacobus Philippus de Foresta Bergomensis, i.e. Jacopo Filippo Foresti of Bergamo (1434-1520), historian. Citations at Vol. I, 445 (King Ebranke) and Vol. II, 44 (origins of the Cistercians), suggest use of his world chronicle, *Supplementum chronicarum*, Venice, 1483, reissued with extension to 1510 as *Supplementum supplementi chronicarum*, Venice, 1513, Paris, 1538.

99 Iulius Capitolinus: one of the 'authors' of the *Historia Augusta*, see no. 1 above

100 Iulius Solinus: Gaius Julius Solinus (fl. c. 250), compiler of *Rerum memorabilium collectanee*, commonly known as *Polyhistor*, a collection of geographical marvels. Printed editions from 1474 onwards, reference on Vol. VI, 2, suggests that Holinshed used the edition with commentary of Joannes Camers, Vienna, 1520.

101 Iohannes Pike with additions: almost certainly John Pike (*fl. c. 1310-c. 1330*), historical compiler. The chronological range of citations from his writings, from the reign of Alfred to the accession of King John, rule out B.L. MS Royal 13 C. xi, a version of the twelfth-century chronicle of Robert of Torigni once owned by the London schoolmaster John Pyk, who has been confused with the chronicler in the past, and suggest rather that Holinshed used Pike's treatise on the kings of England down to 1239, found in B.L., MSS Arundel 220 and Harley 3899. *ODNB* entry.

102 Iohannes Functius: Johann Funck (*d. 1566*), ecclesiastic and historian. *Chronologia cum commentariis chronologiis ab initio mundi ad resurrectionem Christi*, Nuremberg, 1545, revised as *Chronologia, hoc est, temporum et regnorum series...*[to 1553], Basel, 1554. See also no. 47 above. In his 1577 preface to the reader, Holinshed acknowledged that in his 'computation of the yeares of the world, I had by Maister Wolfes advise followed Functius...', but that he subsequently 'reformed' his conclusions by reference to William Harrison's 'Chronologie'.

103 Iohn Price knight: Sir John Prise or Price (1501/2-1555), antiquary. Author of *Historiae Brytannicae defensio*, London, 1573, cited Vol. I, 431. His work was probably also known from his 'Description of Cambria', enlarged by Humphrey Lluyd and published by David Powel – see no. 95 above. *ODNB* entry.

104 Iohannes Textor: possibly the humanist Joannes Ravisius Textor (*c. 1480-1524*), cited as such at Vol. I, 429, and probably also as 'Textor' at 1, 8, where the subject is the mythical origins of the name 'Britannia' – perhaps his encyclopaedic *Officina*, Paris, 1520, 1532. But seems more likely to be a duplicate of John of Taxster, no. 172 below.

105 Iohannes Bodinus: Jean Bodin (1520-1596), historian and political theorist. *Methodus, ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, Paris, 1566, 1573, referred to at Vol. I, 49, Vol. III, 1049.

106 Iohannes Sleidan: Johannes Sleidanus [Johann Philippson of Schleiden] (1506-1566), historian. Presumably *Commentariorum de statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo V Caesare*, Strasbourg, 1555, and many subsequent editions. English translation by John Day, *A Famous Cronicle of oure time, called Sleidanes Commentaries...*, London, 1560. Cited at Vol. III, 1036, on the innocence of Queen Anne Boleyn.

107 Iohannes Eversden a Monke of Berry: John Eversden (*fl.* 1294-1315), supposed author of a continuation of the Bury St Edmunds chronicle surviving in London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 30. The chronicle was regarded as useful by Holinshed for Edward I's reign (Vol. II, 546). The attribution, which is supported by little evidence, originated with John Bale, at one time the owner of the manuscript. *ODNB* entry.

108 Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine: Giovanni Villani (*d.* 1348), historian. Reference to 'Giouan Villani a Florentine in his vniuesall historie' (Vol. I, 437) makes it likely that the source used was Villani's *La prima (seconda) parte della historie universali de'suoi tempi*, Venice, 1559, rather than the *Chroniche di messer Giovanni Villani*, Venice, 1533, although the version of Giovanni's history extended by his younger brother Matteo, and published as *La [Prima] parte della Cronica vniuersale de suoi tempi*, Florence, 1554, cannot be excluded. Villani's work is also drawn on for Edward III's Crecy campaign in 1346 – Vol. II, 633-8. The unavailability of a Latin or English translation is noteworthy.

109 Iohannes Baptista Egnatius: Giovanni Battista Cipelli (*d.* 1553), Venetian humanist. Most likely *De Caesaribus libri III...*, Venice, 1516, Florence, 1519. French translation, as *Summaire Chroniques, contenant les Vies...de tous les Empereurs Deurope...*, Paris, 1529.

110 Iohannes Capgrave: John Capgrave (1393-1464), theologian and historian. His *Abbreviacion of Cronicles*, surviving as Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 167, and Cambridge University Library, MS Gg.iv.12, seems to be cited at Vol. I, 29. But he is much more often referred to as a hagiographer (e.g. Vol. I, 46, 630, 704) pointing to use of *Nova legenda Anglie*, London, 1516, an arrangement of John Tynemouth's mid-fourteenth-century *Sanctilogium* incorrectly attributed to Capgrave by Leland and Bale. *ODNB* entry.

111 Iohannes Fourden: John Fordun (*d.* in or after 1363), Scottish chronicler. The latest reference to Fordun, chronologically, is under 1385 (Vol. V, 394), and there is no evidence that the continuation by Walter Bower was used. Three surviving manuscripts of Fordun's chronicle extend, with continuations, exactly to 1385 (Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Codex Helmstedt 538; Trinity College Library, Cambridge, MS 1421; B.L., MS Additional 37233), but all of these appear to have remained in Scotland throughout the sixteenth century, suggesting that another text of the same type was used, one that has since been lost. *ODNB* entry.

112 Iohannes Caius: John Caius (1510-1573), physician and antiquary. Most references likely to be to his treatises on Cambridge, *De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis academiae* (1568) and *Historia Cantabrigiensis academiae* (1574). His *De canibus Britannicis* (1570) is cited by Harrison (Vol. I, 386-7), his *Boke, or counseil against the disease commonly called the Sweate...*, London, 1552, is referred to as a source for the account of the outbreak of sweating sickness in London in 1551 – Vol. III, 1031. *ODNB* entry.

113 Iacob de Voragine Bishop of Nebio: Jacobus de Voragine [Giacomo da Varazze] (d. 1298), archbishop of Genoa and hagiographer. Author of *Legenda Aurea*, translated by Caxton as *The golden legende*, London, 1483, with a least seven further editions before 1527. Cited with reference to fol. 165 as source for the murder of St Kenelm, Vol. I, 659.

114 Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monsieur de Desse remained there. Jean de Beaugué, *Histoire de la guerre d'Ecosse*, Paris, 1556 - an account of Anglo-Scottish war of 1548-9.

115 Iohn Fox: John Foxe (1516/17-1587), martyrologist. Numerous references to his *Acts and Monuments*, most likely used in its 1563 or 1570 editions for the 1577 Holinshed. However, a reference to the 1583 edition in a new passage in 1587 shows that updating the *Chronicles* involved updating the relevant sources as well – Vol. IV, 122. *ODNB* entry.

116 Iohannes Maior: John Mair (c. 1467-1550), historian and philosopher. Author of *Historia Maioris Britanniae tam Angliae quam Scotiae*, Paris, 1521. *ODNB* entry.

117 Iohn Stow, by whose diligent collected summarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but also by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and necessarie register bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. John Stow (1524/5-1605), historian. At the end of his life Stow expressed considerable bitterness at the way Holinshed's *Chronicles* had, as he saw it, preempted a historical magnum opus of his own, but he had earlier made a contribution of the first importance to both editions of the former, both as contributor and as provider of information and source material. Citations of his *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles*, London, four editions 1565-75, and (for the second edition) his *Chronicles of England*, London, 1580 (referred to as 'his large collection', Vol. II, 365), are very numerous. To Harrison he was 'my verie freend' who lent him a copy of the *Vita Aedwardi Regis* and also a 'table' of the law terms. To the main body of the

Chronicles he supplied such materials as 'an old French pamphlet' on the reign of Richard II (Vol. II, 836) and information about Cade's rebellion (Vol. III, 221). He was also able to provide an eye-witness account of the execution of the duke of Somerset in 1552 (Vol. III, 1034). It seems likely that further investigation will show that many of the miscellaneous manuscript sources mentioned in passing came from Stow. *ODNB* entry.

118 Iosephus: Flavius Josephus (37/8-after 95 A.D.), historian of the Jews. Author of *De antiquitatibus Judaicis* and *De bello judaico*. Numerous editions from 1470 onwards, in Latin and later in European vernaculars, including French 1558. Part of *De antiquitatibus* made available in *The Fardle of facions...*, London, 1555, a translation by W. Waterman of *Omnium gentium mores* by Joannes Boemus Aubanus (itself cited Vol. I, 266).

L

119 Liber constitutionum London. Unidentified, this also defeated C.L. Kingsford – see his edition of Stow, *Survey of London*, I, xxxii, n. 1, with references there

120 Lucan: Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39-65 A.D.), Latin poet. Author of *Pharsalia*, or *De bello civili*. Numerous editions from 1469 onwards. Also *Lucan, Suetoine et saluste en francoys*, known as *Li Fait des Romains*, Paris, 1500, 1532. No complete English translation until 1614.

121 Lælius Giraldus: Giglio Gregorio Giralaldi (1479-1552), scholar and poet. His mythographical *Historia de diis gentium*, Basel, 1548, Lyon, 1565, is cited explicitly at Vol. VI, 47, and by implication at Vol. I, 433.

M

122 Marianus Scotus: Marianus Scotus [Moelbrigte] (1028-1082), monk and chronicler. His *Chronica*, a world history, formed the basis of the chronicle of John of Worcester (no. 64 above), who used the text in B.L., MS Cotton Nero C.v. Since the only printed version available was an incomplete one, based on an imperfect manuscript, published at Basel, 1559, it is possible that

Holinshed's team used the Cotton manuscript as well, though they could also have used a (presumably different) copy belonging to John Stow. *ODNB* entry.

123 Matthæus Paris: Matthew Paris (c. 1200-1259), monk and historian. His *Chronica majora* was published by Matthew Parker as *Matthaei Paris Monachi Albanensis, Angli, Historia Maior...*, London, 1571. In his 'Lives of the archbishops of Canterbury', Thynne cites Paris's 'chronicle of saint Albons' and his '*chroni. Minor*'. The former (Vol. IV, 669) seems likely to be B.L., MS Cotton Nero D.i, which contains both Paris's *Gesta Abbatum* and his *Vitae Offarum*, either of which could contain the story referred to. The latter, providing information concerning Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon, is presumably the *Historia Anglorum*, an edited-down version of the *Chronica majora*, accessible in B.L., MS Royal 14 C.vii. *ODNB* entry.

124 Matthæus Westmonaster alias Flores historiarum. The *Flores Historiarum*, an abridgement (made at St Albans) and continuation from 1259 to 1326 (made at Westminster) of the *Chronica majora* of Matthew Paris, was published by Matthew Parker in two substantially different editions. First came *Elegans, illustris et facilis rerum, praesertim Britannicarum...naratio, quam Matthaeus Westmonasteriensis...Flores Historiarum scripsit*, London, 1567. Anything but satisfactory, this was followed by *Flores Historiarum per Matthaeum Westmonasteriensem collecti...*, London, 1570. Matthew of Westminster, a literary ghost, occurs as a co-subject in the *ODNB* entry on Matthew Paris, no. 123 above.

125 Martin du Bellay, alias Mons. De Langey: Martin du Bellay (1495-1559), soldier and writer. *Les memoires de Messire Martin du Bellay, seigneur de Langey, contenant le discours de plusieurs choses advenues au Royaume de France...*, Paris, 1569, 1572, 1573. Cited for Anglo-French war of 1545 as 'Martin de Bellaie, seigneur Langeie in his memoire', Vol. III, 851.

126 Mamertinus in Panegyricis: probably *Panegyrici diversorum...*, Venice, 1576, a collection of twelve highly rhetorical speeches in honour of various emperors, including two addressed to Maximian, 289 and 290/1, one of which is cited verbatim, Vol. I, 521-5. A corruption in the manuscript probably accounts for the attribution of these to Claudius Mamertinus, who was in fact responsible for a panegyric in honour of Julian the Apostate, some seventy years later.

127 Memoires de la Marche: Olivier de la Marche (1425/6-1501/2), chronicler. *Les Mémoires de Messire Olivier de la Marche...*, Paris, 1561, 1562, 1566.

N

128 Nicephorus: citation at Vol. I, 40 shows that this is the church history (down to 610) of Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopoulos (*fl.* 1325), translated into Latin as *Ecclesiasticae historiae libri decem et octo*, Basel, 1555, 1561, Paris, 1562. See also no. 175 below.

129 Nennius: Nennius (*fl.* c. 770-c. 810), scholar, formerly believed to be the author of the text known as the *Historia Brittonum*, a compilation of 829/30. No printed edition until 1691. Several manuscripts either name no author or attribute the *Historia* to Gildas (no. 67 above). The citation at Vol. I, 322, referring to 'Nennius in his catalog of cities', argues for access to a manuscript naming Nennius as its author; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 139 seems the likeliest. *ODNB* entry.

130 Nicholas Treuet with additions: Nicholas Trevet (*d.* in or after 1334), Dominican friar and scholar. His *Annales sex regum Angliae* covers the period 1135 to 1307 – is described at Vol. II, 541, as the source 'whom in the historie of this king Edward the first, we have most followed'. The fact that the last citation of an addition comes under the year 1361 (Vol. II, 677) shows that Holinshed used the continuation compiled at Bridlington Priory, which continued to 1377. Two manuscripts survive, B.L., MS Harley 688 and Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.5.37. No printed text available until 1719. *ODNB* entry.

O

131 Orosius Dorobernensis: Paulus Orosius (*fl.* c. 390-c. 420), historian and theologian. Author of *...adversus Paganos historiarum libri septem*, printed editions from 1471, French translation, Paris, 1491, 1509, 1526. A translation into Old English had been made at King Alfred's court; it is referred to Vol. I, 675, but there is no suggestion that this was the source used by Holinshed. In the light of the next entry, 'Dorobernensis' looks like a typographical error.

132 Osbernus Dorobernensis: Osbern (*d.* ?1094), monk and hagiographer. Author of 'Vita Sancti Dunstani' and 'Miracula Sancti Dunstani' – the former, at least, is cited as a source for Dunstan, Vols. I, 704, IV, 674. Several manuscripts survive of both works, often within the same volume.

Possibilities include B.L. MSS Cotton Tiberius D. iii, iv, and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 328. *ODNB* entry.

133 Otho Phrisingensis: Otto, bishop of Freising (*d.* 1158), historian. Author of a universal history and an account of the deeds of Frederick Barbarossa, published as *...rerum ab origine mundi ad ipsius usque tempora gestarum, libri octo. Ejusdem de gestis Friderici primi...*, Strasbourg, 1515

P

134 Pausanias: Pausanias (*fl.* c. 150 A.D.), topographer. Author of a closely-observed description of Greece (of value to Holinshed as a source for religion in the ancient world), first printed in Greek at Venice, 1515. Latin translation, as *Pausaniae de tota Graecia libri decem...*, Basel, 1550. Three further Latin texts followed, Florence, 1551, Basel, 1557, Lyon, 1558.

135 Paulus Diaconus: Paul the deacon (*d.* ?799), historian. Author of a Roman history continuing that of Eutropius (no. 54 above), and a history of the Lombards. The former was published as *De gestis Romanorum libri octo*, Paris, 1531, the latter as *De origine et gestis Regum Langobardorum libri vi*, Paris, 1514, but each was usually published together with other historical works. The citation Vol. I, 65, of 'Iornandes lib. De Getis' may point to use of Jornandes, *De rebus Gothorum*, Augsburg, 1515, which was accompanied by Paul's Lombard history.

136 Paulus Aemilius: Paulus Aemilius Veronensis [Paolo Emilio da Verona] (*d.* 1529), historian. Author of *De rebus gestis Francorum libri IIII*, Paris, 1520, 1539-43, 1548. For its continuations by Ferronius and Jean du Tillet see nos. 11 and 32 above.

137 Ponticus Virunius: Ludovicus Ponticus Virunius [Ludovico da Ponte of Treviso] (*c.* 1460-1520), humanist and printer. Author of *Historiae Britanniae libri sex*, Reggio Emilia, 1508, Strasbourg, 1534; his book is an epitome of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* - they are cited together by Hooker at Vol. III, 927.

138 Pomponius Lætus: Pomponius Laetus [Giulio Pomponio Laeto] (1425-1497/8), humanist. Author of several books on Roman history, his being cited for the death of Constantius (Vol. I,

529) suggests use of his *Romanae historiae compendium*, Venice, 1499, 1500, Paris 1501, thereafter usually reprinted in collection of biographical and historical writings edited by Erasmus, Cologne, 1527 onwards. Another possibility is *Opera Pomponii Laeti varia*, Mainz, 1521.

139 Philip de Cumeins, alias M. de Argenton: Philippe de Commines, sire d'Argenton (c. 1447-1511), historian. Cited both directly and as mediated through Edward Hall's *Chronicle* (Vol. III, 295, 337, 339-42). Commines' memoirs, a major source for late-fifteenth-century French history, were first published as *Cronique et hystoire faicte et composee par feu messire Phelippe de Commines...*, Paris, 1524, then in a much more scholarly edition as *Memoires de Messire Philippe de Commines*, Paris 1552, with in-between an abridgement in Latin by Sleidanus, published at Strasbourg 1545-8. They were well enough known to be referred to as an exemplar of Gallic cynicism (Vol. I, 193), but no English translation appeared until 1596.

140 Polydor Virgil: Polydore Vergil (c. 1470-1555), historian. Author of *Anglica Historia*, a history of England at first to 1509, Basel 1534 and 1546, then to 1538, Basel, 1555. A major source for Holinshed, the fact that Vergil's history went on being used well into the reign of Henry VIII – e.g. Vol. III, 604 (1514), 645 (1520), 736 (1528) – shows that the third edition, or one of its reprints (1556, 1570), was used, not the mid-sixteenth-century English translation, which only extended to 1485. Attacks on Vergil for his scepticism towards the mythical history of Britain are mentioned Vol. I, 577, 580-1, but the issues are left undiscussed. A passing citation of 'Polydor' on the subject of birds (Vol. I, 375) seems to indicate that another of his writings was used, most likely his *De inventoribus rerum*, Venice, 1499, enlarged edition, Basel, 1521, English abridgement by Thomas Langley, 1546. *ODNB* entry.

141 Paulus Iovius: Paolo Giovio (1483-1552), historian. His being cited for the battle of Flodden (Vol. III, 597-8, Vol. V, 479) points to use of his *Historiarum sui temporis*, Florence, 1550-2. There is also a reference to 'Paulus Iovius in his book of *Empresse* written in Italian' (Vol. V, 693-4), either *Dialogo dell'Impresse Militari et Amoroze*, Rome, 1555, or *Ragionamento...spora i Motti, e Disegni d'Arme e d'Amore comunamente chaimano Imprese*, Venice, 1556, and later editions. Harrison quotes him as an authority on the divisions of Wales (Vol. I, 27), suggesting that he knew Giovio's *Descriptio Britanniae, Scotiae, Hyberniae, et Orchadum*, Venice, 1548.

142 Platina: Bartholomaeus Platina [Bartolomeo Sacchi] (1421-1481), humanist. Author of *Platinae Historici liber de Vita Christi ac Pontificum omnium qui hactenus ducenti et viginti fuere*, Venice, 1479, numerous subsequent editions. Updated as *De Vita et moribus summorum Pontificum historia*, Cologne, 1529. In one form or the other cited at Vol. III, 171, on dealings between Charles VII of France and Pope Calixtus III over the rehabilitation of Joan of Arc. Harrison also consulted Platina's *De honesta voluptate...*, Venice, 1498, and later editions, for his observations on saffron (Vol. I, 390, 393).

143 Philippus Melancthon: Philipp Melanchthon [Schwartzerd] (1497-1560), Lutheran reformer and historian. Reference at Vol. VI, 102 identifies this as his revised and augmented version of the chronicle of Carion, published as *Prima pars Chronici Carionis*, and *Secunda pars ...ab Augusto Caesare usque ad Carolum Magnum* [from the birth of Christ to Charlemagne], Wittenberg, 1558. See no. 47 above.

144 Peucerus: Gaspar Peucer, Lutheran scholar. Author of *Tercia pars Chronici Carionis* and *Liber quintus Chronici Carionis*, Wittenberg, 1562-5, continuing Melanchthon's extension of Carion's chronicle down to the reign of Charles V, in two parts each composed of two books. See nos 47 and 143 above.

145 Pomponius Mela: Pomponius Mela (fl. 1st century A.D.), geographer. Author of *De situ orbis*, Milan, 1471, and many later editions. Referred to as 'Pomponius the Cosmographer', Vol. I, 354, possibly reflecting one of the numerous editions that either make *Cosmographia* part of the book's title or refer to its author as *Cosmographus*.

R

146 Rogerus Houeden: Roger of Howden (d. 1201/2), historian. Wrote a substantial chronicle in two versions. The range of citations, from 1066 to 1201, shows that Holinshed used the second, Roger's *Chronica*, perhaps in its earliest surviving manuscript form, B.L., MS Royal 14 C.ii and Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Laud Misc. 582. *ODNB* entry.

147 Ranulfus Higden, alias Cestrensis the author of Polychronicon: Ranulf Higden (d. 1364), monk and historian. Author of *Polychronicon*, a universal history to the 1340s, with subsequent continuations. Citations seem to be impartially made from 'Ran. Cest.', 'Ran. Higd.' and

Polychronicon up to the Norman Conquest, but thereafter the author is usually named as Higden until his last appearance under 1337 (Vol. II, 605). Then from 1345 (Vol. II, 630) citations are from *Polychronicon*, or a continuation of it. Probably Holinshed used a manuscript ending in 1342, perhaps B.L. MS Royal 14 C.ix. He and his associates certainly used Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 197A, a series of continuations for the period 1348-1394 which contains both the one for 1348-1381 by John Malvern (Vol. IV, 717), and its successor for the years 1381-1394, the so-called *Westminster Chronicle*, identifiable as 'Additions to Polychron.' at Vol. III, 782. References to further 'Additions to *Polychron*.' for the deposition of Richard II (Vol. II, 852-4) demonstrate the use of the *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi secundi*, written at Evesham Abbey, most likely as a discrete treatise which later became attached to the *Polychronicon*. It survives in fifteen manuscripts. The *Polychronicon* was a very popular book in the later middle ages, and was provided with several continuations. Which, and how many, of these were used it is impossible at present to tell from the existing citations, which extend to 1450, all of them having been added by Fleming to the 1587 edition (Vol. III, 73, 172-3, 190, 191, 192-3, 203, 204, 205-6, 207, 210, 220). *ODNB* entry for Higden, with Malvern as co-subject.

148 Radulfus Coggheshall: Ralph of Coggeshall (*fl.* 1207-1226), abbot and historian. Author of sections of a Coggeshall Abbey chronicle extending from 1066 to 1224. Apart from a story concerning a merman captured late in Henry II's reign (Vol. II, 290), is only cited for events in the reigns of John and Henry III; but the account of the arrest of Richard I in Vienna in 1192, there attributed to Ralph Niger (Vol. II, 235), seems in fact to be taken from Coggeshall. This may indicate use of either B.L. MS Cotton Vespasian D.x, or B.L. MS Royal 13 A.xii, or College of Arms, MS Arundel 11, all of which contain the chronicles of both Niger and Coggeshall (the Royal manuscript runs them together). *ODNB* entry.

149 Radulfus Niger: Ralph Niger (*c.* 1140-*c.* ?1199), theologian and chronicler. Author of two chronicles, one of them a world history, seemingly cited at Vol. I, 42; accessible in B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra C.x. However, later marginal notes (Vol. II, 234-5, 270, 279) suggest a confusion between Ralph's other chronicle, made up of lives of emperors and kings, and that of Ralph of Coggeshall – see no. 148 above. The further confusion at Vol. II, 336, where 'Rafe Niger' and 'Rafe Coggheshall' are cited as conflicting authorities for the death of King John in 1216, seems to have arisen from another misattribution, this time making Niger the author of a text derived from the chronicle of Roger of Wendover. *ODNB* entry.

150 Register of the Garter: the register of the Order of the Garter. Unidentified; also cited as a source for Stow's *Summarie* (1575). William Harrison was unable to find evidence for membership before 36 Henry VIII, and his account of the Order (Vol. I, 268-72) does not suggest that he used either the so-called 'French register' (Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Ashmole 1128) or the *Liber Niger*, datable to c. 1534, which survives in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle; both contain statutes and accounts of chapter meetings between the reigns of Henry V and Edward VI.

151 Records of Battell Abbey: presumably the Battle Abbey chronicle, B.L., MS Cotton Domitian A.ii, which is probably cited at Vol. I, 762. Vol. II, 6-8 also prints 'The Roll of Battell Abbeie', containing 'the names of such Nobles and Gentlemen of Marque, as came at this time [in 1066] with the Conqueror...'. Although described as having 'sometime belonged to Battell abbeie', this seems to have originated in the fourteenth-century chronicle attributed to John Brompton, accessible in B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius C.xiii or Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 96.

152 Richardus Southwell: an otherwise unrecorded name given to the author of what internal evidence (e.g. Vol. II, 573-4) shows to be the Lanercost Chronicle. No printed text available. Holinshed could have used B.L. MS Cotton Claudius D. vii, or the sixteenth-century transcript in B.L. MSS Harley 3424-5.

153 Robert Greene: unidentified, not found in *RSTC*. A marginal note in 1577 names him as a source for executions for treason in 1556 (omitted Vol. IV, 85); John Stow's *Summarie* (1575), 438, and *Annales of England* (1592), 966, 967, 1002, 1080, also cite him as a source for events between the 1530s and 1559.

154 Radulfus de Diceto: Ralph de Diceto (d. 1199/1200), chronicler. References to events in the reigns of Henry II and Richard I (Vol. II, 186, 199, 245) point to the use of his principal historical work, the *Ymagines historiarum*, a chronicle of events from 1149 until his death. Not printed until 1652. In his list of deans of St Paul's, Harrison refers to Diceto 'whose noble historie is yet extant in their librarie' (Vol. I, 248), suggesting that he and his colleagues had access to the text of the *Ymagines* bequeathed by its author to St Paul's Cathedral, London, now Lambeth Palace Library, MS 8. Alternatively they could have consulted a transcript of it made at St Albans, now B.L., MS Royal 13 E.vi. *ODNB* entry.

155 Robert Gaguin: Robert Gaguin (1433-1501), humanist and historian. Author of *De origine et gestis Francorum compendium*, Paris, 1497, and numerous later editions, an abridged version of the *Grandes chroniques*. Following Gaguin's death his book was translated back into French, with more than one title - as *Les croniques de France*, Paris, 1515, with several subsequent editions, and also *La mer des Croniques et Mirouer de France*, Paris, 1518; again, further editions followed.

156 Rodericus Archiepiscopus Toletanus: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (*d.* 1247), archbishop of Toledo and historian. Author of *Rerum in Hispania gestarum Chronicon Libri novem*, published in 1545 in the same volume as the work of Antonio de Lebrixa listed no. 20 above.

157 Records and rolles diuerse: both editions of Holinshed, but especially the second, contain numerous references to evidence of this kind. Sometimes the references are broad and general: William Harrison refers to having consulted 'diverse records, charters, and donations (made in times past unto sundrie religious houses, as Glassenburie, Abbandon, Ramseie, Elie, and such like)...' (Vol. I, 324), and John Stow to his having gathered material for the history of London 'out of divers instruments and records' (Vol. II, 298), while Abraham Fleming under 1531 simply refers to material *ex lib. manuscripto* (Vol. III, 774). Marginal citations of 'Ro. Turris' or 'Record Turris' show that among the state archives the contributors had access to records of exchequer (e.g. Vol. II, 544-5, IV, 314, 779 – an intriguing reference to exchequer 'privie seales' of the reign of Henry III) and chancery (e.g. Vol. II, 536, IV, 298), and perhaps of parliament (e.g. Vol. II, 575-6), and also to at least some judicial records, for instance a 'register booke of indictments' cited under 1484 (Vol. III, 422), the indictments against Sir Richard Empson in 1509 (*ib.*, 553), and the evidence for a Yorkshire rebellion in 1549 taken 'Ex actis judicij publici a registro exceptis & notatis' (*ib.*, 987). There are also references to individual documents. Some seem to have been discovered through the researches of individual contributors, like the charter of Cnut cited by Hooker (Vol. III, 962) and the registers of archbishops of Canterbury consulted by Thynne (Vol. IV, 707, 721). Others were supplied by friends and wellwishers. In the first edition Campion printed a petition of *c.* 1400 from the people of Cork to the council in Dublin, 'according to the copie delivered to him by Francis Agard esquire, one of the queenes maiesties privie counsell in Ireland' (Vol. VI, 261-2). In the second edition, Fleming was able to correct a mistake in the first *ex manuscripto ab Henr. Tenant tradito* (Vol. III, 856). Thynne and Patten used documents provided by the Hastings and Bromley families respectively (e.g. Vol. II, 803, III, 76), while Thynne concluded his catalogue of the lord treasurers of England with a pedigree

of the Cecil family dating back to the late eleventh century, 'gathered faithfullie out of sundrie ancient records and evidences, wherof the most part are confirmed with seales autentike therunto appendent, manifestlie declaring the antiquitie and truth therof; which remaine at this present in the custodie of the right honourable sir William Cecil...' (Vol. IV, 319). Further research will greatly amplify this introductory sketch.

S

158 Strabo: Strabo (*d. c. 25 A.D.*), geographer. Greek-speaking author of a survey of the world known to him, including the British Isles, first published in a Latin translation as *Geographiae*, Rome, 1469, but more usually with the title *De situ orbis*, Venice, 1472, and thereafter. Numerous editions, no English or French translation (but quoted verbatim, in English, at Vol. I, 480).

159 Suetonius: Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (*d. c. 135 A.D.*), biographer. Author of *De vita xii Caesarum*. First printed Bologna (?), 1475, numerous editions thereafter. No English translation until that of Philemon Holland, 1606.

160 Sigebertus Gemblacensis: Sigerbert of Gembloux (*d. 1112*), monk and historian. Author of a universal history, *Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113*, edited by Antonius Rufus, Paris, 1513, with additions from Geoffrey of Monmouth and Robert of Torigni – hence his being cited as a source for Vortimer and Aurelius Ambrosianus, Vol. I, 560, 567, as well as for later, and better authenticated, events. This edition was reissued as part of S. Schardius, *Germanicarum Rerum quatuor...Chronographi*, Frankfurt, 1566. No English translation.

161 Sidon Appollinaris: Sidonius Apollinaris (*d. 489*), bishop and writer. Known for his panegyrics and letters – book VIII of the latter cited at Vol. I, 550. Available in *Epistolarum liber*, Utrecht, ?1473, and *Opera castigata et restituta*, Lyon 1552, perhaps also *Lucubrationes*, Basel, 1542. No English translation.

162 Simon Dunelmensis: Symeon of Durham (*fl. c. 1090-c. 1128*), monk and historian. Simeon was the reputed author of a history of the church of Durham and of a compilation known as the *Historia regum* (in fact probably the work of two different authors). There is no clear evidence

that Holinshed knew the former (although it incorporates Cuthbert's account of the death of Bede, referred to Vol. I, 643, this was also accessible among Leland's collections), but there are numerous citations of the latter, which has survived only in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 139. No printed edition until 1652.

163 Sextus Aurelius Victor: Sextus Aurelius Victor (*d. c.* 390), Roman historian. Author of three short surviving works; however, Holinshed's citation of Victor as, *inter alia*, a source for the father of Valentinian I (Vol. I, 537) points to use of the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, a pseudonymous reworking and extension of Victor's *Liber de Caesaribus*. Usually published under the title *De vita et moribus imperatorum Romanorum* with similar biographical texts by other Roman historians, notably Suetonius, Herodian and Trogus Pompeius, the *Epitome* was printed as a short separate work at Paris in 1504 and 1531. No English translation.

T

164 Trebellius Pollio: one of the 'authors' of the *Historia Augusta*, see no. 1 above

165 Thomas More knight: Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), lawyer and humanist. Holinshed's account of events in 1483 is essentially a reworking of More's *Richard III*, used in both its English and Latin texts. The former was first published in bad texts attached to Grafton's 1543 edition of Hardyng's *Chronicle* (no. 90 above), and to Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, 1548 and 1550 (no. 91 above). A much better version became available in *The workes of Sir T. More...wrytten by him in the English tonge*, edited by William Rastell, London, 1557. The Latin text was first published as part of More's *Latina Opera*, Louvain, 1565. *ODNB* entry.

166 Thomas Spot: Thomas Sprott (*fl.* 1272), monk and chronicler. It is not clear how far Sprott's work was distinguished from that of his continuator William Thorne (no. 73 above). Thynne remarked on the difficulties involved (Vol. IV, 662-3), possibly indicating that he only used a copy of Thorne's chronicle, but Holinshed, in writing of the events of 1067, noted, 'Thus far Thomas Spot, and after him William Thorne writeth the same', thus seeming to show that he knew the former's work as a discrete entity (Vol. II, 3). Several manuscripts survive, stemming from Lambeth Palace Library MS 419, fols. 111-160, and B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius A.ix, fols. 107-180; the latter extending continuously to *c.* 1265 with some additions, seems the likelier

source for Holinshed, who described Sprott as having 'lived in the daies of king Edward the first' (Vol. II, 3). *ODNB* entry.

167 Thomas Walsingham: Thomas Walsingham (c. 1340-c. 1420), monk and chronicler. Author of the most important single-authored history of England written in the later middle ages, his *Chronica maiora* survives in numerous sections and has a complicated publishing history. Holinshed appears to have used two 1574 editions by Matthew Parker, Walsingham's 'short chronicle', *Historia brevis Thomae Walsingham ab Edwardo primo ad Henricum quintum*, covering the period 1272-1422, and his *Ypodigma Neustriae*, an abridged history extending from 911 to 1419. Thynne twice set 'Walsingham' alongside the 'Ypodigma' as though they were unrelated (Vol. III, 1052, IV, 305), but may only have been comparing books rather than authors. *ODNB* entry.

168 Titus Liuius de Foroliuisijs de vita Henrici 5: Tito Livio dei Frulovisi (*fl.* 1429-1456), historian. Author of *Vita Henri Quinti*, an important source for the reign of Henry V. It survives in three manuscripts, B.L., MS Cotton Claudius E.iii, fols. 334-355; College of Arms, Arundel MS 12; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 285. Holinshed also drew attention to two other biographers of Henry V who had based their work on Livio's (Vol. III, 136). One, a translation into English, has been identified (in later copies) as Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 966, and B.L., MS Harley 35. The other, which used 'a certeine poetick kind of writing', seems likelier to be the rather over-written *Vita et Gesta Henrici Quinti* attributed to 'Pseudo-Elmham' than the life of Henry V in the *Liber Metricus* of Thomas Elmham, which is indisputably written in verse (extracts are printed Vol. III, 307, 788-9). The former survives in B.L., MSS Cotton Julius E.iv and Harley 864, College of Arms, MS Arundel 15, and All Souls College, Oxford, MS 38, *ODNB* entry.

169 Titus Liuius Patauiensis: Titus Livius of Padua (*d.* 17 A.D.), historian. Author of a history of Rome from its beginnings to his own time, in 142 books, of which thirty-five survive intact, the rest being known from fragments, excerpts and abridgements. Numerous editions from 1469 onwards, of varying completeness – the last five books to be rediscovered only came to light in 1527. Translated into Italian, Spanish, German and French, but the only English text available to Holinshed was *The historie of two the moste noble capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio...*, translated by Walter Cope, London, 1568.

170 Thomas Lanquet: Thomas Lanquet (1520/21-1545), historian. Author of *An Epitome of Cronicles*, completed by Thomas Cooper and published 1549. Further editions followed, with continuations by Robert Crowley, 1559, and also by Cooper, 1560, 1565. 'Additions to Lanquet' are cited for events in 1561 and 1563, Vol. IV, 202, 221, 223. *ODNB* entry.

171 Thomas Couper: Thomas Cooper, see no. 43 above

172 Taxtor a Monke of Berry: John of Taxster (*fl.* 1244-*c.* 1270), chronicler. His world chronicle (cited both for the invention of light shipping in British waters and for events in the 1190s) survives in B.L. Cotton MS Julius A.i and (in a derivative version) London, College of Arms, MS Arundel 6. *ODNB* entry. See also no. 104 above.

173 Theuet: André Thevet (1516-1590), cosmographer. Author of *Les singularitez de la France antarctique...*, Paris, 1558, an account of Brazil cited by Harrison in 1587 (Vol. I, 3), perhaps from the English translation by T. Hackett, *The New found worlde, or antarctike...*, London, 1568. His being named as the source for speculation about the origin of the name of the French city of Tours (Vol. I, 442) points to use of *La cosmographie universelle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1575.

174 Thomas de la More: Sir Thomas Laurence de la More (*fl.* 1327-1356), supposed chronicler. The text bearing the title *Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi* is a portion of the *Chronicon* of Geoffrey Baker of Swinbrook, long attributed to de la More through a misunderstanding of a passage addressed by the chronicler to Sir Thomas as his patron. Baker's *Chronicon* covers the period 1303 to 1356, but numerous manuscript copies made the *Vita* widely-known, to Stow among others, as a self-contained account of the reign of Edward II. Published by Camden in 1603. Manuscript texts survive in B.L., MSS Cotton Vitellius E.v, fols. 261-70, and Harley 310, fols. 92-102, and London, Inner Temple Library, MS Petyt 47, fols. 303-14. *ODNB* entries on de la More and Baker.

175 Tripartita Historia: citations at Vol. I, 529, 538, suggest that this is the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* of Cassiodorus, a history of the church in the fourth and fifth centuries which derived its name from being based upon the writings of Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen and Theodoret of Cyrus. First printed at Augsburg, 1472, several subsequent editions, including one at Paris, 1562, together with the church history of Nicephorus Xanthopoulos (see no. 128 above).

V

176 Vvlcatus Gallicanus: one of the 'authors' of the *Historia Augusta*, see no. 1 above

177 Vvolfgangus Lazius: Wolfgang Lazius or Laz (1514-1565), historian and cartographer. His *De gentium aliquot migrationibus...*, Basel, 1557, is cited Vol. I, 430.

W

178 Whethamsted, a learned man, sometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler: John Whethamstede (c. 1392-1465), monk and scholar. Left three registers recording his own achievements as abbot of St Albans within the context of national events. Two of these survive as B.L., MS Claudius D.i, and College of Arms, MS Arundel 3. They cover the years 1452 to 1461, the period of all Holinshed's citations of Whethamstede. For the lost third register, see Gransden, *Historical writing*, 2, 374 n. 205. *ODNB* entry.

179 William Harrison: William Harrison (1535-1593), historian and topographer. He contributed descriptions of Britain and Scotland to Holinshed's *Chronicles*, but owes his presence in this list to his calculations of past and future time, embodied in his 'Great English chronology', surviving in Trinity College, Dublin, MS 165, and B.L., MS Additional 70984. In his 'Preface to the Reader' for the second volume of the 1577 *Chronicles*, Holinshed described it as 'gathered and compiled with most exquisit diligence...'. References to Harrison's chronometrics are frequent in both editions, but considerably more so in the first – in 1587, though the details are preserved from ten years earlier, their source is frequently now presented anonymously. Under 603, for instance, 'Thus farre maister Harrison' has become 'A late chronographer running upon this matter...' (Vol. I, 599). Further investigation will doubtless illuminate this development. *ODNB* entry.

180 William Patten of the expedition into Scotland 1574: William Patten (d. in or after 1598), scholar. Supplied additional material on the reigns of Henry V and Henry VI to the second edition of Holinshed. His account of the 1547 English campaign in Scotland, *The expedicion into Scotlande*, London, 1548, is cited several times, Vol. III, 878-889. *ODNB* entry.

181 William Proctor of Wiats rebellion: *recte* John Proctor (1521-1558), schoolmaster and author. Named at the end of the 1587 *Chronicles* among those who had 'written of England and English matter' as 'Iohn Proctor schoolemaister of Tunbridge to whom I [Francis Thynne] was sometime scholer' (Vol. IV, 949). Author of *The Historie of Wyates Rebellion*, London, 1554, second edition 1555. *ODNB* entry.

182 Besides these, diuers other bookes and treatises of historicall matter I haue seene and perused, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

The number of such sources is considerable, especially in the sections added to the *Chronicles* in 1587 by Francis Thynne, who was decidedly apt to draw attention to the range of his own researches, and refers to such writings as 'an ancient booke of the lives of saints written in the Saxon toong, about the year of Christ 1010, before the time of Edward the confessor, and much about the time of Albo Floriacensis...' (Vol. III, 155), and to a number of 'anonymall' chronicles, which provide information on, *inter alia*, the deeds of Archbishop Theodore, the reign of Stephen, the Barons' Wars, and events in 1319 (Vol. IV, 286, 354, 359, 667). The detail provided in such cases is such as to raise the possibility of identifying the chronicles in question, and the same may be true of a work like 'an old historie of Flanders, written by one whose name is not knowne, but printed at Lions by Guillaume Rouille, in the year 1562...' (Vol. II, 301). See also no. 157 above.

Short lists of principal sources also precede the histories of Scotland and Ireland: for the most part these contain authors already cited for England, but three names do not occur among the latter.

183 (Scotland) Johannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus: Giovanni Ferrerio (1502-1579), historian. A native of Piedmont who spent several years in Scotland, he produced a new edition of the *Scotorum historiae* of Hector Boethius, published at Paris in 1574-5, with an account by himself of the reign of James III as an appendix – cited as such Vol. V, 449, 753. *ODNB* entry.

184 (Ireland) Flatsburie: Philip Flattisbury (*fl.* 1503-1526), antiquary. A servant of the ninth earl of Kildare, compiled Irish annals, mostly from the work of John Pembridge, for the period 1162-1370. They were extensively, if rather capriciously, used by Edmund Campion for the history of Ireland upon which Holinshed based his own, in a manuscript which included at least one note of

an event after Flattisbury's own time (the foundation of the Greyfriars at Kilcullen by Sir Roland Eustace in 1470, carried over into the Chronicles, Vol. VI, 74). But Holinshed also consulted a version of it, albeit at a late stage, and used it to amplify Campion's account of events in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Flattisbury's compilation was printed by Camden in 1607 from Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Laud Misc. 528, a manuscript at one time in the possession of Lord William Howard, and either this, or British Library, MS Additional 40674, which seems to have circulated widely, and contains annotations by Lord Burghley, among others, may have been the text that Holinshed used. A further text is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, MS 584. *ODNB* entry.

185 (Ireland) Saxo Grammaticus: Saxo Grammaticus (*d. c.* 1220), author of a heroic history of early Denmark. First printed as *Danorum Regum heroumque Historie*, Paris, 1514, later editions at Basel, 1534, Frankfurt am Main, 1576. Is in fact cited in the History of England (Vol. 1, 716) as well as in that of Ireland (Vol. VI, 91).

Appendix: References to other national histories

1577 (only), p. 1075: 'but what his perswasions profited, it appeareth in the hystorie of Italie'

1587

1/536: 'as ye may find in the abridgement of the histories of Italie'

552: '(as in the Italian historie ye may see more at large)'

730: 'in manner as in the historie of Norway, appeareth more at large'

740: 'But for that it may appeare in the abstract of the Danish chronicles, what their writers had of this matter recorded, we doo here passe over...'

2/187: 'as in the description of the holie land may more plainelie appeare, where the dooings of Saladine the Saracen are touched...'

317: 'as in the historie of France more at large appeare...'

442: '(as in the Dutch ['Teutch' 1577] you may find more largelie expressed)'

597: '(as in the French historie appeareth)'

685: 'as in the historie of Spaine it may appeare, which for that it apperteineth not to this historie of England, I doo here passe over...'

810: 'as in the histories of France and Italie is likewise expressed...'

3/50: 'as in the French histories it maie further appeare'

183: 'as in the French histories more plainly appeareth'

712: 'What followed thereof, ye may read more at large in the histories of Italie and France, where the warres are more at large touched...'

5/255: 'This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke)...'