

# The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, v. 1, Northern Europe

Richard Hakluyt

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**\*\* Transcriber's Notes \*\***

The printed edition from which this e-text has been produced retains the spelling and abbreviations of Hakluyt's 16th-century original. In this version, the spelling has been retained, but the following manuscript abbreviations have been silently expanded:

- vowels with macrons = vowel + 'n' or 'm'
- q; = -que (in the Latin)
- y[e] = the; y[t] = that; w[t] = with

This edition contains footnotes and two types of sidenotes. Most footnotes are added by the editor. They follow modern (19th-century) spelling conventions. Those that don't are Hakluyt's (and are not always systematically marked as such by the editor). The sidenotes are Hakluyt's own. Summarizing sidenotes are labelled [Sidenote: ] and placed before the sentence to which they apply. Sidenotes that are keyed with a symbol are labeled [Marginal note: ] and placed at the point of the symbol, except in poetry, where they are moved to the nearest convenient break in the text.

**\*\* End Transcriber's Notes \*\***

THE PRINCIPAL  
Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries  
OF THE ENGLISH NATION.

Collected by  
RICHARD HAKLUYT, PREACHER

AND  
Edited by  
EDMUND GOLDSMIDT, F.R.H.S.

NORTHERN EUROPE

VOL. I.

EDITORS PREFACE

"This elaborate and excellent Collection, which redounds as much to the glory of the English Nation as any book that ever was published, has already had sufficient complaints made in its behalf against our suffering it to become so scarce and obscure, by neglecting to republish it in a fair impression, with proper illustrations and especially an Index. But there may still be room left for a favourable construction of such neglect, and the hope that nothing but the casual scarcity of a work so long since out of print may have prevented its falling into those able hands that might, by such an edition, have rewarded the eminent Examples preserved therein, the Collector thereof and themselves according to their deserts."

Thus wrote Oldys (The British Librarian, No III, March, 1737, page 137), nearly 150. years ago, and what has been done to remove this, reproach? The work has become so rare that even a reckless expenditure of money cannot procure a copy [Footnote: Mr. Quantch, the eminent Bibliopole, is now asking L42 for a copy of the 1598-1600 edition.]

It has indeed long been felt that a handy edition of the celebrated "Collection of the Early Voyages, Travels and Discoveries of the English Nation," published by Richard Hakluyt 1598, 1599, 1600, was one of the greatest desiderata of all interested in History, Travel, or Adventure. The labour and cost involved have however hitherto deterred publishers from attempting to meet the want except in the case of the very limited reprint of 1809-12. [Footnote: Of this edition 250 copies were printed on royal paper, and 75 copies on imperial paper.] As regards the labour involved, the following brief summary of the contents of the Second Edition will give the reader some idea of its extent. I refer those who desire a complete analysis to Oldys.

Volume I. (1598) deals with Voyages to the North and North East, and contains \_One hundred and nine\_ separate narratives, from Arthur's Expedition to Norway in 517 to the celebrated Expedition to Cadiz, in the reign of good Queen Bess. Amongst the chief voyages may be mentioned: Edgar's voyage round Britain in 973; an account of the Knights of Jerusalem; Cabot's voyages; Chancellor's voyages to Russia; Elizabeth's Embassies, to Russia, Persia, &c.; the Destruction of the Armada; &c., &c.

Volume II. (1599) treats of Voyages to the South and South East, beginning with that of the Empress Helena to Jerusalem in 337. The chief narratives are those of Edward the Confessor's Embassy to Constantinople; The History of the English Guard in that City; Richard Coeur de Lion's travels; Anthony Beck's voyage to Tartary in 1330; The English in Algiers and Tunis (1400); Solymán's Conquest of Rhodes; Foxe's narrative of his captivity; Voyages to India, China, Guinea, the Canaries; the account of the Levant Company; and the travels of Raleigh, Frobisher, Grenville, &c. It contains \_One hundred and sixty-five\_ separate pieces.

Volume III. (1600) has \_Two hundred and forty-three\_ different narratives, commencing with the fabulous Discovery of the West Indies in 1170, by Madoc, Prince of Wales. It contains the voyages of Columbus; of Cabot and his Sons; of Davis, Smith, Frobisher, Drake, Hawkins; the Discoveries of Newfoundland, Virginia, Florida, the Antilles, &c.; Raleigh's voyages to Guiana; Drake's great Voyage; travels in South America, China, Japan, and all countries in the West; an account of the Empire of El Dorado, &c.

The three volumes of the Second Edition therefore together contain \_Five hundred and seventeen\_ separate narratives. When to this we add those narratives included in the First Edition, but omitted in the Second, all the voyages printed by Hakluyt or at his suggestion, such as "Divers Voyages touching the Discoverie of America," "The Conquest of Terra Florida," "The Historie of the West Indies," &c., &c., and many of the publications of the Hakluyt Society, some idea may be formed of the magnitude of the undertaking. I trust the notes and illustrations I have appended may prove useful to students and ordinary readers; I can assure any who may be disposed to cavil at their brevity that many a \_line\_ has cost me hours of research. In conclusion, a short account of the previous editions of Hakluyt's Voyages may be found useful.

The \_First\_ Edition (London: G. Bishop and R. Newberie) 1589, was in one

volume folio. It contains, besides the Dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham (see page 3), a preface (see page 9), tables and index, 825 pages of matter. The map referred to in the preface was one which Hakluyt substituted for the one engraved by Molyneux, which was not ready in time and which was used for the Second Edition.

The Second Edition (London, G. Bishop, R. Newberie, and R. Barker), 1598, 1599, 1600, folio, 3 vols. in 2, is the basis of our present edition. The celebrated voyage to Cadiz (pages 607-19 of first volume) is wanting in many copies. It was suppressed by order of Elizabeth, on the disgrace of the Earl of Essex. The first volume sometimes bears the date of 1598. Prefixed is an Epistle Dedicatorie, a preface, complimentary verses, &c. (twelve leaves). It contains 619 pages. Volume II. has eight leaves of prefatory matter, 312 pages for Part I., and 204 pages for Part II. For Volume III. there are also eight leaves for title, dedication, &c., and 868 pages.

The Third Edition (London, printed by G. Woodfall), 1809-12, royal 410, 5 vols., is an excellent reprint of the two early editions. It is very scarce, a poor copy fetching L17 to L18. Since this edition, there has been no reprint of the Collection.

I have taken upon myself to alter the order of the different voyages. I have grouped together those voyages which relate to the same parts of the globe, instead of adopting the somewhat haphazard arrangement of the original edition. This, and the indices I have added to each volume, will, I hope, greatly assist the student. The maps, with the exception of the facsimile ones, are modern; on them I have traced the presumed course of the journey or journeys they refer to. The illustrations I have taken from a variety of sources, which are always indicated.

EDMUND GOLDSMID.

EDINBURGH, August 23rd, 1884.

THE PRINCIPAL

NAVIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAFFIQUES, AND DISCOVERIES

OF

THE ENGLISH NATION,

MADE BY SEA OR OUER-LAND TO

THE REMOTE AND FARTHEST DISTANT QUARTERS OF THE EARTH,

AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES:

DIUIDED INTO THREE SEUERALL VOLUMES, ACCORDING TO THE POSITIONS OF THE REGIONS WHEREUNTO THEY WERE DIRECTED.

THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINETH

The Worthy Discoueries, &c. of the English toward the North and Northeast by Sea,

AS OF

LAPLAND, SCRIKFINIA, CORELIA, THE BAIE OF S. NICOLAS, THE ISLES OF COLGOEVE, VAIGATZ, AND NOUA ZEMBLE, TOWARD THE GREAT RIUER OB, THE MIGHTY EMPIRE OF RUSSIA, THE CASPIAN SEA, GEORGIA, ARMENIA, MEDIA, PERSIA, BOGHAR IN BACTRIA, AND DIUERS KINGDOMES OF TARTARIA:

TOGETHER WITH MANY

NOTABLE MONUMENTS AND TESTIMONIES OF THE ANCIENT FORREN TRADES, AND OF THE WARRELIKE AND OTHER SHIPPING OF THIS REALME OF ENGLAND IN FORMER AGES, WHEREUNTO IS ANNEXED

A Briefe Commentary of the True State of Island and of the Northern Seas and Lands Situate that Way:

AS ALSO

The Memorable Defeat of the Spanish Huge Armada, Anno 1588.

THE SECOND VOLUME COMPREHENDETH

The Principall Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation made by Sea or Ouer-land,

TO

THE SOUTH AND SOUTH-EAST PARTS OF THE WORLD, AS WELL WITHIN AS WITHOUT THE STREIGHT OF GIBRALTAR AT ANY TIME WITHIN THE COMPASSE OF THESE 1600 YERES:

DIVIDED INTO TWO SEUERAL PARTS, &c.

By Richard Hakluyt PREACHER,  
AND SOMETIME STUDENT OF CHRIST-CHVRCH IN OXFORD

IMPRINTED AT LONDON BY GEORGE BISHOP, RALPH NEWBERIE, AND ROBERT BARKER.

ANNO 1599.

DEDICATION TO THE FIRST EDITION

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM KNIGHT, [Footnote: Born at Chislehurst, Kent, in 1536 He was educated at King's College Cambridge, where he specialty devoted himself to the study of languages in which he became proficient. Appointed Ambassador to Paris in 1570, he distinguished himself by the extensive system of "secret police," or spies which he established. He was present at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, which did not excite in his cold diplomatic mind the horror it created in England. On his return in

1573 he became Secretary of State. Ten years later he was Ambassador to James VI of Scotland and in 1586 he sat as one of the commissioners on the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. In the matter of the Rabbington Conspiracy, he is said to have "outdone the Jesuits in their own Law, and overreached them in their equivocation." He died in 1590, in comparative disgrace with his mistress.]

PRINCIPALL SECRETARIE TO HER MAIESTIE, CHANCELLOR OF THE DUCHIE OF LANCASTER, AND ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIUIE COUNCELL.

Right Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Maiesties scholars at Westminster [Footnote: We know little of Richard Hakluyt beyond what we can gather from his writings. He was born at Eyton, in Herefordshire in 1553; was educated, as we here learn, at Westminster School and afterward, at Christ Church, Oxford, where geography was his favourite study; In 1584 he went to Paris as Chaplain to the English Embassy and, during his absence, was made Prebendary of Bristol. On his return he published several works, Leo's "Geographical History of Africa," translated from the Spanish, and Peter Martyr's "History of the West Indies" In 1605 he became Prebendary of Westminster, and Rector of Wetherogset in Suffolk. He died in 1616. In compiling the present work, Hakluyt had the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh.] that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt, my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well knowen vnto you, at a time when I found lying open vpon his boord certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an vniuersall Mappe: he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance, by shewing me the diuision of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the knowen Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Riuers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & intercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied. From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107. Psalme, directed mee to the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if euer I were preferred to the Vniuersity, where better time, and more conuenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was remoued to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read ouer whatsoever printed or written discoueries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and, in my publike lectures was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, [Footnote: "Ortelius, in his 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum,' the first edition of which was in 1570, gives a list of about 150 geographical treatises."--Hallam's "Literature of Europe," c. xvii. S 53.] and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chiefest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Manners of our nation: by which meanes hauing

gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Maiesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my fiue yeeres abroad with him in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes seruice, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoueries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and vehement, they would farre otherwise haue vsed. And that the trueth and euidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very words of Popiliniere in his booke called L'Admiral de France, and printed at Paris. Fol. 73. pag 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodnais, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in nauigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasses in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens & valeur assez, pour s'aquerir vn grand honeur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel qu' a autres peuples: qui leur doiuent ceder en la structure, accommodement & police de nauires: comme i' ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux. [Footnote: \_Translation\_ "This made me inquire into the reasons which prevent the English, who have sufficient intelligence, means, and courage to acquire great honour amongst all Christians, from shining more on the element which is and ought to be more natural to them than to other nations, who must needs yield to them in the building, fitting out, and management of ships, as I have my self often witnessed when amongst them."] Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to haue care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull trauels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield, for her passing good behauior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to vndertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in seuerall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delayes, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receiue my originals: so that I haue iust cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of diuers in our time, which Plinie [Footnote: Plinius. lib. 25. cap. 1. Naturalis historia.] made of the men of his age: At nos elaborata ijs abscondere atque supprimere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.

To harpe no longer vpon this string, & to speake a word of that iust commendation which our nation doe indeed deserue: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they haue bene men full of actiuity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse gouernement of her most excellent Maiesty, her subiects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, haue excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Maiesty, had theyr banners euer beene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath euer dealt with the Emperour of Persia, as her Maiesty



hath done, and obtained for her merchants large & louing; priuileges? who euer saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who euer found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who euer heard of Englishman at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore euer anker in the mighty riuer of Plate? passe and repasse the vnpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Noua Hispania, further then any Christian euer passed, trauers the mighty bredth of the South sea, land vpon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Iaua, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, ariue at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al rurne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subiects of this now flourishing monarchy haue done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie de gestis Romanorum recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay, or China) sent ambassadors to Rome, to intreate friedship, as moued with the fame of the maiesty of the Romane Empire. And haue not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccas and Iaua maior, haue desired the fauour of her maiestie, and the commerce & traffike of her people? Is it not as strange that the borne naturalles of Iapan, and the Phillipinas are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing vs of the state of their Easterne habitations? For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further fauour both vnto vs and them: to them especially, vnto whose doors I doubt not in time shall be by vs caried the incomparable treasure of the truth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we vse and exercise common trade with their marchants. I must confesse to haue read in the excellent history intituled Origines of Ioannes Goropius, a testimonie of king Henrie the viij, a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not preuented him, to haue done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Kneuetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua conuenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum commendationes, & legationes admitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Asia principibus facile se impetraturum sperabat, vt non solum tuto mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed vt commendatione etiam ipsorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi auiditas, vt nullis pecunijs ad hoc iter necessarijs se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Maiestate animum, O me foelicem, si Deus non ante & Kneuetum & Regem abstulisset, quam reuersus ab hac peregrinatione fuisset, &c. [Footnote: Ioannis Goropij Becari originum lib. 5 pag 494. \_Translation\_: "More than twenty years before I received from Henry Kneveit, an English knight, in the name of King Henry, a retaining fee, it being agreed that I should travel at the king's expense throughout Asia, so far as the letters of introduction or embassies of the Turkish and Persian monarchs would enable me. For he (the king) hoped easily to obtain from these two Asiatic monarchs not only permission for me to travel through their territories, but also, by their influence, through the frontier states of their kingdoms. The cost was not to be light, but such was that prince's eagerness, after knowledge that he declared he would spare no expense for this journey. O mind worthy of regal dignity! O happy me if God had not called away both Kneveit and the king before I had returned from that journey!"] But as the purpose of Dauid the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowned prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of

acceptation, although reserved for the person of our Salomon her gracious Maiesty, whom I feare not to pronounce to have received the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

Now whereas I have alwayes noted your wisdome to have had a speciall care of the honor of her Maiesty, the good reputation of our country, & the advancing of navigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to have spoken of the sea forces of Athens: [Footnote: Plutarch in the life of Themistocles.] and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I have bene animated in this and other my trauels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne encouragements, & the manifestation both of my vnfaigned seruice to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I have done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor Iames, a man many wayes very notably qualified.

And thus beseeching God, the giuer of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoever good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leaue.

London the 17. of Nouember.

Your honors most humble alwayes to be commanded

RICHARD HAKLUYT.

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

### RICHARD HAKLUYT TO THE FAVOURABLE READER

I have thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I have vsed in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee vnderstand by whose friendly aide in this my trauell I have bene furthered: acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then inenious, that the offence is great, Non agnoscere per quos profeceris, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indeuours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any author of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I have recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portugall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall trauellers might reape that good opinion, and iust commendation which they have deserued, and further that euery man might answere for himselfe, iustifie his

reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I haue referred euery voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same: for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that Peregrinationis historia, and not those wearie volumes bearing the titles of vniuersall Cosmographie which some men that I could name haue published as their owne, beyng in deed most vntruly and vnprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring vs to the certayne and full discouerie of the world.

Moreouer, I meddle in this worke with the Nauigations onely of our owne nation: And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done yet are they none but such as either faithfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the trauels of our owne people: of whom (to speake trueth) I haue receiued more light in some respects then all our owne Historians could afford me in this case, Bale, Foxe, and Eden onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered that I stand not vpon any action performed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not vpon that victorious exploit not long since atchieued in our narrow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army vnder the valiant and prouident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England: Not vpon the good seruices of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not vpon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Francisc Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales vpon a great part of the enimies chieftest shippes the other neere the Islands vpon the great Carrack of the East India, the first (though peradventure not the last) of that employment, that euer discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowned countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discouerie of strange coasts, the chiefe subiect of this my labour. [Footnote: Halkuyt afterwards, in his second edition, did not omit these remarkable adventures.]

Thus much in breuitie shall serue thee for the generall order. Particularhe I haue disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I haue martialled all our voyages of any moment that haue bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards vs: For I find that the oldest trauels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Iudea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy land, principally for deuotions sake according to the time, although I read in Ioseph Bengorion a very authentically Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Ierusalem vnder the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men haue pierced further into the East, haue passed downe the mightie riuier Euphrates, haue sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfe to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselues are herein to be read. To these I haue added the Nauigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the riuier of Senega, to the Isles of Cape Verde, to Guynea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull

Cape of Bona Speranza, as farre as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I haue produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our trauailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that haue bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Vnder this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Nauigations of our Brittish Kings as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna vnder the North pole: next to them in consequence, the discoueries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieue, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Noua Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towards the riuer of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange iourney of Master Ienkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleuen hundred verstes vp against the streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda thence one hundred and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslaue standing vpon the mighty riuer of Volga: there hence aboue two thousand and fiue hundred versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship ouer the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels vnto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscouie Marchants to the perpetual honor of their Citie, and societie, haue performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I haue concluded this second part.

Touching the westerne Nauigations, and trauailes of ours, they succede naturallie in the third and last roome, for asmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales in saylng and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since: the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memoire King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince giuen to Iohn Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discouer & conquer in his name, and vnder his Banners vnknown Regions who with that royall encouragement & contribution of the king himselfe, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed [Footnote: Robert Fabian] with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant reigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discouerie for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Maiesties selfe, do approoue and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Noua Hispania. Then immediatly ensue 3. voyages made by M. Iohn Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfe of Mexico: vpon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal aduantage. The next leaues thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake vpon Nombre de Dios, the

mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is ioyned an action more venterous then happie of Iohn Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spaniard, which with his companie passed ouer the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe ouer Master Frobisher, and his actions which I haue also newly though briefly printed, and as it were reuiued, whatsoeuer Master Iohn Dauis hath performed in continuing that discouery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I haue faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry haue risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still proscute so noble an action. Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Nauigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the prooue of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter Raleigh, whose entrance vpon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seruiously followed, as it was cheerefully vndertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in diuers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Franncis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinas, Iapan, China and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therefore the want of the first made by Sir Frauncis Drake will be the lesse: wherein I must confesse to haue taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to haue inserted it in this worke but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or preuent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the seruices of that worthie Knight into one volume, I haue yeelded vnto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedings to those intended discourses. [Footnote: This, however, he printed privately.]

Now for the other part of my promise, I must craue thy further patience friendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen and others which partly for their priuate affection to my selfe, but chiefly for their deuotion to the furtherance of this my trauaile, haue yelded me their seuerall good assistances: for I accompt him vnworthy of future fauours, that is not thankfull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborious trauaile, it were grosse ingratitude in me to forget and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and loue, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his friendly meanes haue bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars haue much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with

diuers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Maiesties nauie and Master Anthonie lenkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and obseruations in the north Regions, haue much pleased me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme trauaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene receiued from Sir Iohn Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singular delight haue bene as it were rauished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserued with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe, one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope Gentleman Vssier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counsellor (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasurer of England.

Nowe, because peraduenture it would bee expected as necessarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceiued of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereuuto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I haue contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, vntill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoueries, both Spanish Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession, being therein for diuers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.

[Footnote: This map it has been found impossible to reproduce in facsimile, though every effort has been made, a facsimile of Ziegler's Map of 1532 has been substituted as a Frontispiece to this Volume.]

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour haue bene in bringing these rawe fruits vnto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

DEDICATION TO THE SECOND EDITION,

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD

THE LORD CHARLES HOWARD,

[Footnote: He was the grandson of Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk and was born in 1536. He entered the army early, and distinguished himself in suppressing the rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in 1568 (for full particulars of which see Froude, "History of England," vol IX, p 96). He became Lord High Admiral in 1585, and rendered great service in 1588 against the Invincible Armada. In 1596 he was created Earl of Nottingham for his Expedition against Cadiz in conjunction with the Earl of Essex. In 1601 he suppressed the revolt of the latter and made him

prisoner. He was present at Elizabeth's death in 1603, and the following year went as ambassador to Spain. He died in 1624, never having forfeited in any way the confidence of his sovereign or the esteem of his countrymen.]

EARLE OF NOTINGHAM, BARON OF EFFINGHAM, KNIGHT OF THE NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, LORD HIGH ADMIRALL OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES, &c, ONE OF HER MAIESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVIE COUNSELL.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Nauigations and Discoueries of strangers in diuers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris, during my fiue yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her maiesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceiue, that with diligent obseruation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular actiuitie in the Search and Discouerie of the most vnknown quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to vndertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but euery man to folow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad prouoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares after many watchings, toiles, and trauels, and wearing out of my weake body: at length I haue collected three seuerall Volumes of the English Nauigations Traffiques, and Discoueries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle, or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages: but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeares, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue ben miserably scattered in mystic corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in perpetual obliuion. The first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the present brought to light, reseruing the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honourable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subiect and matter, might iustly challenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembered how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeares your Lordship committed the gouernment and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady & honorable, mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England was one of the first fauourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discouerie of Russia, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remembred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheritors of their fathers substance but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth are very great, and such as our Cronicles haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue shewed themselues so admirable, as no antiquitie hath affoorded greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the

like. To come to some particulars when the Emperors sister the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narrow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Maiesties Name Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderstand that olde speach of the prince of Poets:

Non illi imperium pelagi sauummque tridentem,  
sed tibi sorte datum.

[Footnote: Virgil, Aneid I \_Translation\_ "Not to him is given by fate the empire of the ocean and the potent trident, but to thee."]

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Maiesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie seruice, began to cast an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordship, and deeply to conceiue that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull seruice, your L. hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieued against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander vnder her sacred and roiall Maiestie, your noble gouernment and worthy behaiour, your high wisdom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heauenly blessing of the Almighty, are shewed most euidently to haue bene such as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renowned expedition and honorable voyage vnto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many braue and gallant Gallics, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon vpon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that enterprise, because they be hereafter so iudicially set downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye wnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprived no man of his right. Vpon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoueries vnto your Honors fauourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly crauing pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall faouurer of the English Nauigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding vp of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realms. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to haue a better education, then hitherto they haue had; all wise men may easily iudge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships haue been lost, how many worthy persons haue bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impouerished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities



through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wished there were a Lecture of Nauigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discouer all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuise of mine, it may please your Lordship to vnderstand, that the late Emperour Charles the fift, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene Spaine and the West Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Siuil. The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also haue published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and incouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of Alonso de Chauetz, of Hieronymo de Chauetz, and of Roderigo Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight and seuere examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the West Indies. Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with vs. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowned and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory, who for the increase of knowledge in his Seamen, with princely liberalitie erected three seuerall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here vpon the Thames, the other at Kingston vpon Hull, and the third at Newcastle vpon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motiues which induced his princely wisdom hereunto himselfe expresseth in maner following: *Vt magistri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officarij nauium, iuuentutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium transigentes, mutilati aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod releuamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solum illi reficiantur, verum etiam alij iuuenes moueantur & instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores fiant nauibus & alijs vasis nostris & aliorum quorumcunque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quam belli tempore, cum opus postulet, etc.* [Footnote: *\_ Translation\_ "That masters, mariners pilots, and other officers of ships, who have passed their youth in the profession of navigating vessels, being mutilated, or reduced to poverty through any other cause, might have some means of subsistence, by which not only they may be made comfortable but by which other youths may be induced and led to the exercise of the same profession, through which they may become more apt to and skilful in the pilotage and management at sea of ships and vessels in times of peace or war, as is neccssary," etc.] To descend a little lower, king Edward the sixth, that prince of peerelesse hope, with the aduice of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entered into the Northeasterne discouery, aduanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166. li. vj. s. viij. d. by the yeere during his life as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he dealt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other priuate vses) so his princely Maiestie would haue shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie*

of sir Thomas Gresham, [Footnote: He was the son of Sir Richard Gresham, merchant and Lord Mayor of London, and was born in 1519. Educated at Cambridge, he was placed under his uncle, Sir John Gresham, and enrolled a member of the Mercers Company. His father had been the king's agent at Antwerp, and the person who succeeded him, having mismanaged the royal affairs, Sir Thomas was sent over in 1552. to retrieve them. This he was most successful in doing. Elizabeth removed him from his office, but soon restored and knighted him. He planned and erected the Royal Exchange in London, in imitation of that of Antwerp, and the queen opened it in person in 1570. Having built a mansion in Bishopsgate Street, he directed by his will that it should be converted into habitations and lecture rooms for seven professors or lecturers on the seven liberal sciences, and their salaries to be paid out of the revenues of the Royal Exchange. These and other benefactions procured for him the name of the "Royal Merchant." He died in 1579. Gresham College has since been converted into the General Excise Office, and the lectures have been given in a room over the Exchange.] who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine causes; I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture: but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sorry that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Nauigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with seuere and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoever it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discouerie of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknown, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let me now I beseech you speake vnto your Lordship, as in times past the elder Scipio spake to Cornelius Scipio Africanus: Quo sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conseruauerint, adiuerint, auxerint, certum esse in coelo, ac definitum locum, vbi beati auo sempiterno fruuntur. It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time vnder her most gracious and excellent Maiestie, haue shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conseruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enioy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare iewels, your generous off-springs, but also vpon all the rest wheresoever of that your noble and renommed family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

A preface to the Reader as touching the principall Voyages  
and discourses in this first part.

Hauing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much trauaile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserue certaine memorable exploits of late yeres by our English nation atchieued, from the greedy and deuouring lawes of obliuion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Nauigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and hauing (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer vnto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I haue trauailed; how many famous libraries I haue searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue perused; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I haue redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entered; what expenses I haue not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate game, preferment, and ease I haue neglected; albeit thyselfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant and all expenses of light value and moment vnto me.

For (to conteine myselfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme vnto our English nation to haue bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly knowen before) and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicholas and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue discovered vnknown landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowned Portugale Vasques de Gama trauesed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spinted Genuois escried vnknown landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles lackman accoast Noua Zembia, Colgoieue, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is that our successe hath not bene correspondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and iudicial in Cosmographie, who writ aboute 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene, signified vnto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the

further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Egyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a fleet of Phoenicians downe the Red sea, who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their sterbourd (that is to say hauing crossed the Aquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Naugation directed their course to the North and in the space of 3. years enuironed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan strait and arriuing in Agypt. And doth not [Footnote: Lib. 2. nat. hist. cap. 67.] Plinie tell them that noble Hanno in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia foelix, and put down his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention that in the time of Augustus Casar the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be ouer tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from King Lathyrus, and sailing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arriued at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not diuine [Footnote: In Timao] Plato (who liued so many ages ago and plainly described their West Indies vnder the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer vnto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib. [Footnote: [Greek: peri thaumasion akousmaton]] de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them vp and pricke them forward vnto their Westerne discoueries; yea to be their chiefe loads man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed vp in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to vndertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting foorth for their Northeasterne discouery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements or if they had any inkling at all it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them then to giue them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid vncertaintie into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselues, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselues vnto the rigour of the sterne and vncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waues and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the vnhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbres land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and vnlocke the seuen-fold mouth of Duina. Moreouer, in their Northeasterly Naugations, vpon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, loughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigats, vnto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce euen in Iune, Iuly, and August, vnto what hideous ouerfals, vncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were subiect and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres haue discovered to 78. yea (as themselues affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude [Footnote: This is wrong. The Austro-Hungarian Expedition of 1872-1874 only reached 81 in Franz Josef Land. Barentz certainly neuer penetrated beyond 77 or 78 ] yet with this

prouiso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch [Footnote: This refers to the expeditions of Willoughby (1553), Frobisher (1576-7), Pett, Jackman (1580), and Davis (1585)]. But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoise vp our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, ouer which the Spaniards and Portugales haue made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Navigations haue indured many tempests, dangers, and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them haue satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misaduentures seeme tolerable vnto them, and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with ice, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Acores of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conueniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaues, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, siluer, gold and other precious wares, which serued as allurements to draw them on by little and little, and as proppes to stay them from giuing ouer their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto ourselues.

In this first volume (Friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoueries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narue, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke fiue strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides 1 all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduancing of traffique by riuer and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arriual at Newnox, his passing vp the riuer of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslaue, Rostoue, Peraslau, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maiestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not hauing so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Ienkinsons discourse as touching that argument to the smooth verses of M. George Turberuile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe pag. 536. of this volume, [Footnote: Refers to \_original\_ edition.] and the pages following. Vnto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Iohnsons strange report of the Samoeds pag. 316. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult iourney of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas

Baie, vpon the great riuer of Onega, and so by other riuers and lakes to the citie of Nouogrod vpon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of obseruation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 339. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the rulers of Moscua, Occa and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselues within all that maine circumference they haue aduentured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times ouer the vnknown and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman M. Anthonie lenkinson being their first ring-leader: who in Anno 1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and there arriuing at the port of Mangusla, trauelled thence by Vrgence and Shelisur, and by the riuers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes iourney ouer desert and wast countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then haue you a second Nauigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arriuall at Shabran, his proceeding vnto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdowcan king of Hircan, his iourney after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yauate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with diuers other notable accidents in his going forth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue set downe in fiue seuerall voiajes the successe of M. lenkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, vnder the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, vnder Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreouer, as in M. lenkinsons trauel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most liuely represented vnto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian Iournals you may here and there obserue the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subiects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this first Volume, all the Ambassages and Negotiations from her Maiestie to the Russian Emperour, or from him vnto her Maiestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the employment of M. lenkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Ierome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arriuall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismissal into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Sauin; and lastly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I haue not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Priuileges, Instructions, Obseruations, or any other Particulars which might serue both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection vnto this discourse of Russia; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperours and Dukes,

gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes as likewise about the conclusion, I haue signified in the branch of a letter the last Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich vnto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise haue bene comprised within some few yeeres or at least wise haue not bene of any long continuance, let vs now withdraw our selues from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let vs take a sleight suruey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the reader may haue recourse vnto the 137 page [Footnote: This refers to the original edition] of this Volume & there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the iudicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fifteene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renowned and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou obserue (friendly Reader) what priuileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Aduenturers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend vnto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted vnto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchats to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable safe conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the same priuileges here in England, which our English merchants enioied abroad in their seuerall countreys. Or what should I signifie vnto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subiects: or tell you what faouours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoever was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceiue of the letters & negotiatios which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained vpon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely settled Mart towne for the vttering of English woolls & woollen fells instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de lungingen,

and Vlricus de lungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subiects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most vsuall kinds of wares vttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well vpon the coast of Norway, as euery where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise haue been vtterly darke and vnknownen to the greater part of Readers, I haue set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambasasage, pagina 158 [Footnote: This means, of course, page 158 of original edition.] a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, containing the first originall and institution of themselues and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieued vpon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder their iurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with diuers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixth.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise de politia conseruatiua maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chancellor page 264. [Footnote: Ibidem] of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparence was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maiesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an inualueable and huge masse of gold and siluer plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exterior habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and vnaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to haue bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to haue proceeded from the mother of Euander; but take you off his vtmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence, and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many liuely descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discouery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares, that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. [Footnote: The poem here alluded to was written between 1416 and 1438, as appears from the lines:

"For Sigismond, the great Emperour  
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land  
With King Henry the fifth" etc.

Sigismund died in 1438, and visited England in 1416.] And notwithstanding



(as I said) his stile be vnpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of vse, yet, so neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue most religiously without alteration obserued the same, thinking it farre more conuenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman, and that the Readers should enioy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a vieu of our state of merchandise vnder K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet prouisoes, iust ordinations, & gracious priuileges contained in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I haue not bene vnmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would giue me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and trauels of our English nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridas Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his [Greek: Archaionomia]) I haue published vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Ochter making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, vnto his soueraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Nauigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter vnto the Russian duke Ieruslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traueile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous inciuiltie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet throughly traueiled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen vnto vs: I haue here annexed vnto the said Englishmans traueile, the rare & memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that traueiled farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadors vnto the sauage Tartars (who had as then wasted and ouerrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whose iourney, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great, vnto the riuer of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus employed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith vnto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and vnmanerly welcomming they had at their first arriual, what cold intertainment they felt in traueiling towards the great Can, and what

slender cheere they found at his Court, that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adiacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and ouerspreading Empire, in registering their manifolde warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their herds and moouable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their vnmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall liues their vicious maners, their slauish subiection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie vnto strangers, they deserue most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall object that they haue certaine incredible relations; I answere, first that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friars, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; euery one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friars between the both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleue ech word and syllable. Moreouer sithens these two iournals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and sithens they haue bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they haue described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those vnknown parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could set mine eyes on; I thought it good if the translation should chance to swerue in ought from the originals (both for the preseruacion of the originals themselues, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two rare iewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deeply bounded vnto the right reuerend, graue and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner vnto her Maiestie; by whose friendship and meanes I had free accesse vnto the right honor my L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two iournals and some others also.

After these Friars (thought not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long journey of Henry Earle of Derby, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a briefe remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew diuers of his captains, aduanced his English colours vpon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his trauel into Pruis, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, vnder the person of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also haue scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would giue vs leaue) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and growth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great nauie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 224. and 225. of this present volume. [Footnote: \_Original\_ edition.] Of which Authors some affirme the sayd fleet to haue consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage vnto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoeuer it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soueraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Ile of Britanne it selfe, but also that he brought vnder his yoke of subiection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adiacent. And for that most of our Nauigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either vtterly ignorant or but meanelly skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland, I haue for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a briefe treatise called A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed nauigations through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in sea causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) first Godredus Crouan with a whole Fleet of ships throughly haunted some places in that sea; secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arriued vpon the Isle of Lewis; then, that Magnus the king of Norwau came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and hauing subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) euen through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing ouer from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olauus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second iourney into Norway, of Sumerled his second arriual with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrehke shipping of this land the reader shall giue me leaue to borow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leaue thereof, and that is in few words, that K. Iohn passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces euen in his time. Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conquerour, of William Rufus and the rest, there were diuers men of warre which did valiant seruice at sea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 19. [Footnote: Of original edition.] out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentish

Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchised, what gracious priuileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers kings vouchsafed vpon them, and what seruices they were tied vnto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers mariners, Garsons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings vse; and lastly what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, vpon 200. French ships, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag. 130, [Footnote: Of original edition.] the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, vpon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seuen hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him vnto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obseruation. First that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. persons, seeme to haue bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth almost twice as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreouer the Reader may behold, pag. 205, [Footnote: Of original edition.] a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certain Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had vnited their owne strength vnto them) sent his brother Iohn Duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell got the victory, taking some of their ships and, sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also ouercome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry: & propter eorum naues (saieth mine Author) that is for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

But to leaue our ancient shipping, and descend vnto later times, I thinke that neuer was any nation blessed of IEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped vs, and were onely by Gods out-stretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his iudgements vnto all Christendome. An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition vnder two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. vnto the strong citie of Cadiz, I haue set downe as a double epiphonema to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation, yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to depriue the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long expected discourses, I haue made bold to straine a litle curtesie with that methode which I first propounded vnto my selfe.

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Iseland, and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way, wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus and others, are by euident arguments

conuincid of manifold errors, that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places, touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discouerie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountaines, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to be the more acceptable, first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it, and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not afford any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the briefe summe and scope of all my labours for the common-wealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed vpon this first Volume: which if thou shall as thankfully accept, as I haue willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne parts of the World.

\* \* \* \* \*

[Greek: EIS APODAEMIAS BRETTANON PONAEMA RIKARDOU TOU HAKLYITOU,

Hygon ho Brochthonos.

Ossoi gaian echousi Brotoi henos ekpephyasi  
hos allaela horan ethnesi charma physei.  
Hos de thaliplagktos metekiathen ethnea pleista,  
hoikoi mimnazous axiagastos ephy.  
Exocha Brettanoi d', alloin schisthentes erantai,  
idmenai allothroun phyla polypsperea.  
Indous hesperious kai eoous, Aithiopas te  
kai Moschous, kai pant eschatounta genae.  
Touton d' oia malista, klyta, klytos Haklyutos  
graphen ariphradeos, mnaem aei essomenon.]

\* \* \* \* \*

In nauales RICHARDI HAKLUYTI Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum foecunda puerpera rerum,  
siue solum spectes nobile, siue salum;  
Qua quantum sumptis se nobilitauerunt armis,  
siue domi gessit praelia, siue foris;  
Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tanta  
Insula materiem paruula laudis alit.  
At se in quot, qualesque, & quando effuderit oras,  
qua fudit ignotum peruia classis iter,  
Solius Hakluyti decus est, pradiuite penna  
ostendisse suis ciuibus ausa mari  
Quacunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica nauis,  
Oceani tristes spernere docta minas,  
A primi generisque & gentis origine gessit,  
qua via per fluctus vlla patre potest,  
Siue decus laudemque secuta, vt & hostibus alas  
demeret, atque suis lata pararet opes:

Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,  
cui multum, patria quisquis amicus erit  
Qui re namque magis se nostra Britannta iactat,  
quam quod sit prater caetera classe potens?  
Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, vt nunc  
quisque sciat quam sit nobile classis opus.  
Quam si Dadalice vtemur surgemus in altum,  
sin autem Icarice, quod voret, aquor habet.  
RICH. MVLCASTER.

Eiusdem in eundem

Qui graui primus cecinit camoena  
Aureum vellus, proceresque Gracos,  
quos sibi adiunxit comites Ianson  
Vectus in Argo  
Naue, quam primum secuisse fluctus  
pradicant salsos, sibi comparauit  
Inde non vnquam moritura magna  
pramia fama  
Tanta si merces calamum secuta  
Vnica nauis referentis acta,  
Quanta Rachardum manet Hakluytum  
gloria? cuius  
Penna descripsit freta mille, mille  
Insula nostra celeres carinas,  
Qua per immensi loca peruolarunt  
omnia mundi  
Senties gratam patriam, tuaque  
Laudis aeternum memorem, & laboris:  
Qua tua cura, calamoque totum  
ibit in orbem:  
Quam doces omni studio fouere  
Nauticum robur, validamque classem.  
Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglo  
vsserit hostis.

\* \* \* \* \*

In eximium opus R. HAKLUYTI de Anglorum ad disiunctissimas regiones  
nauigationibus GVLIELMI CAMDENI Hexastichon.

Anglia qua penitus toto discluditur orbe,  
Angulus orbis erat, paruus & orbis erat.  
Nunc cum sepositos alios detexent orbis,  
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.  
At quid Haklute tibi monstranti hac debeat orbis?  
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

\* \* \* \* \*

Di Marc' Antonio Pigafeta Gentilhuomo Vicentino

Ignota mi starei, con poco honore  
Sepolta nell' oscure, antiche carte,  
S'alcun de figli miei con spesa & arte  
Non hauesse hor scoperto il mio splendore

Ramusio pria pieno d' ardente amore

Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,  
Che son la doue il Maragnon diparte,  
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange scorre,  
Hakluyto poi senza verun risguardo  
Di fatica o di danno accolt' ha insieme,  
Cio c' ha potuto hauer da typhi Inglesi.  
Onde vedrassie dove bella sguardo,  
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l' Obi freme,  
Et altri membri miei non ben palesi.

EXTRACT FROM OLDYS'S LIBRARIAN, 1738.  
(Article Hakluyt's Voyages.) p. 137.

Oldys (having given a list of the contents of the three volumes of Hakluyt) concludes,

This summary may sufficiently intimate what a treasury of maritime knowledge it is, wherefore we shall here take our leave of it, with referring only to a needful observation or two:

And first, As it has been so useful to many of our authors, not only in Cosmography, and Navigation, but in History, especially that of the glorious reign in which so many brave exploits were atchievcd; As it has been such a LEADING STAR TO THE NAVAL HISTORIES since compiled; and saved from the wreck of oblivion many exemplary incidents in the lives of our most renowned navigators; it has therefore been unworthily omitted in the English historical library. And lastly, though the first volume of this collection, does frequently appear, by the date, in the title page, to be printed in 1599, the reader is not thence to conclude the said volume was then reprinted, but only the title page, as upon collating the books we have observed, and further, that in the said last printed title page, there is no mention made of the Cadiz Voyage; to omit which, might be one reason of reprinting that page; for it being one of the most prosperous and honourable enterprizes that ever the Earl of Essex was engaged in, and he falling into the Queen's unpardonable displeasure at this time, our author, Mr. Hakluyt, might probably receive command or direction, even from one of the patrons to whom these Voyages are dedicated, who was of the contrary faction not only to suppress all memorial of that action in the front of this book, but even cancel the whole narrative thereof at the end of it, in all the copies (far the greatest part of the impression) which remained unpublished. And in that castrated manner the volume has descended to posterity; not but if the castration was intended to have been concealed from us, the last leaf of the preface would have been reprinted also, with the like omission of what is there mentioned concerning the insertion of this Voyage. But at last, about the middle of the late King's reign, an uncastrated copy did arise, and the said Voyage was reprinted from it, whereby many imperfect books have been made complete.

EXTRACT FROM ZOUCH'S LIFE OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, page 317.

Every reader conversant in the annals of oar Naval transactions will cheerfully acknowledge the merit of Richard Hakluyt, who devoted his studies to the investigation of those periods of the English history, which regard the improvement of navigation and commerce. He had the advantage of an academical education. He was elected Student of Christ-Church in Oxford in 1570, and was therefore contemporary with Sidney at the University. To him we are principally indebted for a clear and comprehensive description of those noble discoveries of the English nation made by sea or over land to the most distant quarter of the earth. His incomparable industry was

remunerated with every possible encouragement by Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Philip Sidney. To the latter, as to a most generous promoter of all ingenious and useful knowledge, he inscribed his first collection of voyages and discoveries, printed in 1582. Thus animated and encouraged, he was enabled to leave to posterity the fruits of his unwearied labours--an invaluable treasure of nautical information, preserved in volumes, which even at this day, affix to his name a brilliancy of reputation, which a series of ages can never efface or obscure.

CERTEINE TESTIMONIES CONCERNING  
K. ARTHUR AND HIS CONQUESTS OF THE NORTH REGIONS,  
TAKEN OUT OF  
THE HISTORIE OF THE KINGS OF BRITAINE.  
WRITTEN BY GALFRIDUS MONUMETENSIS, AND NEWLY PRINTED  
AT HEIDELBERGE, ANNO 1587.

Lib 9. cap. 10.

Anno Christi, 517. Arthurus, secundo regni sui anno subiugatis totius Hybernia partibus, classem suam direxit in Islandiam, eamque debellato populo subiugavit. Exin divulgato per ceteras insulas rumore, quod ei nulla Prouincia resistere poterat, Doldaius rex Gotlandia, & Gunfacius rex Orcadum vltro venerunt, promissoque vectigali subiectionem fecerunt. Emensa deinde hyeme, reuersus est in Britanniam, statumque regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The same in English.

In the yere Of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yeere of his reigne, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread thorowout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldamus the king of Gotland, and Gunfacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeilded him their obedience promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelue yeres.

Lib 9. cap. 12.

Missis deinde in diuersa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs quam ex collateralibus Insulis Oceani qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulo post: Ex collateralibus autem Insulis Guillaumarius rex Hybernia, Maluasius rex Islandia, Doldaius rex Gotlandia, Gunnasius rex Orchardum, Lot rex Noruegia, Aschihus rex Danorum.

The same in English.

After that king Arthur sending his messenger into diuers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, as well out of France, as out of the adiacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adiacent Islands came Guillaumarius king of Ireland, Maluasius king of Island, Doldaius king of Gotland, Gunnasius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.



Lib 9. cap. 19.

At reges caterarum Insularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quisque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex sex Insulis, videlicet, Hybernia, Islandia, Gotlandia, Orcadum, Noruegia, atque Dacia, sexies viginti millia essent annumerata.

The same in English.

But the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to breed vp horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe score thousand souldiers sent him.

\* \* \* \* \*

A testnnome of the right and appendances of the crowne of the kingdome of Britaine, taken out of M. Lambard, his [Greek: Arkaionomia], fol 137. pag. 2.

Arthurus qui fuit quondam inclytissimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britannia. Subiugauit igitur sibi strenue Scantiam totam, qua modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas vltra Scantiam, scz. Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, qua sunt de appendicijs Norweia, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & insulas, Orientalis Oceani vsque Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit Orientalem metam regni Britannia) & multas insulas vltra Scantiam, vsque dum sub Septentrione, qua sunt de appendicibus Scantia, qua modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occulte. Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari, & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire, & suscipere. Ceperunt vniuersi proceres Norweia vxores suas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegienses dicunt se exijsse de gente & sanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex a domino Papa, & a Curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia, in perpetuum corona Britannia in augmentum regni huius, vocauitque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britannia. Hac vero de causa dicunt Norwegienses, se debere in regno isto cohabitare & dicunt se esse de corpore regni huius, scilicet de corona Britannia. Maluerunt enim manere in regno isto, quam in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi per loca. Ista vero opulenta est, & fertilis, & crescunt hic segetes, & cetera vniuersa. Qua ex causa sapius per vices gesta sunt bella atrocissima inter Anglos & Norwegienses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt vero Norwegienses terras multas & insulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam postea penitus euelli. Tandem modo confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per vxores suas, quas postea ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum constituit, & eis concessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa possent, & debent pradicti de cetero nobiscum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostri.

The same in English.

Arthur which was sometimes the most renowned king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous warriour. This kingdome was too

litle for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therefore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are appertaining vnto Norway, Sweueland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Someland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Islands of the East sea, euen vnto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and sauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, because all euil commeth from the North, yet there were among them certeine Christians liuing in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and thorowout all Norway to worship one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Brittaines, whereupon the Norses say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The aforesayd king Arthur obtained also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway should be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the inlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norses say, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne natiue countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein corne and all other good things do grow and increase, for which cause many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene slaine, & the Norses haue possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe possesse, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and marriages. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable mainteiner of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall consent of the whole kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from hencefoorth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing sworne brethren.

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A testimonie out of the foresayd Galfridus Monumetensis concerning the conquests, of Malgo, king of England. Lib. II. cap. 7.

Vortipono successit Malgo, omnium fere Britannia pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cateris, & vltra modum probitate praclarus. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit, & sex comprouinciales Oceani Insulas: Hyberniam videlicet, atque Islandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit dirissimis pralijs potestati sua.

The same in English.

Malgo succeeded Vortiponus which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expulsed many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also, obtained the gouernment of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battailes he recouered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Ocean sea, which before had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

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The conquest of the Isles of Anglesey and Man by Edwin the Saxon king of Northumberland written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

Eduinus Nordanhumbroꝝ gentis, id est, eius qua ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis praeuit, praeter Cantuarios tantum, necnon & Menauias Britonum insulas, qua inter Hiberniam & Britanniam sita sunt, Anglorum subiecit potestati.

The same in English.

Edwin king of the people Northumberland, that is to say of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule as well ouer the English as the British nation, except onely the people of Kent: who also brought in subiection vnder the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by Beda to the same purpose. Lib 2. cap 9.

Anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Nordanhumbroꝝ, hoc est, ea natio Anglorum qua ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege suo Eduino, verbum fidei (pradicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus) suscepit: cui videlicet regi in auspiciū suscipienda fidei, & regni coelestis potestas & terrem creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britannia fines, qua vel ipsorum vel Britonum Prouincia habitabantur, sub ditione acceperit. Quin & Menauias insulas (sicut & supra docuimus) imperio subiugauit Anglorum. Quarum prior qua ad austrum est, & situ amplior & frugum prouentu atque vbertate foelicioꝝ, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, iuxta aestimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum & vltra spatium tenet.

The Same in English.

In the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, sixe hundreth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the riuer of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Vnder which king, after he had once accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heauenly & of his earthly kingdome was enlarged; insomuch, that he (which no English king had done before him) brought vnder his subiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselues, or by the Britons. Moreouer, he subdued vnto the crowne of England (as we haue aboue signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Westerne Islands. The principall wherof being more commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the South, and more abounding with corne then the rest, conteineth according to the estimation of the English, roome enough for 960. families, and the second for 300. and aboue.

\* \* \* \* \*

The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by Ecfriðus king of Northumberland, in the yere of our Lord 684, out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of Beda his Ecclesiasticall Hystorie.

Anno Dominica incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Ecfrius rex Nordanhumbrorum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Berto, vastauit misere gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita vt nec ecclesijs quidem aut monasterijs manus, parceret hostilis. At insulani & quantum valere armis arma repellebant, & inuocantes diuina auxilium pietatis coelitus se vindicari continuis diu imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum tamen est, quod hi qui merito impietatis sua maledicebantur, ocyus Domino vindice, poenas sui reatus luerent.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfrius the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly vnto the people of England, insomuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and crauing Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no meanes inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

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The voyage of Ochter made to the Northeast parts beyond Norway, reported by himselfe vnto Alfred the famous king of England, about the yere 890.

Ochter said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Ochter tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any other Norman. [Sidenote: Fynnes live by hunting and fishing.] He said that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, vnlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coast, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fishing in Summer. He said that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to prooue and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Whereupon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, hauing vpon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. [Sidenote: The Place wither the whale hunters trauel.] In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vse to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in other 3. dayes. At the end whereof he perceiued that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wist and remembred, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he was compelled againe to stay till he had a full Northerly winde, forsomuch as the coast bowed thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually full South, so farre as he could trauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discouered a mightie riuer which opened very farre into the land. [Sidenote: The Riuer of Duina of likelihood.] At the entrie of which riuer he stayed his course, and conclusion turned back againe, for he durst not

enter thereinto for feare of the inhabitants of the land; perceiuing that on the other side of the riuer the countrey was thorowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: [Sidenote: A Desert countrey. Fynnes.] whereas continually thorowout all his voyage he had euermore on his steereboord, a wilderness and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnes: and all the way vpon his leereboord was the maine ocean. [Sidenote: Biarmia.] The Biarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go vpon shore. [Sidenote: Terfynnes.] But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue sayd, whereas dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Biarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreys adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine trueth; forsomuch as he was not vpon land, nor saw any himselfe. [Sidenote: The Fynnes and Biarmes speak one language.] This onely he iudged, that the Fynnes and Biarmes speake but one language. [Sidenote: Horsewhales teeth commended.] The principall purpose of his traueile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discouerie of these coasts and countreies, for the more commoditie of fishing of horsewhales, [Footnote: Or morses.] which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne vnto the king. [Sidenote: Use of the morses skins for cables.] Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so vsed. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length or aboue seuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the sixe, which in the space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. [Sidenote: Sixe hundreth raine Deere.] At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6, were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and maruellously esteemed among the Fynnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he, had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with horses. [Sidenote: The Fynnes tribute.] Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. [Sidenote: Note. Cables of Whales and Seales skins.] Euery man payeth according to his abilities. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of Marterns, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a piece, the one made of Whales skin, the other Seales.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: [Sidenote: A description of Norway.] and all Eastward all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth euermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peradventure threescore miles in bredth or broader in some places: about the middest, 30 miles or aboue, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proueth not three miles from the Sea to the mountaines. [Sidenote: The bredth of the mountaines.] The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to traueile ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no more then

may be traailed in sixe dayes. [Sidenote: Swethland. Queeneland.] Right ouer against this land in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Quenes sometimes passing the mountaines, inuade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans likewise sometimes spoile their countrey. [Sidenote: Boats caried on mens backs.] Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Queenes vse to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer lande, and thereby inuade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

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The voyage of Ochter out of his countrey of Halgoland into the sound of Denmarke vnto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rostorke.

Ochter sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him. From this countrey towards the South, there is a certeine port [Marginal note: Or streight.] [Footnote: It seemeth to be about Elsenborg--\_Original note\_.] called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had euery day a full winde. [Sidenote: The description of the Sound of Denmarke.] And he shall saile all the way along the coast, hauing on his steereboord, first lutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & lutland, still along the coast of this countrey, till he came to Scirings hall hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entreth into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man cannot see ouer it: [Sidenote: Gotland.] and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles vp into the land. [Sidenote: Vandals.] From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hetha, which lieth betwixt the countries of Wendles, Saxons, and Angles, whereunto it is subiect. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his steereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: [Sidenote: Hetha but two dayes sayling from Seland.] and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hetha, [Footnote: It seemeth to be Wismer or Rostocke--\_Original note\_.] he had Gotland on leerboord, and Silland. with diuers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. days he had vpon his leereboord the Islands that are subiect to Denmarke.

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Wolstans nauigation in the East sea, from Hetha to Trusco, which is about Dantzig.

Wolstan sayd, that he departed from Hetha, and arriued at Trusco, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nights: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually vnder saile. All this voyage Wenedland [Footnote: Prussia.] was still vpon his steerboord, and on his leerboord was Langland, Layland, Falster, and Sconie: all which countreyes are subiect to Denmarke. [Sidenote: Bargaenland or Borholme.] Vpon his leerboord also, was Bargaenland, which hath a priuate king, to whom it is subiect. Hauing left Bargaenland, he passed by Blekingie, Meere, Eland and Gotland, hauing them on his leerboord: all which countreys are subiect to Sweden: and Wenedland was all the way vpon his steerboord, vntil he came to Wixel mouth. [Sidenote: Wixel is the riuier that falleth into the sea by Dantzig.] Wixel

is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt Witland and Wenedland. Witland is appertaining to the Easterlings, and the riuer of Wixel runneth out of Wenedland into Eastmeere, which Eastmeere is at the least 15. miles in breadth. [Sidenote: Fuso.] There runneth also another riuer called Ilsing from the East, and falleth into Eastmeere, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated Fruso. So that Ilsing comming out of Eastland, [Footnote: Lithuania.] and Wixel out of Wenedland, both fall together into Eastmeere, and there Wixel depriueth Ilsing of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called Wixelmouth.

[Sidenote: The description of Eastland.] Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes withtn it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife and contention. There is great plentie of hony and fish.

[Sidenote: Mares milke a chiefe drinke.] The wealthiest men drinke commonly Mares milke, and the poore people and slaues meade. There is no ale brewed among the Easterlings, but of mead there is plentie.

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The nauigation of King Edgar, taken out of Florentius Wigoriensis, Houeden, and M. Dee his discourse of the Brittish Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I haue often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of earthly kingdomes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Christian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopolites, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie vniuersall, and so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almightie, passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prefixed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this British Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the aduantages which they haue had onward, they might very well, yer this, haue surpassed by iustice, and godly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth since mans creation, and that to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most honorable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of Lady Occasion flickering in the aire, by our hands to catch hold on, whereby we may yet once more (before all be vtterly past, and for euer) discreetly and valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Brittish monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances duely and iustly appertaining to peace & amitie with forrein princes being offred & vsed) this may become the most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most flourishing monarchie of al els (this day) in chnstendome. Peaceable, I say, euen with the most part of the selfe same respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in prooffe and vse triumphantly, whereupon his sirname was Pacificus, most aptly and iustly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past, the representation of a great part of the selfe same Idaa, which from aboue onely, & by no mans deuise hath streamed downe into my imagination, being as it becommeth a subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this British Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, Adgaros pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingentas sibi robustas congregauit naues e quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Anglia Orientali, mille ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago constituit, vt ad defensionem regni sui, contra exterarum nationes, bellorum discrimina sustinerent. [Footnote: *\_Translation\_*: "Edgar the Pacific, looking forward to the benefit and peace of his kingdom, collected Four Thousand Eight Hundred powerful ships, of which he stationed One Thousand Two Hundred on the East Coast of England, One Thousand Two Hundred on the West Coast, One Thousand Two Hundred on the South Coast, and One Thousand Two Hundred on the Northern Coast, in order to be prepared for war in defence of his kingdom against foreign nations."]

O wisdom imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, *\_videlicet\_*, *prospicere\_*, to foresee. O charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdome, yea and also the peaceable enjoying thereof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remaying: if then he had, (or late) before any warres, seeing no notable tax, or contribution publike is historically mentioned to haue bene for the charges leuied: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marueilous politicall, & princely prudence, in time of peace to foresee, and preuent, (and that most puissantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischief forrain. O most discreet liberalitie to such excellent vses, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthy subiects, of such an Imperiall and godly Governour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Names maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreasonable enhanced by you, finding, for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitie.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this British Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recorded.

[Sidenote: *Charta Regis Henrici secundi.*] *Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & decus Adgarus, non minus memorabilis Anglis, quam Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vita 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Iulij obiit, & apud Glascon sepelitur.* [Footnote: *\_Translation\_*: "The king of the English realm, that flower (of kings) and renowned Edgar, not less famous amongst the English than Cyrus amongst the Persians, Romulus amongst the Romans, Alexander amongst the Macedonians, Arsaces amongst the Parthians, Charles (the Great) amongst the Franks, in the 37th year of his age and 21st year of his reign with his brother and alone, died on the Ides of July, and was buried at Glastonbury."]

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasure of the carcasses of so famous, and so many persons (*\_Qua olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, adificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum autoritas\_*) how lamentable is thy case nowe? howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation? though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcasses are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant British Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorrowful reuerence, here to celebrate



thy memorie.

[Sidenote: Ranulphus Cestrinis.] This peaceable king, Edgar, (as by ancient Recordes may appeare) his Sommer progresses, and yerely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand name of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recorded.

Idem quoque Adgarus 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Anglia partem statuit, sic, astate Insulam circumnauigauit: hyeme vero, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hac omnia ad sui exercitium & ad hostium fecit terrorem. [Footnote: \_Translation\_: "The same Edgar collected Four Thousand ships, of which each year, after Easter, he placed One Thousand on each side of England, and thus sailed round the Island in summer; but in winter he rendered justice throughout the country; and he did all this for the practice of his own navy and the terror of his enemies."]

Could, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so roially, politically and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships and that yerely? and shall we being not assured of such neighbors friendship as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not iudge it some part of wisdom, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonicall Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may be iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limits of this British Empire, so that he could and would royally, iustly, and triumphantly enjoy the same, spite of the deuil, and maugre the force of any forreine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) coulde best aduise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetifully incourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first inuincibly to fortifie the chiefe and vttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all forreine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne ouersight and iudgement, in yerely viewing the same in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that afterward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (\_vacare\_) be at conuenient leisure on land, chiefly to set forth God's due honour and secondly to vnderstand and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Mattheus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance.

Habebat autem praterea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias transire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum, a principibus obseruarentur, & ne pauperes a potentibus praiudicium passi, opprimerentur diligenter inuestigare solebat; in vno fortitudini, in altero iustitia studens & Reipub. regnique vtilitati consulens in vtroque. Hinc hostibus circumquaque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat subditorum. [Footnote: \_Translation\_: "He had, besides the habit of travelling through all the provinces of the kingdom, to ascertain how the enactments of the law and the ordinances of his decrees were carried out by those in

authority; and he was careful that the poor who suffered injury from those in power should have justice done them, promoting courage in one, justice in another, in both ways benefiting the Crown and State. Thus on every side the fear of his enemies and the love of his subjects increased."]

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithfull subjects, all maner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both outward and inward) might peaceably, safely and scurely employ their wits and trauels for the marueilous enriching of this kingdome and pleasuring very many other, carying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here aboue our necessity vses (and due store reserued) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not superfluous forreine commodities, fet from farre or foreign countreys. This was in deed (as before is recorded) a kingly prouidence. Reipub. Regnique vtilitati consulens, &c. besides with great vtilitie and profite publique foreseene and by his meanes enioyed, he himselfe vsed most gladly the aduantage of that securitie, in ministring of iustice or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome ouer not squemishly, frowningly or skornefully shunning the ragged and tattered sleeue of any suppliant, holding vp to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or afrayde at, and timerously hasting from the sickly pale face or feeble limmed suter, extreemely constrained so to speake for himselfe, nor parcially smothering his owne conscience, to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and trespasse vnlawfull of any his subjects, how mightie or necessary soeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes a potentibus praiudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie from forrein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne subjects, garding him at home, and the heauenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause iustice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternall king his hand obtined, hee became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countreis haue made their liues Comicotragical) but with all his foresaide inunicible Sea-force, abundant wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Iustice ouer all his Monarchie preuailing, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set foorth the glory, laude and honour of the Almighty Creator, the heauenly and euerlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly testifie: As this, for one [Footnote: Ex charta foundationis Ecclesia Cathedralis Wigornia.]

Altitonantis Dei largiflua clementia, qui est rex Regum, Ego Adgarus Anglorum Basileus omniumque Regum, Insulatum, Oceanique Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarumque nationum qua infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliavit, & exaltauit super regnum patrum meorum: qui licet Monarchiam totius Anglia adepti sunt a tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, qua Britanniam incolunt, sibi Armis subegit) nullus tamen eorum vltra eius fines imperium suum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propitia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, vsque Noruegiam, maximamque partem Hybernia, cum sua nobilissima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subiugare: Duos etiam omnes, meis Imperijs colla subdere (Dei laudante gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius seruitium amplificare deuotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum, viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui,

effeci, &c. [Footnote: Translation "By the wide-extending Grace of the mighty God of Thunders, who is king of kings, I, Edgar, king of Angles and of all Kingdoms, and Islands, and of the Ocean lying around Britain, Emperor and Lord of all the nations therein contained, return thanks to that same, all-powerful God, my king, who has thus extended my Empire and exalted me above the state of my forefathers, who, although they held sway over all England from the days of Athelstan (who first conquered the kingdom of the Angles and all the nations which inhabit Britain) yet none attempted to extend his empire beyond the frontiers of Athelstan's kingdom. Favouring Providence, however, has permitted me, together with the throne of England, to add thereto all the kingdoms of the Islands of the Ocean, with their warlike kings, as far as Norway, and the greater part of Ireland, with its very powerful city of Dublin, all of whom, by the help of God, I have compelled, to bow the neck to my power. Wherefore I desire to exalt the glory and praise of Christ, and increase His worship, and by my faithful counsellors, viz., Dunstan the Archbishop and Athelwold and Oswald, bishops (whom I have chosen to be my spiritual Fathers and Advisers), I have in a great measure performed what I intended etc."]

And againe this in another Monument. [Footnote: *Fundatio Ecclesia Cathedralis Eliensis.*]

Omnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego Adgarus Basileus dilecta Insula Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumborum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quieta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicite de laudibus creatoris omnium occupo addendis. Ne nunc inertia, nostrisque diebus (plus aquo) seruitus eius tepescere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominica, 973.

Ego Adgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc privilegium (tanta roboratum auctoritate) crucis.

Thaumate confirmaui. [Footnote: Translation "In the name of Almighty God, etc. Strengthened by the favour and grace of God, I, Edgar, king of the favoured Isle of Albion having made subject to us the kingdoms of the Scots, the Cumbrians, the Britons, and all regions around, in the enjoyment of quiet peace, being anxious, to increase the praise of the Creator of all things, in order that lukewarmness may not appear to render His worship less earnest in these our days, etc., in the 18th year of my earthly reign, and the year of the Holy Incarnation 973. etc., I, Edgar, king of all Albion, have confirmed that privilege, etc."]

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most evident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had sufficed) the incredible value and privilege granted by God and nature unto this British monarchie might have bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and favour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enjoye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past haue either by intent gone about or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to al purposes sufficient, but only by our sea forces preuailing, and so by our inuincible enjoying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination then is

the present and continuall seruice of threescore good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barkes, and those 80. ships (great and smal) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discreet order as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand name of peaceable King Edgar, of so many thousand ships, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so inuincible, continually maintained, the order of the execution of their seruice, the godly and Imperial successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and propheticall encouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as prouident for publique securitie as he was, to be as skilful of our sea right and royal limits, and wisely to finde our selues as able to recouer and enioy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and yeerely sayling about this British Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession, find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soueraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adiacent: with memorial whereof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words before also remembered.

[Sidenote: Note the Queenes Maiesties royaltie ouer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire.] Ego Adgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarumque nationum, qua infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

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The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside into Hungarie, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by Florentius Wigorniensis pag. 391.

[Sidenote: An. Dom. 1017.] Dedit consilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapso tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos misit. Qui, licet foedus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenus voluit acquiescere, sed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine misit nutriendos vitaeque reseruandos. Quorum vnus scilicet Eadmundus processu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus vero Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Christinam Sanctimoniam, & Clitonem Eadgarum suscepit. [Footnote: "Pus par le conseil le duc Edric aveit il en pense de aver tue les fiz le re Edmund; cest a dire, Eduuard e Edmun. Mes pur ceo ke il fust avis ke ceo eust este grant honte ali, si il les eust fet tuer en Engleterre, e pur ceo ke il se duta ausi ke se il demorassent en Engleterre ke il pensent en prendre contre lui, il les envea al rei de Sueue, e ly manda ke il les meist ala mort: ki ne, voleit unkes fere sa priere mes les envea a Salomon le rei de Hungrie pur nurir. E tant com il furunt la, Edmund morust tost, e Eduuard prist a femme Agathe la filie le emperour Henri, de la quele il engendra Margarete, ki pus fust reyne de Escoce, e Edgar" (\_Le Liuere de reis de Engleterre\_, MS in Trinity College, Cambridge.)]

The same in English

Edric counselled king Kanutus to murder the young princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seemed a thing very dishonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a short space, vnto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend vnto Canutus his bloody request, but sent them vnto Salomon [Footnote: An error for \_Stephen\_ the Holy, who married the sister of Henry II William of Malmesbory makes Agatha the niece of Henry and daughter of Stephen.] the king of Hungarie to be nourished and preserued aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in processe of time there deceased. But Edward receiued to wife Agatha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry of whom he begot Margaret the Queene of the Seots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar. [Footnote: Edgar Atheling]

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Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of M. Camdens Chorographie.

In the yeere of our Lord 1066, Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome, against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battel at Stamford bridge, where the English winning the fielde put all the Norwegians to flight: [Footnote: "Memes cel an Harald le rey de Norweye, frere Seint Olaf, ariva al flum de Tine a Nof Chastel ou plus de Ve granz neofs, a ki le connte Tostin, le frere le rey Harald de Engleterre, vint ou sa nauie, si com il aveient fet covenant en semble, e vindrunt sus a Richale (\_Richmond\_) e destrurent tut le pais de Euerwyk (\_York\_) E Kant ceo out oy Harald, le rei de Engleterre, tant tost se mist conntre eus ou son ost en vn liu ki hom apele Stamfordbrigge e la twa il le rey de Norweye e Tostin son frere de meine, e grant partie del ost. Mes IX. de ses chivalers pus le lesserent, pur ceo ke il ne les voleit ren doner de la preye ki il prist des Norreis." (\_Le Liuere de reis de Engleterre\_ MS in Trinity College, Cambridge.)] out of which flight one Godredus surnamed Crouan (the sonne of Harald the blacke, who had before time fled out of Island) repaired vnto Godred sonne of Syrric who then reigned in Man and was right friendly and honourably entertained by him.

[Sidenote: Fingal.] In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England and Godred the sonne of Syrric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal.

In the yeere 1066. Godredus Crouan gathered a fleete of ships, and sailed vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also hauing gathered his armie and ships together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chaced away. Yea, the third time [Footnote: in 1077] he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramsa, [Footnote: Ramsay] hid 300. of his men in a wood standing vpon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Sunne was no sooner vp, but the Mannians arranged themselues and with great furie set vpon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300. men rising out of their ambush, and comming vpon the backes of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw that they were ouercome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the riuer of Ramsa [Footnote: The riuer Colby]) and seeing the enemie so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseeched Godred to spare their liues. Then hee being mooued with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them,

sounded a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themselues and inhabite it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to waste the whole Island and to enrich themselues with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them should at any time afterward dare once to chalenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that vnto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. [Sidenote: Boats hauing not past three yron nailes in them] Also Godredus subdued Dublin vnto himselfe & a great part of Lainestir. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboue three yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. [Footnote: Yell, a northern island of the Shetland group, seventeen miles by seven.] He left behinde him three sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus. Lagman being the eldest chalenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gelt and had his eyes put out. Afterward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, in which iourney also he died.

In the yeere 1075. all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vnto Murccardus O-Brien King of Irland, requesting him that hee would send some wel-disposed person of his owne kinred and blood royall, vntill Olauus sonne of Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended vnto their request, and sent vnto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. Then all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no more vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come vnto the Island of Leodus, [Footnote: Lewis.] he sent messengers vnto all the princes of the Islands to come vnto him, commaunding them to assemble themselues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, rauished women and virgines, and addicted themselues to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things, were reported vnto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselues to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and comming vpon him in the night they burnt the house wherein hee was and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword and partly with fire.

In the yeere 1008. the abbey of S. Manes at Cistertrum was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochri was taken by the Chnstians and a Comet appeared.

Moreouer the same yeere there was a battel fought betweene the inhabitants of Man at Santwat [Footnote: In the parish of Jurby.] and they of the North

obtained the victory. In which battell were slaine Earle Othor and Mac-Maras chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olauus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the corpse of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundment that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie caused the cophin to be opened. And when hee had scene with his eyes and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came vpon him and he departed with great haste. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a vision saying: Chuse (I say) vnto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and neuer to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision vnto them. And they also being astonished thereat gaue him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. Then he without any further delay caused a Nauie of 160. ships to be prouided, and so sailed vnto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering them at length he came vnto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built forts there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his shore for the building of his fortes. Hee sailed on further vnto the Isle of Anglesey neere vnto Wales, and finding two harles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts vnto him, and so bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shooes, commaunding him that he should cary them on his shoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord through the midst of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them that he was subiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they toke it grieuously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduised, I had rather (said he) not onely beare his shooes, but eate his shooes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore he fulfilled his commaundment, and honourably entertained his Embassadours. Many giftes also he sent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnessse of the soile, and of the holesomnesse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolued to conquer all Irland vnto himselfe. And for the same purpose he commaunded that a Fleet should be made ready. But he taking his voyage with sixteene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had vndiscreetly departed from his Nauie, he was suddenly inuironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned sixe yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Islands sent for Olauus the sonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnto William the Conquerour.

In the yeere 1102. Olauus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres. He was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He took to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusius of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his

concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of Herergaidel, [Footnote: Argyll.] which afterward occasioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Islands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raignaldus, Engus and Olauus.

In the yeere 1134. Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Russin. [Footnote: Rushen] Also hee enriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his islands.

In the yere 1142. Godredus the son of Olauus sailed vnto the K. of Norway called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honorably entertained. The same vere the 3. sonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the citie of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome resorted vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Islands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consult about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants conspired together, about the murthing of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the hauen towne called Ramsa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stode a-side in the midst of the house talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting vp his glittering axe, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. [Sidenote: 1143.] Nowe hauing committed this outrageous villanie, within a short space they diided the Island betweene themselues, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also, howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediatly turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Island, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

In the yeere 1143. Godredus sonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man, who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144. Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the citie called Coridelis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. horsemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whome one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Islands, and subdued many of the said Islands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauie, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: [Sidenote: 1156.] and in the yeere 1156. vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battell fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day folowing they were pacified, and diided the kingdome of the Islands among themselues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Islands,



from which time the sonnes of Sumerled inoyed the one halfe thereof.

In the yeere 1158. Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Island: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yere 1164. Sumerled gathered a fleete of 160. ships together; and arriued at Rhinfrin, [Footnote: Renfrew] intending to subdue all Scotland vnto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yere there was a battel fought at Ramsa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratageme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred, within foure dayes after comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots and his brother William succeeded in the kmgdome.

In the yeere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August before the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yeere 1171. Richard earle of Penbroke sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. Iohn Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the same time also Viuianus legate from the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclotlen son of Murkartac king of Irland, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in processe of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) comming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoare, & slue about 30. persons. Whereupon the very same day the Mannians arranging themselues put him, & almost almost al his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O-Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was eclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Islands, vpon the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the island of Hy. He left 3. sonnes behinde him Reginaldus Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparant because he onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was scarce ten yeeres olde, sent vnto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yeere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the islands: and Murchardus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betweene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Russin remooued vnto Dufglas, [Footnote: Douglas] howbeit

within foure yeeres after the monkes returned vnto Russin.

In the yere 1203. Michal bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with Iohn de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said Iohn to goe at libertie, who comming vnto king Reginald was honourably entertained by him, because he was his sonne in lawe, for Iohn de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of \_S. Mary de iugo domini\_, and was there buried.

In the yeere 1205. Iohn de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands inuading Vlster with a hundreth ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy comming vpon them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recouered his land. In the yeere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

[Sidenote: King Iohn passed into Irland with 500. sailes] At the same time Iohn king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldiours almost vtterly wasted it the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne countrey. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning the two foresaid brethren Reginaldus and Olauus.

Reginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the island called Lodhus or Lewes, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so ful of mountaines & quarreis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life; and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his folowers hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remained in the islands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbett because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue me that you are exalted vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly liue. For the island of Lewis which you gaue me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premisses. And on the morow when Olauus was sent for to parle, Reginald comanded him to be attached, and to be caried vnto William king of Scotland and with him to remane prisoner: and Olauus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeres. But at the 7. yeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came vnto Man, and immediatly with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. Iames: and his brother Reginald

caused the said Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, cousine german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands hauing gathered a Synod, separated Olauus and Godred his sonne, and Lauon his wife, namely because shee was cousin german vnto his former wife. Afterward Olauus married Scristina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters vnto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which comandement Godred putting in practise, & entring the isle of Lewis for the same purpose, Olauus fled in a little skiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in al the islands, because he would not consent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ship vnto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a smal company in a certaine Isle called the isle of S. Colomba. [Footnote: Iona.] And vniting vnto themselues their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanchd 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they enuironed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselues beset with their enemies on all sides, they were vtterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselues they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with al their souldiers, entred the Island, and hauing slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Vnto which action Olauus gaue not his consent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32 ships sailed vnto Man, and arriued at Rognolfwaht. [Footnote: Peel.] [Sidenote: The Isle of Man aduanced to a kingdome] At the same time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselues, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olauus hauing recieued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Islands. The yeere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subiects of Man, sailed vnto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and subdue it vnto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olauus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home vnto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, vnder pretense of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

In the yeere 1226. Olauus recouered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yeere 1228. Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed vnto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of

Galway, Thomas earle of Athol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coulede take, insomuch, that the Southpart of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather vp and render vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came suddenly vpon them, chaced them away and recouered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to vnite themselues, and to inhabite without feare. The same yeere, in the time of Winter, vpon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with fiue ships, & burnt all the ships of his brother Olauus and of the nobles of Man, at the isle of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes; in the meane while hee allured vnto himselfe all the Islanders vpon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrary wise Olauus ioyned vnto himselfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tingualla, [Footnote: Tynwald Mount.] a field was fought betweene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the South part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Russin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olauus traueiled vnto the king of Norway, but before he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the son of Reginald and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the Islands, and while they were giuing an assault vnto a castle in the Island of Both. [Footnote: Bute.] Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus with Godredus Don and certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselues, Olauus stil reteining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the Islands, was slaine in the Isle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the kalends of Iune, Olauus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Russin. He reigned 11. yeres, two while his brother was alieue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the three sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioseph vnto Man, that they might enter into cosultation together. Wherefore the 25. day they assembled themselues at Tingualla: and malice growing betweene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both parts, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Ioseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the Isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gospatricius and Gillescrist sonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, because the said

Harald refused to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gospatricius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Russin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway who within two yeres confirmed vnto him, his heires and successors, vnder seale, all the islands which his predecessors enjoyed.

In the yeere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man and being honorably receiued by the inhabitants he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also before him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he married his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olauus and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next before the nones of May: and vpon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yuarus a souldier, and other of his complices in the South part of a certaine medow neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Russin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ships that he might conquere the islands vnto himselfe, howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kenwary [Footnote: Query, Kerrera.] he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don vsurped the name of a king ouer the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olauus and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway who deteined him in prison because he had vniustly possessed the kingdome. The same yeere Magnus the sonne of Olauus, and Iohn the sonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwhat, which Iohn named himselfe king, but the Mannians taking it grieuously, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipwracke.

In the yeere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordeined king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway ordeined Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of the islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yere 1256. Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In the yere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Russin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260. Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland, and without atchieuing ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas, [Footnote: Kirkwall. The date is an error Hacos

expedition took place in 1263. He sailed from Herdle-Voer on the 5th of July, and died Saturday, 15th December (\_Det Norske Folks Historie\_, by P. A. Munch.)] and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265. Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Russin, and was buried at the Church of St. Mary at Russin.

In the yere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

\* \* \* \* \*

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

In the yeere 1270. vpon the seuenth day of October the Fleete of Alexander king of Scots arriued at Roghalwath, and the next day before the sunne rising there was a battell fought betweene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Fiue hundreth fourtie men are slaine:  
against ill haps,  
Yee Mannians arme your selues, for feare  
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313. Robert king of Scots beseiged the castle of Russin, which Dingaway Dowil held against him howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316. vpon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandeuille and his brethren, with diuers great personages of Irland arriued at Ramaldwath, demanding to haue victuals and money ministred vnto them, because they had bene spoyled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fielde where Iohn Mandeuille remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Irish ouercame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Russmin also: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they retained home.

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The mariage of the daughter of Harald, slaine by William the conquerour, vnto Ieruslaus duke of Russia, taken out of the 9. booke of the Danish historie written by Saxo Grammaticus. An. D. 1067.

[Sidenote: 1067.] Haraldo caso, filij eius duo confestim in Daniam cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum menti oblitus consanguinea pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipse Iarislauus a suis est appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem postmodum nostri temporis dux, vt sanguinis, ita & nominis hares, ex filia nepos obuinit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, inde Eous sanguis in salutarem nostri principis ortum confluens communem stirpem duaram gentium ornamentum effecit.

The same in English.

Harald being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselues immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers deserts receiued in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subiects Iarislous. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the ioyful birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

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The state of the shipping of the Cinque ports from Edward the Confessour and William the Conquerour, and so downe to Edward the first, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman M. William Lambert in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.

[Sidenote: The antiquity of the Ports. 1070.] I finde in the booke of the generall suruey of the Realme, which William the Conquerour caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called Domesday, because (as Matthew Parise saith) it spared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that Douer, Sandwich, and Rumney, were in the time of K. Edward the Confessour discharged almost of all maner of imposicions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such seruice to bee done by them vpon the sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunity of the hauen Townes (which we nowe call by a certaine number, the Cinque Ports) might take their beginning from the same Edward: yet for as much as I read in the Chartre of K. Edward the first after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of Entries) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the Fiue Ports, the same reaching no higher then to William the Conquerour, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his Chartre: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the Conquerour, the thankes of other mens benefits, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of K. Edwards first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the Fiue Ports, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what seruice they ought, and did in times passed: and lastly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what persons they haue bene gouerned.

If I should iudge by the common, and rude verse,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventus,  
[Sidenote: Which be the Fiue Ports.]

I must say that Douer, Sandwich, Rie, Rumney, and Winchelsey, (for that is, Frigmare ventus) be the Fiue Ports: Againe, if I should be ruled by the Rolle which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, Hastings and Hyde, for they also haue their Barons as well as the other and so should I not onely, not shew which were the first Fiue, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulnesse. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspition of his authoritie, and forsaking the Rolle (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flee to Henry Bracton, [Sidenote: 1250.] a man both

ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder K. Henry the thirde and wrote (about three hundreth yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

[Sidenote: Citizens were called Barons in old time.] He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, [Footnote: *\_De Legibus et Consuetudinibus Anglia\_*.] and treatise of the Crowne taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Iustice in Eire, (or Itinerent as we called them because they vsed to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of iustice) setteth forth a special fourme of writs, to be directed seuerally to the Bailifes of Hastings, Hithe, Rumney, Douer, and Sandwich, commanding them that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their Burgesses, or townesmen, and the citizens of London likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iustices at Shipwey in Kent (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should be giuen in charge. [Sidenote: Contention betwtene Yarmouth and the Fiue Ports. 1250. Antiquitie of Yarmouth fishing.] Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes contention betwene them of the Fiue Ports, & the inhabitants of Yarmouth in Norfolke, and Donwich in Suffolke, there should be seuerall writs directed to them also, returnable before the same Iustices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the Fiue Ports to bee holden at Shipwey, if any of the same townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at Shipwey to propound against him, and there to receiue according to law and Iustice.

Thus much I recite out of Bracton, partly to shew that Shipwey was before K. Edward the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Plees of the Fiue Ports: partly to notifie the difference, and controuersie that long time since was betwene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to proue, that Hastings, and Hithe, Douer, Rumney, and Sandwich, were in Bractons time accompted the Fiue principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the same ratified by the great Chartre of England.

Neither yet will I deny, but that soone after, Winchelsey and Rie might be added to the number. [Sidenote: 1268.] For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the townes of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged before to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therefore in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience & excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Wincelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therefore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Fiue ports, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partners of their priuiledges or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no punishment vnto them: [Sidenote: Winchelsey first builded 1277] but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the first that apparelled them with that preeminence.

By this therefore let it appeare, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priuiledge: which (because they were 5. in number) both at the first gaue, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since



that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, limes, and members of the same.

Now therefore, somewhat shalbe said, as touching the seruices that these Ports of duetie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the king at the Sea, vpon their owne charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall bee made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne Chartre.

The booke of Domesday before remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderstoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the fiue Ports were subiect to a greater charge at that time then King Edward the first layd vpon them: And on the other side if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farre to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe bideth them to no certaintie. And therefore leauing this as I find it I must elsewhere make inquisition for more lightsome prooffe. And first I will haue recourse to king Edward the first his Chartre, in which I read, that At ech time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

And thus it stode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Chartre sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I haue seene two diuers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renewed in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.

The lowie of Peuensey one.

Buluerhithe and Petit Iahn, one.

Bekesborne in Kent, seuen.

Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.

The towne of Rie, fiue.

To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.

The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.

The Port of Rumney, foure.

Lydde, seuen.

The Port of Hythe, fiue.

The Port of Douer, nineteene.

The towne of Folkestone, seuen.

The towne of Feuersham, seuen.

The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. fiue.

These ships they ought to finde vpon fortie dayes summons, armed and arrayed at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the Master of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine fiue dayes together at their owne costs, giuing to the Maister sixe pence by the day, to the Constable sixe pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after those fiue dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Custumall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to import as much or more likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Fiue Ports of our soueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Ports haue not: Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes. The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromet. To it perteine (as the members of one towne) the Seashore in Seford, Peuenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grenge, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it perteine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it perteineth the Westheth.

Douer 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it pertaine, Folkstane, Feuersham, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cartels.

Sandwich 5. ships, as Romenal and heth. To it perteine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of ships 57.

Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This seruice, the Barons of the Fiue Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, vpon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and changes, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discern the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must referre it to them that be priue, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leauing this also vndecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This duetie of attendance therefore (being deuised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely most diligently euer since that time performed, but furthermore also valiantly behaued themselues against the enemie from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene proffered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

[Sidenote: The good seruice of the fiue ports. 1217] And amongst other feats not vnwoorthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and

had sent into France for new supply of Souldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the wooden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed fortie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of Frenchmen vpon the high seas, gaue them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the third also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the seruice of the Cinque Ports: [Sidenote: 1278.] And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull seruice (and especially their good endeouour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and motiue of that his liberall grant.

[Sidenote: 1293.] Furthermore, about the midst of the reigne of the same king, an hundreth saile of the Nauie of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (notwithstanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping.

[Sidenote: 1406.] Finally, and to conlude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the the fourth, the name of the Fiue Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprised one hundreth and twentie French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Oile, and no worse merchandize.

[Sidenote: Priuiledges of the fiue ports.] The priuiledges of these Ports being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard the first, Henrie the third, and king Edward the first be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same.

Part of the great Charter granted by king Edward the first to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the sixt yeere of his reigne 1278. for their good seruices done vnto him by sea, wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from Edward the Confessor, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry the second, king Richard the first, king Iohn, and Henry the third continued vnto them.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gastcoigne, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Shirifs, Prouosts, Officers, & to all Bayliffes and true subiects greeting. You shall knowe that for the faithfull seruice that our Barons of the fiue Ports hitherto to our predecessors kings of England, & vnto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good seruice to vs and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for vs and our heires, to the same our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedomes. So that they shall be free from all toll, and from all custome; that is to say from all lastage, tallage, passage, cariage, riuage, asponsage, and from all wrecke, and from all their sale, carying and recarying through all our realme and dominion, with socke and souke, toll and theme. And that they shall haue Infangthefe, and that they shall be wreckefree, lastagefree, and louecopfree. [Sidenote: The fishing at great Yarmouth.] And that they shall haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contayned in the ordinance by vs thereof made perpetually to bee obserued. And also that they are free from all shires and hundreds: so that if any person will plead against them, they shall not aunswere nor pleade otherwise then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king Henrie our great

grandfather. And that they shall haue their findelles in the sea and in the land. And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandises as our freemen. And that they haue their honours in our court, and their liberties throughout all the land wheresoeuer they shall come. And that they shall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time of Lord Henrie the king our father [Sidenote: Henry the third.] they possessed: that is to say in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of summonces before our Iustices to any maner of pleadings, iourneying in what shire soeuer their lands are. So that they shall not be bound to come before the Iustices aforesaid, except any of the same Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they shall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to say, at Shepeway. And they that haue their liberties and freedoms from hencefoorth, as they and their predecessors haue had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, Edward [Sidenote: Edward the confessor.], William the first, William the second, Henrie the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king Richard, and king Iohn our grandfathers, and lord king Henrie our father, by their Charters, as the same Charters which the same our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue seene, doe reasonably testifie. And we forbid that no man vniustly trouble them nor their merchandise vpon our forfeiture of ten pounds. So neuertheless, that when the same Barons shall fayle in doing of Iustice or in receiuing of Iustice, our Warden, and the wardens of our heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time shall be, their Ports and liberties may enter for to doe their full Iustice. [Sidenote: 57. Ships of the Cinque Ports bound to serue the king 15. dayes at their owne costs.] So also that the sayd Barons and their heires, do vnto vs and to our heires kings of England by the yere their full seruice of shippes at their costs by the space of fifteene dayes at our somounce, or at the somounce of our heires. We haue granted also vnto them of our speciall grace that they haue Outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesayd, in the same maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Assises, Iuries, or Recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right prise, [Footnote: Prisage--one cask in ten, on wine, was the first customs-duty levied in England.] that is to say, of one tunne before the mast, and of another behind the maste. We haue granted furthermore vnto the said Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this liberty, that is to say, That we or our heires shall not haue the wardship or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes, which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayde, for the which they doe their seruice aforesayd: and for the which wee and our progenitors had not the wardships and mariages in time past. But we our aforesayd confirmation vpon the liberties and freedoms aforesayde, and our grants following to them of our especiall grace, of newe haue caused to be made, sauing alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And sauing vnto vs and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and surely command for vs and our heires that the aforesaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all the aforesaid liberties and freedoms, as the aforesaid Charters do reasonably testifie. And that of our especiall grace they haue outfangthefe in their lands within the Ports aforesaid after the manner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earles and Barons haue in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Assises, Iuries, or recognisances by reason of their forreine tenure against their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right price or custome, that is to say of one tunne of wine before the maste, and of another tunne behinde the maste. And that likewise for euer they haue the libertie aforesayde: that is to say: That wee and our heires haue not

the worships or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes which they holde within the liberties and Portes aforesayd, for the which their seruice aforesaid, and for which wee and our predecissors the wardships and mariages haue not had in times past, But our aforesayd confirmation of their liberties and freedomes aforesaid and other grants following to them of our especiall grace of new we haue caused to bee made. Sauing alwayes and in all things our regall dignity. And sauing vnto vs and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforesayd. These being witnesses, the reuerend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior prouincial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vncler, Roger of the dead sea, Roger of Clifford, Master Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Master Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of East Riding, Master Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Pennester, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetotes, Iohn of Metingham and others. Giuen by our hand at Westminster the fourteenth day of Iune, in the sixth yeare of our reigne.

[Sidenote: Thomas Walsingham writeth that he had once 1100. strong shippes.] The roll of the huge fleete of Edward the third before Calice, extant in the kings wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those days may appeare.

The South fleete.

The Kings	/Shippes	25.	Lyme	/Ships	4.
	\Mariners	419.		\Mariners	62.
London	/Shippes	25.	Seton	/Ships	2.
	\Mariners	662.		\Mariners	25.
Aileford	/Shippes	2.	Sydmouth	/Ships	3.
	\Mariners	24.		\Mariners	62.
Hoo	/Shippes	2.	Exmouth	/Ships	10.
	\Mariners	24.		\Mariners	193.
Maydstone	/Shippes	2.	Tegmouth	/Ships	7.
	\Mariners	51.		\Mariners	120.
Hope	/Shippes	2.	Dartmouth	/Ships	31.
	\Mariners	59.		\Mariners	757.
New Hithe	/Shippes	5.	Portsmouth	/Ships	5.
	\Mariners	49.		\Mariners	96.
Margat	/Shippes	15.	Plimouth	/Ships	26.
	\Mariners	160.		\Mariners	603.
[1]Motue	/Shippes	2.	Loo	/Ships	20.
	\Mariners	22.		\Mariners	315.
Feuersham	/Shippes	2.	Yalme	/Ships	2.
	\Mariners	25.		\Mariners	47.
Sandwich	/Ships	22.	[2]Fowey	/Ships	47.
	\Mariners	504.		\Mariners	770.
Douer	/Ships	16.	Bristol	/Ships	22.
	\Mariners	336.		\Mariners	608.
Wight	/Ships	13.	Tenmouth	/Ships	2.
	\Mariners	220.		\Mariners	25.
Winchelsey	/Ships	21.	Hasting	/Ships	5.
	\Mariners	596.		\Mariners	96.
Waymouth	/Ships	15.	Romney	/Ships	4.
	\Mariners	263.		\Mariners	65.
Rye	/Ships	9.	Swanrey	/Ships	1.
	\Mariners	156.		\Mariners	29.
Hithe	/Ships	6.	Ilfecombe	/Ships	6.
	\Mariners	122.		\Mariners	79.

Shoreham /Ships 20. [4]Patricke- /Ships 2.  
 \Mariners 329. stowe \Mariners 27.  
 [3]Soford /Ships 5. Polerwan /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 80. \Mariners 60.  
 Newmouth /Ships 2. Wadworth /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 18. \Mariners 14.  
 Hamowl /Ships 7. Kardife /Ships 1.  
 hooke \Mariners 117. \Mariners 51.  
 Hoke /Ships 11. Bridgwater /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 208. \Mariners 15.  
 Southhaption /Ships 21. Kaermarthen /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 576. \Mariners 16.  
 Lymington /Ships 9. Caileches- /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 159. worth \Mariners 12.  
 Poole /Ships 4. Mulbrooke /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 94. \Mariners 12.  
 Wareham /Ships 3. Summe of the /Ships 493.  
 \Mariners 59. South fleete \Mariners 9630.

[Footnote 1: Or, Morne.]

[Footnote 2: Or, Foy.]

[Footnote 3: Or, Seford.]

[Footnote 4: Or, Padstow.]

#### The North fleete

Bamburgh /Ships 1. Waynefleet /Ships 2.  
 \Mariners 9. \Mariners 49.  
 Newcastle /Ships 17. Wrangle /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 314. \Mariners 8.  
 Walrich /Ships 1. [2]Lenne /Ships 16.  
 \Mariners 12. \Mariners 382.  
 Hertilpoole /Ships 5. Blackney /Ships 2.  
 \Mariners 145. \Mariners 38.  
 Hull /Ships 16. Scarborough /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 466. \Mariners 19.  
 Yorke /Ships 1. [3]Yearmouth /Ships 43.  
 \Mariners 9. \Mariners 1950. or 1075.  
 Ranenser /Ships 1. Donwich /Ships 6.  
 \Mariners 27. \Mariners 102.  
 Woodhouse /Ships 1. Orford /Ships 3.  
 \Mariners 22. \Mariners 62.  
 [1]Stokhithe /Ships 1. Goford /Ships 13.  
 \Mariners 10. \Mariners 303.  
 Barton /Ships 3. Herwich /Ships 14.  
 \Mariners 30. \Mariners 283.  
 Swinefleete /Ships 1. Ipswich /Ships 12.  
 \Mariners 11. \Mariners 239.  
 Saltfleet /Ships 2. Mersey /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 49. \Mariners 6.  
 Grimesby /Ships 11. [4]Brightlingsey /Ships 5.  
 \Mariners 171. \Mariners 61.  
 Colchester /Ships 5. Boston /Ships 17.  
 \Mariners 90. \Mariners 361.  
 Whitbanes /Ships 1. Swinhumber /Ships 1.  
 \Mariners 17. \Mariners 32.  
 Malden /Ships 2. Barton /Ships 5.  
 \Mariners 32. \Mariners 91.  
 Derwen /Ships 1. The Summe /Ships 217.

\Mariners 15. of the North \Mariners 4521.  
fleete

The summe totall of /Ships 700.  
all the English fleete \Mariners 14151.

[Footnote 1: Stockhith]

[Footnote 2: Or, Linne]

[Footnote 3: Or, Yermouth]

[Footnote 4: Now Brickelsey]

Estrangers their ships and mariners

Bayon /Ships 15. Flanders /Ships 14.  
\Mariners 439. \Mariners 133.

Spayne /Ships 7. Gelderland /Ships 1.  
\Mariners 184. \Mariners 24.

Ireland /Ships 1.  
\Mariners 25.

The summe of all the Estrangers /Ships 38.  
\Mariners 805.

The summe of expenses aswell of wages & prests as for the expenses of the kings houses, and for other gifts and rewards, shippes and other things necessary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during the siege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the said king vnto the foure and twentieth day of Nouember in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hondreth xxxvii. thousand li. ix. s. iiiii. d.

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A note out of Thomas Walsmgham [Footnote: Thomas Walsingham, a native of Norfolk and Benedictine monk of St. Albans. He wrote A History of England, from 1273 to the Death of Henry V, and Ypodigma Neustria. His writings contain very little original information.] touching the huge Fleete of eleuen hundred well furnished ships wherewith King Edward the third passed ouer vnto Calais in the yeere 1359.

Anno gratia 1359. Iohannes Rex Francia sub vmbrā pacis, & dolose obtulit Regi Anglia Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliasque terras quas equitauerat & vastarat: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis, idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios suos direxit: quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde motus Rex Anglia, celeriter se & suos praparauit ad transfretandum, ducens secum principem Wallia Edwardum suum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancastria & fere proceres omnes, quos comitabantur vel sequebantur poene mille currus, habuitque apud Sanwicam instructas optime vndecies centum naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum fastum Franciam nauigauit, relicto domino Thoma de Woodstock filio suo minore admodum paruulo Anglici regni custode, sub tutela tamen.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 1359. Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder pretence of peace offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders,

Picardie, Gascoigne, and other territories which he had spoyled and wasted, for the ratifying of which agreement the foresaid king Edward sent his ambassadors into France, but the Frenchmen gainsaid them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked, speedily prepared himselfe and his forces to crosse the seas, carying with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaster and almost all his Nobles, with a thousand wagons and cartes attending vpon them. And the said king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ships exceedingly well furnished: with which preparation he passed ouer the seas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie, leauing his yonger sonne Thomas of Woodstocke, being very tender of age as his vicegerent in the Realme of England, albeit not without a protectour, &c.

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The voyage of Nicholas de Lynna a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate vnder the North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.

[Sidenote: The words of Gerardus Mercator in the foote of his general Map vpon the description of the North partes.] Quod ad descriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis qui quadam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, a Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegia, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxonieasem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsisque relictis ad vteriora arte Magica profectu descripsisse omnia, & Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc subiectam formam fere, vti ex Iacobo collegimus, Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorem voraginem rapi, vt naues semel ingressa nullo vento retroagi possent, neque vero vnquam tantam ibi ventum esse, vt mola frumentaria circumagenda sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hybernia, sic enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, est maris quadam miranda vorago, in quam a remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex conducto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in secreta natura penetralia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si vero nauem hac forte transire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam statim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis absorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, a quatuor oppositis mundi partibus Philosophi describunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quam & Aolicos flatus causaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The same in English.

Touching the description of the North partes, I haue taken the same out of the voyage of Iames Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buske, which alleageth certaine conquests of Arthur king of Britaine: and the most part, and chiefest things among the rest, he learned of a certaine priest in the king of Norwayses court, in the yeere 1364. This priest was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leauing them, and passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he sawe, and tooke the height of them with his Astrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue set downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforesaid Iames Cnoyen. Hee sayd that those foure



Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlepoole, with so great a force, that the ships which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in those parts so much winde blowing, as might be sufficient to driue a Corne mill.

Giraldus Cambrensis (who florished in the yeere 1210, vnder king Iohn) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with these videlicet:

[Sidenote: There is a notable whirlepoole on the coast of Norway, caled Malestrando (Malstrom), about the latitude of 68.] Not farre from these Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlepoole of the sea, whereinto all the waues of the sea from farre haue their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conueying themselues into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with such a violence of the waues, that eftsoones without remedy, the force of the whirlepoole deuoureth the same.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, haue their first originall.

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A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master Iohn Dee, [Footnote: Born in London in 1537. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was a man of vast erudition, but being, in Mary's reign, suspected of devoting himself to the "black art," a mob broke into his house and destroyed his library, museum, and mathematical instruments, said to be worth L2,000; and he himself was cast into prison. He was in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, who is said to haue paid him a salary, employed him on secret political missions, and visited him at Mortlake. He professed to be able to raise the dead, and had a magic ball (in reality a lump of black lead), in which he pretended to read the future, and which was afterwards in Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill. In 1596. he was made Warden of Manchester College, and died in 1608.] touching the foresaid voyage of Nicholas De Linna.

Anno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in companie with others to the most Northren Islands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee transited alone, and purposely described all the Northerne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. [Sidenote: Inuentio Fortunata.] The name of which booke is Inuentio Fortunata (aliter fortuna) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vsque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did fieve times passe from England thither, and home againe.

It is to be noted, that from the hauen of Linne in Norfolke (whereof the foresaid Francisan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not about a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vsuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the Fisher men of the towne of Blacknie in the said Countie of Norfolke, by king Edward the third for their exemption and freedome from his ordinary seruice in respect of their trade to Island. [Sidenote: An 2.

& 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.]

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The voyage of Henry Earle of Derby, after Duke of Hereford and lastly king of England by the name of Henry the fourth, An. Dom 1340. into Prussia and Lettowe against the infidels, recorded by Thomas of Walsingham

[Sidenote: An. Dom. 1390.] Dominus Henricus Comes de Derby per idem tempus profectus est in le Pruys, vbi cum adiutorio marescalli dicta patria & cujusdam Regis vocati Wytot deicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & tribus peremptis & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus sapradicti pariter interemptis. Ciuitas quoque vocatur [Marginal note: Alias Vilna] Will in cujus castellum Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis maxime atque suorum capta est. Namque qui fuerunt de familia sua primi murum ascenderant & vexillum ejus super muros, ceteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, posuerunt. Captaque sunt ibi vel occisa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter ceteros ibi perempto, qui aduersarius nostri fuit Obsessumque fuit castrum dicta Ciuitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed propter infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magistri de Pruys & de Lifland noluerunt diutius expectare. Facti sunt Christiani de gente de Lettowe octo. Et magister de Lifland duxit secum in suam patriam tria millia captiuorum.

The same in English.

About the same time L. Henry the Earle of Derby traualled into Prussia, where, with the helpe of the Marshall of the same Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wytot, hee vanquished the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of three, besides more then three hundred of the principall common souldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna, into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his sauegard, was, by the valour of the sayd Earle especially and of his followers, surprised and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were slouthfull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, aduanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common souldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of fiue weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia and of Lifland would not stay any longer. There were conuerted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons vnto the Christian faith. And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey three thousand captiues.

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The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Glocester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

Eodem tempore dux Glouernia Dominus Thomas de Woodstock [Marginal note: Filius natu minimus Edwardi 3.], multis moerentibus, iter apparauit versus le Pruys: quem non Loudinensium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficisci vellet. Nam plebs communis tam Urbana quam rustica metuebant quod eo absente aliquod nouum detrimentum succresceret, quo prasente nihil tale timebant. Siquidem in eo spes & solatium totus

patria reposita videbantur. Ipse vero mox, vt fines patria sua transijt,  
illico aduersa agitatus fortuna, nunc hac nunc illac turbinibus procellosis  
circumfertur; & in tantum destituitur, vt de vita etiam desperaret.  
[Sidenote: Reditus.] Tandem post Daciam, post Norwagiam, post Scoticam  
barbariem non sine mortis pauore transcursam, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad  
castellum se contulit de Tinnemutha velut assylum antiquitus notum sibi:  
vbi per aliquot dies recreatus iter assumpsit versus manerium suum de  
Plashy, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de eius euasione, quam de  
aduentu suo.

The same in English.

At the same time the Duke of Gloucester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the  
yongest sonne of Edward the third) to the great grieffe of many, tooke his  
iourney towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners mones nor yet the  
lamentation of the communitie could restraine from his intended  
expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey  
feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they  
feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to  
repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing skarce passed as yet the  
bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed vp  
and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such  
distresse, that he despaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not  
without danger of death, sailed along the coastes of Denmarke, Norway, and  
Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of  
Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowen of olde vnto him; where, after  
hee had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his  
Mannour of Plashy, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, aswell in  
regard of his safetie as of his returne.

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The verses of Geoffrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who liuing in the  
yeere 1402. [Footnote: Chaucer died 25. October, 1400, according to the  
inscription on his tombstone at Westminster. Urry, in his edition of  
Chaucer, folio, 1721, p. 534, attributes the \_Epistle to Cupid\_ to Thomas  
Occlue, Chaucer's scholar, but does not give his authority.] (as hee  
writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English  
Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into  
Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Christian  
faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of  
arnes.

The English Knights Prologue.

[Sidenote: Long trauaile.]

A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,  
that from the time that he first began  
to riden out, he loued Cheualrie,  
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie.  
full worthy was he in his lords warre:  
and thereto had hee ridden no man farre,  
As well in Christendome as in Heathennesse,  
and euer had honour for his worthinesse.

[Sidenote: Alexandria.]

At Alisandre hee was, when it was wonne:  
full oft time hee had the bourd begon  
abouen all nations in Pruce,

In Lettowe had hee riden, and in Ruce,  
no Christen man so oft of his degree:  
In Granade at the siege had he bee  
At Algezer[1]: and ridden in Belmarye:  
At Leyes [2] was hee, and also at Satalye,[3]  
when they were wonne: and in the great see  
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.  
At mortall battailes had he bin fifteene,  
And foughten for our faith at Tramissen,[4]  
in listes thries, and aye slayne his foe:

This ilke worthie Knight had bin also,  
sometime with the lord of Palathye [5]  
ayenst another Heathen in Turkie.

Written in the lustie moneth of May  
in our Palace, where many a million  
of louers true haue habitation,  
The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,  
a thousand, foure hundred and second.

[Footnote 1: Algezer in Granado.]

[Footnote 2: Layas in Armenia. Froysart. lib. 3. cap. 40.]

[Footnote 3: Satalie in the mayne of Asia neere Rhods.]

[Footnote 4: Tremisen is in Barbarie.]

[Footnote 5: Or, Palice. Froysart lib. 3. cap. 40.]

\* \* \* \* \*

The original proceedings and successe of the Northren domestical and forren  
trades and traffique of this Isle of Britain from the time of Nero the  
Emperour, who deceased in the yeere of our Lord 70. vnder the Romans,  
Britons, Saxons, and Danes, till the conquest: and from the conquest,  
vntill this present time, gathered out of the most authentically histories  
and records of this nation.

\* \* \* \* \*

A testimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales of Cornelius  
Tacitus, proouing London to haue bene a famous Mart Towne in the reigne  
of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of Christ 70.

At Suetonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit,  
cognomento quidem colonia non insigne, sed copia negociatorum & commeatu  
maxime celebre.

The same in English.

But Suetonius with wonderfull constancie passed through the midst of his  
enemies, vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and  
title of a Romane Colonie, yet was it most famous for multitude of  
Marchants and concourse of people.

\* \* \* \* \*

A testimome out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord  
734.) proouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffike and  
Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

Anno Domini incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Britanniarum Archiepiscopus ordinavit duos Episcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iustum: Mellitum quidem ad predicandum provinciam Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamesi fluvio dirimuntur a Cantia & ipsi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Civitas est super ripam praefati fluminis posita & ipsa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium. [Footnote: Bedae Ecclesiastica historia Gentis Anglorum lib. 2. cap 3.]

The same in English.

In the yeere of the incarnation of Christ 604. Augustine Archbishop of Britaine consecrated two Bishops, to wit Mellitus and Iustus. He appointed Mellitus to preach to the East Saxons which are divided from Kent by the river of Thames, and border upon the Easterne sea, whose chiefe and Metropolitan Citie is London seated upon the banke of the aforesaid river, which is also a Mart Towne of many nations, which repayre thither by sea and by land.

\* \* \* \* \*

The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia concerning safe trade of the English Marchants in all the Emperours Dominion. This Offa died in the yeere of our Lord 795.

Offa interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum paravit: quamvis non facile quod suis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo inuenerit. Discordarunt antea, adeo ut magnis motibus utrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum comitatus prohiberentur. Est Epistola Albini huiusce rei index, cuius partem hic apponam.

Nescio quid de nobis venturum sit. [Sidenote: Navigatio interdicta.] Aliquid enim dissentionis diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum est: ita ut vtrinque navigatio interdicta negociantibus cesset. Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpositis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli foedus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum subijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri charissimo Offa Regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de salute animarum, de Catholica fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui, non religioni seruietes, sed lucra sectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonia. [Sidenote: Negociatorum Anglicanorum patrocinium.] Negociatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in Regno nostro legitime. Et si aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclamant ad nos vel nostros indices, & plenam videbimus iustitiam fieri. [Footnote: Malmsbur. de gestis Regum Anglorum lib. 1. cap 4.]

The same in English.

In the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit inclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. [Sidenote: Traffique prohibited] Their mindes were so alienated before, that bearing hauty stomacks on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Marchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albus is a sufficient testimony of this matter part whereof I will here put downe.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. [Sidenote: Navigation forbidden.] For there is of late, by the instigation of the deuill, some discord and variance sprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa: insomuch that sailing to and fro is forbidden vnto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a peace, into those partes. And againe, after a fewe lines. Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

[Sidenote: A league between Carol. Mag. and K. Offa.] Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, vnto the reuerend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth greeting. First we doe render vnto almightie God most humble thanks for the saluation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, haue found signified in your letters. As touching those pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne soules health, are desirous to resort vnto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found amongst them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie customes at places conuenient. [Sidenote: Protection of the English marchants] It is our pleasure also and commandement, that your marchants shall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any vniust oppression, let them make their supplication vnto vs, or vnto our Iudges, and we will see iustice executed to the full.

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An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes, containing among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thrise crossing the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lambert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

It was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wisest of the people worship worthy, euery one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vnder-Thein. And if a churle thriued so, that hee had fully fiue hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchin, a Belhouse, and a gate, a seate, and a seuerall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein so thriued, that he serued the king, and on his message rid in his household, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings journey fiue hides had, and in the kings seate his Lord serued, and thrise with his errand had gone to the king, he might afterward with his foreoth his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thriue so, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthie. And if a Marchant so thriued, that he passed thrise ouer the wide seas, of his owne craft, he was thencefoorth a Theins right worthie. And if a scholar so prospered thorow learning that he degree had, and serued Christ, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthie, as thereunto belonged, vnlesse he forfeited so, that he the vse of his degree vse he might.

\* \* \* \* \*

A testimonie of certaine priuiledges obtained for the English and Danish Merchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Bishop of Rome by Canutus the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out of a letter of his written vnto the Cleargie of England.

Sit vobis notom quia magna congregatio nobilora in ipsa solemnitate Pascali, Roma cum Domino Papa Ioanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vsque ad istum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice suscepere, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concederetur lex aquior, & pax securior in via Romam adeundi, & ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, & propter iniustum teloneum fatigarentur. Annuitque postulatis Imperator, & Rodolphus Rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmarunt, vt homines mei tam Mercatores, quam alij orandi gratia viatores, absque omni anguria clausurarum & teloneariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant. [Footnote: William of Malmsb. lib. 2. cap. 9. de gestis Regum Anglorum.]

The same in English.

You are to vnderstand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope Iohn and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus [Footnote: Garganus a mountain of Apulia in Italy.] vnto the West Ocean sea. Who all of them honourably interteined me, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts: but especially the Emperour bestowed diuers costly presents and rewards vpon mee, both in vessels or golde and siluer, and also in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of all my subiects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more fauourable law & secure peace in their way to Rome might bee graunted vnto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many stops & impediments in their iourney, and weaned by reason of iniust exactions. And the Emperour condescended vnto my request, and king Rodolphus also, who hath greatest authoritie ouer the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my subiects, as well Marchants, as others who trauailed for deuotions sake, should without all hinderance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe vnto Rome in peace, and returne from thence in safetie.

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The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis, which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.

Haud longe a Rofa quasi viginti quinque milliarijs est Londonia Ciuitas nobilis, opima ciuium diuitijs, constipata negociatorum ex omni terra, & maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili prouentu messium sit, ibi necessaria distraherentur & emantur minore, quam alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel ementium dispendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis finibus Tamesis fluuius famosus, qui citra vrbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo fusus, vltra plus 70. nomen profert. [Footnote: Guliel. Malmesb. de gestis pont. Anglorum lib. 2.]

The same in English.

Not farre from Rochester, about the distance of fiue and twenty miles, standeth the Noble Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, [Sidenote: Germanie] and being frequented with the traffique

of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of Germanie. Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in England, by reason of the scarcitie of corne, things necessary may there be prouided and bought with lesse gaine vnto the sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse vnto the buyers, then in any other place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conueighed into the same Citie by the famous riuer of Thames: which riuer springing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by one and the selfe same name 70. miles beneath it.

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The aforesaid William of Malmesburie writeth of traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke de gestis pontificum Anghorum, after this maner.

In eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est nauium portus ab Hibernia & Norwegia & cateris transmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne scilicet genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

[Sidenote: Norway.] In the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow, [Footnote: Bristol.] with an Hauen belonging thereunto, which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and foren countreys: namely that a region so fortunate and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the wealth and commodities of other lands.

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The league betweene Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157, recorded in the first Booke and seuenteenth Chapter of Radeuicus Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.

Ibidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Anglia missi, varia & preciosa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata prastantes. Inter qua papilionem vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perspeximus. Cuius si quantitatem requiris, non nisi machinis & instrumentorum genere & adminiculo leuari poterat: si qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipsum putem aliquando ab aliquo huiusce apparatu superatum iri. Literas quoque mellito sermone plenas pariter direxerat, quarum hic tenor fuit. Pracordiali amico suo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictissimo, Henricus Rex Anglia, dux Normannia, & Aquitania, & Comes Andegauensis, salutem, & vera dilectionis concordiam. Excellentia vestra quantas possumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs vestris visitare, salutare literis, muneribus prauenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris inuicem dignatus estis foedera inchoare. Exultauimus, & quodammodo animum nobis crescere, & in maius sensimus euehi dum vestra promissio, in qua nobis spem dedistis in disponendis. Regni nostri negocijs, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultauimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentia vestra assurreximus, id vobis in sincero cordis affectu respondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem vestrum spectare nouerimus, pro posse nostro effectui mancipare parati sumus. Regnum nostrum & quicquid vbique nostra subiicitur ditioni vobis exponimus & vestra committimus potestati, vt ad vestrum nutum



omnia disponantur, & in omnibus vestri fiat voluntas imperij. [Sidedote: Commercia inter Germanos & Anglos.] Sit igitur inter nos & populos nostros dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuisa, commercia tuta. Ita tamen vt vobis, qui dignitate praminetis, imperandi cedat authoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obsequendi. Et sicut vestraa Serenitatis memoriam vestrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, sic vos nostri quoque reminisci praoptamus, mittentes qua pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quo dantur accipite. De manu beati Iacobi, super qua nobis scripsistis, in ore magistri Hereberti & Guilielmi Clerici nostri verbum posuimus. Teste Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

The same in English.

There were present also the same tune, the messengers of Henry [Footnote: The Second.] king of England presenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pauilion, most large in quantity, & most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantitie therof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of instruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in stufte or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Frederick [Footnote: Son of Frederick, Duke of Suabia, was born in 1121. and succeeded his uncle Conrad III. in 1152 as Emperor of the West. As was proved by his campaigns in Italy in 1154, 1158, and 1162, and by the justice and probity of his administration, he was equally great as a soldier and as a ruler. He joined the Third Crusade in 1189, and was drowned whilst crossing a river in Asia in June, 1190. His memory is still cherished amongst the peasants of Germany, who look upon him in the same light as the Welsh on Arthur.] by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes most inuincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou wisheth health and concord of sincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (most renowned and peerelesse Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue so graciously vouchsafed by your messengers to visite vs in your letters to salute vs, with your gifts to present vs, and (which wee doe more highly esteeme of then all the rest) to beginne a league of peace and friendship betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilst your promise, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs more cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I say) & in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance vnto your Maiestie, giuing you at this time to vnderstand from the sincere & vnfeined affection of our heart, that whatsoever we shal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and whatsoever is vnder our iurisdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the same vnto our highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selues and our subiects, an indiuisible vnitie of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize yet so, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maiestie euen so in like maner sending vnto your Highnesse the most rare things in our custodie and which we thought should be most acceptable vnto you, wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee vnmindefull of vs. Haue respect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that

minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the hand of S Iames, [Footnote: According to the legend, the relics of this saint were miraculously conveyed to Spain in a ship of marble from Jerusalem, where he was bishop.] about which you wrote vnto vs, we haue sent you word by M Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

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A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by king Iohn in the [Marginal note: 1199] first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis.

Ioannes Dei gratij &c. Maiori & Communitati Londinensi salutam. Sciatis voluntatem esse nostram, quod omnes Mercatores de quicunque fuerunt terra saluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus suis in Angliam. [Sidenote: Solita mercatorum consuetudines.] Volumus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis vnde fuerunt egressi. Et ideo vobis pracipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliua vestra, & firmiter teneri; permittentes eos ire & redire sine impedimento per debitas & rectas & solitas consuetudines in Balliua vestra. Teste Galfredo filio Petri comite Essexia apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis.

In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Maiori & communitati Ciuitatis Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norffolcia & Suffolcia, Vicecomiti dorset & Sommerset, Baronibus de quinque portibus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Hertford & Essex, Vicecomiti Cornubia & Deuon.

The same in English.

Iohn by the grace of God &c. to the Maior and communitie of London, greeting. You are to vnderstand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soeuer shall haue safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same fauour in England, which is granted vnto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. [Sidenote: The ancient customes of Marchaunts.] And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cause this to be published, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmly to be obserued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes vsed in your said Bailiwicke. Witnesse Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Essex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Maior and communitie of the Citie of Winchester, to the Baily of Southampton, the Baily of Lenne, the Baily of Kent, the sherife of Norfolke and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerset, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of Souththampton shire the sherife of Hertford and Essex the sherife of Cornewal and Deuon.

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Litera regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegia de pacis foedere & intercurso mercandisandi Anno 1 Henrici 3. [Marginal note: 1216.]

Henricus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegia salutem. Immensas nobilitati vestra referimus gratiarum actiones de his qua per

litteras vestris prudentem virum. Abbatem de Lisa nobis significastis volentes & desiderantes foedus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiscum inire & nobiscum confoederari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terra nostra comunes sint, & Mercatores & homines qui sunt de potestate vestra libere & sine impedimento terram nostrum adire possint, & homines & Mercatores nostri similiter terri vestram. Dum tamen litteras vestras patentes super hoc nobis destinctis & nos vobis nostras transmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra vestra quam nostra eant veniant, & recedant per terras nostras Et si quid vestra sederit voluntati quod facere valeamus id secure nobis significetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem pralictum, vt de nauis vestra & rebus in ea contentis pro posse nostro restitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de statu nostro & Regni nostri vos certificare curabimus & quam citius &c. Teste me ipso apud Lamhithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo scribitur S. Duci Norwegia ibidem & eodem die.

The letters of King Henry the third vnto Haquinus [Footnote: Haco IV., bastard of the able adventurer Swerro. His invasion of Scotland in 1263 forms a striking episode of medaual history.] King of Norway concerning a treatie of peace and mutuall traffique of marchandize, &c.

Henry by the grace of God, &c. vnto Haquinus by the same grace King of Norway sendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highnesse vnspeakeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discreete subiect the Abbat of Lisa, you haue signified vnto vs, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter shalbe well contented that both our lands be common to the ende that the Marchants and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment resort vnto our land, and our people and Marchants may likewise haue recourse vnto your territories. Prouided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send vnto vs your letters patents, and wee will send ours also vnto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the Marchants both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the same vnto vs. Wee haue as yet deteined the foresaid Abbat, that wee might, to our abilitie, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdome so soone, &c, Witnessse our selfe at Lambith the tenth of October.

Another letter in the same forme and to the same effect was there and then sent vnto S. Duke of Norway.

Mandatum pro Coga Regis Norwegia Anno 13. Henrici 3.

Mandatum est omnibus Balliuis portuum in quos ventura est Coga de Norwegia, in qua venerint in Angliam milites Regis Norwegia & Mercatores Saxonia, quod cum pradictam Cogam in portus suos venire contigerit, saluo permittant ipsam Cogam in portibus suis morari, quamdiu necesse habuerit, & libere sine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint. Teste Rege.

The same in English.

A Mandate for the King of Norway his Ship called the Cog.

Wee will and commaund all bailifes of Portes, at the which the Cog of

Norway (wherein certaine of the king of Norwaie his souldiers, and certaine Marchants of Saxonie are comming for England) shall touch, that, when the foresaid Cog shall chance to arriue at any of their Hauens, they doe permit the said Cog safely to remaine in their said Hauens so long as neede shall require, and without impediment also freely to depart thence, whensoever the gouernours Of the sayd ship shall thinke it expedient. Witnesse the King.

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Carta pro Mercatoribus de Colonia anno 20. Henrici 3. Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum 8. Iulij Anno Regni 18. prout extat in rotulo cartarum de Anno 18. Regis Edwardi primi.

Rex Archiepiscopis &c. salutem. Sciatis nos quietos clamasse pro nobis & haredibus nostris dilectos nostros, Ciues de Colonia, & mercandisam suam de illis duobus solidis, [Marginal note: Antiqua consuetudo Gildhalla Coloniensium Londini.] quos solebant dare de Gildhalla sua London, & de omnibus alijs consuetudinibus & demandis, qua pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram nostram; & quod libere possunt ire ad ferias, per totam terram nostram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, salua libertate Ciuitatis nostra London. Quare volumus & firmiter pracipimus pro nobis & haredibus nostris quod pradicti ciues de Colonia pranommatas libertates & libera consuetudines habeant per totam terram nostram Anglia sicut pradictum est. His testibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleoiensi Episcopo, Wilhelmo de Ferarijs, Gilberto Basset, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Disspenser, Waltero Marescallo, Galfrido Dispenser, Bartholomao Pech, Bartholomao de Saukeuill, & alijs. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Cicistronsis Episcopi, Cancellarij nostri apud Dauintre Octauo die Nouembris, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo.

The same in English.

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants of Colen [Footnote: Cologne.] in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the first, as it is extant in the roule of Charters, in the eighteenth yeere of King Edward the first.

The King vnto Archbishops &c. greeting. [Sidenote: The ancient custome of the Coloners Gildhall in London.] Be it knowen vnto you, that wee haue quite claimed, and for vs and our heires released our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of those two shillings which they were wont to pay out of their Gildhall at London and from all other customes and demaunds, which perteine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions and that they may safely resort vnto Fayers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and sell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmly command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enjoy the liberties and free priuiledges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforesaid. Witnesses, the reuerend father Walter Bishop of Carlil, William de Ferarijs, Gilbert Basset, Walter de Beauchamp Hugh Disspenser, Walter Marescal, Geofrie Disspensser. Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukeuill and others. Giuen by the hand of the reuerend father Ralph Bishop of Chichester and our Chauncellour at Dauintre, the eight day of Nouember in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

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Carta Lubecensibus ad septennium concessa. Anno 41. Henrici 3.

[Sidenote: Carta conditionalis]

Henricus dei gracia Rex Anglia dominus Hibernia, dux Normania, Aquitania, & Comes Andegavia, omnibus Balliuis suis salutem. [Sidenote: Ricardus Comes Cornubiaa Rex Romanorum.] Sciatis nos ad instantiam dilecti & fidelis fratris nostri Ricardi Comitis Cornubia in Regum Romanorum electi, suscepisse in protectionem & defensionem nostram & saluum & securum conductum nostrum Burgenses de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandisis quas in Regnum nostrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis concessimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandisis suis nihil capiatur ad opus nostrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem; sed libere vendant & negociantur inde in Regno pradicto, prout sibi viderint expedire. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgensibus vel eorum nuncijs in veniendo in terram nostram cum rebus & mercandisis suis ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inferatis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum aut grauamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam pradictam vexetis, aut ab alijs vexari permittatis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes per septennium durantes: Dum tamen ijdem Burgenses interim bene & fideliter se habuerint erga prafatum electum fratrem nostrum. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni nostri quadragesimo primo. Hac litera duplicata est, pro Burgensibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunswig, & Lubek.

The same in English.

The charter of Lubek granted for seuen yeeres, obtained in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.

Henry by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailifs sendeth greeting. Know ye that at the instant request of our welbeloued and trusty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we haue receiued vnder our protection and defence, and vnder our safe and secure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our kingdome. We haue also granted vnto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing shal be seized vnto the vse of our selues, or of any other without their owne consent, but that they may freely sell and exercise traffike therewith according as they shall thinke expedient. And therefore we straightly command you, that neither your selues do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or moletstation vnto the said Burgers or vnto their messengers, either at their comming into our land, with their goods and marchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that yee neither molest them your selues, nor yet suffer them by others to be molested, contrary to the aforesaid Charter. In testimonie whereof, we haue caused these our Letters to be made Patents, during the space of seuen yeeres next following.

Prout, that the sayd Burghers doe in the meane time behaue themselues well and faithfully towards our foresaid elected brother. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the eleuenth day of March, [Footnote: Sic in Hakluyt. It should be May.] in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne.

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This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunswig, and of Lubecke.

Carta pro Mercatoribus Alemannia, qui habent domum in London, qua Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur. Anno 44. Henrici tertij, & Anno primo & 29. Edwardi primi renouata & confirmata.

Ad instantiam Serenissimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis charissimi fratris nostri concedimus mercatoribus Alemannia, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Ciuitate nostra London, qua Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulganter nuncupatur, quod eos vniuersos manutenebimus per totum Regnum nostrum in omnibus iisdem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus, quibus ipsi nostris & [Marginal note: Nota antiquitatem.] progenitorum nostrorum temporibus vsi sunt & gauisi. Ipsosque extra huiusmodi libertates & liberas consuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

The same in English

A charter for the Marchants of Almaine, who haue an house at London commonly called [Marginal note: The Stiliard.] the Guild hall of the Dutch, graunted in the 44. yeere of Henry the third, renued and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of Edward the first.

At the instant request of the most gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our most deare brother, wee doe graunt vnto the Marchants of Alemain (namely vnto those that haue an house in our cite of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Merchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and euery of them, in all those liberties and free customes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they haue vsed and enioyed. [Sidenote: Note the antiquity.] Neither will we inforce them beyond these liberties and free customes, nor in any wise permit them to be inforced. In witnesse whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made patents.

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Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus alienigenis.

Mercatores extranei vendant mercimonia sua in ciuitate London &c. infra quadraginta dies post ingressum suum, anno 3. Edwardi primi.

The same in English.

A mandate of king Edward the first concerning outlandish marchants.

We will and command that outlandish marchants doe sel their wares in the cite of London &c. within forty dayes of their ariuall.

\* \* \* \* \*

The great Charter granted vnto forreine marchants by king Edward the first, in the 31. yeare of his reigne commonly called Carta mercatoria, Anno Domini 1303.

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Anglia, Dommus Hibernia dux Aquitania, Archiepiscopus, Episcopus, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iustitiarijs, Vicecomitibus, praposis, ministris, & omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis salutem. Circa bonum statum omnium mercatorum subscriptorum regnorum, terrarum, & prouinciarum, videlicet Alemannia, Francia, Hispania, Portugallia, Nauarra, Lombardia, Thuscia, Prouincia, Catalonia, ducatus nostri Aquitania, Tholosania, Caturuni, Flandria, Brabantia, & omnium

aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunque nomine censeantur, venientium in regnum nostrum Anglia & ibidem conuersantium nos precipua cura sollicitat, qualiter sub nostro dominio tranquillitatis & plena securitatis immunitas eisdem mercatoribus futuris temporibus praparetur. Vt itaque vota ipsorum reddantur ad nostra & regni nostri seruitia promptiora, ipsorum petitionibus fauorabiliter annuentes, & pro statu eorundem plenius assecurando, in forma qua sequitur ordinantes, pro nobis & haredibus nostris in perpetuum subscripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

1. In primis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum salue & secure sub tuitione & protectione nostra in dictum regnum nostrum Anglia, & vbique infra potestatem nostram alibi veniant cum mercandis suis quibuscunque de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatorijs possunt mercari duntaxat in grosso tam cum indigenis seu incolis eiusdem regni & potestatis nostra pradicta, quam cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita tamen quod merces, qua vulgariter merceria vocantur, ac species, minutatim vendi possint, prout antea fieri consuevit. [Sidenote: Exceptio contra notorios regni hostes.] Et quod omnes pradicti mercatores mercandisas suas, quas ipsos ad pradictum regnum & potestatem nostram adducere, seu infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram emere, vel alias acquirere contingerit, possint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & potestatem nostram pradictam, quam extra ducere vel portare facere, praterquam ad terras manifestorum & notiorum hostium regni nostri, soluendo consuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat exceptis, qua de eodem regno seu potestate nostra, postquam infra idem regnum seu potestatem nostram ducta fuerint, sine voluntate & licentia specili non liceat eis educere quoquo modo.

2. Item quod pradicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis pradictis pro voluntate sua hospitari valeant, & morari cum bonis suis ad gratiam ipsorum, quorum sunt hospitia siue domus.

3. Item quod quilibet contractus per ipsos mercatores cum quibuscunque personis vndecunque fuerint super quocunque genere mercandisa initus, firmus sit & stabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu possit recedere, vel resilire, postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas contrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et si forsan super contractu eiusmodi contentio oriatur fiat inde probatio aut inquisitio secundum vsus & consuetudines feriarum & villarum, vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniri.

4. Item promittimus prafatis mercatoribus pro nobis & haredibus nostris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam prisam vel arrestationem, seu dilationem occasione prisae de catero de mercimonijs mercandis seu alijs bonis suis per nos vel alium seu alios pro aliqua necessitate vel casu contra voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, nisi statim soluto precio pro quo ipsi mercatores alijs eiusmodi mercimonia vendere possint, vel eis aliter satisfacto, ita quod reputent se contentos: Et quod super mercimonia, mercandisas, seu bona ipsorum per nos vel ministros nostros nulla appreciatio aut estimatio imponetur.

[Sidenote: Lex mercatoria.]

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & ministri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iustitiam faciant de die in diem sine dilatione secundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuersis & singulis qua per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et si forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuorum vel ministrorum pradictorum, vnde ijdem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis

incommoda sustinuerint vel sustineant, licet mercator versus partem in principali recuperauerit damna sua, nihilominus balliuus vel minister alius versus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem istam concedimus in fauorem mercatorum pradicorum pro eorum iustitia maturanda.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, saluo casu criminis pro quo infligenda est poena mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauerit, cuiuscunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nundinis, ciuitatibus, siue Burgis, vbi fuerit sufficiens copia mercatorum pradicarum terrarum, & inquisitio fieri debeat, sit medietas inquisitionis de eiusdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud esse contigent. Et si de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inuenientur sufficiens, ponentur in inquisitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & residij sint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & statuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria & feria regni nostri pradicte & alibi infra potestatem nostram pondus nostrum in certo loco ponatur & ante ponderationem statera in presentia emptoris & venditoris vacua videatur & quod brachia sint equalia & ex tunc ponderator ponderet in aquali. Et cum stateram posuerit in aquali statim amoueat manus suas, ita quod remaneat in aquali; quodque per totum regnum & potestatem nostram sit vnum pondus & vna mensura: & signo standardi nostri signentur: Et quod quilibet possit habere stateram vnus quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & antecessores nostros concessam illud non fuerit, siue contra villarum & feriarum consuetudinem hactenus obseruatam.

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & discretus Londini residens assignetur iustitarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant specialiter placitare, & debita sua recuperare celeriter, si Vicecomites & Maiores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris iustitia complementum: Et inde fiat Commissio extra Cartam presentem concessa mercatoribus antedictis: [Sidenote: Lex mercatoria qua?] scilicet de his qua sunt inter mercatores & mercatores secundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

[Sidenote: Antiqua Custuma.]

9. Item ordinamus & statuimus, & ordinationem illam statutumque pro nobis & heredibus nostris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obseruari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel heredes nostri de cetero concedemus, prafati mercatores supradictas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro pradicte autem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus obtinendis, & prisis nostris remittendis ijdem supradicti mercatores vniuersi & singuli pro se & omnibus alijs de partibus suis nobis concorditer & vnanimiter concesserunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adducunt vel adduci facient infra regnum & potestatem nostram, & vnde marinarijs fretum soluere tenebuntur, soluent nobis & heredibus nostris nomine Custuma duos solidos vltra antiquas custumas debitas & in denarijs solui consuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, postquam extra naues ad terram posita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet sacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipsorum ement & e regno educunt, aut emi & educi facient, soluent quadraginta denarios de incremento vltra custumam antiquam dimidia marca, qua prius fuerat persoluta pro lasta coriorum extra regnum & potestatem nostram vehendorum dimidiam marcam supra id quod ex antiqua custuma ante soluebatur. Et similiter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & potestatem nostram ducendis quadraginta denarios vltra certum illud, quod



de antiqua custuma fuerat prius datum. Item duos solidos de quolibet scarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio sine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet aris quintalla.

10. Cumque de prafatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias excicere soleant mercandisas, vt de Aucrio ponderis, & de alijs rebus subtilibus, sicut de pannis Tarsensibus, de serico, & cindallis, de seta & alijs diuersis mercibus, & de equis etiam & alijs animalibus, blado & alijs rebus & mercandisis multimodis, qua ad certam custumam facile poni non poterunt, ijdem mercatores concesserunt dare nobis & haredibus nostris de qualibet libra argenti estimationis seu valoris rerum & mercandisaram huiusmodi, quocunq; nomine censeantur; tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandisaram ipsarum in regnum & potestatem nostram pradicam infra viginti dies postquam huiusmodi res & mercandisa in regnum & potestatem nostram adducta & etiam ibidem exonerata seu vendita fuerint. Et similiter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in educatione quarumcunq; rerum & mercandisaram huiusmodi emptarum in regno & potestate nostris pradicis vltra custumas nobis aut alijs ante datas. Et super valore & estimatione rerum & mercandisarum huiusmodi de quibus tres denarij de qualibet libra argenti sicut pradicatur sunt soluendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut socijs suis ostendere poterunt: Et si literas non habeant stetur in hac parte pradicorum mercatorum, si prasentes fuerint, vel valetorum suorum in eorandem mercatorum absentia, iuramentis.

11. Liceat insuper socijs de societate pradicorum mercatorum infra regnum & potestatem nostram pradicatas, lanas vendere alijs suis socijs, & similiter emere ab ijsdem absque custuma soluenda. Ita tamen quod dicta latta ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de custuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et praterea est sciendum, quod postquam supradicti mercatores semel in vno loco infra regnum & potestatem nostram custumam nobis concessam superius pro mercandisis suis in forma soluerint supradicta, & suum habeant inde warantum, siue huiusmodi mercandisa infra regnum & potestatem nostram remaneant, siue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, qua de regno & potestate, nostris pradicis sine volnntate & licentia nostra sicut pradicum est nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac haredibus nostris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, prisa, vel prastatio, aut aliquod onus super personas mercatorum pradicorum, mercandisas seu bona eorundem altquatenus imponatur contra formam expressam superius & concessam. His testibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Anglia primate, Waltero Couentria & Lichfildia episcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolniense, Humfredo de Bohum comite Herfordiense, & Essexia & Constabulo magno Anglia, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Lesponsor,[Footnote: \_Sic\_.] Waltero de Bello campo, senescallo hospitij nostri, Roberto de Burijs, & alijs. Datum per manum nostram apud Windesore, primo die Februarij, anno regni nostri xxxj.

The aforesaid generall Charter in English.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earles, Barons, lustices, Vicounts, gouernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people sendeth greeting. Wee haue speciall care for the good estate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countries following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence, Prouence, Catalonia, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholosa, Caturllune, [Footnote: Catalonia] Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine

countreys and places by what name soeuer they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the sayd marchants may liue in quiet and full securitie vnder our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts desires may bee more readily inclined to our seruice and the seruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller assuring of their estate, haue thought good to graunt to the sayd marchants for vs and our heires for euer these priuiledges vnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

1. First, that all marchants of the sayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where else into our dominion with their marchandises whatsoever safely and securely vnder our defence and protection without paying wharfage, pontage, or pannage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the sayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great [Footnote: Wholesale.] as well with the naturall subiects and inhabitantes of our aforesayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, straungers, or priuate persons. Yet so that marchandises which are commonly called mercerie wares, and spices, may be sold by the small, [Footnote: Retail.] as heretofore hath bin accustomed. [Sidenote: An exception for traficking with the known enemies of the kingdome.] And that all the aforesaid marchants may cary or cause to be caried whither they will, aswell within our realme or dominion, as out of the same; sauing vnto the countreys of the manifest and knowne enemies of our kingdome, those marchandises which they shall bring into our foresayd realme and dominion or buy or otherwise purchase in our sayd realme and dominion paying such customes as they ought to doe: except onely wines, which it shall not be any wayes lawfull for them to cary out of our sayd realme and dominion without our speciall fauour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

2. Item that the aforesayd marchants may at their pleasure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforesaid, with the good liking of those which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that euery bargaine made by the said marchants with any maner of persons, of what places soeuer they be for any kind of marchandise whatsoever, shalbe firme & stable so that none of both the marchants shall shrinke or giue backe from that bargaine, after that the earnest penie be once giuen and taken betweene the principall bargayners. And if peradventure any strife arise about the same bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof shall be made according to the vses and customes of the fayres and townes where it chanced that the said bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for euer for vs and our heires, that from hence forth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present payment of such a price as the marchants would haue sold those marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselues well contented and that no price or valuation shalbe set vpon their wares, marchandises, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of fayres, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie iustice from day to day without delay accgrdmg to the lawe of Marchants to the aforesayd marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singuler causes,

which may be determined by the same law. [Sidenote: Where is this law now become?] And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesayd, whereby the sayd marchants or any of them haue sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recouer his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grant this punishment in fauour of the aforesayd marchants in regard of the hastening of their iustice.

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, sauing in case where punishment of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is vnpleaded, or sueth another, of what condition soeuer hee bee which is sued, whether stranger or home borne, in fayres, cities, or boroughs, where sufficient numbers of marchants of the foresayd countreis are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the lurie be of the sayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place wheie the suite shall fall out to bee: and if sufficient number of marchants of the sayd countries cannot bee found, those which shall be found fit in that place shall be put vpon the lurie, and the rest shall be chosen of good and fit men of the places where such suit shall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in euery market towne and fayre of our realme aforesayd and elsewhere within our dominion our weight shall bee set in some certaine place, and that before the weighing the balance shall bee seene emptie in the presence of the buyer and of the seller, and that the skales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath set the balances euen, let him straightway remooue his hands, so that the balance may remayne euen: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and one measure, and that they be marked with the marke of our standard. And that euery man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder, where the same hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predecessors, or contrary to the custome of townes and fayres which hath hitherto beene obserued.

8. Item we will and we grant that some certaine faythfull and discreete man resident in London be appointed to doe iustice to the aforesayd marchants, before whome they may haue their sutes decided, and may speedilie recouer their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day giue them speedy iustice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant vnto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such things as betweene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordayne and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmly bee obserued for euer for vs and our heires, that the aforesayd marchants shal not loose the aforesayd liberties nor any of them, for any libertie whatsoever, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant. And for the obtayning of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arresting of their goods the aforesayd marchants all and euery of them for themsetues and all other of their parties with one accorde and one consent hane granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall bee bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to bee payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortie dayes after the sayd wines shall bee brought on land out of the shippes. Item for euery sacke of

wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to bee brought and caried out, they will pay forty pence aboue the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a last of hides to bee caryed out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And likewise for three hundreth Felles with the wooll on them to bee transported out of our realme and dominion fortie pence, aboue that certaine rate which before was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings vpon euery scarlate and euery cloth died in graine. Item eighteene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine. Item twelue pence vpon euerie quintall of copper.

And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other marchandises, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as sarcenets, lawnes, cindalles, and silke, and diuers other marchandises, and to sell horses and other beastes, corne, and sundrie other things and marchandises, which cannot easily bee reduced vnto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of siluer of the estimation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what name soeuer they be called, three pence in the pound in the bringing in of these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and dominion, and shall be there vnladen and solde. And likewise three pence vpon euery pound of siluer in the carying out of any such goods and marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd aboue the customes beforetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitors. And touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, whereof three pence of euery pound of siluer, as is aforesayd, is to be payd, credite shalbe giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the foresayd marchants if they bee present, or in their absence to the othes of their seruants.

Moreouer, it shall be lawfull for such as be of the company of the aforesayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforesayd, to sell woolles to other of their company, and likewise to buy of them without paying of custome. Yet so, that the said woolls come not to such hands, that wee be defrauded of the custome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be vnderstood, that after that the aforesaid marchants haue once payed in one place within our realme and dominion, the custome aboue granted vnto vs in forme aforesayd for their marchandises, & haue their warrant therof, whether these marchandises remayne within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wise shalbe caried forth of our realme and dominion aforesayd without our fauour & licence as is aforesayd) we wil and we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment or loane, or any other burthen be layd vpon the persons of the aforesayd marchants, vpon their marchandises or goods in any case contrary to the forme before mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witnesses of these presents are these Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter bishop of Couetrey and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Earle of Herford and Essex high Constable of England, Adomare of Valentia, Geoffrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenser, Walter Beauchampe Seneschall of our house, Robert of Bures, and others. Giuen by our owne hand at Windesore the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

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De mercatoribus Anglia in Norwegia arestatis, & eorum mercimonijs de

arrestandis litera Edwardi secundi anno sexto regni sui, Haquino regi Norwegia.

Magnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegia illustri amico suo charissimo Edwardus eadem Dei gratia rex Anglia, Dom. Hibernia, & dux Aquitania salutem cum dilectione sincera. Miramur non modicum & in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus & oppressionibus qua subditis nostris infra regnum vestrum causa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus solito absque causa rationabili, sicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper siquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum socij mercatores nostri nobis conquerendo monstrarunt, quod cum ipsi quosdam homines & seruiantes suos cum tribus nauibus suis ad partes regni vestri, ad negociandum ibidem transmisissent: [Sidenote: Villa de Tonnesbergh.] & naues illa in portu villa vestra de Tonnesbergh halece & alijs bonis diuersis vsque ad magnam summam onerata fuissent Et licet nautis nauium pradicarum hominibusque & sermentibus pradicis a regno vestro libere cum nauibus & bonis pradicis ad partes Anglia redeundi vestras fieri feceritis de conductu, postmodum tamen antequam naues illa propter venti contrarietatem portum pradicum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui vestri naues pradicatas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc existentibus in eisdem, occasione mortis cuiusdam militis nuper balliui vestri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naues pradicata in portu supradicto sicut pramittitur remanserunt supra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato vestro vt dicebant arrestarunt, & diu sub aresto huiusmodi detinebant, quousque videlicet homines & marinarij pradicati de quadraginta libris sterlingorum certo die statuto ad opus vestrum pro qualibet nauis pradicarum soluendis inuiti & coacti securitatem inuenissent: Et similiter de eisdem nauibus cum hominibus pradicis infra portum pradicum citra festum natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptista proximo futuro ad standum tunc ibidem de personis & nauibus suis vestra gratia seu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obsides vltius liberassent: quod ipsis valde graue censetur & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & aquitatem, omnemque iustitiam fore dinoscitur, atque legem, quod delinquentium culpa seu demerita in personis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conscij vel participes, seu de huiusmodi delinquentium societate non fuerunt, aliquo modo vlciscantur, vestram amicitiam affectuose requirimus & rogamus quatenus pramissa diligenti meditatione zelo iustitia ponderantes, obsides pradicatos iubere velit ab hostiamento huiusmodi liberari, dictamque securitatem relaxari penitus & resolui. Scientes pro certo, quod si malefactores pradicati, qui dictum militem vestrum vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum seu potestatem nostram poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iustitiam & iudicium secundum legem & consuetudinem eiusdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim possumus his diebus aequanimiter tolerare quod naues pradicata seu alia de regno nostro, qua semper prompta ad nostrum seruitium esse debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas se diuertant sine nostra licentia speciali. Quid autem ad hanc nostram instantiam faciendum decreueritis in pramissis, nobis si placeat rescribatis per prasentium portatorem. Data apud Windesore decimo sexto die Aprilis.

The same in English.

The letters of Edward the second vnto Haquinus king of Norway, concerning the English marchants arrested in Norway, and their goods to be freed from arrest.

To the mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We

maruell not a little, and are much disquieted in our cogitations, considering the grieuances and oppressions which (as wee haue bene informed by pitifull complaints) are at this present more than in times past without any reasonable cause inflicted vpon our subiects, which doe vsually resort vnto your kingdome for traffiques sake. For of late one William the sonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the sonne of Alan of the same towne, and Guido the sonne of Mathew and their associates our marchants, in complayning wise declared vnto vs: [Sidenote: The towne of Tonesbergh.] that hauing sent certaine of their factors and seruants, with three shippes into your dominions, there to exercise traffique, and the sayd ships being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities to a great value: and also the said mariners, men, and seruants of the foresayd shippes, being licenced by vertue of the safe conduct which you had granted them, freely to returne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their ships and goods aforesayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reason of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occasion of the slaughter of a knight being himselfe also of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and Pirates vpon the sea, whilest the sayd shippes remained in the hauen aforesayd, did at yoar commandement (as they say) arrest, and for a long season also detained vnder that arrest, the foresaid ships, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill such time, as the men and mariners aforesaide (beeing driuen perforce, and constrained thereunto) should lay in sufficient securitie for the payment of fortie pounds sterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vse for euery of the foresaide ships and: also vntill they had moreouer deliuered three pledges, for the bringing of the saide ships and men backe againe into the foresaid hauen, before the feast of the natiuitie of S. Iohn the Baptist next ensuing, then and there to stand vnto your fauour and curtesie, as touching the said persons, and those ships of theirs: which dealing, the parties themselues take very grieuously, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a strange and vnwonted course. And because it is most vndoubtedly contrary to all reason, equitie, iustice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders should in any sort be punished in such persons, or in their goods, as neither haue bene accessory nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any society with the saide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and request your Highnes, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of iustice, you would of your loue and friendship, command the foresaid pledges to be set at libertie, and the said securitie vtterly to bee released and acquitted. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foresaide malefactors, who (as it is reported) slewe your Knight aforesaide shall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we wil cause iustice and iudgement to bee executed vpon them, according to the Lawe and custome of our sayde Realme. For we cannot in these times conueniently and well indure, that the ships aforesaide, or any other ships of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readinesse for our seruice) should without speciall licence, depart out of our saide kingdome, vnto forreine dominions. Nowe, what you shall think good at this our request to performe in the premisses, may it please you by the bearer of these presents to returne an answere vnto vs. Geuen at Windsore the 16. of April.

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Another Letter of Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants

Magnifico Principi Dom Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegia illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Anglia, dominus Hybernia, & dux

Aquitania, salutem cum dilectione sincera. [Sidenote: Northberna villa.] Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum nostrorum Thoma de Swyn de Waynfleete, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cum ipsi nuper quosdam seruiantes suos infra regnum vestrum pro suis ibidem exercendis mercimonijs transmisissent, Thesaurarius vester bona & mercimonia pradicorum Thoma & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, qua seruiantes pradicti in villa de Northberne in sua custodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michalis vltimo praterita fecit absque causa rationabili arestari, & ea adhuc taliter arestata detinet iniuste, in ipsorum Thoma & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifestam. Et quia eisdem mercatoribus nostris subuenire volumus, quatenus suadente iustitia poterimus in hac parte, vestram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela pradicorum Thoma & Simonis, vel ipsorum atturnatorum super restitutione bonorum & mercimoniorum pradicorum impendere velitis eisdem celeris iustitia complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iustitia super arestatione pradicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus nostris pradictis de alio remedio prouidere. Nobis autem quid ad hanc nostram instantiam duxeritis faciendum, rescribere velitis per prasantium portitorem. Data vt supra.

The same in English.

To the mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbeloued Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their seruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer vpon the feast of S. Michal last past, without any iust or reasonable occasion, caused the goods and merchandise of the foresaide Thomas and Simon, to the value of fortie pound, which their said seruants had vnder their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also iniurously deteineth the same vnder the same arrest, to the great damage and impouershing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants so far foorth as we can, lustice requiring no lesse in this behalfe, we doe right earnestly request you, that hauing hearde the complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Attorneys, you woulde of your loue and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of lustice, about the restitution of their goods and marchandise aforesaide: least that for want of the exhibiting of lustice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to prouide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Giuen as aboue.

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A third letter of King Edward the second, to Haquinus King of Norway in the behalfe of certaine English Marchants.

Magnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegia illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Anglia, dominus Hybernia, & dux Aquitania, salutem cum dilectione sincera. Pro mercatoribus nostris Lenna, & partium vicinarum, quos Balliuus & Officiarij vestri ciuitatis vestra Bergen dudum ceperunt, & stricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris perierunt, vt ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem pracipere curaretis, vestra serenitati Regia nostras nuper transmisimus

litteras speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per litteras vestras quas audiuimus & intelleximus diligenter, inter cetera rescripsistis, quod quidam mercatores de regno vestro de iniurijs, violentijs & arrestationibus, quibus in regno nostro his diebus sunt vt asserunt, contra iustitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adiuciendo in vestris litteris memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filij in villa Lenna, ad piscandum vt dicebant halecia venientes quendam militem Ballium vestrum, in Vikia vna cum decem alijs subditis vestris, in vestris & regni vestri negotijs existentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens nostra grauatur quamplurimum & turbatur, prasertim quum nunquam nostra fuerit voluntatis, quod iniuria, violentia, seu arrestationes aliqua mercatoribus, vel alijs de regno vestro per aliquos de regno & potestate nostris fierent indebite vel iniuste: nec adhuc intelligere possumus, quod mercatoribus vestris per aliquem vel aliquos de subditis nostris huc vsque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod si nobis per inquisitiones legitimas constare poterit huiusmodi grauamina subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum illata fuisse, nos sufficientes emendas, & satisfactiones debitas super illis, celerisque iustitia complementum fieri faciemus. Et insuper si malefactores pradicti, qui prafatum militem, & alios secum existentes, vt pramittitur, occiderunt, de regno, seu potestate nostra sint, vel infra idem regnum vel potestatem poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iudicium & iustitiam fieri praecepimus, secundum Leges & consuetudines regni nostri. [Sidenote: Antiquitas comercij inter Angliam & Norwegiam.] Et quia inter nos & vos, nostrosque & vestros subditos hinc inde foueri desideramus mutuam concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores nostri & vestri mercandisas suas in nostris & vestris regnis & dominijs libere, & absque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum nostrorum fieri consuevit, & ex dictarum litterarum vestrarum serie collegimus euidenter vos promptos esse similiter, & paratos ad omnia & singula, qua pro vobis & vestris subditis super discordijs, contentionibus, aut grauaminibus inter nostros & vestros subditos qualitercunque suscitatis pro bono pacis & iustitia fuerint aquanimiter facienda; Nos consimilia pro nobis & nostris, quantum ad nos & ad ipsos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoscitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi vtriusque regnorum nostrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dictitauerint, promittimus nos factoros: Vestram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores nostros pradictos, qui adhuc superstites relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta feloniam committi dicebatur, interclusos tenebat custodia carceralis, iubere velitis nostri contemplatione, zeloque iustitia ab huiusmodi custodia liberari, bona ab ipsis capta eis prout iustum fuerit restitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio mercatorum nostrorum pradictorum, & bonorum suorum eo facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alijs mercatores nostri de Lenne, quibusdam mercatoribus de regno vestro occasione eiusdem grauaminis ipsis mercatoribus vestris, ad sectam Tidemanni Lippe infra regnum nostrum, vt dicebatur, illati, centum libras sterlingorum persoluerunt, sicut in quodam scripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quosdam alios mercatores vestros ex parte vna, & prafatum Galfridum, & quosdam alios de regno nostro similiter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui vero de subditis vestris de aliquibus subditis nostris, de aliqua iniuria ipsis facta querelas in curia nostra deponere voluerint, & prosequi cum effectu, ipsorum subditorum vestrarum petitiones admitti, & eis super querelis huiusmodi plenam & celerem iustitia fieri faciemus. Ita quod iidem subditi vestri exinde reputare debebunt merito se contentos. Et interim de excessibus & grauaminibus subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Vestra igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in pramissis nobis rescribere velitis per praesentium portitorem. Datas apud Westminster tertio die Aprilis.



The same in English.

To the mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We sent of late vnto your royall maiestie our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adioyning (whome your baily and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we vnderstand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremitie & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to bee released. Howbeit, you reteining as yet our marchants in durance as before, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughly vnderstood, haue, amongst other matters, returned this answere vnto vs, that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of iniuries, violences and arrests, whereby they haue lately (as themselues auouch) contrary to iustice bene aggriued and oppressed in our dominions adding moreouer in your sayde letters, that certaine sonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herings cruelly murdered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue measure griued and troubled, especially sithence it as neuer any part of our intent, that any iniuries, violences, or arrests should vnjustly be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet haue any intelligence, that any such hard measure hath bene offered vnto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our subiects: giuing you for a certaintie to vnderstand, that if vpon lawfull inquisition we shal be aduertised of any such grieuances, which haue bene offered vnto your subiects within our realme, we will cause speedie iustice to be administred, and sufficient recompence, and due satisfaction to be made in regarde thereof. And moreouer, if the saide malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slewe the forenamed Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining vnto our kingdome and dominion, or may at any time be found within our saide kingdome or dominion, we will command iustice and lodgement to be executed vpon them according to the lawes and customes of our realme. And forasmuch as our desire is, that mutuall concord and amitie should be mainteined and cherished between your and our subiects on both parts: so that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed; [Sidenode: The antiquity of traffique betweene England and Norway] Whereas also we euidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subiects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoeuer occasioned, and sprung vp betweene your and our subiects) louingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selues and our subiects so much as in vs and them lieth for his sake who is knowen to be the author of peace, and for the benefite & tranquillitie of both our Realmes (as iustice and reason shall moue vs) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your loue and friendship, hauing regard of vs, and consideration of iustice, you would commaund that our foresaide marchants, who as yet remaine alieue, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut vp in close prison, be deliuered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iustice, restored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our foresaide marchants and goods, may be the more easily yeilded vnto, may it please you with diligent obseruation

to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, vpon occasion of the greiuances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the same your marchants an hundreth pound sterling: euen as in a certain Indenture made betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and some other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Geffrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe contained. Moreouer, if any of your subiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subiects, or of any iniury done vnto them, we will cause the petitions of those your subiects to be admitted, and also full and speedie iustice to be administred, vpon any such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subiects shal thinke themselues right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the trueth to be made, of all excesses and grieuances howsoeuer offered vnto your subiects within our dominions. May it please you therfore, by the bearer of these presents, to returne an answere vnto vs, what you are determined to doe in the premisses. Giuen at Westminster, the third day of April.

\* \* \* \* \*

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13. Edwardi secundi.

Rex collectoribus custuma lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London salutem. Cum nos vicesimo die Maij anno regni nostri sexto attendentes damna & grauamina, qua mercatoribus de regno nostro diuersimode euenerunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigena quam alienigena lanas & pelles lanutas infra regnum & potestatem nostram ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuersa loca infra terras Brabantia, Flandria, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis transtulerint: [Sidenote: Maior & Communitas stapula.] & volentes etiam huiusmodi damnis & grauaminibus quatenus bono modo possemus prouidere, de consilio nostro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigena & alienigena lanas & pelles huiusmodi infra regnum & potestatem predictam ementes, & ad terras predictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam stapulam infra aliquam earundem terrarum, per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno nostro ordinandam assignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint mutandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, seu duci faciant villo modo: & inter cetera concesserimus mercatoribus de regno nostro supradicto pro nobis & haredibus nostris, quod ipsi Maior & consilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuscunque mercatoribus indigenis seu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecunia summas pro delictis illis imponant, & quod illa huiusmodi summa de bonis & mercimonijs mercatorum sic delinquentium, vbicunque ea infra regnum & potestatem predictam inueniri contigerit, per ministros nostros ad opus nostrum leuentur: prout in Charta nostra inde confecta plenius continetur: [Sidenote: Charta anno regni sexio confecta.] quam quidem Chartam per singulos comitatus regni nostri super costeras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigena seu alienigena contra tenorem Charta predicta sub poenis contentis in eadem venerint villo modo: Ac postmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quamplures mercatores tam indigena quam alienigena, lanas & pelles lanutas infra regnum & potestatem predictas ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quam ad Stapulam iuxta concessionem nostram predictam per Maiorem & communitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno nostro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & assignatam transtulerint in nostri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis predictarum assignauerimus quosdam fideles nostros in diuersis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quam ad

Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emenda inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus nostram leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quasi omnes mercatores tam indigena quam alienigena huiusmodi mercimonia in dicto regno nostro exercentes sunt culpabiles de pramissis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas suas ac pelles lanutas sub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum nostrum transmitti quibusdam alienigenis, sic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forsitan non reuersuris, vt sic forisfacturas pradictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos sic pertinente illudant: qua si permetterentur sic transire in nostri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiusmodi fraudibus obuiare, & nostris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus precauere, vobis pracipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod a singulis mercatoribus lanas seu pelles lanutas per portum pradictum ad partes exteras ducere volentibus corporale sacramentum ad sancta Dei Euangelia recipiatis, quod ipsi lanas seu pelles lanutas sub nomine ipsius, cuius propria sunt, & non alterius aduocabunt, & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lana & pelles huiusmodi erunt, vel nomine suo sufficiente securitate pro qua respondere volueritis, de respondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipsum ductis seu missis ad aliquam dictarum terrarum Flandria & Brabantia, & de Artoys contra formam Charta, proclamationis, & inhibitionis supradictarum, si ipsum super hoc conuinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanutas extra portum pradictum, recepta prius custuma debita de eisdem, ad partes exteras transire permittatis. Teste Rege apud Doueram decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipsum Regem & Consilium.

Et postmodum per breue de priuato sigillo eodem modo mandatum est collectoribus custuma pradictis in portibus subscriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villa Southampton.  
In portu villa Weymouth.  
In portu villa Sancti Botolphi.  
In portu villa de Kingtone super Hull.  
In portu villa de nouo Castro.  
In portu villa de magna Iernemutha.  
In portu villa de Lenne.  
In portu villa de Gypwico.

The same in English.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

The King vnto his Collectors of custome, for wooll and woollen fels, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the sixt yeere of our reigne, considering the damages and grieuances that haue diuersly happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occasion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreis, buying vp wooll and woollen fels within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better sale thereof, at their pleasure conueyed theselues, and trasported the said wooll & fels into sundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys: and being desirous also, to our power, to prouide a remedie against such damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counsel, that all marchants, both homeborne and aliens, buying vp such woolls and fels, within our kingdome and dominion aforesaid, and being desirous to transport them into the foresaid prouinces, there to bee solde, may carrie the saide woolls and fels, or cause them to be caried to some certaine staple, within any of the saide Prouinces, by the Maior and Commualtie of the said marchants of our realme, to be appointed and assigned, and when they shall thinke it expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within the saide Prouinces whatsoever: and whereas also, amongst other things, we

haue granted vnto the marchants of our foresaid realme, for vs and our heires, that the Maior and Councel of the saide marchants for the time being, may impose vpon all marchants, home-borne or aliens whatsoever, that shall transgresse the foresaid ordination, and shall thereof lawfully be conuicted, certaine summes of money to be paid for their offences, and that such summes must by our ministers and officers, to our vse, be leuied out of the goods and wares of the marchants so offending, wheresoeuer they shall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions aforesaid, [Sidenote: A Charter made in the sixt yeere of his reigne.] as in our Charter made for the same purpose it is more plainly expressed, (which Charter we haue caused to be published vpon the Sea-coasts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a strong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-borne, nor strangers, may in any wise transgresse the tenour of the foresaide Charter, vnder the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderstand, that diuers marchants both homeborne and aliens, bought vp such woolles and woollen felles within our saide Realme and dominions, and conueyed themselues with the saide wools and felles for the sale thereof vnto other places within the foresaide Prouinces, besides the saide Staple, which was, according to our graunt aforesaide appointed and ordained by the Maior and communitie of the said marchants of our Realme, in some one of those Prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition aforesaide, wee assigned certaine of our faithfull subiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make inquisition for such wools and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnto any other place of the saide Prouinces, then vnto the Staple, so that by these meanes, the penalties due vnto vs might bee leuied vnto our vse: and hauing intelligence also, that in a maner all marchants both home-borne, and strangers bartering such wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premisses, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cause their wools and woollen felles to bee auouched vnder the names of persons not culpable, and to be sent ouer vnto certaine strangers being also culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any more into our realme, that they may so escape the foresaid forfeitures, and defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuses, if they were suffered so to goe vnpunished woulde redound vnto our extreme hinderance:) and beeing likewise desirous to withstand such deceitefull dealing, and so farre forth as wee can, to preuent our owne losses, we firmly command, and streightly charge you, that you doe receiue of euery particular marchant, desirous to conuey any wools, or woollen fels out of the foresaid port, into any forrein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods holy Euangelists that they shall auouch all those wools and woollen fels vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none other: and then taking sufficient security from the owner of those wools and fels, or in his name, in regard whereof you wil vndertake to warrantize, and make good vnto vs those penalties and forfeitures which shal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fels conueied or sent by any of the foresaid merchants vnto any of the said prouinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they shal chance to be conuincd hereof) that first, our due custome being receiued, you doe permit the said wools and woollen fels to passe out of the foresaid port into forrein countnes. Witnes the king at Douer the 18. day of Iune. By the king himselfe and his Councill.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priuie Seale there was a like commandement giuen vnto the Collectors of the custome aforesayde in the portes vnderwritten.

That is to say:

In the port of the Towne of:

Weymouth.  
Southampton.  
Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boston.  
Kingtone vpon Hull.  
Newcastle.  
Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth.  
Lenne.  
Gypwick or Ipswich.

\* \* \* \* \*

Carta Henrici quarti Anno [Marginal note: 1404] quinto regni sui concessa mercatoribus Anglia in partibus Prussia, Dacia, Norwegia, Swethia, & Germania, de gubernatore inter ipsos ibidem constituendo.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Anglia & Francia & Dominus Hibernia omnibus, ad quos presentes litera peruenerint, salutem Sciatis quod cum, vt accepimus, ob defectum boni & sani regiminis & gubernationis, diuersa damna, dissensiones, grauamina, & angustia inter mercatores Regni nostri Anglia in partibus Prucia, Dacia, Noruegia, Hansa, & Suethia commorantes sapius ante hac tempora mota fuissent & perpetrata, ac maiora, exinde, quod absit, futuris temporibus verisimiliter euenire formidantur, nisi pro meliori gubernatione inter eosdem mercatores mutuo habenda manus nostras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damnis & periculis in hac parte imminentibus precauere, & eosdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno nostro ad partes predictas venturos iuste & fideliter regi & pertractari intime desiderantes, volumus & tenore presentium concedimus eisdem mercatoribus, quod ipsi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honesto, vbi sibi placuerit, se congregare & vnire, & certas personas sufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores suos in eisdem partibus inter se ad eorum libitum eligere & obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes vltorius & concedentes huiusmodi gubernatoribus per predictos Mercatores sic eligendis, quantum in nobis est, potestatem & auctoritatem speciales, omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes predictas de catero venientes & declinantes per se vel sufficientes loca sua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuilibet in suis causis & querelis quibuscunque inter eos in partibus predictis motis vel mouendis plenam & celerem iusticiam faciendi & quascunque quastiones contentiones, discordias, & debatas inter ipsos mercatores Anglicos partium predictarum motas sue mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi, sedandi, & pacificandi, & quascunque transgressiones, damna, mesprisiones, excessus, violencias, & iniurias mercatoribus partium predictarum per predictos mercatores Anglicos factas seu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, restaurandi, & emendandi, consimilesque restitutiones, reparationes, restaurationes & emandationes de ipsis mercatoribus partium predictarum seu deputatis suis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi assensu mercatorum Anglicorum predictorum statuta, ordinationes, & consuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione status eorundem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte videbitur expedire, faciendi & stabiliendi & omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos prafatis gubernatoribus sic eligendis vel eorum loca tenentibus seu eorum alicui, aut alicui statutorum, ordinationum & consuetudinum predictarum contrarios, rebelles, vel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti sui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes insuper omnia iusta & rationabilia statuta, ordinationes & consuetudines per dictos gubernatores sic eligendos in forma predicta faciendi & stabilienda, nec non omnes iustas &

rationabiles ordinationes per [Marginal note: Nota.] nuper gubernatores  
pradictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi assensu eorundem mercatorum  
pro huiusmodi gubernatione sua in partibus pradictis iuxta priuilegia &  
authoritates sibi per magistrum. Prucia seu alios dominos partium  
pradictarum concessa, factas & stabilitas, sen per pradictos gubernatores  
nunc vt pramittitur eligendos iuxta priuilegia pradicta, seu alia  
priuilegia eisdem mercatoribus Anglicis per pradictos magistrum & dominos  
in posterum concedenda, facienda & stabilienda, rata, firma & accepta  
haberi, & pro ratis firmis, & acceptis ibidem fimiter & inuiolabiter  
obseruari. Damus autem vniuersis & singulis mercatoribus Anghcis pradictis  
tenere præsentiū firmiter in mandatis, quod eisdem gubernationibus sic  
eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in pramissis omnibus & singulis ac alijs  
gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus  
intendentes sint, consulentes obedientes & auxiliantes prout decet. Data in  
palatio nostro Westmonasterij sub magni sigilli nostri testimonio sexto die  
Iunij Anno regni nostri quinto.

A Charter of King Henry the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne  
to the English Marchants resident in the partes of Prussia, Denmarke,  
Norway, Sweden, and Germanie for the chusing of gouernours among  
themselues.

Henry by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of  
Ireland to all to whom these present letters may come, sendeth greeting.  
Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good  
and discreete rule and gouernement, sundry damages, strifes, oppressions,  
and wrongs oftentimes heretofore haue bene moued and committed among the  
Marchants of our kingdome of England remaining in the parties of Prussia,  
Denmarke, Norway, the Hans steeds and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which  
God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, vnlesse we put to our  
helping hands for the procuring of better gouernement to be maintained  
among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to preuent the perrils and  
dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde  
Marchants and others which shall trauaile out of our said Realme into the  
partes aforesaid may iustly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will  
and graunt by the tenour of these presents to the said Marchants, that they  
may freely and without danger assemble and meete together as often and  
whensoeuer they please in some conuenient and honest place where they shall  
thinke good, and that they may choose among themselues certaine sufficient  
and fit persons for their gouernours in those parts at their good liking.  
And furthermore we giue and graunt to the said Gouernours which are in such  
sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth,  
speciall power and authoritie to rule and gouerne all and singular the  
English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayre to the parts  
aforesaid by themselues or their sufficient Deputies, and to minister vnto  
them and euery of them in their causes and quarels whatsoever, which are  
sprung vp, or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid  
full and speedie iustice, and to reforme all maner of questions,  
contentious discords, and debates moued or to be moued betweene the English  
Marchants remaying in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse,  
appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, restore, repayre  
and satisfie all transgressions, damages, misprisions, outrages, violences,  
and iniuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against  
the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demaund and receiue the like  
restitutions, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of  
those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the  
aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and  
customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better  
gouernement of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with

reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the aforesaid gouernours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them: or any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreouer we doe ratifie, confirme, and approue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approued, wee command firmly and inuiolably there to be obserued all iust, and reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and established by the said gouernors, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and also all iust and reasonable ordinances made & established by the late gouernours of the aforesaid English Marchants with the common consent of the sayd Marchants for this their gouernement in the parts aforesayd, according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the partes aforesayd, or which shall be made and established by the aforesayd gouernours now as is mentioned to be chosen according to the aforesaid priuileges heretofore graunted, or other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by the aforesayde Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of these presents we straitely commaund all and singular the aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, aduise, obey and assist, as it becommeth them, the sayde gouernours so to bee chosen, and their deputies in all and singular the premisses and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and gouernement. Giuen in our Palace at Westminster vnder the testimonie of our great Seale the sixt day of lune in the fift yeere of our reigne.

\* \* \* \* \*

A note touching the mighty Ships of King Henry the fift, mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the sea, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

Eodem anno quo victoria potitus est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui Anno tertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Nauibus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Anglia misit fratrem suum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordia & Andegauia, qui pugnauit cum eis & vicit, & Naues cepit, & quasdam submersit: cateri fugerunt cum Hispanis nauibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratia 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierunt potentiores, & iterum deuicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, & propter eorum naues fecit Rex fieri naues quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metricè scribitur.

[Sidenote: Naues maxima Henrici quinti.]

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo  
Gallos, Hispanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,  
Vastat; turbantur cetera regna metu.  
Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

\* \* \* \* \*

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the sixt, for the trade to Norway, Sweueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.

Item because that the kings most deare Vncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway and Sueueland, as the same our soueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderstood, considering the manifold & great losses, perils, hurts and damage which haue late happened as well to him and his, as to other foraines and strangers, and also friends and speciall subiects of our said soueraigne Lord the king of his realme of England, by the going in, entring

& passage of such forain & strange persons into his realme of Norway & other dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictions & places subdued and subiect to him, specially into his Isles of Fynmarke, and elsewhere, aswell in their persons as their things and goods: for eschuing of such losses, perils, hurts & damages, and that such like (which God forbid) should not hereafter happen: our said soueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and statuted, that all and singular strangers, as well Englishmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his realme of Norway and other dominions, straights, territories, iurisdictions, Isles & places aforesaid with their ships to the intent to get or haue fish or any other Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordained and stablished his staple for the concourses of strangers and specially of Englishmen, to the exercise of such Marchandises granting to the said Englishmen that they shall there inioy in and by all things the same fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Hans did enioy. Therefore our said soueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, affinitie and amities to be firmly obserued, which betwixt his said Vncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streites, territories, iurisdictions and their said places, and the same our soueraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitours of famous memory, his great men, subiects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued nor nothing by our said soueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done whereby such amities by reason of any dissensions, enemities or discords might be broken: by the aduise of the Lords spintuall & temporall & of the comons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present Parliament, hath ordeined, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor subiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, straits, terntones, iurisdictions & places of the said king of Denmarke against the ordinance, prohibition & interdiction of the same his Vncle aboue remembred, & in contempt of the same, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods & imprisonment of their persons at the kings will.

\* \* \* \* \*

Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reigne of Henry the sixt concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.

Item because that our soueraigne Lord the king at the grieuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impouerished, vndone, & in point to be destroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our soueraigne Lord, because that they do daily take of his said faithfull subiects their goods, so that they haue taken of marchants of York and Kinston vpon Hul goods & marchandises to the valour of v. M. li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of the realme of England goods & cattals to the valour of xx. M. li. wherof they haue no remedie of the said king of Denmarke, nor of none other, forasmuch as none of them commeth within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the same realme of England, & that the goods be taken out of the same Realme: The king willing to prouide remedy for his said liege people, hath ordeined & established, that if the goods of any of the said his lieges be or shalbe taken by the said king of Denmarke or any of his said lieges, the keeper of the priuie seale for the time being, shall haue power to make to the partie griued letters of request vnder the priuie seale, without any other pursuite to be made to any for restitution to be had of the goods so taken & to be taken. And if



restitution be not made by such letters, the king our soueraigne lord by the aduise of his counsel shal prouide to the partie grieued his couenable remedy, according as the case requireth.

\* \* \* \* \*

Here beginneth the Prologue of the processe of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and saluation to England, and to all English-men.

[Sidenote: Incipit liber de custodia Maris prasertim arcti inter Doueram & Galisiam.]

The true processe of English policie  
Of vtterward to keepe this regne in rest  
Of our England, that no man may deny,  
Ner say of sooth but it is one of the best,  
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,  
Cherish Marchandise, keepe the admiraltie,  
That wee bee Masters of the narrowe see

For Sigismond the great Emperour,  
Wich yet reigneth, when he was in this land [1]  
With king Henry the fift, Prince of honour  
Here much glory, as him thought, he found,  
A mightie land which had take in hand  
To werre in France and make mortalitie,  
And euer well kept round about the see.

[Footnote 1: It is clear, from these lines, that this poem must have been written between 1416, when Sigismond was in England, and 1438, when he died.]

[Sidenote: Videns imperator Sigismundus duas villas inter ceteras Anglie scilicet Calisiam & Doueream ponens suos duos digitos super duos suos oculos ait regi: Frater custodite istas duas villas sicut duos vestros oculos.]

And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,  
(When hee perceiued two Townes Caleis and Douer)  
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,  
To keepe the sea and soone to come ouer  
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:  
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Maiestee  
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,  
Who can heere passe without danger and woe  
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre  
What Marchandie may forby bee agoe:  
For needs hem must take trewes euery foe:  
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,  
Or ellis hindred all for this Narrow see.

Therefore I cast mee by a little writing  
To shew at eye this conclusion,  
For conscience and for mine acquiting  
Against God and ageyne abuson,

And cowardise, and to our enemies confusion.  
For foure things our Noble [2] sheweth to me,  
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see

[Foonote 2: The Noble was coined by Edward the third Anno regni 18. Quatuor considerantur in moneta aurea Anglica, qua dicitur Nobile: scilicet Rex, Nautis gladius, & Mare: Qua designant potestatem Anglicorum super Mare. In quorum opprobrium his diebus Britones minores & Flandrenses & alij dicunt Anglicis: Tollite de vestro Nobile nauem & imponite ouem. Intendentes, quod sicut quondam a tempore Edwardi tertij Anglici erant domini Maris, modo his diebus sunt vecordes, victi, & ad bellandum & Mare obseruandum velut oues.]

Where ben our ships, where ben our swerds become:  
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe.  
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.  
Who dare well say that lordship should take keepe:  
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,  
To doe this werke, if wee will euer thee,  
For very shame to keepe about the see.

Shall any Prince, what so be his name,  
Which hath Nobles much leche ours,  
Bee Lord of see: and Flemings to our blame,  
Stop vs, take vs, and so make fade the flowers  
Of English state, and disteyne our honours:  
For cowardise alas it should so bee  
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the see.

Of the commodities of Spaine and of Flanders.

The first Chapter

Knowe well all men that profits in certaine  
Commodities called comming out of Spaine  
And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is,  
Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Datis,  
And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine,  
White Pastill Sope, and Waxe is not vayne.  
Yron, Wooll, Wadmolle, Gotefell, Kidfell also:  
For Poynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn  
Saffron, Quikesiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,  
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,  
Vnto Bruges as to her staple fayre:  
The Hauen of Scluse hir Hauen for her repayre  
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:  
Where many vessels and fayre are abiding.  
But these marchandes with their shippes great,  
And such chaffare as they bye and get  
By the weyes must nede take on hand  
By the coasts to passe of our England,  
Betwixt Douer and Caleis, this is no doubt.  
Who can well els such matter bring about?

[Sidenote: Flemish cloth made of English Wooll.]

And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee  
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,  
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,

That to Flanders bougeth full richly.  
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,  
Cloth of Curtrike, [3] fine cloth of all colours,  
Much Fustian, and also Linen cloth.  
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,  
The great substance of your cloth at the full  
Yee wot ye make it of our English woll.

[Footnote 3: Courtrai.]

[Sidenote: The necessarie coniunction of Spaine and Flanders.]

Then may it not sinke in mannis brayne,  
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine  
Both out and in by our costes passe:  
Hee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.  
Wee should haue peace with the grounds tweyne  
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well sayne.  
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,  
And neither may well liue without other:  
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,  
Without our English commodities:  
Wolle and Tynne: for the woolle of England  
Susteineth the Commons Flemings I vnderstand.  
Then if England would her wolle restraine  
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,  
Flanders of nede must with vs haue peace,  
Or els shee is destroyed without lees.  
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:  
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:  
For destroyed it is, and as in cheeffe  
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,  
But if it be costed and menged well  
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle.  
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders draped is,  
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:  
And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy  
That longeth to Spaine: who so will espie,  
It is of little value, trust vnto mee,  
With English wooll but if it menged bee.  
Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,  
If these two lands comen not together:  
So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought  
That in the narrowe see it be not brought  
Into the Rochelle to fetch the famose wine,  
Ner into Bytonuse Bay for salt so fine,  
What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?  
As who sayd, nought, the thrift is agoe  
For the little land of Flanders is  
But a staple to other lands ywis:  
And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seede  
May not a Moneth finde hem meate and brede.  
What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe or loth,  
But a little Mader and Flemish Cloth:  
By Drapering of our wooll in substance  
Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,  
Without which they may not liue at ease.  
Thus must hem sterue, or with vs must haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The second Chapter,

The Marchandy also of Portugal  
By diuers lands turne into sale.  
Portugalers with vs haue troth in hand:  
Whose Marchandy commeth much into England.  
They ben our friends, with their commodities,  
And wee English passen into their countrees.  
Her land hath wine, Osey, Waxe, and Graine,  
Figges, Reysins, Hony and Cordoweyne:  
Dates, and Salt, Hides, and such Marchandy:  
And if they would to Flanders passe for by,  
They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,  
For supporting of our cruell enemies,  
That is to say Flemings with her gyle:  
For changeable they are in little while. [Note well.]  
Then I conclude by reasons many moe,  
If we suffred neither friend nor foe,  
What so enemies, and so supporting  
Passe for by vs in time of werring,  
Seth our friends will not ben in cause  
Of our hindring, if reson lede this clause:  
Then nede from Flanders peace bee to vs sought,  
And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:  
For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,  
To all nations of Christianitie.

The commodities of pety Britaine,[Footnote: Brittany] with her Rouers on the sea.

The third Chapter

[Sidenote: The Britons great Rouers and Theeues.]

Furthermore to write I am faine  
Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.  
Commoditie thereof there, is and was,  
Salt, and wine, crest cloth and canuas.  
And the land of Flaunders sickerly  
Is the staple of their Marchandy.  
Wich Marchandie may not passe away  
But by the coast of England, this is no nay.  
And of this Britaine, who so trueth lous,  
Are the greatest rouers and the greatest theeuis,  
That haue bene in the sea many one yeere:  
That our Merchants haue bought full dere.  
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,  
On this side see, these false pelours  
Called, of Saincte Malo, and ellis where:  
Which to their Duke none obeysance will bere:  
With such colours wee haue bee hindred sore.  
And fayned peace is called no werre herefore.  
Thus they haue bene in diuers coasts many  
Of our England, more then rehearse can I:  
In Norfolke coastes, and other places about,

And robbed and brent and slame by many a rowte:  
And they haue also ransomed Towne by Towne:  
That into the regnes of bost haue run her sowne:  
Wich hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and shame:  
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame.  
For Britayne is of easie reputation;  
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne.

[Sidenote: Historia ostendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra de predicatores marinos Brittaina minoris ad debellandum eos & subiugandum Britannos minores.]

Here bring I in a stone to mee lent,  
That a good Squire in time of Parliament  
Tooke vnto mee well written in a scrowe:  
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,  
Of which all men accorden into one,  
That it was done not many yeeres agone  
But when noble King Edward the third  
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.  
For hee had a maner gelosie  
To his Marchants and loued them hartily.  
He feld the weyes to rule well the see,  
Whereby Marchants might haue prosperitee.  
That for Harflew [4] Houndflew [5] did he maken;  
And great werre that time were vndertaken,  
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britayne:  
At last to fall to peace both were they fayne:  
Vpon the wich made with conuencion  
Our Marchants made hem readie bowne  
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,  
Wening hem friends they went forth boldly:  
But soone anon our Marchants were ytake,  
And wee spedde neuer the better for truce sake.  
They lost her good, her nauy and spending:  
But their complaint came vnto the king.  
Then wext he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,  
And complained that such harme was hent;  
By conuention and peace made so refused:  
Wich Duke sent againe, and him excused,  
Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,  
And Sainct Malo would neuer a dell  
Be subiect vnto his gouernance,  
Nor be vnder his obeysance:  
And so they did withouten him that deede.  
But when the king anon had taken heede:  
Hee in his herte set a iudgement,  
Without calling of any Parliament,  
Or greate tarry to take long aduise  
To fortifie anon he did deuise  
Of English Townes three, that is to say,  
Dertmouth, Plymouth, the third it is Fowey:  
And gaue hem helpe and notable puisance  
With insistence set them in gouernance  
Vpon pety Bretayne for to werre.  
Those good sea men would no more differre,

But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,  
Tooke prisoners, and made them for to lowte.  
And eft the Duke, an ensample wise,  
Wrote to the king as he first did deuise,  
Him excusing: But our men wood  
With great power passed ouer the floode  
And werred foorth into the Dukes londe,  
And had ny destroyed free and bond.  
But than the Duke knewe that the townes three  
Should haue lost all his natiue Countrie,  
He vndertooke by suretie true not false,  
For mount Michael and Saincte Malo als.  
And other parties of the litle Brytaine,  
Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne  
The Duke hymselfe for all did vndertake:  
With all his herte a full peace did hee make:  
So that in all the life time of the king,  
Marchants had peace withouten werring:

[Footnote 4: Harfleur]

[Footnote 5: Honfleur]

[Sidenote: Statutum Regis Edwardi tertij pro Lombardis.]

He made a statute for Lombards in this land,  
That they should in noe wise take on hande  
Here to inhabite, here to chardge and dischardge  
But fortie dayes, no more time had they large.  
This good king by witte of such appreiffe  
Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Of the commodities of Scotland and draping of her wolles in Flanders. The  
fourth Chapter

[Sidenote: Anno Domini 1436. Hen 6. 14.]

Moreouer of Scotland the commodities  
Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the Fleese.  
And all these must passe by vs away  
Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.  
And all her woolle was draped for to sell  
In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell:  
Which my Lord of Glocester with ire  
For her falshed set vpon a fire.  
And yet they of Bell and Poperinge  
Could neuer drape her wool for any thing,  
But if they had English woll withall.  
Our goodly wooll which is so generall  
Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,  
And other costes, this sentence is nnot false:  
Yee worthy Marchants I doe it vpon yow,  
I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe:  
Ye wotte the Staple of that Marchandie,  
Of this Scotland is Flaunders sekerly.  
And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,  
Out of Flanders with little Mercerie,  
And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,  
And halfe her shippes with cart wheelles bare,

And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:  
Thus most rude ware are in her cheuesance.  
So they may not forbear this Flemish land.  
Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,  
To keepe this Sea from Flanders and from Spaine,  
And from Scotland, like as from pety Britaine,  
Wee should right soone haue peace for all her bosts,  
For they must needes passe by our English costs.

Of the commodities of Pruce, and High Dutch men, and Easterlings. The fifth Chapitle.

Nowe goe forth to the commodities,  
That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.  
For two maner people haue such vse,  
That is to say, High Duch men of Pruse,  
And Esterlings, which might not be forborne,  
Out of Flanders, but it were verely lorne.  
For they bring in the substance of the Beere,  
That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.  
Yee haue heard that two Flemings togider  
Will vndertake or they goe any whither,  
Or they rise once to drinke a Ferkin full,  
Of good Beerekin: so sore they hall and pull.  
Vnder the board they pissen as they sit:  
This commeth of couenant of a worthie wit.  
Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked  
When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked  
To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:  
Well was that Fleming that might trusse, and goe.  
For feare they turned backe and hyed fast,  
My Lord of Glocester made hem so agast  
With his comming, and sought hem in her land,  
And Brent and slowe as he had take on hand:  
So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stere,  
They fled to mewe, they durst no more appeare,  
Rebuked sore for euer so shamefully,  
Vnto her vtter euerlasting villany.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruse ybrought  
Into Flanders, as loued and farre ysought:  
Osmond, Copper, Bow-staues, Steele, and Wexe,  
Peltreware and grey Pitch, Terre, Board, and flexe,  
And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canuas,  
Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.  
But the Flemings among these things dere,  
In common louen best Bakon and Beere.  
Also Pruse men maken her aduenture  
Of Plate of siluer of wedges good and sure  
In great plentie which they bring and bye,  
Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:  
Which is increase full great vnto their land,  
And they bene laden, I vnderstand,  
With wollen cloth all maner of colours  
By dyers crafted full diuers, that ben ours.  
And they aduenture full greatly vnto the Bay,  
for salt that is needefull withouten nay.  
Thus if they would not our friends bee,

We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:  
They should not passe our streemes withouten leue,  
It would not be, but if we should hem greue.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her great Caracks. Chap. 6.

The Genuois comen in sundry wies  
Into this land with diuers marchandises  
In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke  
With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke  
They bring with them, and of crood [6] great plentee,  
Woll Oyle, Woad ashen, by vessel in the see,  
Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.  
And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,  
And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.  
And they aduenture, as ofte it doth befall,  
Into Flanders with such things as they bye,  
That is their chefe staple sekerly:  
And if they would be our full enemies,  
They should not passe our stremes with merchandise.

[Footnote 6: Woad.]

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians and Florentines, with their  
Gallees. Chap. 7.

The great Galees of Venice and Florence  
Be well laden with things of complacence,  
All spicery and of grossers ware:  
With sweete wines all maner of chaffare,  
Apes, and lapes, and marmusets tayed,  
Nifles and trifles that little haue auayled:  
And things with which they fetely blere our eye:  
With things not induring that we bye.  
For much of this chaffare that is wastable  
Might be forborne for dere and deceiuable.  
And that I wene as for infirmities  
In our England are such commodities  
Withouten helpe of any other lond  
Which by witte and practise both yfound:  
That all humors might be voyded sure,  
With that we gleder with our English cure:  
That we should haue no neede of Scamonie,  
Turbit, enforbe, correct Diagreddie,  
Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,  
But I know things al so speedefull,  
That growen here, as those things sayd.  
Let of this matter no man be dismayde;  
But that a man may voyde infirmitie  
Without degrees fet fro beyond the sea.  
And yet they should except be any thing  
It were but sugre, trust to my saying:  
He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,  
Let him better search experience.  
In this matter I will not ferther prease,  
Who so not beleeueth, let him leaue and cease.  
Thus these galeys for this licking ware,  
And eating ware, bare hence out best chaffare.



Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I sayd before,  
Out of this lond worst might be forbore,  
For ech other land of necessitie  
Haue great neede to buy some of them three:  
And we receiue of hem into this coste  
Ware and chaffare that lightly wilbe loste.  
And would Iesus, that our Lord is wold  
Consider this well both yong and old:  
Namely old that haue experience,  
That might the yong exhorte to prudence;  
What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance  
Is done to vs, vnto our great griuance,  
Of such lands, and of such nations:  
As experte men know by probations,  
By writings as discouered our counsailes,  
And false colour alwaies the countertailes  
Of our enimies: that doth vs hindering  
Vnto our goods, our Relme, and to the king:  
As wise men haue shewed well at eye;  
And all this is couloured by marchandye.

#### An example of deceite

Also they bere the gold out of this land,  
And sucke the thrift away out of our hand:  
As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,  
So minisheth our commoditee.  
Nor wol ye here how they in Cotteswold  
Were wont to borrow or they shold be sold  
Her woll good as for yere and yere.  
Of cloth and tinne they did in like manere:  
And in her galies ship this marchandie:  
Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye.  
Then vtterne there the chaffare by the peise,  
And lightly als there they make her reise.  
And when the goods beene at Venice sold,  
Then to carie her change they this money haue,  
They will it profer, their subiltie to saue,  
To English marchants to yeue it out by eschange  
To be payed againe they make not strange,  
At the receiuing and sight of a letter,  
Here in England, seeming for the better,  
by foure pence lesse in the noble round:  
That is twelue pence in the golden pound.  
And if wee wol haue of payment  
A full moneth, than must him needes assent  
To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine  
In the English pound: as eft soone again,  
For two moneths twelue pence must he pay.  
In the English pound what is that to say,  
But shillings three? So that in pound fell  
For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.  
And when English marchants haue content  
This eschange in England of assent,  
That these sayd Venecians haue in woone  
And Florentines to bere her gold soone  
Ouer the see into Flanders againe:  
And thus they liue in Flanders sooth to saine,  
And in London with such cheuisance,

That men call vsury, to our losse and hinderance.

Another example of deceite.

Now lesten well how they made vs a valeys  
When they borrowed at the town of Caleis  
As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,  
For yere and yere they should make payment.  
And sometimes als two yere and two yeare.  
This was fayre [7] loue: but yet will ye heare  
How they to Bruges would her woll carie,  
And for hem take payment withouten tarie,  
And sell it fast for ready money in hand.  
For fifty pounds of money of losse they wold not wond  
In a thousand pound, and liue thereby  
Till the day of payment easily,  
Come againe in exchange: making  
Full like vsury, as men make vndertaking.  
Than whan this payment of a thousand pound  
Was well content, they should haue chaffare sound  
If they wold fro the Staple full,  
Receiue againe three thousand pound in woll.  
In Cotteswold also they ride about,  
And all England, and buy withouten doubt  
What them list with freedome and franchise,  
More then we English may gitten many wise  
But would God that without lenger delayes  
These galees were vnfraught in fortie dayes,  
And in fortie dayes charged againe,  
And that they might be put to certaine  
To goe to oste, as we there with hem doe.  
It were expedient that they did right soe,  
As we doe there. If the king would it:  
Ah what worship wold fall to English wit?  
What profite also to our marchandie  
Which wold of nede be cherished hertilie?  
For I would witte, why now our nauie fayleth, [Note diligently]  
When manie a foe vs at our doore assayleth.

[Sidenote: A woful complaint of lacke of nauie if need come. A storie of destruction of Denmarke for destruction of their marchants.]

Now in these dayes, that if there come a nede,  
What nauie should we haue it is to drede.  
In Denmarke were full noble conquerours  
In time past, full worthy warriours:  
Which when they had their marchants destroyed,  
To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:  
And so they stand at mischief at this day.  
This learned I late well writon, this no nay.  
Therefore beware, I can no better will,  
If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.  
For if marchants were cherished to her speede,  
We were not likely to fayle in any neede.  
If they be rich, then in prosperitee  
Shalbe our londe, lords, and commontee,  
And in worship. Now thinke I on the sonne  
Of Marchandy Richard of Whitingdon;

[Sidenote: The prayse of Richard of Whittingdon marchant.]

That load sterre, and chiefe chosen floure:  
What hath by him our England of honour,  
And what profite hath bin of his riches,  
And yet lasteth dayly in worthines?  
That pen and paper may not me suffice  
Him to describe: so high he was of price  
Aboue marchants, that set him one of the best:  
I can no more, but God haue him in rest.

[Footnote 7: Or, lone.]

Now the principal matter.

What reason is it that we should goe to oste  
In their countries, & in this English coste  
They should not so? bat haue more liberty  
Then we our selues now also motte I thee.  
I would to gifts men should take no heede  
That letteth our thing publicke for to speede  
For this we see well euery day at eye,  
Gifts and fests stopen our policie.  
Now see that fooles ben either they or wee  
But euer we haue the worse in this countree.  
Therefore let hem vnto oste go here,  
Or be we free with hem in like manere  
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,  
Compell them vnto oste, and yee shall see  
Moch auantage, and moch profite arise,  
Moch more then I can write in any wise.

Of our charge and discharge at her marts.

Conceiue wel here, that Englishmen at martes  
Be discharged, for all her craftes and artes,  
In Brabant of her marchandy  
In fourteene dayes, and ageine hastily  
In the same dayes fourteene acharged eft.  
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,  
Anon they should forfeit her goods all,  
Or marchandy: it should no better fall.  
And we to martis in Brabant charged beene  
With English cloth full good and fayre to seene:  
We ben againe charged with mercerie,  
Haburdasher ware, and with grosserie:  
To which marts, that English men call fayres,  
Ech nation oft maketh her repayres:  
English, and French, Lombards, lennoyes,  
Catalones, thedre they take her wayes:  
Scots, Spaniards, Irishmen there abides,  
With great plenty bringing of sale hides.  
And I here say that we in Brabant bye,  
Flanders and Zeland more of marchandy  
In common vse then done all other nations:  
This haue I heard of marchants relations:  
And if the English ben not in the marts  
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.  
For they byemore, and fro purse put out

More marchandie then all the other rowte.  
Kept then the see, shippes should not bring ne fetch,  
And then the carreys wold not thidre stretch:  
And so those marts wold full euill thee,  
If we manly kept about the see.

Of the commodities of Brabant and Zeland and Henauld and marchandy carried  
by land to the marts. Cap. 8.

Yet marchandy of Brabant and Zeland  
The Madre and Woad, that dyers take on hand  
To dyen with, Garlike and Onions,  
And saltfishe als for husband and commons.  
But they of Holland at Caleis byen our felles,  
And wolles our, that Englishmen hem selles.  
And the chaffare that Englishmen doe byen  
In the marts, that noe man may denien,  
Is not made in Brabant that cuntree:  
It commeth from out of Henauld, not by see,  
But al by land, by carts, and from France,  
Bourgoyne, Colem, Cameret in substance,  
Therefore at marts if there be a restraint,  
Men seyne plainely that list no fables paynt,  
If Englishmen be withdrawen away,  
Is great rebuke and losse to her affray:  
As though we sent into the land of France  
Ten thousand people, men of good puissance,  
To werre vnto her hindring multifarie.  
So ben our English marchants necessarie.  
If it be thus assay, and we shall witten  
Of men experte, by whom I haue this written.

[Sidenote: What our marchants bye in that cost more then all other.]

For sayd is that this carted marchandy  
Draweth in value as much verily,  
As all the goods that come in shippes thider,  
Which Englishmen bye most and bring it hither.  
For her marts ben febel, shame to say,  
But Englishmen thither dresse her way.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping of the sea.

Than I conclude, if neuer so much by land  
Were by carres brought vnto their hand,  
If well the sea were kept in gouernance  
They should by sea haue no deliuerance.  
Wee should hem stop, and we should hem destroy,  
As prisoners we should hem bring to annoy.  
And so we should of our cruell enimies  
Make our friends for feare of marchandies,  
If they were not suffered for to passe  
Into Flanders. But we be frayle as glasse  
And also brittle, not thought neuer abiding,  
But when grace shineth soone are we sliding,  
We will it not receiue in any wise:  
That maken lust, enuie, and couetise:  
Expone me this; and yee shall sooth it find,  
Bere it away, and keepe it in your mind.

Then shuld worship vnto our Noble bee  
 In feate and forme to lord and Maiestie:  
 Liche as the seale the greatest of this land  
 On the one side hath, as I vnderstand,  
 A prince riding with his swerd ydraw,  
 In the other side sitting, soth it is in saw,  
 Betokening good rule and punishing  
 In very deede of England by the king.  
 And it is so God blessed mought he bee.  
 So in likewise I would were on the see  
 By the Noble, that swerde should haue power,  
 And the ships on the sea about vs here.  
 What needeth a garland which is made of luie  
 Shewe a tauerne winelesse, also thriue I?  
 If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming  
 Shuld bere no state in sea by werring.  
 Then Hankin Lyons shuld not be so bold  
 To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold  
 Vnto our shame. He had be beten thence  
 Alas, alas, why did we this offence,  
 Fully to shend the old English fames;  
 And the profits of England and their names:  
 Why is this power called of couetise;  
 With false colours cast befor our eyes?  
 That if good men called werriours  
 Would take in hand for the commons succours,  
 To purge the sea vnto our great auayle,  
 And winne hem goods, and haue vp the sayle,  
 And on our enimies their liues to impart,  
 So that they might their prises well departe,  
 As reson wold, iustice and equitie;  
 To make land haue lordship of the sea.

[Sidenote: Lombards are cause enough to hurt this land although there were none other cause. False colouring of goods by Lombards. Alas for bribes & gift of good feasts & other means that stoppen our policie. This is the very state of our time.]

Then shall Lombards and other fained friends  
 Make her chalenges by colour false offends,  
 And say their chaffare in the shippes is,  
 And challenge al. Looke if this be amisse.  
 For thus may al that men haue bought to sore,  
 Ben soone excused, and saued by false colour.  
 Beware yee men that bere the great in hand  
 That they destroy the policie of this land,  
 By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,  
 And silke, and other: say yee not this soth is?  
 But if we had very experience  
 That they take meede with prime violence,  
 Carpets, and things of price and pleasance,  
 Whereby stopped should be good gouernance:  
 And if it were as yee say to mee,  
 Than wold I say, alas cupiditie,  
 That they that haue her liues put in drede,  
 Shalbe soone out of winning, all for meed,  
 And lose her costes, and brought to pouerty,  
 That they shall neuer haue lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance against colour of maintainers and excusers of folkes goods

[Sidenote: It is a marueilous thing that so great a sicknes and hurt of the land may haue no remedie of so many as take heselues wise men of gouernance.]

For this colour that must be sayd alofte  
And be declared of the great full ofte,  
That our seamen wol by many wise  
Spoile our friends in steede of our enimies:  
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,  
The king it needes to make an ordinance  
With his Counsayle that may not fayle, I trowe,  
That friends should from enimies be knowe,  
Our enimies taken and our friends spared:  
The remedy of hem must be declared.  
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,  
For if ought be spoken, wot yee well,  
We haue the strokes, and enemies haue the winning:  
But mayntainers are parteners of the finning.  
We liue in lust and bide in couetise;  
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,  
And policie that wee haue on the sea,  
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of the commodities of Ireland and policie and keeping thereof and conquering of wild Irish: with an incident of Wales. Chap. 9.

I cast to speake of Ireland but a litle:  
Commodities of it I will entitle,  
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,  
Irish wooll, and linen cloth, faldinge,  
And marterns goode ben her marchandie,  
Hertes Hides, and other of Venerie.[8]  
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,  
Of sheepe, lambe, and Fox, is her chaffare,  
Felles of Kiddes, and Conies great plentie.  
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the sea,  
Because the King cleped is Rex Anglia,  
And is Dominus also Hybernia,  
Old possessed by Progenitours:  
The Irish men haue cause like to ours  
Our land and hers together to defend,  
That no enimie should hurt ne offend,  
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie  
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:  
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,  
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good assayes,  
At Waterford, and costes many one.  
And as men sayne in England be there none  
Better hauens, ships in to ride,  
No more sure for enemies to abide,  
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland?  
For all so much as I can vnderstand,  
It is fertile for things that there doe growe  
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,  
So large, so good, and so commodious,  
That to declare is strange and maruailous.

[Footnote 8: Hunting.]

[Sidenote: Mynes of siluer and gold in Ireland.]

For of siluer and golde there is the oore,  
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore.  
For they are rude can thereon no skill:  
So that if we had their peace and good will  
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,  
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,  
As in London saith a luellere,  
Which brought from thence golde oore to vs here,  
Whereof was fyned mettall good and clene,  
As they touch, no better could be seene.  
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,  
As yee will answeere at last iudgement,  
That for slought and for racheshede  
Yee remember with all your might to hede  
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost.  
For it is a boterasse and a post,  
Vnder England, and Wales another:  
God forbid, but ech were others brother,  
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.  
But I haue pittie in good faith of this thing  
That I shall say with auisement:  
I am aferde that Ireland will be shent:  
It must away, it wol bee lost from vs,  
But if thou helpe, thou lesu gracious,  
And giue vs grace al slought to leue beside.  
For much thing in my herte is hide,  
Which in another treatise I caste to write  
Made al onely for that soile and site,  
Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,  
But if England were nigh as goode as gone.  
God forbid that a wild Irish wirlinge  
Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,  
After her conqweste for our last puissance,  
And hinder vs by other lands alliance.  
Wise men seyn, wich felin not, ne douten,  
That wild Irish so much of ground haue gotten  
There vpon vs, as likenesse may be  
Like as England to sheeris two or three  
Of this our land is made comparable:  
So wild Irish haue wonne on vs vnable  
Yet to defend, and of none power,  
That our ground is there a litle corner,  
To all Ireland in true comparison.  
It needeth no more this matter to expon.  
Which if it bee lost, as Christ lesu forbed,  
Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dred,  
For aliance of Scotland and of Spaine,

[Sidenote: This is now to be greatly feared.]

And other moe, as the pety Britaine,  
And so haue enemies enuiron round about.  
I beseech God, that some prayers deuout  
Mutt let the said apparance probable

Thus disposed without feyned fable.  
 But all onely for perill that I see  
 Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee,  
 And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,  
 And, as men say, in all Christendome,  
 Is no ground ne land to Ireland liche,  
 So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,  
 That to this worde Dominus doe long.  
 Then mee semeth that right were and no wrong,  
 To get the lande: and it were piteous  
 To vs to lese this high name Dommus.  
 And all this word Dominus of name  
 Shuld haue the ground obeysant wilde and tame.  
 That name and people togidre might accord  
 Al the ground subiect to the Lord.  
 And that it is possible to bee subiect,  
 Vnto the king wel shal it bee detect,  
 In the litle booke that I of spake.  
 I trowe reson al this wol vndertake,  
 And I knowe wel howe it stante,  
 Alas fortune beginneth so to scant,  
 Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance.  
 For so minisheth parties of our puissance,  
 In that land that wee lese euery yere,  
 More ground and more, as well as yee may here.  
 I herd a man speake to mee full late,  
 Which was a lord [9] of full great estate;  
 Than expense of one yere done in France  
 Werred on men well willed of puissance  
 This said ground of Ireland to conquere.  
 And yet because England might not forbere  
 These said expenses gadred in one yeere,  
 But in three yeeres or foure gadred vp here,  
 Might winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,  
 In one sole yeere to set vs all at reste.  
 And how soone wolde this be paied ageyne:  
 Which were it worth yerely, if wee not feyne:  
 I wol declare, who so luste to looke,  
 I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.  
 But couetise, and singularitie  
 Of owne profite, enuie, crueltie,  
 Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euery day,  
 And musters made that shame is to say:  
 Our money spent al to litle auaille,  
 And our enimies so greatly doone preuaile,  
 That what harme may fall and ouerthwerte  
 I may vnneth write more for sore of herte.

[Footnote 9: This Lorde was the Earle of Ormond that told to me this  
 matter, that he would vndertake it, in pain of losse of al his liuelihood.  
 But this proffer could not be admitted. Ergo male.]

#### An exhortation to the keeping of Wales

Beware of Wales, Christ Iesu mutt vs keepe,  
 That it make not our childers childe to weepe,  
 Ne vs also, so if it goe his way,  
 By vnwarenes: seth that many a day  
 Men haue bee ferde of her rebellion,



By great tokens and ostentation:  
Seche the meanes with a discrete aulse,  
And helpe that they rudely not arise  
For to rebell, that Christ it forbode.  
Looke wel aboute, for God wote yee haue neede,  
Vnfainingly, vnfeyning and vnfeynt,  
That conscience for slought you not atteynt:  
Kepe well that grounde for harme that may ben vsed,  
Or afore God mutte yee ben accused.

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island and keeping of the Sea namely the  
Narrow sea, with an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.

[Sidenote: The trade of Bristow to Island.]

[Sidenote: The old trade of Scarborough to Island and the North.]

Of Island to write is litle nede,  
Saue of Stock fish. Yet forsooth in deed  
Out of Bristowe, and costes many one,  
Men haue practised by nedle and by stone  
Thider wardes within a litle while,  
Within twelue yere, and without perill  
Gon and come, as men were wont of old  
Of Scarborough, vnto the costes cold.  
And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware,  
That moch losse for vnfreyght they bare:  
Island might not make hem to bee fraught  
Vnto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.  
Then here I ende of the commoditees  
For which neede is well to kepe the seas:  
Este and Weste, South and North they bee.  
And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,  
Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus  
that foes passe none without good will of vs:  
And they abide our danger in the length,  
What for our costis and Caleis in our strength.

An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.

And for the loue of God, and of his blisse  
Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.  
See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint  
That true men tellen, that woll no lies paint,  
And as yee know that writing commeth from thence:  
Doe not to England for slought so great offence,  
But that redressed it bee for any thing:  
Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing.  
For litle wenith the foole who so might chese  
What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:  
What wo it were for all this English ground.

[Sidenote: The ioy of Sigismund the Emperour that Caleis was English.]

Which wel concerned the Emperour Sigismound,  
That of all ioyes made it one of the moste,  
That Caleis was subiect vnto English coste.  
Him thought it was a iewel most of all,  
And so the same in Latine did it call.  
And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,

I cast to write within a litle scrowe,  
Like as I haue done before by and by  
In other parteis of our policie.  
Loke how hard it was at the first to get;  
And by my counsell lightly doe not it let.  
For if wee lese it with shame of face  
Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace.  
Howe was Harflew [10] cried vpon, and Rone,[11]  
That they were likely for shought to be gone:  
Howe was it warned and cried on in England,  
I make record with this pen in my hand.  
It was warened plainely in Normandie,  
And in England, and I thereon did crie.  
The world was defrauded, it betyde right so.  
Farewell Harflew: lewdly it was a go.  
Nowe ware Caleis, I can say no better:  
My soule discharge I by this present letter.

[Footnote 10: Harfleur, which was lost in 1449.]

[Footnote 11: Rouen]

After the Chapitles of commodities, of diuers lands, sheweth the conclusion  
of keeping of the sea enuiron, by a storie of King Edgar and two  
incidents of King Edward the third, and King Henrie the fifth. Chap. 11.

Now see we well then that this round see  
To our Noble by pariformitee  
Vnder the ship shewed there the sayle,  
And our king with royal apparayle,  
With swerd drawen bright and extent  
For to chastise enimies violent;  
Should be lord of the sea about,  
To keepe enimies from within and without;  
To behold through Christianitee  
Master and lord enuiron of the see:  
All liuing men such a prince to dreed,  
Of such a regne to bee aferd indeed.  
Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;  
Which by a [\*] Chronicle anon shalbe told,  
Right curious: but I will interprete  
It into English, as I did it gete:  
Of king Edgar: O most marueilous  
Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:  
So good that none of his predecessours  
Was to him liche in prudence and honours.  
Hee was fortanate and more gracious  
Then other before, and more glorious:  
He was beneth no man in holines:  
Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.

[Marginal note \*: Dicit Chronica, quod iste Edgarus cunctis pradecessoribus  
suis falciior, nulli sanctitate inferior, omnibus morum suauitate  
prastantior fuerit Luxit ipse Anglis non minus memorabilis quam Cyrus  
Persis, Carolus Francis, Romulus vero Romanis.]

Of English kings was none so commendable  
To English men no lesse memorable:  
Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,  
And as great Charles was to them of France,

And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,  
 So was to England this worthy Edgarus.  
 I may not write more of his worthines  
 For lacke of time, ne of his holines:  
 But to my matter I him exemplifie,  
 Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:  
 Within his land was one, this is no doubt,  
 And another in the see without,  
 That in time of Winter and of werre,  
 When boystrous windes put see men into fere;  
 Within his land about by all prouinces  
 Hee passed through, perceiuing his princes,  
 Lords, and others of the commontee,  
 Who was oppressour, and who to pouertee  
 Was drawn and brought, and who was clene in life,  
 And was by mischiefe and by strife  
 With ouer leding and extortion:  
 And good and badde of eche condition  
 Hee aspied: and his ministers als,  
 Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:  
 Howe the right and lawes of the land  
 Were execute, and who durst take in hand  
 To disobey his statutes and decrees,  
 If they were well kept in all countrees:  
 Of these he made subtile inuestigation  
 Of his owne espie, and other men's relation.  
 Among other was his great busines,  
 Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,  
 And men of might in citie nor in towne  
 Should to the poore doe non oppression.  
 Thus was he wont in this Winter tide,  
 On such enforchise busily to abide.  
 This was his labour for the publike thing,  
 Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King  
 Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire  
 Of lusty season, whan clered was the aire,  
 He had redie shippes made before  
 Great and huge, not fewe but many a store:  
 Full three thousand and sixe hundred also  
 Stately inough on our sea to goe.

[Sidenote: Dicit Chronica praparauerat naues robustissimas numero tria millia sexcenta: in quibus redeunte astate omnem insulam ad terrorem extraneorum & ad suorum excitationem cum maximo apparatu circumnauigare consueuerat.]

The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boysteous:  
 Such things long to kings victorious.  
 In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne  
 And in custome to be ful redie soone,  
 With multitude of men of good array  
 And instruments of werre of best assay.  
 Who could hem well in any wise descriue?  
 It were not light for eny man aliue.  
 Thus he and his would enter shippes great  
 Habiliments hauing and the fleete  
 Of See werres, that ioyfull was to see  
 Such a nauie and Lord of Maiestee,  
 There present in person hem among

To saile and rowe enuiron all along,  
 So regal liche about the English isle;  
 To all strangers terrours and perile.  
 Whose fame went about in all the world stout,  
 Vnto great fere of all that be without,  
 And exercise to Knights and his meynee  
 To him longing of his natall cuntree  
 For courage of nede must haue exercise,  
 Thus occupied for esshewin of vice  
 This knew the king that policie espied;  
 Winter and Somer he was thus occupied.  
 Thus conclude I by authoritee  
 Of Chronike, that enuiron the see  
 Should bene our subiects vnto the King,  
 And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:  
 For great worship and for profile also  
 To defend his land fro euery foo.  
 That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,  
 And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:

[Sidenote: Dicit Chronica &c. vt non minus quantum ei etiam in hac vita  
 bonorum operum mercedem donauerit: cum aliquando ad maximam eius  
 festiuitatem, reges, comites multarumque, prouinciarum protectores  
 conuenissent, &c.]

Saffe onely this I may not passe away,  
 A worde of mighty strength till that I say,  
 That graunted him God such worship here,  
 For his merites, hee was without pere,  
 That sometime at his great festiuitee  
 Kings, and Erles of many a countree,  
 And princes fele were there present,  
 And many Lords came thider by assent.  
 To his worship: but in a certaine day  
 Hee bad shippes to be redie of aray:  
 For to visit Saint lohns Church hee list  
 Rowing vnto the good holie Baptist,  
 Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights  
 Many ships right goodly to sights:  
 And for himselfe and eight kings moo  
 Subiect to him hee made kepe one of thoo,  
 A good shippe, and entrede into it  
 With eight kings, and downe did they sit;  
 And eche of them an ore tooke in hand,  
 At ore haies, as I vnderstand,  
 And he himselfe at the shippe behinde  
 As steris man it became of kinde.  
 Such another rowing I dare well say,  
 Was not seene of Princes many a day.  
 Lo than how hee in waters got the price,  
 In lande, in see, that I may not suffice  
 To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,  
 That king Edgar had vpon the see.

An incident of the Lord of the sea King Edward the third.

Of king Edward I passe and his prowes  
 On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:  
 The siege of Caleis, ye know well all the matter

Round about by land, and by the water,  
Howe it lasted not yeeres many agoe,  
After the battell of Crecye was ydoe:  
Howe it was closed enuiron about,  
Olde men sawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt.

[Sidenote: Caleis was yeilded to the English 1347.]

Old Knights say that the Duke of Borgoyne,  
Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;  
Of ship on see made no besieging there,  
For want of shippes that durst not come for feare.  
It was nothing besieged by the see:  
Thus call they it no siege for honestee.  
Gonnes assailed, but assault was there none,  
No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:  
This maner carping haue knights ferre in age,  
Expert through age of this maner language.

[Sidenote: King Edward had 700. English ships and 14151. English mariners before Caleis.]

But king Edward made a siege royall,  
And wanne the towne: and in especiall  
The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord.  
Thus made he Nobles coyned of record;  
In whose time was no nauie on the see  
That might withstand his maiestie.  
Battell of Scluse,[12] yee may rede euery day,  
Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:  
It was so late done that yee it knowe,  
In comparison within a litle throwe:  
For which to God giue we honour and glorie,  
For Lord of see the king was with victorie.

[Footnote 12: The battle of L'Ecluse.]

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the time of the marueilous  
werriour and victorious Prince, King Henrie the fifth, and of his great  
shippes.

[Sidenote: The great ships of Henry the fift, made at Hampton.]

And if I should conclude all by the King  
Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,  
Whan at Hampton he made the great dromons,  
Which passed other great ships of all the commons,  
The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost,  
And other moe, which as nowe bee lost.  
What hope ye was the kings great intent  
Of thoo shippes, and what in minde hee meant?  
It was not ellis, but that hee cast to bee  
Lorde round about enuiron of the see.  
And when Harflew had her siege about,  
There came caracks horrible great and stoute  
In the narrow see willing to abide,  
To stoppe vs there with multitude of pride.

[Sidenote: Great caracks of Genoa taken by the Duke of Bedford.]

My Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,  
Destroyed they were by that discomfiture.

[Sidenote: 1416.]

This was after the king Harflew had wonne,  
Whan our enemies to siege had begonne:  
That all was slaine or take, by true relation,  
To his worshippe, and of his English nation.

[Sidenote: The French nauie thus ouerthrowen was of fiue hundred saile.]

There was present the kings chamberlaine  
At both battailes; which knoweth this in certaine;  
He can it tell other wise then I:  
Aske him, and witte; I passe foorth hastily  
What had this king of his magnificence,  
Of great courage of wisdom, and prudence?  
Prouision, forewitte, audacitee,  
Of fortitude, iustice, and agiltee,  
Discretion, subtile auisednesse,  
Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthinesse:  
Science, prowesse, deuotion, equitie,  
Of most estate, with his magnanimitie  
Liche to Edgar, and the saide Edward,  
As much of both liche hem as in regard.  
Where was on liue a man more victorious,  
And in so short time prince so marueilous?  
By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,  
To speake of him I stony in my witte  
Thus here I leaue the king with his noblesse,  
Henry the fift, with whom all my processe  
Of this true booke of pure policie  
Of sea keeping, entending victorie  
I leaue endly: for about in the see  
No prince was of better strenuitee.  
And if he had to this time liued here,  
He had bene Prince named withouten pere:

[Sidenote: The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost]

His great ships should haue ben put in preefe,  
Vnto the ende that he ment of in cheefe,  
For doubt it not but that he would haue bee  
Lord and master about the round see:  
And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,  
And wonne vs good, and wisely brought it thence:  
That no passage should be without danger,  
And his licence on see to moue and sterre.

Of vnitie, shewing of our keeping of the see: with an endly or finall  
processe of peace by authoritie. Chap. 12.

[Sidenote: Exhortatio generales in custodiam totius Anglia per diligentiam  
custodia circuitus maris circa littora eiusdem: qua debet esse per  
vnanimitatem Consiliariorum regis, & hominum bona voluntatus.]

Now than for loue of Christ, and of his ioy,

Bring it England out of trouble and noy:  
 Take heart and witte, and set a gouernance,  
 Set many wits withouten variance,  
 To one accord and vnanimitee.  
 Put to good will for to keepe the see.  
 First for worship and profite also,  
 And to rebuke of eche euill willed foe.  
 Thus shall worship and riches to vs long.  
 Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong,  
 To beare that coyne in figure and in deede,  
 To our courage, and to our enemies dreede:  
 For which they must dresse hem to peace in haste,  
 Or ellis their thrift to standen and to waste.  
 As this processe hath proued by and by  
 All by reason and expert policy;  
 And by stories which proued well this parte:  
 Or ellis I will my life put in ieoparte,  
 But many londs would seche her peace for nede,  
 The see well kept: it must be doo for drede.  
 Thus must Flanders for nede haue vnitee  
 And peace with vs: it will non other bee,  
 Within short while: and ambassadours  
 Would bene here soone to treat for their succours.

[Sidenote: Tres sunt causa pradicta custodia scilcet, honor commodum regnum, & opprobrium inimicis.]

This vnitie is to God pleasance:  
 And peace after the werres variance.  
 The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,  
 And power causeth peace finally.  
 Kept than the sea about in speciall,  
 Which of England is the towne wall.  
 As though England were likened to a citie,  
 And the wall enuiron were the see  
 Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:  
 And than is England kept by Goddes hande;  
 That as for any thing that is without,  
 England were at ease withouten doubt,  
 And thus should euery lond one with another  
 Entercommon as brother with his brother  
 And liue together werrelesse in vnitie,  
 Without rancour in very charitie,  
 In rest and peace, to Christes great pleasance,  
 Without strife, debate and variance.  
 Which peace men should enserche with businesse,  
 And knit it saddely holding in holinesse.

[Sidenote: Ephes. 4. Solliciti sitis seruare vnitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis.]

The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,  
 Bee yee busie for to keepe vnitee  
 Of the spirit in the bond of peace.  
 Which is nedeful to all withouten lese.  
 The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire  
 To pursue it, this is holy desire.  
 Our Lord lesu saith, Blessed motte they bee  
 That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.

[Sidenote: Matth. 5. Beati pacifici quoniam filij Dei vocabuntur.]

For peace makers, as Matthew writeth aright,  
Should be called the sonnes of God almight.  
God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe  
Of his precepts, and slugly not to sleepe  
In shame of sinne: that our verry foo  
Might be to vs conuers, and turned so.

[Sidenote: Cum placuerint Domino via hominis eius inimicos ad pacem conuertet]

For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpose  
Plaine inough without any glose:  
When mens weyes please vnto our Lord,  
It shall conuert and bring to accord  
Mans enemies vnto peace verray,  
In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,  
With vnitie, peace, rest and charitie.  
Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,  
That came from heauen, and styed vp with our nature,  
Or hee ascended, he gaue to vs cure,  
And left with vs peace, ageyne striffe and debate,  
Mote giue vs peace, so well irradicate  
Here in this world: that after all this feste

[Sidenote: Vrbs beata Ierusalem dicta pacis visio.]

Wee may haue peace in the land of behest  
Ierusalem, which of peace is the sight,  
With his brightnes of eternall light,  
There glorified in rest with his tuition,  
The Deitie to see with full fruition:  
Hee second person in diuinenesse is,  
Who vs assume, and bring vs to the blis. Amen

Here endeth the true procease of the Libel of English policie, exhorting  
all England to keepe the sea enuiron: shewing what profit and saluation,  
with worship commeth thereof to the reigne of England.

Goe forth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;  
Appearing euer with humble countenance:  
And pray my Lords to take in grace,  
In opposaile and cherishing the aduance.  
To hardines if that not variance  
Thou hast fro tought by full experience  
Authors and reasons: if ought faile in substance  
Remit to hem that yafe thee this science;  
That seth it is soth in verray fayth,

[Sidenote: The wise lord of Hungerfords iudgement of this booke.]

That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford  
Hath thee ouerseene, and verely he saith  
That thou art true, and thus he doeth record,  
Next the Gospel: God wotte it was his worde,  
When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.  
Goe forth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right.



\_Explicit libellus de Politia conseruatiua maris\_.

\* \* \* \* \*

Breuis Commentarius de Islandia: quo Scriptorum de hac Insula errores deteguntur, & extraneorum quorundam conuitijs, ac calumnijs, quibus Islandis liberius insultare solent, occurritur: per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, domino Christiano IIII, Dania, Noruegia, Vandalorum, Gothorumque, Regi electo: Slesuici, Holsatia, Stormaria & Dithmarsia Duci: Comiti in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst: Domino suo clementissimo.

Praclearam sane apud Historicos meretur laudem, Sereniss. Princeps, Anchuri illius Mida regis filij ausus plusquam humanus, & in patriam pietas, fere exemplo carens, quod ad occludendum ingentem circa Celanam Phrygia oppidum, terra hiatum, quotidie homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat, absorbentem, sese vltro obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midas pater accepisset, non prius conclusum iri istam voraginem, quam res eo preciosissima immitterentur: Anchurus existimans, nihil esse anima pretiosius, sese viuum in illud profundissimum chasma pracipitem dedit: idque tanto animi cum feruore, vt neque parentis desiderio, neque dulcissima coniugis amplexu vel lachrymis, ab isto proposito se retrahi passus sit.

Nec inferiorem multo consecuti sunt gloriam Sperthius & Bulis, Lacedamonij, qui ad auertendam potentissimi Regis Persarum Xerxis, ob occisos a Lacedemonijs Darij patris legatos, vltionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & vt legatorum necem in se, non in patria vlcisceretur, erectis & constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

Qua vero res, Sereniss. Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patria flagrantem amore, nullum pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imo ne mortem ipsam recusarint, ea profecto me quoque impulit, non quidem, vt quemadmodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me mactandum vltro offerrem, sed tamen, vt id quod solum possem, in gratiam patria tentarem: Hoc est, vt scriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumusculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita rem profecto periculosam, & multorum forsan sinistro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrededer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariae apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Urbis annona charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia & Africa frumentum collegisset, maiorem patria, quam sui, tradunt rationem habuisse. Cum enim Romam versus properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa oborta tempestate, Naucleros trepidare, nec se ventorum aut maris savitia committere velle animaduerteteret, ipse nauim primus ingressus, anchoras tolli iussit, in hac verba exclamans: Vt nauigemus vrget necessitas: vt viuamus, non vrget. Quibus vir prudentissimus innuisse videtur, patria periclitantis maiorem habendam rationem, quam priuata incolumitatis.

Hunc ego sic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muscam Elephanto conferre) vt collectis ac comportatis ijs, quibus ad succurrendum gentis nostra nomini ac fama, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula hac in lucem emittere, meque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, lintea ventis tradere, cumque illo exclamare non dubitem: Vt scribamus, vrget necessitas: Vt vero scriptum nostrum, cuiusuis, delicato palato, vbique satisfaciat, aut omnem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget.

Institutum meum complures probaturos spero: successum forsitan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriae, multorum hactenus opprobria & contumelias sustinentis, quam siue laudis, siue vituperationis, ad me ipsum hinc forsitan reditura, existimabam. Quid enim causa esse potest, cur nonnullorum odium & iniuriam, cum hoc patriae, benefaciendi seu gratificandi studio forte coniunctam recusem?

Quodsi scriptorum errores liberius notare, si quorundam calumnias durius perstringere videbor, eos tamen quos me habiturum censors confido, qui paulo diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parum tolerabiles sint scriptorum de nostra gente errores: quot etiam & quam graues quorundam in nos calumnia, quibus nationem nostram varijs modis lacerare, & etiamnum lacerare non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli natalis amoris est; Dandum iusto, ob hanc patriam illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, vbique mihi temperavi, ac a conuictijs abstinere volui: quod si quid videatur mollius dicendum fuisse, id praedicta ratione veniam, spero, merebitur.

Cum igitur hac mihi subeunda sit alea, quod omnibus scriptum aliquod edituris in more positum animaduerto, id mihi hoc tempore sollicite curandum est: Nempe vt patronum & mecenatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quaram, sub cuius nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, vestra, clementissime Princeps Sereniss. Maiestate: Et enim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas nostras in suam potestatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis nostra innocenter contaminatum, cura vt sit, supplices rogamus.

Imo vero, Rex clementiss. non solum ad hanc rem, S. Maiestatis V. clemens implorare auxilium necessum habemus; Sed ad multa quoque alia, qua in nostra patria desiderantur, aut qua alioqui ad huius vtilitatem & salutem communem spectant: quaeque non per me, sed per summorum nostra gentis viros libellos supplices hoc tempore exponuntur, aut certe breui exponuntur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maiestas, Christianissimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperij sui Insulas, sua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam qua nostra est ad S. Maiestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Maiestatis V. in nobis subleuandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria: Et ob nutritam extremi fere orbis Arctoi ecclesiam, in remotissimis M. V. imperij finibus, qua tranquillitatem & tuta singulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, praemium, ac reposita in coelis immarcessibilis vita aeterna corona.

Ceterum cum illa huius loci non sint, id quod mei est propositi subiungo: & a S. Maiestate V. ea, qua par est, amicum submissione peto, vt huic mea opella & studio in patriam collato, fauere, & patroni benigni esse loco, clementer dignetur. Quod superest, Sereniss. Princeps, Dom. clementissime, Maiestatem V. sapientia & prudentia, omniumque adeo virtutum heroicarum indes incrementa summentem, ad summum imperij fastigium, summas ille regnorum, omniumque adeo rerum humanarum dispensator, Deos opt. max. euehat: Euectam, omni rerum felicissimo successu continue beatus: Beatamque hoc modo, vt summum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, praesidium, Ecclesia clypeum & munimen, quam diutissime conseruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in solido regni coelestis gaudio, cum praecipuis ecclesiae Dei nutritijs, sideris instar, illustrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiam idem Pater clementis. vt hac vota, quanto sapius, in amplissimorum Maiestatis V. regnorum & Insularem quouis angulo, quotidie repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tanto rata magis & certiora, maneant.

Haffnia 1593. Mense Mart.

S. M. V. humiliter subiectus:

Aragrimos Ionas Islandus.

The same in English.

A briefe commentarie of Island: wherein the errors of such as haue written concerning this Island, are detected, and the slanders, and reproches of certaine strangers, which they haue vsed ouer-boldly against the people of Island are confuted.

By Arngrimus Ionas, of Island.

To the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord Christian the 4. [Footnote: Christian IV. was the last elective king of Denmark and Norway. Frederick III. in 1665 changed the constituion to an hereditary monarchy, vested in his own family.] of Denmarke, Norway, and of the Vandals and Gothes, King elect: of Sleswic, Holste, Stormar, and Dithmarse Duke: Earle of Oldenburg, and Delmenhorst: His most gracious Lord.

That heroical attempt of Anchurus, sonne of King Midas (most gracious prince) and that pietie towards his countrey in maner peerelesse, deserueth highly to be renowned in histories: in that freely and couragiously he offered his owne person, for the stopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about Celoena, a towne in Phrigia, which daily swallowed multitudes of men and whatsoeuer else came neere vnto it. For when his father Midas was aduertised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut vp, before things most precious were cast into it; Anchurus deeming nothing to be more inualuable then life plunged himselfe aliue downe headlong into that bottomless hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers request nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise. [Footnote: It is added that Midas raised an altar to Jupiter on the spot.]

Sperthius also and Bulis, two Lacedemonians, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the reuenge of Xerxes that most puissant King of the Persians, entended against the Lacedemonians, for killing the ambassadors of his father Darius, hyed them vnto the sayd king and that he might auenge the ambassadours death vpon them, not vpon their countrey, with hardy, and constant mindes presented themselues before him.

The very same thing (most gracious prince) which moued them and many others being enflamed with the loue of their countrey, to refuse for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it selfe, the same thing (I say) hath also enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my selfe vnto the slaughter, but yet to assay that which I am able for the good of my countrey: namely, that I may gather together and refute the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the same: and so take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps subiect to the sinister iudgement of many.

In this purpose the example of Cneius Pompeius hath likewise confirmed me: who being chosen procurator for corne among the Romanes, and in an extreme scarcetie and dearth of the citie hauing taken vp some store of grains in Sicilia, Sardinia, and Africa, is reported to haue had greater regard of his countrey, then of himselfe. For when he made haste towards Rome, and a mighty and dangerous tempest arising, he perceiued the Pilots to tremble, and to be vnwilling to commit themselues to the rigor of the stormie sea,

himselfe first going on boord, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake forth into these words: That we should sayle necessitie vrgeth: but that we should liue, it vrgeth not. In which words he seemeth wisely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our countrey lying in danger, then of our owne priuate safetie.

This man doe I thus imitate,

If small with great as equals may agree:  
And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying vp in store those things which might be applied to succour the fame and credite of our nation, hauing now this long time bene oppressed with strangers, through the enuie of certeine malicious persons, I boldly aduenture to present these fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and so hoysing vp sailes to commit my selfe vnto a troublesome sea, and to breake forth into the like speeches with him: That I should write necessitie vrgeth: but that my writings in all places should satisfie euery delicate taste, or escape all peeuishnes of carpers it vrgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my enterprise: the successe perhaps all men will not approue. Neuertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, sustaining so many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praise or dispraise, redounding perhaps vnto me vpon this occasion. For what cause should moue me to shunne the enuie and hate of some men, being ioyned with an endeuour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

[Sidenote: The errors of the writers of Island intolerable.]

But if I shall seeme somewhat too bold in censuring the errors of writers, or too seuere in reprehending the slanders of some men: yet I hope all they will iudge indifferently of me, who shall seriously consider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation: how many also and how grieuous be the reproches of some, against vs, wherewith they haue sundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not cease to prouoke. They ought also to haue me excused in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their natiue soile, and to pardon my iust grieffe for these iniures offered vnto my countrey. And I in very deed, so much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated my selfe, and haue bene desirous to abstaine from reproches but if any man thinke, we should haue vsed more temperance in our stile, I trust, the former reason will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergo the same hazard, which I see is commonly incident to all men that publish any writings: I must now haue especiall regarde of this one thing: namely, of seeking out some patron, and Mecoenas for this my briefe commentary, vnder whose name and protection it may more safety passe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit then your royal Maiestie, most gracious prince For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I say) doe we make humble sute, that he would haue respect also vnto the credit of our nation, so iniuriously disgraced.

Yea verily (most gracious King) we are constreined to craue your Maiesties mercifull aide, not only in this matter, but in many other things also which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof which not by me, but by the letters

supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Maiesties, after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe vnto our countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Maiesties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of fleeing for redresse vnto your sacred Maiestie, is ours so the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, shal wholly redound vnto your sacred Maiestie: as also, there is layd vp for you, in respect of your fostering and preseruing of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, and in the vttermost bounds of your Maiesties dominion (which by the singular goodnes of God, enioyeth at this present tranquillitie and quiet safetie) a reward and crowne of immortall life in the heauens.

But considering these things are not proper to this place, I wil leaue them, and returne to my purpose which I haue in hand: most humbly beseeching your S. M. that yon would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a fauorer, and patron vnto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull souereigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maiestie (yearely growing vp in wisdom & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of souereintie: and being aduanced, continually to blesse yon with most prosperous successe in all your affaires: and being blessed, long to preserue you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church: and hereafter in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these praiers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maiesties most ample territories & Islands, so much the more sure and certain they may remaine, Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March. Y. S. M. most humble subiect,

Arngrimus Ionas, Islander. [Footnote: A celebrated Icelandic astronomer, disciple of Tycho Brahe, and coadjutor of the Bishop of Holen, died in 1649 at the great age of 95. His principal works, besides his Description and History of Iceland, (published at Amsterdam in 1643, 4to), are *Idea Vera Magistratus* (Copenhagen, 1689, 8vo); *Rerum Islandicarum libri tres* (Hamburg, 1630, 4to); *The Life of Gundebbrand de Thorlac*, etc. He is remembered amongst the peasantry of Iceland as the only instance known in that country of a man of ninety-one marrying a girl in her teens.]

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem.

In lucem exijt circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi foetus valde deformis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum foetum semel emisisse, nisi tertium etiam aut quartum publicasset, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, aliosque vicinos populos summam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum, in ipso fuit, inureret. Tantum Typographi huius odium fuit, & ex re illicita lucri auditas. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, qua plurimos annos commercia sua magno suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impune fecit. Ioachimus Leo nomen illi est, dignus certe qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur praterea multi alij scriptores, qui cum miracula natura, qua in

hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, & gentis Islandica mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, a re ipsa & veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas plusquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spurca & probrosa reliquerunt, quam sordidus iste Rhythmistae: multa tamen sunt in illorum scriptis, qua illos excusare non possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis deridendam alijs exposuerint. Hac animaduertens, legens, expendens, subinde nouis, qui Islandorum nomen & astimationem laderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostram nouis conspurcare mendacijs, lectoresque noua monstrorum enumeratione & descriptionibus fictis deludere, saepe optabam esse aliquem, qui ad errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quique aliquo scripto innocentem gentem a tot conuicijs si non liberaret, certe aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet. Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, \_Arngrimo Iona\_ F. vt reuolutis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacia solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primo reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amorque communis patria, ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

Ille vero, qui hanc rem meo est aggressus instinctu, vicissim a me suo quasi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis praeferer: existimans aliquid fidei vel authoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honestam & necessariam quoque operam nauasse eum iudico, qui non modo scriptorum varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientia censuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam a venenatis quorundam sycophantarum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Aequum est igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patriam amore aduersus Zoilorum proteruiam munitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorliacus Episcopus  
Holensis in Islandia.  
Anno 1592. Iul. 29.

[Footnote: In the \_original\_ edition of the description of Iceland by Arngrimus, follow these lines:

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.  
Imbute Lector suauis arte Palladis,  
Lector benigne, humane, multum candide,  
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria:  
Has videris si forte quando paginas  
Non lectione sique dedignabere,  
Fac, nos tuo candori vt hac committimus  
Et aquitati, fronte sic non tetrica,  
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido:  
Communis vnquam sortis haud sis immemor,  
Infirmitas quam nostra nobis contulit.  
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalium  
Erroribus nauisque semper plurimis?  
Quod si diu multumque cogitauens,  
Nostris eris conatibus paulo aequior,  
Tuis & isto rite pacto consules:  
Candore nam quo nostra arctans vttere,  
En te legentes rursus vtentur pari:  
Sic ipse semper alteri qua feceris.

Aqualitatis lege & hac fient tibi.

De gente multis pradicata Islandica  
Authoribus quamuis probata maximis,  
Nostro periclo hucusque vulgo credita,  
Licere nobis credimus refellere,  
Non vt notam scriptorum muram nomini,  
Nostrum sed a nota probosa vindicem:  
Hoc institutum iusque fasque comprobant:  
Hoc nostra consuetudo lexque comprobant:  
Hoc digna lectu exempla denique comprobant.  
Ergo faue: nostris faue conatibus,  
Sis mitis indulgens et aquus arbiter,  
O lector arte imbute suavis Palladis,  
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,  
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria.]

The same in English.

To the courteous and Christian reader Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of  
Holen in Island, wisheth health.

There came to light about the yeare of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of Germany: namely a booke of German rimes of al that euer were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of Island. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foure times ouer: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deeply disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and euerlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euen in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with Island to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is Ioachimus Leo, a man worthy to become lions foode.

[Sidenote: Great errors grow vpon mariners fabulous reports.]

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this Island, & the maners, & customs of the Islanders, haue altogether swarued from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling than old wiues tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they haue not left behind them such filthy and reprochful stuffe as that base rimer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquitted from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there dayly spring vp new writers, which offer iniury to the fame & reputation of the Islanders, being such men also as do shamelesly filch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers with feined descriptions, & a new rehearsal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth, to make answere to the errors of historiographers & other vniust censurers: and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many reproches, yet at leastwise, in some sort to defend it, among Christian & friendly readers. And for this cause I haue now procured an honest and learned young man one Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas, to peruse the works of authors, that haue written anything concerning Island, and by sound reasons to detect their errors, & falshoods. And albeit at the first he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his country

preuailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalenge at my hands, that I should in two or three words at least, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherefore to speake my minde in a word: for my part, I iudge hin to haue taken both honest & necessary paines, who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions of wrighters concerning things vnknown, and to examine them by the censure of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with the sacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, against the peruersnes of carpers. Farewel.

Anno 1592. Iulii 19.

#### COMMENTARII DE ISLANDIA INITIUM.

Quemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla aqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, inuidia & auaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animaduertimus: Alios vero iustis de causis arma sumere; vt qui vel doctrina coelestis propaganda aut seruanda ergo bella mouent, vel aliquo modo lacessiti paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel saltem non lacessiti, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur: Non secus Apollini militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur: puta qui gloria cupiditate, qui liuore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, vt ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen ac famam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, insontem nationem & populos commaculantes: Alij vero contra, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando inuestigant & in lucem emittunt; vt qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandarunt, quique suis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicauerunt: qui quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduertuerunt, vsu & experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt: qui mundi historias, bona fide, aeterna memoria consecrarunt: qui linguarum cognitionem suis indefessis laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in se suamue gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim iniustam propulsare annexi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuina Palladi nomen dederunt, longe infimus (vt id ingenue de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certe non possum, quin me, in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis sua maculam abluere, veritatem ipsam asserere, & conuitantium iugum detrectare studuerunt: Maiora ingenio sors denegauit: Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patria, quam extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuitijs, magna cum voluptate proscindere, aliisque nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantia occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est quod sperem me ab hac inueterata opinione abducere posse) diluere hoc commentariolo decreui.

Etsi autem Islandia multos habet, vt atate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longe superiores, ideoque ad hanc causam patria suscipiendam multo magis



idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacij, Episcopi Holensis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus motus communi causa, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum vt aquissima postulationi ipsius parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos sympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientia foelicius versatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione vltius progresses, ad hoc gentis nostra patrociniū inuitarem: Tantum abest, vt ijs qui idem

conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Caterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicumque sunt nostra gentis obtrectatores, testimonio scripto se vt ac niti iactitant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quam vera scriptores prodiderint, vt si forte isti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quam merito nos calumniemur, reliquis planum fiat, Porro, quamuis vetustiorum quorundam scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientia normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reuerenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium; Nouitij vero, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius pasquilli, cum ijs longe veriora quam scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua leuitate & ingenio male candido, nihil nisi inuidia & calumnia maculam lucreti esse videbuntur.

[Sidenote: Commentarij dua partes.]

Atque vt Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt proposita orationis capita, vnum de Insula, de incolis alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam vltra has metas vagari, vel plura quam hac ipsa, & qua huc pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professo Historicum vel geographum sed disputatorem tantum agimus. [Sidenote: Prima partis tractatio.] Itaque omissa longiore prafatione partem primam, qua est de situ, nomine, miraculis & alijs quibusdam adiunctis Insula, aggrediamur.

The same im English.

HERE BEGINNETH THE COMMENTARY OF ISLAND.

Euen as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that some vpon no iust & lawful grounds (being egged on by ambition, enuie, and couetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselues vpon iust and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way prouoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (not being prouoked) by reason of the enemie approching are constrained to be vp in armes right so, they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not vpon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, addresse themselues to wright: especially such as for desire of glory, for enuy and spight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inueighing against a whole countrey, and by shamelesse vntrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things profitable: namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philosophy, History and such like: and they who (taking vse and experience for their guides) in the said Sciences haue brought things obscure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confused to order: and they that haue faithfully

commended to euerlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours haue aduanced the knowledge of tongues: to be short, that endeouour themselues to repress the insolencie, confute the slanders, and withstand the vniust violence of others, against themselues, their Nation or their Countrey:

And I for my part, hauing scarce attained the sight of good letters, and being the meanest of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse then become one of their number, who haue applied themselues to ridde their countrey from dishonor, to auouch the trueth, and to shake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of trueth and the in bred affection I beare to my countrey enforceth me to do the best I can: sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by manifolde reproches to iniurie my sayd countrey, making it a by word, and a langhing-stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and false accusations, as also to detect the errorrs of certeine writers concerning this Island, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themselues, stubbornly mainteining that which is false and foolish, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accustomed and stale opinion) I haue penned the treatise following.

And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my superiors, and therefore more fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: notwithstanding, being earnestly perswaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Hola in Island, I thought good (to the vtmost of mine ability) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cause: both that I might obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of my countrey men, who haue bene better trained vp in good learning, and indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence of this our nation: so farre am I from hindering any man to vndertake the like enterprise.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoeuer they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they vse the testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Island, to the end that if they haue giuen (perhaps) any occasion to others of inueying against vs, their errorrs being layd open (for I will not speake more sharpely) all the world may see how iustly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some ancient writers of this Island, by the rule of trueth and experience: yet (otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for nouices (if there be any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselues haue written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and peruerse wit to haue gained nought else but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue some order, it shall be diuided into two general parts: the first of the Island, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so farfoorth as those writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: because I am not determind to wander out of these lists, or to handle more then these things and some other which pertaine vnto them. For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer, but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Iland.

SECTIO PRIMA.

[Sidenote: Munst. lib. 4. Cosmograph.] Insula Islandia, qua per immensum a ceteris secreta longe sita est in Oceano, vixque a nauigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

Et si hac tractare, qua ipsam terram vel illius adiuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas a calumniantium morsu vindicandos parum faciat: tamen id nequaquam omittendum videtur. Sed de his primum, & quidem prolixius aliquanto agendum est, vt perspecto, quam vera de hac re tradant illi Islandia scriptores, facile inde candidus Lector, in ijs qua de Incolis scripta reliquerant, quaque ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandia a reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quanta vulgo putatur, si quis insula longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facile demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quam isto cognosci exacte posse modo existimarim, cum nulli dubium sit, quam semper nautarum vel rectissimus, vt illis videtur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandia sententias subiungam, vt inde quiuis de distantia id colligat, quod maxime verisimile videbitur, donec forte aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adiungam.

	Longit.	Latitud.	
Munsterus Islandiam collocat sub			
gradibus fere	20	68	
Gerardus Mercator	352	68	
Gemma Frisius:			
Medium Islandia:	7 0	65 30	
Hersee:	7 40	60 42	
Thirtes:	5 50	64 44	
Nadar:	6 40	57 20	
Iacobi Ziegleri:			
Littus Islandia Occident.	20	63	
Chos promontorium:	22 46	63	
Latus orientale extenditur contra			
Septentrionem: & finis extensionis			
habet	30	68	
Latus septentrionale contra occidentem			
extenditur, & finis extensionis			
habet	28	69	
Lateris Occidentalis descriptio.			
Heckelfel promontorium	25	67	
Madher promontorium	21 20	65 10	
Ciuitates in ea mediterranea sunt			
Holen Episcopalis	28	67 50	
Schalholten Episcopalis	22	63 30	
Reinholdus.			
Per Holen Islandia		68	
Ioh. Myritius.			
Per Med. Islandia		69	
Neander.			
Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum			
vsque Arcticum ab aquinoctiali			
excurrit, adeo fere, vt			

mediam circulus ille secet, &c.

Et si qui sunt praterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insula situm notarunt, quorum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, cum quo plures habeas, eo magis dissidentes reperias. Ego quamuis verisimiles coniecturas habeo, cur nulla citata de Islandia situ sententia assentiar, quin potius diuersum quippiam ab ijs omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquere malo, quam quicquam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, vt dixi, forte aliquando non coniecturam, sed obseruationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

[Sidenote: Bidui nauigatio ab Islandia ad Noruagiam desertam.]

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Istandia meridionalis Batzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400. milliarium: Vnde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem supputaueris, nullam modo positarum longitudinum habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego ternis Hamburgensium nauigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia peruentum esse. Praterea etiam, Insula qua ab ouium multitudine Fareyjar, seu rectius Faareyjar dicta sunt, bidui nauigatione, vt & littora Noruagia deserta distant. Quatridui vero nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari fere temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Noruagia Stad. inter opida Nidrosiam & Bergasitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus reperimus.

The same in English.

THE FIRST SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus lib. 4. cosmographia] The Isle of Island being seuered from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarce knowen vnto Sailers.

Albeit a discourse of those things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of slanderers, yet seemeth it in no case to be omitted, but to be intreated of in the first place; that the friendly reader perceiuing how truely those writers of Island haue reported in this respect, may thereby also easily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue receiued from them as oracles, from whence (as they say) they haue borrowed scoffes and taunts against our nation.

First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be prouided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Iland. For I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be knowen any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Mariners course (be it neuer so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerue. In the meane while therefore I will set downe diuers opinions of authors, concerning the situation of Island, that from hence euery man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable, vntil perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may, if not intrude, yet at least adioin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter. [Footnote: The real position of Iceland is 700 miles west of Norway, 200 miles east of Greenland, and 320 miles north-west of the Faroe Islands. It lies between latitude 63 25 and 66 32 north and longitude 13 30' and 24 30' west; length east to west 280 miles; breadth 210 miles. It will be thus seen that while Frisius is nearly right in his latitude, Gerard Mercator is

considerably out. As regards the longitude, whilst Munster's estimate is converted to the standard of Greenwich, Mercator's reckoning is from Copenhagen or Hamburg, and Frisius has reckoned east of Reikiavik or Skallholt.]

Longit.    Latitud.  
deg min.    deg min.

Munster placeth Island almost in	20	68		
Gerardus Mercator	325	68		
Gemma Frisius placeth the midst of Island	7 0	65 30		
Hersee	7 40	60 42		
Thirtes	5 50	64 44		
Nadar	6 40	57 10		
Iacobus Zieglerus				
The West shore of Island	20 0	63 0		
The promontorie of Chos	22 46	63 0		
The East shore is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in	30 0	68 0		
The North shore is extended Westward and hath bounds of extension in	28 0	69 0		
The description of the West side				
The promontorie of Heckelfell	25 0	67 0		
The promontorie of Madher	21 20	65 10		
The inland cities of Island				
Holen the seat of a bishop	28 0	67 50		
Schalholten the seat of a bishop	22	63 30		
Reinholdus				
By Holen in Island	68			
Iohannes Miritius				
By Mid-Island	69-1/2			
Neander				
Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, insomuch that the said circle arctic doeth almost diuide it in the midst &c.				

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the situation of Island: notwithstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you haue, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable coniectures perswading me not to beleue any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in suspense then affirme an vncerteinty, vntill (as I haue sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obseruation, and experience.

[Sidenote: Seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar-Islands & from the desert shores of Norway.]

A certeine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburg, Island must haue none of the forenamed longitudes in that place. I am able to proue by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but

seuen dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyar or more rightly Faareyar,[Footnote: Faroe Islands.] as likewise the desert shores of Norway, are distant from vs but two dayes sailing. We haue foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland; and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, [Footnote: Trondheim.] and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

## SECTIO SECUNDA.

[Sidenote: Munsterus, Olaus magnus & reliqui.] In hac, astiuo solstitio, sole signum Cancri transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Insula qua longe Supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus.

Nullum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandia angulo, si modo quis est, fatemur, vbi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, qua est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandia, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima conualle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min. vt a Domino Gudbrando eiusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, vt ex artificum tabulis videre est. Vnde constat nec Islandiam vltra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in astiuo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere.

The same in English.

## THE SECOND SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus, Olaus Magnus and others.] In this Iland, at the Summer solstitium, the Sun passing thorow the signe of Cancer, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter solstitium there is no day. Also: Vadianus. But in that Iland, which farre within the artic circle is seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called Island, and next vnto the lands of the frozen sea, which they call Engrontland, there be many moneths in the yere without nights.

At the solstitium of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time, wherein the Sunne is seene about the horizon) we confesse to be true onely in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is eleuated full 67. degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops seat for the North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is about 65. degrees and 44. minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father, Gudbrand, bishop of that place: and yet there, the shortest day in all the yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. [Sidenote: Island is not within the circle arctic.] Heerehence it is manifest, first that Island is not situate beyond the arctic circle: [Footnote: This is true, except for the very small portion of Iceland round about Cape North.] secondly, that in Island there are not wanting in Summer solstitium many nights, nor in Winter solstitium many dayes.

## SECTIO TERTIA.

[Sidenote: Munsterus Saxo.] Nomen habet a glacie qua illi perpetuo ad Boream adheret Item. A latere Occidentali Noruagia Insula, qua Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano repentur, obsoleta admodum habitationis tellus, &c. Item, Hac est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata.

Nomen habet a glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia.

[Sidenote: Snelandia.] Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuisse creditur Naddocus genere Noruagus, cum versus insulas Farenses nauigaret tempestate valida, ad littora Islandia Orientalis forte appulit: vbi cum fuisset aliquot septimanas cum socijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque ideo a niue nomen Insula Snelandia indidit. Hunc secutus alter, Gardarus, fama quam de Islandia Naddocus attulerat impulsus, Insulam quasitum abijt, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine Gardarsholme id est, Gardars Insula imposuit. Quin & plures nouam terram visendi cupido incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam Noruagus (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illique a glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit.

Obsoleta admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam eruo, vt quidam, quod inde ab initio habitata esse Islandiam, seu vt verbo dicam, Islandos autocthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incolae coeptam.

Hac est Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc sub iudice lis est. Quam tamen facile dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animaduertat, circa annum Domini 874. primum fuisse inhabitatam. Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, ad Insulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud vero rursus si quis neget, per me sane licebit, vt illud sit quoddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Vnus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam, vbi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, siue vitimam in ditione Scoti, vt Ioannes Myritius & alij, qui nomen illius referunt, Thylensey, quod etiam Virgilius per suam vltimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siquidem vltra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos statueret. Quod vel ex illo Virgilij Eclog I. apparet:

Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos.

Quartus vnam ex Farensibus. Quintus Telemarchiam Noruagia. Sextus Schrichfinniam.

Perpetuo ad Boream adharet.) Illud vero, Glaciem Insula perpetuo, vel vt paulo post asserit Munsterus: Octo continuis mensibus adherere: neutrum verum est. [Sidenote: Glacies Aprili aut Maio soluitur.] Nam vt plurimum in mense Aprili aut Maio soluitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante Ianuarium aut Februarium sapissime etiam tardius redit. Quid? quod plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam huius nationis immite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Vnde constat quam vere a Frisio scriptum sit, nauigationem ad hanc insulam tantum quadrimestrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter, Cum Anglica naues quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quadam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Iunio, plarumque ad nos redeant, & harum quadam non ante Augustum iterum hinc soluunt. Superiore autem anno 1591. quadam nauis Germanica, cupro onusta, portum

Islandia Vopnafjord 14. dies circiter in Nouembri occupauit, quibus lapsis inde foeliciter soluit Quare cum glacies Islandia, nec perpetuo, neque octo mensibus adhareat, Munsterus & Frisius manifeste falluntur.

The same in English.

### THE THIRD SECTION.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. [Sidenote: Munsterus Saxo] Another writeth: From the West part of Norway there lieth an Iland which is named of the ice, enuironed with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. Zieglerus. This is Thyle [Footnote: Thule] whereof most of the ancient writers haue made mention.

It is named of ice, &c. Island hath bene called by three names, one after another. [Sidenote: Island first discovered by Naddocus in a tempest.] For one Naddocus a Noruagian borne, who is thought to be the first Discoverer of the same, as he was sailing towards the Faar-Ilands, [Footnote: Faroe Islands.] through a violent tempest did by chance arriue at the East shore of Island; [Sidenote: Sneland.] where staying with his whole company certaine weeks, he beheld abundance of snow couering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Iland Sneland. [Sidenote: Gardarsholme] After him one Gardarus, being moued thereunto by the report which Naddocus gaue out concerning Island, went to seeke the sayd Iland who when he had found it, called it after his owne name Gardars-holme, that is to say, Gardars Ile. There were more also desirous to visit this new land. [Sidenote: Island.] For after the two former a certaine third Noruagian, called Flok, went into Island, and named it of the ice, wherewith he saw it enuironed.

Of ancient habitation &c. I gather not this opinion out of these wordes of Saxo (as some men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning or (to speake in one word) that the people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like vnto trees and herbs: sithens it is euident that this Island scarce began to be inhabited no longer agoe then about 718 yeres since. [Footnote: The Viking Naddodr is said to have discovered Iceland in 860, and it was colonised by Ingulf, a chieftain from the west coast of Norway.]

This is Thyle, &c. Grammarians wrangle about this name, and as yet the controuersie is not decided. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would vnderstand that this Iland was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Vnlesse some man will say that Thule King of Agypt (who, as it is thought, gaue this name thereunto) passed so farre vnto an Iland, which was at that time vntilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Againe, if any man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dreame, while they are distracted into so many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a certaine Iland, where trees beare fruit twice in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the Orcades, or the last Iland of the Scottish dominion, as Iohannes Myritius and others, calling it by the name of Thylensey, which Virgil also seemeth to haue meant by his vltima Thyle. If beyond the Britans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none other nation to inhabit. Which is euident out of that verse of Virgil in his first Eclogue:

And Britans whole from all the world diuided.



The fourth writeth, that it is one of the Faar-Ilands: the fift, that it is Telemark in Norway: the sixt, that it is Scrichfinnia.

[Sidenote: The ice of Iseland sets always to the West.] Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Iland. That clause that ice continually cleaueth &c. or as Munster affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the space of eight whole moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the moneth of April or May, and is driuen towards the West: neither doth it returne before Ianuarie or Februarie, nay often times it commeth later. [Sidenote: No ice at all some yeres in Island.] What if a man should reckon vp many yeeres, wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene seene about Island? which was found to be true this present yeere 1592. Heereupon it is manifest how truely Frisius hath written that nauigation to this Iland lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut vp, when as English ships euery yere, sometimes in March, sometimes in April, and some of them in May; the Germans and Danes, in May and Iune, doe vsually returne vnto vs, and some of them depart not againe from hence till August. [Sidenote: Nauigation open to Island from March till the midst of Nouember.] But the last yere, being 1591, there lay a certeine shippe of Germanie laden with Copper within the hauen of Vopnafjord in the coast of Island about fourteene dayes in the moneth of Nouember, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Wherefore, seeing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth vnto Iland, Munster and Frisius are much deceiued. [Footnote: The mean temperature of Iceland is said to be 40 degrees.]

#### SECTIO QUARTA

[Sidenote: Kranzius. Munsterus.] Tam grandis Insula, vt populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus. Situs Insula extenditur inter austrum & boream ducentorum prope Schanorum longitudine.

Grandis.) Wilstenius quidam, rector Schola OLDENBVRGENSIS Anno 1591. ad auunculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit breuem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodijs de Islandia collegerat. Vbi sic reperimus Islandia duplo maior Sicilia,&c. Sicilia autem secundum Munsterum 150. milliarum Germanica in ambitu habet. [Sidenote: Magnitudo Islandia.] Nostra vero Insula ambitus etsi nobis non est exacte cognitus, tamen vetus & constans opinio, & apud nostrates recepta 144. milliarum numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Islandia insigniora, qua singula 12. inter se milliaribus distent, aut circiter, qua collecta pradietam summam ostendunt.

Populos multos.) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090, Episcopus Schalholtensts in Islandia, omnes Insula colonos seu rusticos qui tantas facultates possiderent, vt regi tributum soluere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum foeminis & promiscuo vulgo omissis) lustrari curauit, reperitque in parte Insula Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000. colonorum tributa soluentium. Iam si quis experiatur, inueniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

The same in English.

#### THE FOURTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munsterus.] The Iland is so great that it conteineth many people. Item Zieglerus sayth: The situation of the Iland is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length.

So great, &c. One Wilstenius schoolemaster of Oldenburg, in the yere 1591, sent vnto mine Vncle in West Island, a short treatise which he had gathered out of the fragments of sundrie writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written: Island is twice as great as Sicilie, &c. But Sicilie, according to Munster, hath 150. Germaine miles in compasse. [Sidenote: 144. Germaine miles in compasse.] As for the circuit of our Iland, although it be not exactly knowen vnto vs, yet the ancient, constant, and receiued opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Iland, which are commonly knowen, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being mulitplied, produce the whole summe. [Footnote: The exact area is 39,737 square miles.]

Many people, &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countrey men of the Iland, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner sort of the communally) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000. inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Iland was at that time vnpeopled. [Footnote: In 1875 the population was 69,800.]

#### SECTIO QUINTA.

[Sidenote: Munst. Frisius, Ziegler] Insula multa sui parte montosa est & inculta. Qua parte autem plana est prastat plurimum pabulo, tam lato, vt pecus depellatur a pascuis, ne ab aruina suffocetur.

Id suffocationis periculum nullo testimomo, nec nostra nec patrum nostrorum, vel quam longe retro numeraris, memoria confirmari potest.

The same in English.

#### THE FIFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster. Frisius. Zieglerus.] The Iland, most part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the pasture, leas they surfet or be choaked.

That danger of surfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great grandfathers or any of our predecessours dayes, be they neuer so ancient. [Footnote: In the tenth and eleventh centuries, corn and other crops seem to have been raised in considerable quantities, but at present only small crops of potatoes, turnips, and cabbages are grown. The pastures are good, and many horses, cattle, and sheep are reared.]

#### SECTIO SEXTA.

[Sidenote: Munst. Frisius.] Sunt in hac Insula montes elati in coelum, quorum vertices perpetua niue candent, radices sempiterno igne astuant. Primus Occidentem versus est, qui vocatur Hecla, alter crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. Rupes siue promontorium Hecla astuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Insula mons est, qui rupem sideream perpetua flagrationis astibus imitatus, incendia sempiterna iugi flammaram eructatione continuat.

Miracula Islandia Munsterus & Frisius narraturi mox in vestibulo, magno suo cum incommodo impingunt. Nam quod hic de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne astuantibus dicunt, manifeste erroneum est. Illi enim in Islandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasionem dederit, imaginari possumus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum Anno 1581. ex monte quodam australis Islandia, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flamma eruptio, magna saxorum ac cineris copia eiecta. Caterum ille mons longe est ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diuersissimus. Porro etsi hac de montibus ignitis maxime vera narrent, annon naturaliter ista contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, qua mox in Munstero, Zieglero & Frisio sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego sane nefas esse duco, his vel similibus natura miraculis ab absurda asserenda abuti, vel hac tanquam impossibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quasi vero non concurrant in huiusmodi incendijs causa ad hanc rem satis valida. Est in horum montium radicibus materia vri aptissima, nempe sulphurea & bituminosa. Accedit aer per poros ac cauernas in terra viscera ingressus, ac illum maximi incendij fomitem exsufflans vna cum nitro, qua exsufflatione tanquam foliibus quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma. Habet siquidem ignis, his ita conacnientibus, qua tria ad vrendum sunt necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam ideoque flammam diuturnam alentem: Motum prastat per terra cauernas admissus aer: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisue seu tormentis bellicis, globi e ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac strepitu, a sulphure & nitro, e quibus pyrius puluis conficitur, excitato, eijciuntur) lapides & Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, collique facta cum immodica arena & cinerum copia, expuentis & eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non sine terramotu: qui si secundum profunditatem terra fiat, succussio a Possidoneo appellatur vel hiatus erit, vel pulsus. Hiatus terra dehiscit: pulsu eleuatur intumescens, & nonnunquam, vt inquit Plinius [Sidenote: Lib. 2. cap. 20.], motes magnas egerit: Cuiusmodi terramotus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima Islandia Australis Anno 1581 infestantis quique a Pontano his verbis scitissime describitur.

Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus  
Spiritus incursat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,  
Exploratque abitum insistens, & singula tentat,  
Si qua forte queat victis erumpere claustris.  
Interea tremit ingentem factura ruinam  
Terra, suis quatiens latas cum moenibus vrbes:  
Dissiliunt auulsa iugis immania saxa, &c.

Hac addere libuit, non quod cuiquam hac ignota esse existimemus; sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc extruunt, confugere velle.

Caterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam scriptoribus moueat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus Islandia montibus, videlicet cum

eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquam niue careant. Porro id admirari, est prater auctoritatem tantorum virorum, quibus Atna incendium optime notum erat, qua, cum secundum Plinium hybernis temporibus niualis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam secundum illos, ille mons, cum adhac niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat sordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod Hecla propter niues in summo vertice & basin astuantem, adscribere non dubitarunt. [Sidenote: Cardanus.] Vix autem mirum esse potest, quod ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquam, nisi rarissime erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, qua niuibus obducuntur, non collique faciat. Nam & in Caira, altissima montis cacumina niuibus semper candentia esse perhibentur: & in Beragua quidem similiter, sed 5000 passuum in coelum elata, qua niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantum decem ab aquatore distent. Vtramque hanc prouinciam iuxta Pariam esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa Teneriffa (qua vna, est ex insulis Canarijs, qua & fortunata) pyramis, secundum Munsterum, 8 aut 9 milliarium Germanicorum altitudine in aera assurgens, atque instar Atna iugiter conflagrans, niues, quibus media cingitur, teste Benzone Italo, India occidentalis Historico, non resoluit. Quod ipsum in nostra Hecla quid est, quod magis miremur? Atque hac ita breuiter de incendijs montanis.

Nunc illud quoque castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in coelum vsque attolli scribant. Habent enim nullam pra cateris Islandia montibus notabilem altitudinem. Precipue tertius ille Helga a Munstero appellatus, nobis Helgafel. i. Sacer mons, apud monasterium eiusdem nominis, nulla sui parts tempore astiuo nimbus obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humilis nomen meretur, nunquam, vt initio huius sectionis dixi, de incendio suspectus. Nec vero perpetua niues Hecla, vel paucis alijs adscribi debebant: Permultos enim habet eiusmodi montes niuosos Islandia, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facile collegerit aut connumerarit, horum pradicator & admirator Cosmographus. Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons Hecla non occidentem versus, vt a Munstero & Zieglero annotatum est, sed inter meridiem & orientem positus sit. Nec promontorium est: sed mons fere mediterraneus.

[Sidenote: Annales Islandia.] Incendia perpetua rari, &c. Quicumque perpetuam flammaram cructationem Hecla adscripserunt, toto coelo errarunt, adeo, vt quoties flammam eructarit, nostrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, vsque ad annum 1558. qua vltima fuit in illo monte eruptio. Interea non nego, fieri posse, quin mons inferne latentes intus flammam & incendia alat, qua videlicet statis interuallis, vt hactenus annotatum est, eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant.

The same in English.

## THE SIXTH SECTION

[Sidenote: Monsterus. Frisius.] There be in this Iland mountaines lift vp to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots boile with euerlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called Hecla: the other the mountaine of the crosse: and the third Helga. Item Zieglerus. The rocke or promontone of Hecla boileth with continuall fire. Item: Saxo. There is in this Iland also a mountaine, which resembling the starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by vncessant belching out of flames.

Munster and Frisius being about to report the woonders of Island doe presently stumble, as it were, vpon the thresholde, to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount

Hecla, although it hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifest error. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els (so farre foorth as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an error vnto writers. Howbeit there was seene (yet very lately) in the yeere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South Island lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall snow and frost, a marueilous eruption of smoke and fire, casting vp abundance of stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they report of firie mountaines: is it possible therefore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they any whit preuaile to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster, Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to auouch absurdities, or, that they should with a kinde of impietie woonder at them, as at matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concur causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There is in the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming so neere as it doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is ayer also which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nourishment of so huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certeine bellows) a most ardent flame is kindled. [Sidenote: Three naturall causes of firie mountaines.] For, all these thus concurring fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: matter which is fattie and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth: force of making passage, and that the inuincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayre, and can not but breake foorth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (euen as in vndermining trenches and engines or great warrelike ordinance, huge yron bullets are cast foorth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled Brimstone, and Salt-peeter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being scorched in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomitted vp and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake which, if it commeth from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidonius, Succussio) it must either be either an opening or a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall a sunder. By quaking the earth is heaued vp and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) [Sidenote: Lib. 20. cap. 20.] casteth out huge heaps: such an earth-quake was the same which I euen now mentioned, which in the yere 1581 did so sore trouble the South shore of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearkely described by Pontanus in these verses:

The stirring breath runnes on with stealing steppes,  
 vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:  
 For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,  
 to ridde it selfe from vncouth dungeon.  
 Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,  
 The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiuer.  
 Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiuer.

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables, which they do from

hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three famed mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to woonder, namely whereas they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer destitute of snowe. Howbeit, it beseemeth not the authority and learning of such great clearks to marueile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne. Wherefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine also, sithens it is couered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of vncleane soules: which thing they haue not doubted to ascribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the fine bottome. And it is no marueile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very seldome, should not be able continually to melt the snowe couering the toppe of the sayd mountaine. [Sidenote: Cardanus] For in Caira (or Capira) also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are fiue miles high, and neuer without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the forsayd Prouinces standeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Islands) the Pike [Footnote: The Peak.] so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germaine miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girdle of snowe embracing the middest thereof. Which thing, what reason haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning firie mountaines.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted vp euen vnto the skies. For they haue no extraordinarie height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing iust by a monastery of the same name, being couered with snowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer time, neither deserueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hillocke, neuer yet as I sayd in the beginning of this section, so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily find out, and reckon vp in a whole yere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

[Sidenote: The chronicles of Island.] Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoeuer they be that haue ascribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countrey men haue recorded it in their yerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking forth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the bottome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore obserued) haue burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter. [Footnote: The surface of the country is very mountainous, but there are no definite ranges, the isolated volcanic masses being separated by elevated plateaux of greater or less size. The whole centre is, in fact, an almost continuous desert fringed by a belt of pasture land, lying along the coast and running up the valleys of several

of the greater rivers. This desert is occupied partly by snow mountains and glaciers, partly by enormous lava streams, partly by undulating plains of black volcanic sand, shingle, and loose stones. This region is of course without verdure, and entirely uninhabited. The rocks are all of igneous origin, but of very different ages, traps, basalts, amygdaloids, tufas, ochres, and porous lavas. The number of active volcanoes is, at present, not great, but hot springs and mud volcanoes testify to the existence of volcanic action along a line running from the extreme south west at Cape Reykjanes to the north coast near Husavik. The only recent well ascertained eruptions have been from Hecla, Aotlugja, Skaptar Vokul, and (in 1874-5) from the mountains to the south-east of Myratu Lake. The eruption of Skaptar in 1783 is the greatest anywhere on record in respect of the quantity of lava and ashes ejected. Earthquakes are not unfrequent. The greatest mountain group is the Vatna or Klofa Yokul, on the south coast, a mass of snow and ice covering many hundred square miles, and sending down prodigious glaciers which almost reach the sea. From one of these a torrent issues, little more than a hundred yards long, and a mile and a half broad. The line of perpetual snow ranges from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. The loftiest summits of this great mountain mass have never been ascended, but the highest point is believed to be the Orefa Yolcal, 6,405 feet. The other considerable peaks in different parts of the island are Herdubreidr (an extinct volcano), 5,290 feet, Eyjafjalla Yokul, 5,579 feet, Snafels Yokul, 5,965 feet, and Hecla, 5,095 feet.]

#### SECTIO SEPTIMA.

[Sidenote: Frisius. Munst.] Montis Hecla flamma nec stuppam lucernarum luminibus aptissimam adurit, neque aqua extinguitur: Eoque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi eijciuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & sulphuris commixtione. Is locus a quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum. Item Zieglerus. Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum.

Nec stuppam adurit.) Vnde habeant Scriptores, non satis conijcitur. Hac enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hic vnquam, nisi prodidissent illi, audita fuissent. Nemo enim est apud nos tam temeraria curiositatis, vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere ansit, vel quod scire licuit, vnquam ausis fuerit. Quod tamen Munsterus asserit. Qui, inquit, naturam tanti incendij contemplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos vna aliqua vorago viuos absorbet &c. Qua res, vt dixi, nostra genti est ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri Noruagorum lingua scriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aeris, &c. miracula aliquot confusa reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falsa. Vnde facile apparet, a Sophis quibusdam, si dijs placet, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum: [Sidenote: Speculum Regale.] Speculum Regale nomen dederunt, propter vanissima mendacia, quibus totus, sed plarumque sub religionis & pietatis pratectu (quo difficilius est fucum agnoscere) scatet speculum minime regale, sed Anile & Irregulare. In hoc speculo figmenta quadam de Hecla incendio, his qua nunc tractamus non multum dissimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quam hac stabilita, ideoque explodenda.

Caterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacij accusem; nullum vero ex his qua minus credibilia affert, recenseam; Accipe horum pauca Lector, qua fidem minime mereri existimarim.

1. De quadam Insula Hybernia; qua templum & Parochiam habet: Cuius incola

decedentes non inhumantur: sed ad aggerem seu parietem coemeterij, viuorum instar erecti, consistunt perpetuo: Nec vlli corruptioni, nec ruina. obnoxij: vt posterum quiuis suos maiores ibi quarere & conspicere possit.

2. De altera Hybernia Insula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3. De omni terra & omnibus arboribus Hybernia, qua omnibus omnino venenis resistant, serpentes & alia venenata, vbiuis terrarum, sola virtute & prasentia, etiam sine contactu, enecent.

4. De tertia Hybernia Insula: Quod hac dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta sit. In dimidiam vero propter templum ibidem exstructum, iuris habeant nihil, licet & pastore (vt tota Insula incolis) & sacris perpetuo careat: idque per naturam ita esse.

5. De quarta Hybernia Insula, qua in lacu quodam satis vasto fluitet: cuius gramina, quibusuis morbis prassentissimum remedium existant: Insula vero ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis, vt tum quiuis facile eam veluti nauim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat. Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque anno ripa adnasci tradit, vt a continente non discernas: In eius autem locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturam, magnitudine & virtute consimilem: qua vnde veniat, nesciri: idque cum quodam quasi tonitru contingere.

6. De venatoribus Noruegia, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumuis improprie: cum ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeo docti sint, vt asseres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoueant, vt non modo canum venaticorum, aut caprearum cursu, sed etiam auium volatu superari nequeant: atque vnico cursu, vnico etiam hasta ictu, nouem vel plures capreas feriant. [Sidenote: Gronlandia.] Hac & similia, de Hybernia, Noruegia, Islandia, Gronlandia, de aqua & aeris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem, vulgo stuporem, nobis tamen risum concitauit.

Sed Frisium audiamus. Flamma, inquit, Montis Hecla nec stuppam, lucernarum luminibus aptissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur. Atqui inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Physici, commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus vt siccis extinguantur, alantur vero humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua inspersa, ignem excitare solent. Cum enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, a frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum vtrumque aqua inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec a circumfuso fumo absumitur, sed totum ignis ipse depascitur, quo purior inde factus, ac simul collectus, a frigido alacrior inde redditur. Vnde etiam ignes artificiosi aqua minime extinguibiles. Item: Sunt sulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, qua sponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minime extinguitur. Prodidit etiam Philosophus, Aqua ali ignem. Arist. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Histor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. In Nymphao excite Petra flamma, que aqua accenditur. Idem, Viret aeternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus. Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis existere, vt Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arsisse totum, idem autor est. [Sidenote: Chronica Islandie.] Et anno 1226, & 1236. non procul a promontorio Islandia Reykianes, flamma ex ipso mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuisse, vt Seruio Tullio dormienti, e capite flammam exsilijisse: Et L. Martium in Hispania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vltionem exhortantem, conflagrasse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius



flamma montana, qua, vt aqua accendatur, ita terra aut foeno extinguatur. Item, Alterius campestris, que frondem densi supra se nemoris non adurat. Qua cum ita sint, mirum, homines id in sola Hecla mirari (ponam enim iam ita esse, cum non sit tamen, quod a quoquam scire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus seu locis, tam montanis, quam campestribus, cum ea commune esset.

Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. [Sidenote: Frisius.] Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua insonat, proijcit ingentia Saxa, sulphur euomit, cineribus egestis, tam longe terram circumcirca operit, vt ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit, &c. Caterum oportuit potius cum Atna, aut alijs montibus flammiumis, quos mox recitabo, comparasse, cum non deesset, non modo simile, sed prope idem: Nisi forte quod incendia rarius ex Hecla erumpant, quam alijs id genus montibus. Nam proxunis 34. annis prorsus quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558. vt superius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnifice dici potest de nostra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius cateris montibus flammiumis competat, vt mox apparebit. Quod vero sulphur ei aculetur, manifestum est commentum nullo experimento apud nostrates cognitum.

Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum. Hic prafandum esse mihi video, atque veniam a Lectore petendam quod cum initio proposuerim, de terra & incolis diuisim agere in hac prima parte tamen, qua sunt merito secunda partis miscere cogar. Euenit hoc scriptorum culpa, qui Insula situi ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, confuderunt. Quare etiam vt hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur isthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Historia positum esse? Quis non miretur, viros sapientes eo perduci, vt hac vulgi deliramenta auscultent, nedum sequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluuiis nautica (hic enim saniores omnes tam inter nautas quam reliquos excipio,) de hoc insolito natura miraculo audiens, ingenito stupore ad istam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem fertur: Siquidem incendio nullam substerni materiam videt, quemadmodum in domesticis focis fieri consuevit. Atque hac persuasione vulgi fama inoleuit dum (vt ad maledicta optime assuefactum est) vnus alteri huius montis incendium imprecatur. Quasi vero ignis elementaris & materiatus ac visibilis, animas, i. substantias spirituales comburat. Quis denique non miretur cur eundem carcere damnatorum, non in Atna etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, confingant? At confinxit dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur est. Sit sane: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas qua & purgatorij. Sed priusquam longius procedamus, libet hic referre fabulam perlepidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum nauis Islandiam relinquenti & turgidis velis citissimo cursu iter suum recta legenti, factam obuiam alteram similiter impigro cursu, sed contra vim tempestatum, velis & remis nitentem: cuius prafectus rogatus, quinam essent? Respondisse fertur: De Bischof van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Heckelfeldt tho, Thom Heckelfeldt tho. Hac videns Lector vereor, ne peluim postulet dari: Est enim mendacium adeo detestandum, vt facile nauseam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynosarges & ranas palustres: illud enim eiusde facimus atque illarum coax, coax. Nec vero dignum est hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum insanis Papistis nugari: Quin potius ad scriptores nostros conuertamur.

Atque inprimis nequeo hic, clarissimi viri, D. Casparis Peuceri, illud praterire. Est in Islandia, inquit, mons Hecla, qui immanis barathri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, eiulantium miserabili & lamentabili ploratu personat, vt voces plorantium circumquaque, ad interuallum magni milliaris audiantur. Circumnolitant hunc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, qua nidulari ibidem ab incolis existimantur. Vulgus incolarum

descensum esse per voraginem illam ad inferos persuasum habet: Inde cum praelia committuntur alibi in quacunque parte orbis terrarum aut cades fiunt cruenta commoueri horrendos circumcirca tumultus & excitari clamores atque eiulatus ingentes longa experientia didicerunt. Quis vero rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctissime perferre ausus fuit? Nec enim vultures habet Islandia, sed genus aquilarum secundum, quod ab albicante cauda Plinius notauit & Pygarsum appellauit. Nec vlli sunt huius spectaculi apud nos testes: Nec denique ibidem coruos aut aquilas nidificare probabile est, qua, igni & fumo semper inimicissimo, potius a focus vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei testimonium, (vt & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,) experientiam incolarum allegant, qua certe contraria omnia testatur. Vnde vero foramen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, strepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, periacos & antacos factos exaudiremus? De qua re multa essent, qua authorem istius mendacij interrogatum haberem, modo quid de illo nobis constaret: qui vtinam veriora narrare discat, nec tam perfricta fronte similia, incomperta, atque, adeo incredibilia, clarissimo viro Peucero, aut alijs referre prasumat.

Ast vero Munsterus cum incendij tanti & tam incredilis caussas in famosissima Atna inuestigare conatus sit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hic vero praternaturalem imo infernalem faciat, an non monstri simile est? Caterum de Athna quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Hecla incendio alias sentiat Munsterus.

[Sidenote: Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersal. lib. 1. cap. 7.] Dubium non est, inquit, montes olim & campos arsisse in orbe terrarum: Et nostra quidem state ardent. Verbi gratia: In Islandia mons Hecla statis temporibus foras projicit ingentia Saxa, euomit sulphur spargit cineres, tam longe circumcirca, vt terra ad vicesimum lapidem coli non possit. Vbi autem montium incendia perpetua sunt, intelligimus nullam esse obstructionem meatuum, per quos modo, quasi fluuium quendam, ignes, modo flammas, nunc vero fumum tantum euomunt. Sin per temporum interualla increscunt, internis meatibus obturatis, eius viscera nihilominus ardent Superioris autem partis incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast vbi spiritus vehementior, rursus reclusis meatibus ijsdem vel alijs, ex carcere magna vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, sulphur, pumices, massas, qua habent speciem ferri, saxa, aliasque materias foras projicit, plerunque non sine detrimento regionis adiacentis. Hac Munsterus. Vbi videas quaso Lector, quomodo suo se iugulet gladio, videas inquam hic eadem de incendio Hecla & Atna opinionem & sententiam, qua tamen lib 4. eiusdem, admodum est dispar, vt illic ad causas infernales confugiat.

Habet profecto India occidentalis mons quidam flammiumus aquiores multo, quam hic noster censores & historicos, minime illic barathrum exadificantes: Cuius historiam, quia & breuis est, & non illepida, subiiciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiar noui orbis, lib. 2. his verbis descriptam.

Triginta quinque, inquit, milliarium interuallo abest Legionem mons flammiumus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos saepe flammium globos eructat, vt noctu latissime vltra 10000. passuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullis fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum esse, perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itaque Dominicanus quidam monachus cum eius rei periculum facere vellet, ahenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat moxque in montis iugum cum quatuor alijs Hispanis ascendens, catenam cum aheno ad centum quadraginta vlnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis feruore, ahenum cum parte catena liquefactum est. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incusat, quod catenam tenuiorem multo, quam iussisset ipse, esset

fabricatus. Faber aliam multo crassiorem excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incepto similem exitum habuit. Nec tantum resolutus lebes euanuit, verum etiam flamma globus repente e profundo exsiliens, propemodum & Fratrem & socios absumpsit. Omnes quidem adeo percussi in urbem reuersi sunt, vt de eo incepto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitarent &c.

O quam censura dispar? In montano India occidentalis camino auram: Islandia vero, infernum quarunt. Sed hoc vt nimis recens, ac veteribus ignotum fortasse reijcient: Cur igitur eundem, quem in Hecla Islandia, animarum in Chimara carcerem, Lycia monte, cuius noctu diuque flamma immortalis perhibetur, non sunt imaginati scriptores? Cur no in Ephesi montibus, quos tada flammante tactos, tantum ignis concipere accepimus, vt lapides quoque & arena in ipsis aquis ardeant, & ex quibus accenso baculo, si quis sulcum traxerit, riuos ignium sequi narrator a Plinio? Cur non in Cophantro Bactrorum monte, noctu semper conflagrante? Cur non in Hiera Insula, medio mari ardente? Cur non in Aolia, similiter in ipso mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accensa? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdiu flagrante? Cur non in Athiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu semper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Lipara tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teste Aristotele, ad quem non tuto noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorum sonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum insolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur non in illa superius commemorata Teneriffa pyramide montana, instar Atna, iugiter ardente, & lapides, vt ex Munstero videre est, in aera exspuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum iugo, quod Plinius testatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Vesuuio monte, non sine insigni vicinia clade, & C. Plinij exitiali detrimento, dum insueti incendij causas perscrutaturus venit, nubium tenus flammas cum saxis euomente, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copia aera replente, & solem meridianum per totam viciniam densissimis tenebris intercipientem? Dicam, & dicam quod res est: Quia scilicet illis, vtpote notioribus, fidem, etsi inferni esse incendia finxissent, minime adhiberi prauidebant: Hecla vero astum, cuius rumor tardius ad eorum aures peruenit, huic commento vanissimo stabiliendo, magis inseruire putabant. Sed facessite: Deprahensa fraus est: Desinite posthac illam de inferno Heklensi opinionem cuiquam velle persuadere. Docuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis inuitis, consimilibus incendijs, operationes suas Natura, non Infernus. Sed videamus iam plura eiusdem farina vulgi mendacia, qua Historicis & Cosmographis nostris adeo male imposuerunt.

The same in English.

#### THE SEUENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius. Munsterus.] The flame of mount Hecla will not burne towe (which is most apt for the wieke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the same force that bullets are discharged out of warlike engines with vs, from thence are great stones cast foorth into the aire, by reason of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimstone. This place is thought of some to be the prison of vncleane soules. Item: Zieglerus. This place is the prison of vncleane soules.

Will not burne towe. Where these writers should finde such matters, it is not easie to coniecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they euer bene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with vs so rashly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any such conclusions, or (to our knowledge) that euer durst: which notwithstanding Munster affirmeth, saying: They that are desirous to contemplate the nature

of so huge a fire, & for the same purpose approach vnto the mountaine, are by some gulfe swallowed vp aliue, &c. which thing (as I sayd) is altogether vnknowne vnto our nation. [Sidenote: Speculum regale written in the Noruagian tongue.] Yet there is a booke extant, written in the ancient language of the Noruagians, wherein you may finde some miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confusedly written, few of them true, and the most part vaine and false. Whereupon it easily appeareth that it was written long since by some that were imagined to be great wise men in the time of Popery. [Sidenote: Whence the fables of Island grew.] They called it a royall looking glasse: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the most part vnder the shew of religion and piety, whereby it is more difficult to finde out the cousinage) it doeth all ouer swarme, it deserueth not the name of a looking glasse royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wiues looking glasse. In this glasse there are found certaine figments of the burning of Hecla, not much vnlike these which we now entreat of, nor any whit more grounded vpon experience, and for that cause to be reiected.

But that I may not seeme somewhat foolehardy, for accusing this royall looking glasse of falshood (not to mention any of those things which it reporteth as lesse credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I suppose deserue no credit at all.

1. Of a certain Isle in Ireland, hauing a church and a parish in it, the inhabitants whereof deceasing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing men, do continually, against some banke or wall in the Churchyard, stand bolt-vpright: neither are they subiect to any corruption or downfall: insomuch that any of the posteritie, may there seeke for, and beholde their ancestors.
2. Of another Isle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.
3. Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to resist all poisons, and to kill serpents, and other venimous things, in any countrey whatsoever, by the only vertue and presence thereof yea euen without touching.
4. Of a third Isle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of deuils, but that the sayd deuils haue no iurisdiction ouer the other halfe, by reason of a Church there built, although, as the whole Isle is without inhabitants, so this part is continually destitute of a Pastor, and of diuine seruice: and that it is so by nature.
5. Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating vp and downe in an huge lake, the grasse whereof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that the lland, at certeine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not suffer any more then one to enter at a time. Furthermore he reporteth that this Island euery seuenth yere groweth fast to the banke, so that you cannot discern it from firme land: but that into the place thereof there succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.
6. Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he speaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be ascribed) that wooden pattens of eight elnes long being bound to the soles of their feet do cary them with so great celeritie euen vpon hie

mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnes of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or more at one course & with one stroke of a dart.

These and such like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Island, Gronland. of the miracles of water, and aire, this master of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glasse: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers woonder, and the common people to be astonished, yet hath he ministred vnto vs nothing but occasion of laughter.

But let vs heare Frisius. The flame of mount Hecla (sayth he) will not burne towe (which is most apt matter for the wicke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I say that this strange opinion may be confirmed by many reasons borrowed out of your schoole of Philosophy. For the natarall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: whereupon, euen blacksmithes, by sprinckling on of water, vse to quicken and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is stirred vp by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth proue more fattie and grosse, neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe feedeth vpon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame wherof cannot be quenched with water. The ground Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist 3. de anim. And Plinie, in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke. In Nympeum there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The same author sayth: The ashe continually flourisheth, couering a burning fountaine. And moreouer that there are sudden fires at some times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the lake of Thrasumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the same Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Islande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the sea. Yea euen vpon mens bodies sudden fires haue glittered: as namely, there sprang a flame from the head of Seruius Tullius lying a sleepe: and also Lucius Martius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his souldiers, and exhorting them to reuenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Antias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaues of shadie trees that growe directly ouer it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for disputation sake, when indeede there is no such matter so farre foorth as euer I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone and with the cinders that are blowen abroad, it couereth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to haue compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Vnlesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other

mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue before noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare.

But that brimstone should be sent foorth it is a meere fable, and neuer knowen vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of vnclene soules. Here I am constrained to vse a preface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitants distinctly by themselues, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong vnto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these writers, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the island. Wherefore that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder that wise men should be growen to this point, not onely to listen after, but euen to follow and embrace the dotings of the rude people: For the common sort of strangers, and the offskowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement aswell mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockishnesse are earned to this imagination of the prison of soules: and that because they see no wood nor any such fewell layed vpon this fire as they haue in their owne chimneys at home. And by this perswasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the firie torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodiless and inuisible substances. And to be short, who can but woonder, why they should not faine the same prison of damned soules, aswell in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this: But you will say, that Pope Gregorie fained it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie. I am content it should be so: then there is the same trueth of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, vnder full saile, a most swift pace, going diectly on her course, met with another ship sailing against winde & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselues, who hailing them of whence they were, answeere was giuen by their gouernor, De Bischoep van Bremen: being the second time asked whether they were bound: he answered, Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho. I am affeard lest the reader at the sight of these things should call for a bason: for it is such an abominable lie, that it would make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coax coax. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be smiled at, much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let vs rather come vnto our owne writers.

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthie man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaste gulfe, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great swarmes of vgly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hoouering about this place which are thought of the inhabitantes to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in

whatsoever part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cryes, what monstrous skritchies are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares: Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygars: neither are there any with vs, that can beare witness of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would nestle in that place, when as they should rather be driuen from thence by fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for prooffe of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabouts should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare outcries, noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from vs: Concerning which thing I would aske the author of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from hencefoorth he would learne to tell troth, & not presume with so impudent a face to enforme excellent Peucer, or others, of such vnknown and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endeououring to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine to be preternaturall, yea infernal? But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

[Sidenote: Munsterus Cosmograph. vniuersalis lib. 1. cap. 7.] It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we vnderstand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking gas it were a streaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encreaseth, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateth for the time. But when a more vehement spirite (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the damage of the whole region adioyning. Thus farre Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diuerse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The History of which mountain (because it is short & sweete) I will set downe, being written by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. "About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they shine farre and neare, aboue 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministring continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the

matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an iron chain to be made: afterward ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letteth downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had commanded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returnes to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron; but with the like successe that he had before. Neither did the cauldron only vanish & melt away: but also, vpon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost consumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c." What great difference is there betweene these two censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount Hecla of Island they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reiect this as a thing too new, & altogether vnknown to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimara an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of Island? Why haue they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning torch, are reported to conceiue so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there procede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie testifieth? Why not in Cophantrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approach in the night: from whence the sound of Cymbals and the noyse of rattles, with vnwonted and vncouth laughters are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and casting vp stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuuus, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adioyning, & to the vtter destruction of Caius Plinius prying into the causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aire with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would yeeld no credite to those things as being too well knownen, though they should haue feined them to haue beene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the rumour whereof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, that there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fire workes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more such fables of the common people, which haue so vnappily misledd our historiographers & cosmographers.

#### SECTIO OCTAUA.

[Sidenote: Frisius Zieglerus, Olauus Magn.] luxta hos montes (tres pradictos Heclam, &c.) sunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed



apparent ipsum insipientibus, homines primum submersi, adhuc spiritum exhalantes, qui amicis suis, vt ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis suspirijs se ad montem Heclam proficisci debere respondent: Sicque subito euanescunt.

Ad confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumniosum (etsi facile largiar, Frisium non tam calumniandi, quam noua & inaudita pradicandi animo ista scripsisse) quam falsum ac gerris Siculis longe vanius ac detestabilius, excogitarunt homines ignaui, nec coelum ec infernum scientes. Quos scriptores isti, viri alioqui praclarissimi & optime de Repub. literaria meriti, nimium prapropero iudicio secuti sunt.

Caterum optandum esset, nullos tanto nouitatis studio Historias scribere, vt non vereantur aniles quasuis nugae ijs inserere, atque ita aurum purum coeno aspergere. Qui vero demum sunt homines illi submersi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabulantes? Anne nobis veterem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygias relabente vndas, colloquentem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrumque niualem, cantus exercentem lyricos, rediuuium dabit? Certe, etsi nolint alij fulem huiusmodi ineptiarum leuitatem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens astimator Cardanus, lib. 18. subtil. cuius hac sunt verba.

Est Hecla mons in Islandia, ardetque non aliter ac Atna in Sicilia per interualla, ideoque persuasione longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur animaa. Alij, ne vani sint, affingunt inania fabula, vt consona videantur. Qua sunt autem illa inania? Quod spectra comminiscuntur, se ad montem Heclam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit. Nec in Islandia solum, sed vbique, licet raro, talia contingunt: Subditque de larua homicida Historiam, qua sic habet. Efferebatur, inquit, anno praterito, funus viri plebeij Mediolani, orientali in porta iuxta templum maius foro venali, quod a caulium frequentia nomen caulis nostra lingua sonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, vt medicorum moris est, quo morbo excesserit? Respondet ille: consuesse hunc virum hora noctis, tertia a labore redire domum: Vidit lemurem nocte quadam insequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, ocyus citato pede abibat: Sed a spectro captus atque in terram proiectus videbatur. Exclamare nitebatur: Non poterat. Tandem, cum diu in terra cum larua volutatus esset, inuentus a pratereuntibus quibusdam, semiuiuus domum relatus, cum resipuisset, interrogatus, hac qua minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam despondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec sacerdotibus persuaderi potuisset, inania esse hac, octo inde diebus perijt. Audiui postmodum & ab alijs, qui vicini essent illi, neminem ab inimico vulneratum tam constanter de illo testatum, vt hic, quod a mortuo fuisset in terram prouolutus. Cum quidam quarent, quid ille postquam in terram volutaretur ageret? Conatum, inquit, mortuum adhibitis gula manibus, vt eum strangularet: Nec obstitisse quicquam, nisi quod se ipsum tueretur manibus. Cum alij dubitarent, ne forte hac a viuo passus esset, interrogarentque in quo mortuum a viuo discernere potuisset? Causam reddidit satis probabilem, dicens se tanquam cottum attrectasse, nec pondus habuisse, nisi vt premebatur. Et paulo post addit. Eadem vero ratione qua in Islandia, in arena solitudinibus Aegypti & Athiopia, Indiaque vbi Sol ardet, eadem imagines, eadem spectra viatores ludificare solent. Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo concluderet, sicut de Islandia scriptores nostri faciunt, in illis Aegypti and Athiopia, Indiaque locis, carcerem existere damnatorum.

Hac ex Cardano adscribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum testimonia pro nobis, contra figmenta tanta afferamus. Conuincit autem prasens Cardani

locus hac duo, scilicet: nec esse Islandia proprias spectrorum apparitiones: (quod etiam omnes norunt, nisi eius rei ignorantiam nimis affectent) nec illud mortuorum cum viuis, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium, nisi ementitis hominum fabulis, quauis ampulla vani oribus, niti, quibus belua vulgares, ad confirmandam de animarum cruciatibus opinionem, vsa fuerant. Et quisquam est, qui illis scriptorum hiatibus, mortuorum miraculis ad summum vsque refertis, adduci potest vt credat? Quisquam, qui vanitatem tantam non cotemnat? Certe. Nam & hinc conuicia in gentem nostram recte sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac proiectius ac deterius esse vsquam, qua intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc commodi nobis peperit Historicorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auditas. Verum illa e vulgi dementia nata opinio, vt stulta ac inanis, & in opprobrium nostra gentis conficta, hactenus, vt spero, satis labefactata est. Quare iam perge Lector, vltterius hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

The same in English.

#### THE EIGHT SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius. Zieglerus. Olaus magnus.] Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. fornamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he neuer so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away.

To confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not entend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, no lesse reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes these writers (being otherwise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer hastie iudgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a desire of setting foorth nouelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to broch any fabulous & old-wiues toyes, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned men be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parletng with their acquaintance & friends? What? Will you coniure, & raise vp vnto vs from death to life old, Orpheus conferring with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting vpon his harpe? But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falsbood, & vanity of these trifles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of al things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whose words be these. There is Hecla a mountaine in Island, which burneth like vnto Atna at certain seasons, & hereupon the comon people haue conceiued an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least they should seeme liars, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reason. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering them, that they are going to mount Hecla; as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth. Neither in Island only, but euery where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tels this storie following of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a comon citizen, in the gate

neare vnto the great Church, by that marketplace, which in regard of the abundace of herbs, in our tong hath the name of the herbmarket. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giueth me answere that this man vsed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night among the rest he espied an hobgoblin pursuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with al speed: but being caught by the spright, he was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a shout, & was not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together vpon the ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he vp and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being vtterly daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died. I heard also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more constantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was cast vpon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to strangle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted least he might suffer these things of a liuing man, they asked him how he could discern a dead man from a liuing? To this he rendered a very probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cottum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently after he addeth. In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of Agypt, Athiopia, and India, where the sunne is hot, the very same apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Yet from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Island do, that in the places of Agypt, Athiopia, and India, there is a prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implieth these two things, namely that apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al men know, if they do not maliciously feigne themselues to be ignorant). And secondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in the gulfe of Hecla is not grounded vpon any certainty, but only vpon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish common sort haue vsed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantastically, that wilbe induced to beleue these gulfes, mentioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be neuer so full of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. For from hence also they say, that reproches are iustly vsed against our nation: namely that there is nothing in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which containeth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by those historiographers, who haue bin so greedy to publish nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the common people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently ouerthrowen as a thing foolish & vaine, and as being deuised for the vpbroyding of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

## SECTIO NONA.

[Sidenote: Frisius & Munst.] Circum vero Insulam, per septem aut octo menses fluctuat glacies, miserabilem quendam gemitum, & ab humana voce non alienum, ex collisione edens. Putant incola, & in monte Hecla, & in

glacie loca esse, in quibus anima suorum crucientur.

Egregium scilicet Historia augmentum, de Orro Islandico in vnus montis basin, haud sane vastam, coacto: Et interdum (statis forsane temporibus) loca commutante. Vbi scilicet domi in foco montano delitescere piget, & exire, pelagusque sed sine rate, tentare iuuat, seseque in glaciei frustella colligere. Audite porro, huius secreti admiratores: En porrigam Historicis aliud Historia auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quotquot his scriptorum commentis adherent, Islandos non solum infernum intra limites habere, sed & scientes volentes ingredi, atque intactos eodem die egredi. Quid ita? Quia peruetus est Insula consuetudo, vt maritimi in hanc glaciem, ab Historicis infernalem factam, mane phocas, seu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac vesperi incolumes redeant. Adde etiam, in scrinijs & alijs vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asseruari, vt paulo post ex Frisio audiemus.

Sed mature prouidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis & constantia laudem vestris nationibus praripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (vt historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse & velint & possint, illaque sine villo grauiore damno perrumpere atque effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso venationis actu longiuscule a littore digressi, glacie a Zephyris dissipata, multa miliaria glaciei insidentes, tempestatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus iactati, sicque (id enim, inquam, ex prasenti Historicorum problemate consequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem mutata tempestate, atque a Borea spirantibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali nauigio rursus adacti, incolumes domum peruenerunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis audi arripiant, indeque, si placet, iustum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quam eiusmodi iocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Caterum, ioco seposito, vnde digressi sumus, reuertamur.

Primum igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, et si interdum ex collisione grandes sonitus & fragores edit, interdum propter vndarum alluionem, raucum murmur personat, quicquam tamen humana voci simile resonare aut eiulare minime fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt, nos & in glacie, & in monte Hecla loca statuere, in quibus anima, nostrorum crucientur, Id vero serio pernegamus, Deoque ac Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui nos a morte & inferno eripuit, & regni coelestis ianuam nobis reserauit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem anima nostrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quam dicunt isti Historici, instituerit. Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatoriam Pontificiorum, aut campos Elysios, sed in sinum Abraba, in manum Dei, in Paradisum coelestem, mox e corporis ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, vbi est fletus & stridor dentium, vbi est frigus, vbi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extra nostram scientiam & subtilem disputationem positus. Vbi non modo corpora, sed anima etiam, i.e. substantia spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniore, quam Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamuis aliam gentem, quoad loci situm, statuimus. Nec de huius carceris loco situue quicquam disputare attinet: sufficit nobis abunde, quod illius tenebricosum foetorem & reliqua tormenta, dante & iuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nonquam sumus visuri aut sensuri. Atque

hic de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

The same in English.

#### THE NINTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius and Munster.] But round about the Iland, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not vnlike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount Hecla and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countrey men are tormented.

No doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, shut vp within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing places: namely, when it is weary of lurking at home by the fires side within the mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, & to gather it selfe round into morsels of yce. Come forth, & giue care all ye that wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afford these historiographers another addition of history very notable. Let them write therefore, that the Islanders haue not only hel within their iurisdiction, but also that they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched the very same day. How can that be? [Sidenote: Taking of Seales on the the ice.] Why it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the sea shore do vsually go betimes in a morning to catch Seales, euen vpon the very same ise which the historiographers make to be hel, & in the euening returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison of the damned is kept in store by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as we shall anon heare out of Frisius.

But you had need wisely to foresee, lest the Islanders beguile all your countries of the commendation of courage & constacy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can and will endure the torments of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. [Sidenote: Westerne winds disperse the ice.] And I am able to reckon vp a great many of our countnmen who in the very act of hunting, wandring somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting vpon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies & nights being tossed vp & downe in the waues of the raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the historiographers) haue had experience of the torments, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weather being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported again to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, haue returned home in safety: some of which number are alieue at this day. Wherefore let such as be desirous of newes snatch vp this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their history. Neither do these vaine phantasies deserue otherwise to be handled & confuted, then with such like meriments, & sportings. But to lay aside all iesting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. [Sidenote: Ice floateth not 7. or 8. moneths about Island.] First of all therefore it is euident enough out of the second section, viz. ice floateth not about this Iland, neither 8. nor 7. moneths in a yere then, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But

wheras they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherin the soules of our countrimen are tormented, we vtterly stand to the deniall of that and we thanke God & our Lord Iesus Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vnto vs the gate of the kingdome of heaan because he hath instructed vs more truely, concernmg the place, whether the soules of our deceased countrimen depart, then these historiographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the soules of the godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heauenly paradise. We know & maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vtter darknesse, where is weeping & gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, & fire not comon, but far beyond our knowledge & curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, that is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, that the Islanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame & darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoever. Neither is it any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for vs, that (by the grace and assistance of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whose precious blood we are redeemed) we shall neuer see that vtter darknesse, nor feele the rest of the torments that be there. Now let vs here shut vp the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

#### SECTIO DECIMA.

[Sidenote: Frisius, Zieglerus Saxo fere similiter.] Quod si quis ex hac glacie magnam partem ceperit, eamque vasi ant scrinio inclusam, quam diligentissime asseruarit, illa tempore glaciei, qua circum insulam est, degelantis, euanescit, vt neque minima eius particula vel guttula aqua reperiatur.

Id profecto necessario addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, representatem, & damnatorom receptaculum existentem, non esse, vt reliqua in vastissima hac vniuersitate omnia, ex Elementi alicuius materia conflata. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisij paradoxo recte deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac, spectra & genij: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris natura, vt vel spiritualem habeat materiam, vel coelestem, vel quod ipsi forsan largiantur, infernalem. Infernalem tamen esse non assentimur, quia ad aures nostras peruenit frigus infernale longe esse intractabilius, quam est hac glacies, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquam suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem ladere valens. Nec profecto spiritualem esse dabimus; accepimus enim a Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec ijs quicquam decedere posse: qua tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumuis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum & manifestum est. Praterea & hoc verissimum est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, siti piscatorum restinguenda, non secus ac riuos terrestres, inseruire: Id quod substantia spirituali denegatum est. Non est igitur spiritualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam vero coelestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici affingunt, secum e coelo traxisse: Vel id coelo, quippe eiusdem materia cum glacie, commune esse, atque ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso coelesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare cum glacies hac Historica nec sit elementaris, vt ex prasenti loco

Frisij optime sequi iam toties monuimus: nec spiritualis, nec infernalis, quod vtrumque breuibns, solidis tamen rationibns demonstrauius: nec coelestis materia, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquatur omnino, vt secundum eosdem Historicos nulla sit, quam tamen illi tam cum stupenda admiratione pradicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, & non est: Quod axioma vbi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, verum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credemus. Itaque iam vides Lector, ad hac refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quam monstrari quomodo secum dissideant. Sed haud mirum, eum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se cermisit, sapius errare. Cuiusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciei huius Sympathia, quod videlicet molis, cuius pars esset, discessum insequeretur, vt omnem obseruationis diligentiam ineuitabili fuga necessitate deciperet. Atqui saepe idimus eiusmodi solitariam molem post abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus nullis machinis detentam, ad littus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur, illud de glacie miraculum fundamento niti, quam est ipsa glacies, magis lubrico.

The same in English.

#### THE TENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius. Zieglerus. Saxo.] If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall keepe it neuer so warily enclosed in a coffer or vessel, it wil at that time when the ice thaweth about the lland, vtterly vanish away, so that not the least part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found.

Surely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, that this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as all other things in this wide world, consist of the matter of some element. For whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Frisius absurd opinion) whereas also it pierceth through hard & solide bodies, no otherwise then spirits & ghosts: therefore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, that it must haue either a spirituall, or a celestial, or an infernal matter. But that it should be infernal, we can not be perswaded, because we haue heard that infernal cold is farre more vnsufferable then this ise, which vseth to be put into a boxe with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked flesh, by touching thereof. Nor yet will we grant it to be spirituall: for we haue learned in naturall Philosophy, that spiritual substances can neither be seene nor felt, & cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do notwithstanding most manifestly agree to this ise of the Historiographers, howsoeuer according to them it be supernatural. Besides also, it is most true, that the very same yse being melted with the heat of the sunne, & resolued into water, vpon the vpper part therof, standeth fishermen in as good stead to quench their thirst, as any land-riuer would do, which thing can no way be ascribed to a spirituall substance. It is not therefore spirituall, nor yet infernal. Now none wilbe so bold to affirme, that it hath celestiall matter, least some man perhaps might hereupon imagine, that this ise hath brought hell (which the historiographers annexe vnto it) downe from heauen together with it selfe: or that the same thing should be common vnto heauen, being of one & the same matter with ise, & so that the prison of the damned may be thought to haue changed places with the heauenly paradise, & all by the ouersight of these Historiographers. Wherefore seeing the matter of this historicall ise is neither elementarie (as we haue so often proued by this place of Frisius) neither spirituall, nor infernal, both which we haue concluded euidently in short, yet sound and substanciall reasons: nor yet celestiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is

altogether manifest, that according to the said historiographers, there is no such thing at all, which notwithstanding they blaze abroad with such astonishing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly seene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which proposition when it shall fall out true, in the same respect, in the same part, and at the same time, then will we giue credite to these frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may easily iudge, that wee need none other helpe to refute these things, but onely to shew how they disagree one with another. But it is no maruell that he, which hath once enclined himselfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, should oftentimes fall into error. There was a like strange thing inuented by another concerning the sympathy or conioining of this ise: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, so narrowly, & so swiftly, that a man by no diligence can obserue it, by reason of the vnchangeable necessitie of following. But we haue oftentimes seene such a solitarie lumpe of ise remaining (after the other parts thereof were driuen away) and lying vpon the shore for many weekes together, without any posts or engines at all to stay it. Therefore it is plaine that these miracles of ise are grounded vpon a more slippery foundation then ise it selfe.

#### SECTIO VNDECIMA.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] Non procat ab his montibus, (tribus pradictis) ad maritimas oras vergentibus, sunt quatuor fontes diuersissima natura. Vnus suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim conuertit in saxum, manente tamen priore forma. Alter est algoris intolerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior & restinguenda siti iucundissimus. Quartus plane exitialis, pestilens, & virulentus.

Etiam hac fontium topographia satis aperte monstrat, quam ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas hauserit Geographus. Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres pradictos fere, contiguos esse: Siquidem tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiscrete adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, vni alicui horam duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem dissiti) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiatur. Caterum ad hac confundenda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorum contrarietas. Nam de duobas fontibus quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit. Erumpunt ex eodem monte (Hecla) fontes duo, quorum alter equarum frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim. Hi duo sunt primi illi Frisij fontes, nisi quod hic miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. Atqui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, & iuxta montem erumpere.

Hic vero libenter quasierim, qua ratione quisquam ex Peripatecicis dicat, aliquid ipso elemento aqua frigidius, aut igne calidius? Vnde demum, scriptores, ista frigiditas? Vnde iste feruor? Nonne e Schola vestra accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque adeo frigidissimum, vt ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse, nec simplicem vsibus humanis inseruire? (Hac ego nunc Physicorum oracula fundo, vera an falsa, nescio). Testis est vnus omnium, & pro omnibus, Iohannes Fernelius lib. 2. Physiologia, cap. 4. Sic, inquit, qualitates haec (quatuor prima) quatuor rerum naturis summa obtigerunt, vt quemadmodum paro igne nihil calidius, nihilque leuius: Sic terra nihil siccus, nihil grauius: Aquam sinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida euincet, vt nec aerem, vllius humor. Summa praterea sic illis insunt, vt ne minimum quidem possint augescere, remitti vero possint. Nolo huc rationes seu argumenta Physicorum aggregare. Vnum profecto hic cauendum est, ne dum fontium



miracula pradicant scriptores, vt glaciem Islandorum, ita etiam fontes creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adiuncta, qua huc scriptores pertraxerunt ordine persequemur. Primus suo perpetuo calore: Plurima sunt in Islandia therma seu fontes calidi: Pauciores ardentis: quos neque cuiquam miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum huiusmodi, vt a scriptoribus didici, passim abundet Germania, praecipue in ijs locis, qua non sunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badensium, Gebarsuiliensium, Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtebergensi, & multarum aliarum quarum meminit Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, & longe magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles narrat, circa Epyrum calidas aquas scaturire, vnde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atque inquam, hac ideo minus miranda, quod vt incendij montani, ita feruoris aquei causas indagarint Natura speculatores: Aquam scilicet per terra venas sulphureas, aut aluminosas labi, indeque non calorem solum, sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristoteles libro de mundo. Continet, inquit, terra in se multos fontes, vt aqua, ita & spiritus & ignis: Quidam amnium more fluunt, & vel ignescens eijciunt ferrum: Nunc tepida aqua erumpunt, nunc feruentissima, nunc temperata.

[Sidenote: Lib 3. Nat. quast.] Et Seneca: Empedocles existimabat ignibus, quos multis locis apertos tegit terra, aquam calescere, si subiecti sint solo, per quod aqua transitus est. Et scite de thermis Baianis Pontanus.

Baiano sed ne fumare in littore thermas  
Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:  
Vulcani fora sulphureis incensa caminis  
Ipsa monent, late multum tellure sub ima  
Debacchari ignem, camposque exurere opertos.  
Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,  
Vnda fugax, tectis feruent & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratissimus historicus, Islandia fontes quosdam nunc ad summum excrescere, & exundare: Nunc adeo subsidere, vt vix fontes agnoscas. Qui etsi rariores apud nos inueniuntur, adscribam tamen similes, etiam alibi a natura productos, ne quis hic monstri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Insula vnum, qui semper a tertia noctis hora, in sextam solstitio astiuo exundet. In agro Pitinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluuium esse, qui omnibus Solstitijs astiuis exundet, brumali tempore siccet. Refert etiam de fonte quodam satis largo, qui singulis horis intumescat & residat. Nec id magis negligendum: subire terras flumina, rursusque redire; vt Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moscouia: Et qua in Asculapij fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaetico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse flumina, qua in specum aliquem subterraneum demissa, ex hominum oculis se subducunt, qua consumi paulatim & intercideri constet: Eademque post interuallum reuertit, recipereque & nomen & cursum priorem. Et iterum Plinius; fluuium in Atinate campo mersum, post 20 millia passuum exire. Qua omnia, & his similia, Islandia fontes, miraculo nullo, praeceteris esse debere, ostendunt.

Omne corpus immissum continuo conuertit in saxum. His duobus adiunctis, feruore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum suum fontem describit Frisius. Et fama quidem accepi, ipse non sum expertus, existere similem fontem in Islandia, non procul a sede Episcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadahl. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, fontem quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides conuertat, hominumque viscera indurescere, qui aquam eius biberint: Et addit eiusmodi fontes in quibusdam Italia locis inueniri: quod Ouidias Ciconum flumini tribuit 15. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit  
Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu iuxta oppidum a falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conuersas esse, atque quod maius est, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere. Et Domitius Brusonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis eius, qui est in agro urbis Vrsentinorum olim, nunc Contursij lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides transire, non fide aliorum, sed propria, ut qui incola sit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius astipulatur) narrat, cortices autem lapidum, annos numero ostendere. Sic (si scriptoribus credimus) gutta Gotici fontis sparsa lapidescunt. Et in Vngaria, Cepusij aqua, in vrceos infusa, lapidescit. Plinius refert etiam, ut in Ciconom flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum deiectum, lapideo cortice obduci.

Secundus aliorum intolerabilis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hic est quod quisquam sciat, aliorum intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita ut vulgaribus riuis astiuo sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longe frigidiores forte alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio e montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, niue frigidiorum: Et intra primum a Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: qua aqua cum feruere videatur, sit tamen longe frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neque id prorsus verum est. Non enim est vllus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit inueniri Cerealem referentes liquorem, ut etiam ibidem non diuersi saporis solum, sed diuersi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.

Etsi autem tradunt Physici aquam naturaliter ex se neque saporem neque odorem habere, tamen, ut superius attigimus, veri simile est, quod alij per accidens vocant, eam saepe referre qualitatem terra, in qua generatur, & per cuius venas transitum atque excursum habet: Atque hinc aquarum odores, colores, sapes, alios atque alios existere, Cuiusmodi sunt, de quibus narrat Seneca, quorum alij famem excitant, alij bibentes inebriant, alij memoria officiant, alij inuent eandem, alij vini saporem & virtutem representent: [Sidenote: Lib. de mirab. auscultat.] Ut ille apud Plinium in Andro Insula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Ian: vini saporem fluat. Et apud Aristotelem fons in agro Carthaginensi, qui oleum prabeat, & guttulas Cedri odore representet. Item, Orcus fluuius Thessalia, influens in Peneum, olei instar supernatans: [Sidenote: Lib. 2. de Element.] Cuiusmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxoniam esse, iuxta Brumoniam oppidum, fontem oleo perfusum: Et in Sueuia, iuxta Coenobium, cui Tergensche nomen est. Item, in valle mentis Iurassi. Causam huius rei putat esse bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum sine dubio contineat. Idem, famam esse ait, in Cardia, iuxta locum Dasbyli, in campo albo aquam esse lacte dulciorem. Aliam quoque iuxta pontem, qua Valdeburgum itur. Iam aquarum vini saporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,  
Vnde tuum pota Naxia turba merum.

Est autem Naxus Insula vna ex Cycladibus, in mari Aegeo. Causam huius assignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetustate transeat in vinum. Aristoteles commemorat Sicilia fontem, quo incola loco aceti vtantur. Idem saporum aqua causam in calorem retulit, quod terra excocta mutet & prabeat saporem aqua.

Iam de aqua coloribus ita Cardanus. Eadem est ratio colorum aqua, ait, qua & saporum: videlicet a terra originem trahere. Nam Candida est aqua, ad secundum lapidem a Glaucia, Misena oppido: Rubea, vt in Radera Misena fluuio, iuxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Iudaa iuxta Ioppen: Viridis, in Carpato monte, iuxta Neusolam: Carulea aut blaua, inter Feltrium & Taruisium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuisse referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluuio Saxonia, vbi in Visurgim se exonerat. Causa sunt argilla colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa lapygiam promontorium, esse fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo foetore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt praterea in Idumaa fontem esse, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc sanguineo, nunc lutulento.

Et de aquarum odore sic Cardanus. Similis ratio differentia est in odoribus. Plerumque tamen aquarum odores iniucundi sunt, quod raro terra bene oleat. Pessime olim foetabat in Alide, Anigri fluminis aqua, vsque ad perniciem, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Messania, in puteo quodam optime olens aqua hauriebatur. Hac ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Islandia quam alibi, aquarum, colores, odores, saporum, miretur.

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor est Isidorus, esse fontem quendam, cuius aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: iuxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadia, Styx (iuxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt ea sublatum Alexandrum magnum) nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat. Idem, In Beroso Taurorum colle sunt tres fontes sine remedio, sine dolore mortiferi: Et quod longe maximum est, quod Seneca stagnum esse dicat, in quod prospicientes statim moriantur. Nos vero Islandi etiam hunc quartum Frisij fontem, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac semper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum testamur: Hocque igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quod ab eiusmodi fontibus & serpentibus, insectis venenatis, ac alijs pestiferis & contagiosis, esse nos immunes voluerit.

Praterea est apud pradictos fontes tanta sulphuris copia. Montes tres a Munstero & Frisio igniuomi dicti, omnes longissimo interuallo a nostris fodinis distant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & situm faciant, necesse est eos fontes pari fere interuallo a fodinis sulphureis remotos esse. Nec vero apud montem Heclam, vt Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisij fontes (quorum rumor quam verus sit, hactenus ostensum est) sulphur effoditur: Nec patrum nostrorum memoria effossum esse arbitramur. [Sidenote: Sulphur in bore. ali Islandia parte.] Neque verum est, quod de sulphuris copia tradit Munsterus, esse videlicet pene vnicum Insula mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum insula in quatuor partes diuisa sit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc vtitur mercimonio, nec sulphuris mica in vectigal Insula penditur.

The same in English.

#### THE ELEUENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] Not farre from these mountaines (the three forenamed) declining to the sea shoare, there be foure fountaines of a most contrary nature betweene themselues. The first, by reason of his continuall heat conuerteth into a stone any body cast into it, the former shape only still remaining. The second is extremely cold. The third is sweeter then honey, and most pleasant to quench thirst. The fourth is altogether deadly, pestilent, and full of ranke poison.

Euen this description of fountaines doth sufficiently declare howe impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all these miraculous stories. For he seemeth to affirme, that the three foresaid mountaines doe almost touch one another: for he ascribeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Otherwise if he had not made them stand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto some one of these, two of the foresaid fountaines. But neither doe these mountaines touch (being distant so many leagues a sunder), neither are there any such foure fountaines neare vnto them, which, he that wil not beleue, let him go try. But to confute these things, the very contrariety of writers is sufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainsayth Frisius in these words. There do burst out of the same hill Hecla two fountames, the one whereof, by reason of the cold streames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elements. These be Frisius his two first fountaines, sauing that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the said fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it selfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demannd, by what reason any of the Peripateticks can affirme, that there is some thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire. From whence (I pray yon, learned writers) proceedeth this coldnesse: From whence commeth this heate: Haue we not learned out of your schole that water is an element most colde and somewhat moist: and in such sort most cold, that for the making of secundarie qualities, it must of necessitie be remitted, & being simple, that it cannot be applyed to the vses of mankind: I do here deliuer these Oracles of the naturall Philosophers, not knowing whether they be true or false. M. Iohn Fernelius, lib. 2. Phys. cap. 4. may stand for one witness amongst all the rest, & in stead of the all. So excessiue (saith he) be these foure first qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing is hotter then pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heauier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoever exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreouer, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in them, that they cannot be any whit encreased, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape vp the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers. These writers had need be warie of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, as wel as they did the ice of the Islanders. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. [Sidenote: Many hote Baths in Island.] The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in Island, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke ought not to make any man wonder, when as I haue learned out of authors, that Germanie euery where aboundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the Alpes. The hote Baths of Baden, Gebarsuil, Calben in the dutchy of Wirtemberg and many other be very famous: all which Fuchsius doeth mention in his booke de Arte medendi. And not onely Germanie, but also France, & beyond all the rest Italy that mother of all commodities, saith Cardan. And Aristotle reporteth, that about Epyrus these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called Pyriplegethon. [Sidenote: The causes of hote Baths.] And I say, these things should therefore be the lesse admired, because the searchers of nature haue as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of Brimstone & Allom and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also & other strange qualities. Aristotle in his booke de Mundo hath taught this. The earth (saith he) containeth within it fountains not only of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like riuers, doe cast forth red hote iron: from whence also doeth

flow, sometimes luke-warme water, sometimes skalding hote, and somtimes temperate. And Seneca. [Sidenote: Lib. 3. nat. quast.] Empedocles thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly containeth in many places, especially if the said fire bee vnder that ground where the water passeth. And Pontanus writeth very learnedly concerning the Baian Baths.

No maruell though from banke of Baian shore  
hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:  
For Vulcans forge incensed euermore  
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below  
And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.  
From hence the flitting flood sends smokie streames,  
And Baths doe boil with secret burning gleames.

I thought good in this placel to touch that which Saxo Grammaticus the most famous historiographer of the Danes reporteth. That certaine fountains of Island do sometime encrease & flow vp to the brinke: sometimes againe they fall so lowe that you can skarse discern them to be fountaines. Which kind of fountaines, albeit they bee very seldome found with vs, yet I will make mention of some like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest any man should think it somewhat strange. Plinie maketh a great recitall of these. There is one (saieth he) in the Isle of Tenedos, which at the Solstitium of sommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, till the sixt. In the field of Pitinas beyond the Apennine mountaine, there is a riuier which in the midst of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter is dried vp. He maketh mention also of a very large fontaine, which euery houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, vnto which Cardan addeth Tanais in Moscouia: and those things which were throwen into Asculapius fontaine at Athens, were cast vp againe in Phaetico. And Seneca writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into some caue vnder ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be vtterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same riuers returne, enioying their former name and their course. And againe Plinie reporteth that there is a riuier receiued vnder ground in the field of Atinas that issueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, should teach vs that the fonutaines of Island are not to be made greater wonders then the rest.

Doth forthwith conuert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely warmth or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening bodies doth Frisius describe his first fontaine. And I haue heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof my selfe) that there is such a fountain in Island not far from the bishops seat of Schalholt, in a village called Haukadal. Seneca reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ouid in the 15. booke of his Metamor. ascribeth vnto the riuier of the Cicones.

Water drunke out of Ciconian flood  
fleshy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:  
Ought else therewith besprinckt, as earth or wood  
becommeth marble streight: a thing most strange.

And Cardane. Georgius Agricola affirmeth, that in the territorie of Elbogan, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of

Pine trees are conuerted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called Pyrites, or the Flint. And Domitius Brusonius reporteth, that in the riuer of Silar (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called Vrsence, but now Contursia) leaues and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country, which thing Plinie also auoucheth, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authors) drops of the Gothes fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of Cepusius being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to stone. And Plinie reporteth, that wood being cast into the riuer of the Cicones, and into the Veline lake in the field of Pice, is enclosed in a barke of stone growing ouer it.

[Sidenote: Riuers of Island in sommer season lukewarme.] The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that bee indifferently coole, insomuch that (our common riuers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) wee take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuer (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of Corinth) colder then snow, and within a mile of Culma, the riuer called Insana seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

The third is sweeter than honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetnesse of honie. And therefore Saxo wrote more truly, saying, that certaine fountains (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere, and also in the same place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers tasts, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smel, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call per accidens) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veines whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the diuers & sundry smels, colours and sauours of all waters. Of such waters doeth Seneca make mention, whereof some prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which Plinie speaketh of [Sidenote: In lib. de mirab.] in the Isle of Andros, within the temple of Bacchus, which in the Nones of Ianuary vsed to flow ouer with wine. And Aristotle reporteth, that in the field of Carthage there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also Orcus a riuer of Thessalie flowing into Peneus, swimmeth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in Saxonie, neere vnto the town of Brunswic, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in Sueuia neere vnto the Abbey called Tergensch. Also in the valley of the mountain Iurassus. He supposeth the cause of this thing to bee very fattie pitch, which cannot but containe oile in it. The same author saieth: It is reported that in Cardia neere to the place of Daschylus, in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere vnto the bridge which we passe ouer going to the towne of Valdeburg. Propertius likewise in the third booke of his Elegies mentioneth certaine waters representing the sauour of wine in these words.

Amidst the Isle of Naxus loe, with fragrant smels and fine  
A freshet runs; ye Naxians goe fill cups, carouse, there's wine.

This Naxus is one of the Islands called Cydades lying in the Aegan sea. Cardane giueth a reason hereof, namely, because Hydromel or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. Aristotle nameth a fountaine in Sicilia, which the inhabitants vse in stead of vineger. The same author maketh the cause of sauours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giueth sauour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saieth Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the sauours thereof, for both haue their originall from the earth. For there is white water within two miles of Glanca a town in Misena: red water in Radera a riuer of Misena not farre from Radeburg: & in old time neere vnto loppa in Iudea: greene water in the mountaine of Carpathus by Nensola: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mountains of Feltrius & Taruisius: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in Thermopylis; cole-blacke water in Alera a riuer of Saxonie, at that place where it dischargeth it self into the Weser. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saieth, that about the promontorie of Iapigia, there is a fountaine which streameth blood: adding moreouer, that Mariners are driuen farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench thereof. Furthermore, they say that in Idumaa there is a fountaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for somtimes it is greene, sometime white, sometime bloodie, & somtimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the smels of waters, thus writeth Cardane. There is the like reason of difference in smell. But for the most part the steames of waters bee vnpleasant, because the earth doeth seldome times smel well. The water of the riuer Anigris in Aelis stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About Meton in Messania, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawn most sweet smelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smels, and sauours of waters that be in Island, then at those which are in other countreys.

The fourth is altogether deadly. Isidore affirmeth, that there is a certaine fountaine whose water being drunke, extingnisheth life. And Plinie saieth, That about Nonaris in Arcadia, the riuer of Styx (neere the mountaine of Cillene, saieth Cardane: it would be contained in nothing but an horse-hoofe: and it is reported that Alexander the great was poisoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour, being drunke, is present death. [Sidenote: The same Author saieth.] In Berosus an hill of the people called Tauri, there are three fountains, euery one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without grieffe. And (which is the strangest thing of all the rest) Seneca maketh mention of a poole, into which whosoeuer looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth fountaine of Frisius, which Saxo doeth likewise mention, we Islanders, as alwayes heretofore, so euen at this day do testifie, that it is vtterly vnknowne vnto vs: [Sidenote: Island free from snakes and other venemous beasts.] and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserue our nation from such fountains, from serpents and venemous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

Furthermore about the foresaid mountaines there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by Munster and Frisius, Fierie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our Mines. Wherefore, when as neere vnto these hills they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs haue some Brimstone Mines also, standing a like distance from the said

fountaines. And assuredly, neither about mount Hecla, as Munster would haue it, nor by Frisius his fountaines (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is Brimstone digged vp at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that Munster reporteth concerning the abundance of Brimstone namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the Iland. [Sidenote: Brimstone Mines onely in the North part of Island.] For whereas the Iland is deuided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but euen the halfe thereof) doeth vse it for merchandize, and there is not one crumme of Brimstone paid for tribute the Iland.

#### SECTIO DVODECIMA.

[Sidenote: Munst] Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, vt ad altitudinem domorum sub aperto coelo vendedi exponantur.

Sub aperto coelo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naues mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipientque easdem rursus piscibus & reliquis nostratium mercibus onerare. An vero nostri homines id aliquando fecerint, non satis liquet. Certe copiosa illa & vetus piscium abundantia iam desijt, Islandis & istius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis nostra flagellum, quod vtinam fite agnoscamus, immittente.

The same in English.

#### THE TWELFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster] There are so great store of fishes in this Iland, that they are laid foorth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houses.

In the open aire. In deed we haue seen other country merchants doe so, vntill they had vnladen their ships of outlandish wares, & filled them againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifest. [Sidenote: Abundance of fish about island diminished.] Certainly, that plentiful and ancient abundance of fish is now decaied, and the Islanders now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the iust scourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

#### SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] Equos habent velocissimos, qui sine intermissione 30. millaria continuo cursu conficiunt.

Quidam in sua mappa Islandia, 20. millaria comunuo cursu assequi tradit cuiusdam paroscia equos. Sed vtrumque impossibile ducimus. Nam maxima celeritatis & roboris bestias (Rangiferos appellant) scribit Munsterus non nisi 30. millaria 24. horarum spacio conficere.

The same in English.

#### THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.



[Sidenote: Frisius.] They haue most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

A Certaine Cosmographer in his Map of Island reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to bee impossible. For Munster writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called Rangiferi [Marginal note: Raine deere], cannot run aboue 36. leagues in 24. houres.

#### SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.

[Sidenote: Munst.] Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandium aliquando conspiciuntur, qua naues euertunt, nisi tubarum sono absterreantur, aut missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum lusu delectantur, ludificentur. Fit aliquando, vt nauta in dorsa cetorum, qua Insulas esse putant, anchoras figentes. saepe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua Trollwal, Tuffelwalen. i. Diabolica cete.

Instar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri, Telenicis Echo, et cacum, vt dici solet, insomnium. Deformat, me Hercule, adeo mendax et absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tanto magis quanto minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei vera narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assumet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Pictoribus atque, Poetis,  
Quodlibet audendi semper fuit aqua potestas:  
Non itidem Historicis.

Dorsa cetorum, qua insulas putant. Nata est hac fabula, vt et reliqua, ex mendacio quodam, vt antiquo, ita ridiculo et vano, cuius ego fidem titiulitio non emam. Est autem tale: Missos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalitia monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Crantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papisticam, qua tum Christiana putabatur, in Septentrione pradicandam et diuulgandam: Eosque, vbi immensum iter Septentrionem versus nauigando consumpsissent ad insulam quandam peruenisse: ibique iacta anchora descensum in Insulam fecisse, focos accendisse: (Nam verisimile est nautas in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) et com meatum naualem ad reliquum iter expediuisse. Ast vbi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc submersam cito euanuisse, nautas autem per prasentem scapham vix seruatos fuisse. Habes huius rei fundamentum, Lector, sed quam incredibile, ipse vides. Quid vero tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, vt Munsterus, Insulam perexiguam emergere, non vitent potius omni studio, allisionem et naufragium metuentes, quam vt in portu parum tuto quiescere tentent? Sed vbi anchora figenda? Solent enim, vt plurimum deesse nautis tam immensi funes, vt in altissimo aquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorsis cetorum, respondet Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigium vnci prius effodiant. O stultos nautas, balenarum carnem, a terra cespitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoscentes nec lubricam cetorum cutem, a terrestri superficie internoscentes. Digni profecto, quibuscum ipse Munsterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, vt et superius, de miraculis Islandia terrestribus agens, e Tantali; vt aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id est, ea consecatur, qua nunquam reperiuntur, nec vsquam sunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram et pelagus verrere, ad Historia sua

supplementum studet: Vbi tamen nihil nisi cotnmentitia tantum venari potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne vltra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es lingua nostra cognitionem adeptus: Quare merito puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Est enim eiusmodi incoeptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, vt vel hoc tuo exemplo docebimus. Dum enim vis alijs autor esse, quomodo nostra lingua balena vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inscitiam, aspiratione, qua pene sola vocis significationem facit, quod minime verum est, affers: Non enim val nostra lingua balenam, sed electionem siue delectum significat, a verbo, Eg vel .i. eligo, vel deligo: vnde val, &c. At balena Hualur nobis vocatur: Vnde tu Trollhualur scribere debebas. Nec vero Troll Diabolum, vt tu interpretaris, sed Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, erres. Leuis quidem illa in linguam nostram iniuria, in vnica tantum voce: quoniam plures, haud dubie, non noras.

Idem alijs etiam vsu venit: Non enim probandum est, quod quidam, dum Islandia descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certe plurima promontiorum, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, tesquorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina desprauare (quod nostra lingua ignaris, non sciret a nostratibus accepta satis exacte legere) atque corrumpere, quam prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui turn temporis, id est, Anno 1585. In Academia Haffniensi vixerunt, quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, ediscere. Ipsum certe hac natiuorum nominum et appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum est, vt ipsi ea legentes, paucissima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui puram et auitam pene elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccasse reputamus.

Caterum iam plurima Islandia miracula, qua quidem scriptores nostri attigerunt, sic vtcunque examinauimus. Sed tamen priusquam alio diuertamur, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quod idem ille in mappa Islandia, quam sub suo nomine, pradiecto anno edi fecerat, de duobus, prater supra dictos, fontibus Islandia prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras, albo inficiat. Quod quidem vbi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, scire equidem non possumus: Nec enim apud nostrates, nec apud extraneos scriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vndecunque est, fabula est, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamuis autem sit incredibile, Lanas nigras albo infici colore, cum traditum sit a Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen simile quiddam narratur a Theophrasto: Flumen esse in Macedonia, quod oues nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam superius memini, rapsodia Noruagica, speculum scilicet illud Regale, hos ipsos fontes Irlandia, qua hodie Hybernia, non Islandia esse affirmat. Quod forsani Lectori imposuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Historicus quidam habet. Esse in Islandia saxum, quod montium prarupta non extrinseca agitatione, sed propria natiuaque motione peruolitet: Id qui credere volet, quid incredibile ducet? Est enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius simile, fabulatos fuisse Epicuraos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitasse Luciano visi sunt) constet: Nisi forte hominem qui Islandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circuisse, vel circumreptasse. Quod, etsi ridiculum est in Historiam miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad saluandam Historici fidem, simulandum: ne figmentum illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perstringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicumque; Islandia, coruos albos, picas, lepores,

et vultures adscripserunt: Perraro enim vultures, cum glacie marina, sicut etiam vrsos (sed hos sapius quam vultures) et cornicum quoddam genus, Islandis Isakrakur, aduenire obseruatum est. Picas vero et lepores, vt et coruos albos, nunquam Islandia habuit.

Atque hac fere sunt, qua de prima commentarij nostri parte per quotidianas oocupationes, in præsentia, affere licuit. Qua in hunc finem a me scripta sunt, (quod etiam prius testatus sum,) vt scriptorum de terra ignota errores, et quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neque enim eorum fama quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quod veritati et patria, operam meam consecraram, ilia, qua hactenus dicta sunt a multis, de Insula, fidem valde exiguam mereri, necesse habui ostendere: ac ita mihi viam ad sequentia de Incolis sternere.

Commentarij prima partis Finis.

The same in English.

#### THE FOURETEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munster] There be seen sometimes neere vnto Island huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ships, vnlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round and emptie vessels, which they delight to tosse vp and downe. It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be llands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue Trollwal Tuffelwalen, that is to say, the deuilish Whale.

Like vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe saieth) his blind dreame. Such a false and sencelesse ouer reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine trueth? Why should he vse such strange surmountings? What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he rauish the reader, if he propoundeth vnto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things:

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,  
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.  
But not Historiographers.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be llands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and trueth whereof is not woorth a strawe. [Sidenote: Certain letters sent by Brandan bishop of Breme, to preach Christian faith in the North.] And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwaies Brandan, and by Krantzius, if I be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time sent certanie Legates with a Couen of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian, and when they had spent a long iourney in sailing towards the North, they came vnto an lland, and there casting their anker they went a shore, and kindled fiers (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and so prouided victuals for the rest of their iourney. But when their fires grew very hote, this lland sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narrowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing

a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saith) a little Iland, would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a shore and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, whereby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therefore vpon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. O silly Mariners that in digging can not discern Whales flesh from lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: with out doubt they are woorthy to haue Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before treating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Tantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeouoreth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to stufte vp his history where notwithstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language Trollwal. Go not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skill of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subiect to manifold errorrs, as we will shew by this your example. For while you take in hand to schoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone maketh vp the signification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for val in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe Eg vel, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence val is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called Hualur with vs, & therefore you ought to haue written Trollhualur. Neither doeth Troll signifie the deuill, as you interprete it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You see therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then one.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island receiued from Islanders themselues, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Baies, mountaines, springs, riuers, homocks, valleis, hils & townes (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he receiued from our countrey men) he had rather (I say) depraue & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders themselues, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585, liued in the vniuersitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marring of our natiue names and words, (where vpon it came to passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be oure owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, otherwise retaining the pure and the ancient proprietie.

But now we haue after some sort examined most of the myracles of Island, which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithstanding before we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed man (in this Map of Island, that he caused to be put forth in the foresaid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. [Sidenote: Who be the Islandish writers?] Which thing where he receiued it, or whence he had it, we can by nomeans imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in the writers of other countries. But whence soeuer it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of trueth in it. And although it be incredible That black

wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receiue no colour: notwithstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a riuier in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. [Sidenote: Speculum regale.] Also that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I mentioned before, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called Hybernia, and not to Island. Which peraduenture deceiued the Reader, reading in a strange language S in stead of R.

That likewise deserueth no better credite which another Author writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in Island which runneth vp and downe the crags and cliffs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and natural motion. Hee that will beleeeue this, what will he not beleeeue? For it is such a rare deuise that the Epicures themselues (who yet seemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am sure neuer inuented the like: vnlesse perhaps the sayd Author doeth imagine (that a man who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and clime vp certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should mooue or walke, yet is it so to bee supposed to saue the credite of the Author, that we may not more seuerely condemne that fable, which is so sencelesse of it selfe and not woorthy to be read.

[Sidenote: Vultures, beares and crows come vpon the drift Ice into Island.] They are gulltie of the same crime also who haue found out rauens, pies [Footnote: Magpies.], hares and vultures, all white in Island for it is wel knownen that vultures come very seldome together with the Ise of the sea, vnto vs, as beares also (but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crows called by the Islanders Isakrakur. But as for white pies, hares, and rauens Island neuer had any. [Footnote: All modern writers, however, ascribe white hares to Iceland.]

And these in a maner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to affoord, as touching the former part of our treatise, which were penned by me for this purpos (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Authors concerning an vnknownen land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to trueth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our Island deserue very litle credite: and so to adresse my selfe vnto the matters folowing concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

Commentarij de Islandia pars secunda: qua est de incolis.

Absolutis hactenus miraculis Islandia, (cum nonnullis alijs, prima parti annexis) qua dum scriptores, velut Agamemnonios quosdam fontes, imo, vt quiddam prater et contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non varie depradicant, minus veritati ipsi, et authoritati sua cousulunt; monet proposita orationis series, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, qua est de incolis: Vbi quid primum dicam, aut vnde initium sumom, non satis teneo. Tanta enim sunt in nos vltimos Islandos, et tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot scommata, tot dicteria, (Atque inter hac etiam nonnulla eorum, qui simplicissimam veritatem profiteri, volunt, nempe historicorum) vt si singula recensere velim, non aliud quam

Icaria numerum dicere \*corier\* aqua.

Sed, vt dixi initio, non cum omnibus aque stricto iure agemus. Nam licet Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius, et alij, nimis audacter multa de gente nostra scripserint: Tamen suis monumentis de studijs liberalibus alioqui bene meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etsi quis velit eos a calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leue est, eos res quasdam tam absurdas, impossibiles et ridiculas proposuisse, cuiusmodi illa fuerunt, qua hactenus exposuimus, tum impias, et atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cuiusmodi iam sequentur aliquot, in historias retulisse. Ast alijs, quicunque; sunt, qui quotidianus conuicijs nationem Islandorum incessunt, responsio, quam merentur, parata esse debet: Ex quorum numero, scurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis nostra contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen suum immortalis dedecori consecrauit.

Quapropter, vt instituti nostri ratio exigit, dum scriptorum de hac re monumenta persequimur, etsi quadam in eis occurrant, qua coutumelia parum habent, nos tamen plaraque excutiemus, et errores, vt hactenas, annotabimus: tum si quid veri interea attulerint, id nequaquam dissimulabimus. [Sidenote: Secunda partis distributio.] Ac eo modo, primum Munsterum, Krantzius, Frisium, et si qui sunt alij, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum suis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in postremum, vt dignus est, relecto locum. [Sidenote: 1. Capitis huius partis diuisio.] In hunc igitur modum, primum de fide seu Religione Islandorum: Deinde de ipsorum moribus, institutis seu viuendi ratione, authores isti scribunt.

The same in English.

Of Island the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

Hauing hitherto finished the miracles of Island with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at and diuersly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they haue bene very carelesse both of trueth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste vnto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants wherein what I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against vs poore Islanders dwelling in the vtmost parts & the world (and amongst these also, some things of theirs who take vpon them to professe most simple trueth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon vp the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Icarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike seuerely with all. For although Krantzius, Munsterus, Frisius & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation yet hauing otherwise deserued wel of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in ye same reputation with vs that they are worthy of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free them from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should broch certaine sencelesse, impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are which we haue hitherto laid downe as also that they should record in histories prophane and horrible vntrueths, some of which kind shal now immediatly be discussed. As for others, whatsoever they be, who vpbraide the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that answere in a readinesse which such men deserue. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath brought his name into euerlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authors concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing litle reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto we haue done in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemble it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Krantzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any more, what they haue to say, reiecting that Paro and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is woorthy vnto the last place. First therefore the sayd Authors write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders and secondly, of their Maners, Customes, and course of life in maner folowing.

## SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertius Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi  
1070. Vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos: licet  
ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali vuentes,  
non multum a lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, pretentibus  
illis, ordinauit quendam virum sanctum, primum  
Episcopum, nomine Isleif.

Krantzius his verbis, et Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christiana dignitatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentque et se, et veritate dignum, nisi eandem alias nobis adimerent. Nam (vt de Krantzio infra) Munsterus, qua supra prodidit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omnino est a Christiana pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, qua Deus sibi soli reseruauit, quaque voluit nostrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, vbi locus vel situs inferni seu ignis aterni, Diabolo et Angelis ipsius, adeoque damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur: Nullam inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut vlla alia huius mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimo, terram hanc interituram, et terram nouam et coelos nouos, iustorum et sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2, Petri 3, Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeo abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter praterit: tum dogmata nullis appertis et illustribus scriptura sacras testimonijs stabilita, velut certa et vera recipere, aut alijs tradere, nefas esse ducit. Deut 4. et 12, Esa. 8. Matth. 17. 2, Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos aquo habere in precio. De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum dissidet Munst. dum quos Christianos assent, inferni architectos alias facit: Item, Krantzius et Munsterus, dum quos fide Christo insertos affirmant, eosdem omni pietatis et honestatis sensu exuunt: quod scribant filios ab his, non maiore cura, quam catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidem nostra, qua qualiseu fuerit, cum Ethnicismus primum fugari coepit, nihil magnifice diceret possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vti existimo, de suis fidei initijs. Fatendum enim est, et cum serijs gemitibus deplorandum vsque ad illam nunquam satis pradicatam diem, qua nobis velut immortalitatis initium illuxit et repurgati Euangelij doctrinam attulit, tenebras plusquam Cimmericas, etiam nostris hominibus, vt reliquis Septentrionis Ecclesijs, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen pie nobis sentire liceat, apud nos, vt et in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo vltra septa vagari, et de populis ignotis quicquam pronunciare) eiecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, sinceriolem longe

et simpliciorem fidem seu religionem Christianam viguisse; quippe veneno Papistico minus infectam, quam postea, vbi auctum Romana sedis fermentum pestiferum, et malum contagiosum maturuit, et per totum orbem virus suum diffudit: Nam vt postea apparebit, multis annis antequam noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires et incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: et vt laudatissimi duo illi Noruegia Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium et professio, nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, et spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olaum Thryggonis F. qui Anno Christi 968. natus, Anno atatis 27. imperium Noruegia adeptus est, et primus, vt accepimus, Noruegis Christum obtrusit: quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olaum nuncupatum Sanctum, Haraldi F. Qui anno Christi 1013. aut circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit. Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam audacter tradidit. Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis parricidis nefarie interfectus, in pago Noruegise Stickla Stodum, pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Christi 1000 vixit in pradio seu villa Berthors huol, sita in Parochia Islandia, Landenum: Quique rerum humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate et consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, eius seculo, indomitis Islandia motibus fluctuaret, incolis a nullo fere superiore magistratu repressis, nullis se factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit. Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si vltimum tantum in vita diem excipias. Adeo studiose seditiones et turbas vitauit aliosque vitare aut euadere cupientes optime iuuit. Nec quisquam eius consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est vnquam vsus: nec quisquam ab eo, nisi cum vita et fortunarum penculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum sit, vnde homini tanta futurorum euentuum, et tam certa coniectura et consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Vnde ipsius cauta, prouidens et consilij plena sapientia, apud nostrates in prouerbium abiit: Nials biita raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium; vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cum quid prudenter et admirando cum consilio gestum est.

Hic cum domi sua, a 100. viris coniuratis ob cadem a filio ipsius, ipso tamen inscio, patratam cingeretur, et inimicis domum vndique igni succendentibus, sibi videret supremum fatum instare, ait tandem. Hac quidem fato, hoc est, voluntate diuina accidunt. Caterum spem et fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se et vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, inimicorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab aternis tamen flammis liberatum iri. Sicque inter has voces, et flammarum savitiam, vitam, An. Christo 1010. cum vxore et filio homicida, finiuit. Vox profecto filijs Dei non indigna, anima, cum mortis acerbitate luctantis summum solatium arguens.

Hac ideo addidi, vt ostendam qua coniectura adducar ad extstimandum mox initio Christianismi (vt sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas et errorum tenebris immersas hominum mentes, quam nunc, paulo ante hac nostra tempora fuerunt.

Ast vero iam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, et Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, et pios successores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiumque nostrarum graui veterno et densa caligine excussis, dextra sua digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Matth. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam ipsius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes et singuli credimus et confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, (Iohan. 4. vers. 24.) aeternum (Esai 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem. 23. vers. 24. Psalm. 136. vers. 7. 8. 9.) optimum (Matth. 19. 17.)



omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum essentia et natura: Vnum prouidentia: vnum efficientia rerum et administratione (Deut 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis diuinitatis, proprietatibusque distinctum, Patrem, Filium et spiritum Sanctum (Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam diuinitatis personam, coeli terra et omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1. vers. 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem et gubernatorem (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Psalm. 2. 7. & sequent:) et nostrum per eundem Patrem (Rom. 8. 15.) Anima et corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Iesum Christum, secundam diuinitatis personam, filium Dei patris (Iohan. 1. 18. &c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) aequalem patri (1. Paral. 17. 13. Iohan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Iohan. 1. 2. &c.) ante omnia creata praordinatum (1. Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13. 8. &c.) et statim post lapsum, promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem promulgatum, vt Abrahama (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) Isaac. (Gen. 26. 4.) Iacob. (Gen. 28. 14.) et promissionibus confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10.) Sacrificijs Mosaicis (Leuit. 1. 2. &c.) Et alijs typis praefiguratum: immolatione Isaac (Gen. 22.) Exaltatione aenei serpentis. (Num. 21.) Iona (Ion. 2. &c.) Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esa. 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis vere exhibitum: hominem verum (Iohan. 1. 14. &c. Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter iustificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in coelum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Iohan. 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum qui tertia est diuinitatis persona patri et filio compar et consubstantialis. (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo et Sacramentis colligentem (Matth. 16. 18. Roman. 10. 14. &c.) Et ad vitam aeternam sanctificantem (Actor. 9. 31. &c.) Ac tandem consummatis seculis e coelo, venturum (Actor, 1. 11.) Iudicare viuos et mortuos (1. Thess. 4. 15.) redditurum impijs secundum opera sua, eosque poenis aeternis adiudicaturum (Mat 13. 42. & 25. 41.) credentes vero in nomine ipsius aeterna vita donaturum (Mat 25. 34. &c.) Hunc, inquam, Iesum Christum redemptorem (Mat 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) et Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Nosque illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2. 38.) Et per baptismum illi insertos esse (1. Cor. 12. 13.) aperte, ingenue, libere ac libenter fatemur ac contestamur: omnesque alios, quicumque aliud nomen sub coelo datum esse hominibus, per quod salui fiant, comminiscuntur, serio detestamur, execramur et damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum vnicam salutis normam statuimus, illudque tantummodo, omnibus humanis commentis abiectis et spretis, infallibilem fidei nostra regulam et amissim nobis proponimus: (Galat 1. 8. Esa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Testamenti, veteris et noui appellatione complectimur. (Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas et Apostolos (Ephes. 2. 20.) singulari et immensa Dei bonitate in hunc vsque diem semper in Ecclesia conseruatum et conseruandum in posterum. (Matth. 28. vlt. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo et toto pectore agimus, quod etiam ad nos, vastissimo interuallo a reliquo Ecclesia corpore diuulsos et vltimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum, ad reuelationem gentium, et paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostensum (Nam in Christo omnes thesauri sapientia reconditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radijs suis saluificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere voluerit. Hac ita breuiter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, et nostra religio, quaro monstrante spiritu Sancto, et ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, bausimus: idque ex fontibus Isralis.

[Sidenote: Krantzius.] Anno Domini 1070. vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos.

Dubium nobis est, vtrum his verbis dicere voluerit Krantzius, Islandos

primum Anno Domini 1070. ad Christum esse conuersos an vero, prius quidem esse conuersos non neget, sed eo primum anno id Adalberto innotuisse dicat. [Sidenote: Chronologia Islandica gentis antiquissima.] Vtrumuis autem affirmet, tamen fidem ipsius hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales et chronologia nostra gentis antiquissima, qua contrarium testantur: quibus vtrum malis, de rebus nostris proprijs et domesticis et intra nostra insula limites gestis credere, an vero Krantzio, aut cuius alteri in nostratium rerum historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profecto multis adducor vt nostris potius assentiar. Nostrates emm nota tantum et fere domestica asserunt: ille peregrina et ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula et sugillatione contexuerunt tantummodo, vt rebus gestis suum verum tempus seu aram assignarent; ille quadam cum re et veritate pugnantia in contumeliam gentis nostra ignotissima, historia sua admiscuit, vt paulo post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporum Islandia nomina, annos, ordinem et successum describunt: ille vnus tantum mentionem facit, idque longe secus quam res habet. Porro vt his fidem faciam, panca, qua in ventustissimis nostris annalibus de Islandia ad Christum conuersa, et de Episcoporum in nostris Ecclesijs successione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publice recepta est, cum extraneis communicabo. [Sidenote: Vetustissimum annales.] Qua tametsi leuiuscula, nec omnia prorsus digna qua scribantur, scribenda tamen omnino sunt ad nostrarum rerum veritatem, aduersus Krantzius et alios asserendam: Sic igitur habent.

[Sidenote: 874. Islandia primum inhabitata.] Anno Christi 874. prius quidem, vt ante commemorauimus, inuenta, sed tunc primum a Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, e cuios nomine promontorium Islandia orientalis Ingulffs hoffdi appellationem traxit) occupata est Islandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis et agnatis et praterea numerosa familia nominatim in annalibus nostris recensentur: nec illorum tantum numerus describitur, sed quas oras, qua littora, et qua loca mediterranea, singuli occupauerint et incoluerint, et quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, sinibus, portibus, Isthmis, porthmis, promontorijs, rupibus, scopulis, montibus, collibus, vallibus, tesquis, fontibus, fluminibus, riujs, ac denique villis seu domicilijs suis nomina dederint, quorum hodie plaraque retinentur et in vsu sunt, aperte narratur. Itaque Noruagi occupata iam Islandia 60. annorum spacio, aut circiter, habitabiles partes sua multitudine implent: Centum vero prope modum annis Ethnici manserunt, ci paucissimos, qui in Noruagia forte sacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. [Sidenote: 974.] Annis autem vix centum a primo ingressu elapsis, mox de religione Christiana agi coeptum est, nempe circa annum Domini 974. qua res non sine insigni rebellionem plusquam 20 annis varie a multis tentata est. [Sidenote: Fredericus Saxo.] Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum alijs, in conuertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior Fridericus, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenue functus est, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984, sacra ades Islandis in vsu fuerint.

Alter vero ille extraneus Episcopus siue concionator, quem Thangbrandt nuncupauere, anno 997. in Islandiam primum venit.

[Sidenote: Anno Dom. 1000.] Hinc post 26, annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decretum est, vniuersali eorundem consensu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito, religionem sectarentur Christianam.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. sancitum est, vt leges seculares seu politica (quarum constitutiones allatas ex Noruagia quidam Vlfliotus, Anno 926. Islandis communicarat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico

seu diuino.

Anno 1056. abit peregre ex Islandia Isleifus quidam, in Episcopum Islandia ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, et Cathedram Schalholtensem adit Anno 1057. Moritur 1080. Atatis 74. 4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forsitan hac minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narratione satis digna, cum multis forte qua sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra Krantzij et aliorum errores conuincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant. Et certe, quantum ad fidem nostrarum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuisse: Cuius, in prafatione sua Dana, hac sunt verba. Nec Thylensium inquit, (sic enim Islandos appellat) industria silentio oblitteranda: qui cum ob natium soli sterilitatem, luxuria nutrimentis carentes, officia continua sobrietatis exerceant, omniaque vita momenta ad alienoram operum notitiam conferre soleant, inopiam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, memoriaque mandare, voluptatis loco reputant non minoris gloria iudicantes, alienas virtutes disserere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum thesauros Historiarum rerum pignoribus refertos curiosius consulens, haud paruam præsens operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexui: nec arbitros habere contempsi, quos tamta vetustatis peritia callere noui. Hac Saxo. Quare lubet Episcoporum Islandia Catalogum persequi, vt ex annalibus nostris continuata diligenter, quoad eius fieri potest, omnium series, his qua de primo Isleifo contra Krantzium attulimus, fidem faciat.

The same in English.

## THE FIRST SECTION

[Sidenote: Krantzius in prafatione sua Norwegia.] Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders concerted Christianitie: albeit, before the receiuing of Christian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named Islief to be their first Bishop.

Krantzios in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute vnto the Islanders the prerogatiue of Christian faith and they should deale both beseeming themselues and the trueth, if they did not in other places depriue vs of the same. For (to speake of Krantzras anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely to be desirous to prie into those secrets which God hath kept close vnto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, to that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perish, and that a new earth, and new heauens shall be created for the habitation of iust and holy men, Reuel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay [Footnote: Isaiah] 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giueth ouer to search into such hidden secrets and he accounteth it vnlawful to receiue or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and trueths, Deut. 4. and 12. Esay 8. Matth. 27. 2. Tim 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Krantzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely that they make al one reckoning of their whelps and of their children. But more of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster disagreeeth with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, afterward, he maketh to be master builders of hell. Also Krantzius and Munster both together, when as those whom they affirme to be engrafted by faith into Christ, they except from all sense of piety and honesty, in that they write that their sonnes are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. No more (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnto vs to say concerning the beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse and bewaile with deepe sighes, that vntill that day which shined vnto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, and brought vnto vs the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countrymen, as likewise other churches of the North, were ouerspred with more then Cimmerian darkenesse. But we may iustly and religiously thinke thus muche, that among vs and our neighbours of Norway (for I will not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknown people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith and religion did florish far more sincere, and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie, at that time, then afterward, when as the pestiferous leauen of the see of Rome being augmented, and the contagious mischiefe growing ripe, the poison thereof was dispersed through the whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to preuaile, and did sound forth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost, like vnto those two most renowned kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common care and profession to aduance the gospel of Christ. [Sidenote: The first christian king of Norway] I meane Olaus the sonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yere of Christ 968. attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the first, as we haue heard, that offred Chnst vnto the Norwegians, ouer whom hee reigned fiue yeeres and another of that name called Olaus Sanctus the sonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Christ 1013. or there about, gouerned with more seueritie, and for the space of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the doctrine of Christ. In the yere of Chnst 1030. being vniustlie slaine by wicked murtherers, he shed his blood for the name of Christ in a town of Norway called Sticfla Stodum.

[Sidenote: Nialus the first knowne professour of Christian faith in Island.] Our countrey also had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whose name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Chnst 1000. liued in the village of Berthorshuol situate in the parish of Island called Landehum: who also for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wisdom and sage counsell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Island was turmoiled with many fierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in subiection to no superiour magistrate, he intermedled not in any quarels, sauing that by his discreet vertue and diligence he set through and brought to composition a great number: hee neuer did nor suffered violence, but onely vpon the last day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al seditions and strifes: and gaue good assistance to others, who were desirous also to auoyd and escape them: neither did any man euer put in practise his counsel, but it turned to his especiall good: nor euer any did swerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and possessions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were so certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man should haue so great and so sure forecast and

counsell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Whereupon his discreet and prouident wisdom, ioyned with counsell became a prouerbe amongst vs, "Nials byta raden:" That is to say, the counsel of Nialus or, the thing is done, or succeedeth by Nialus his counsel: when any business was atchieued prudently, and with admirable discretion. This man, when, for a slaughter committed by his sonne without his knowledge, he was in his owne house beset with a 100. men, who had conspired his death, and when his enemies began on all sides to set his house on fire, seeing his ende approach, at length he brake into these words. "Doubtlesse these things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Christ, that we (meaning his wife and himselfe) although this our fraile body shal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it shalbe deliuered from eternal flames." And so in the midst of these voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manslayer his sonne, in the yere of Christ 1010. ended his life. A voyce vndoubtedly full well beseeming the sonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his soule amidst the very pangs of death.

I therefore added those things to shew by what reason I was moued to thinke that in the very beginning of Christianitie receiued amongst vs, mens minds were not so beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkenes of errors, as of late, a little before these our times they haue bene.

[Sidenote: A summe of the Islanders Religion.] But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by godly successours, did make the doctrine of saluation more manifest, and shaking off the heauie slothe, and thicke miste of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy spirit (Matth. 12. v. 28.) did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes that we might behold his sauing health: We all, and euery of vs do belieue and confesse that God is a spirit (Iohn 4. v. 24.) eternal (Esay. 40. v. 28.) infinite (Iere. 23. v. 24. Psal 139. v. 7. 8. 9.) most good (Matth. 19. v. 17.) almighty (Gen. 17. 1. Reuel. 1. 8.) one in being, and nature: one in prouidence, one in the making and gouerning of all things (Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.) But distinguished by the persons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost (Matth. 28. 19. and 3. 17.) God the Father the first person of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (Gen. 1. v. 1. and in those that folow) the vpholder and gouernor of all (Psa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Father of our Lord Iesus Christ (Psal. 2, 7. and verses following) and our Father through him (Rom. 8. 15.) keeper of our soules and bodies (Luke 12. 12.). And that Iesus Christ the second person of the Godhead is the sonne of God the Father (Iohn 1. 18. &c.) onely begotten (Iohn 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) equal to his Father (1. Chro. 17. 13. Ioh. 1. 1.) true God (Iohn 1. 2. &c.) foreappointed before the creation of all things (1. Pet. 1. 20, Reuel 13. 8. &c.) and presently after mans fell promised to be the Messias (Gene. 3. 15. &c.) published eftsoones vnto the holy Patriaches, as vnto Abraham (Gen. 12. 3. &c.) vnto Isaac (Gen. 26. 4.) vnto Iacob (Gene. 28. 14.) and confirmed by promises (Gen. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1, 10.) prefigured by the sacrifices of Moses (Leu. 1. 2. &c.) and by other types, as namely by the offering of Isaac (Gen. 22.) by the lifting vp of the brazen serpent (Num. 21.) by Ionas (Ionas 2. &c.) proclaimed by the testimony of the Prophets (Esa. 7. 14.) and at length in the fulnesse of time truely exhibited: true man (Iohn 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.) that he died for our sinnes, and was raised again for our iustification (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascending into heauen (Acts 1. 9. &c.) and making intercession for vs at the right hand of his Father without ceasing (1. Iohn 2. 1. &c.) by his holy Spirit (which is the thirde person of the Godhead, coequall, and consubstantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts. 5. 4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the word, and Sacraments (Matth.

16. 18. Rom. 10. 14. &c.) and sanctifying it to eternal life, (Acts. 9. 31. &c.) And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heauen (Acts 1. 11.) to iudge the quicke and the dead (1. Thessal. 4. 15.) that he will render vnto the wicked according to their workes, and that he will iudge mem to eternal paines (Matth. 13. 42. and 25. 4.) but that he wil reward them, with eternal life, who beleeeue in his Name (Matth. 25. 34.) This Iesus Christ (I say) wee acknowledge to be our Redeemer (Matth. 1. 21.) our head (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) and our Lord (Ephe. 4. 5.) And that wee in our holy baptisme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts. 2. 38.) and that wee are engrafted into him by baptisme (1. Corin. 12. 13.) And this we do plainly, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse and witnesse: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be saued, we doe earnestly detest, curse, and condemne them (Acts. 4. 12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our saluation: and that alone (al mans deuises being cast away and contemned) we propound vnto our selues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat. 1. 8. Esai 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) which we conteine vnder the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr. 8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles (Ephe 2. 20) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, presented euer vnto this day and to be preserued here after alwayes in the Church (Matth 28. last verse. Psal 71. 18. 1 Cor 11. 26.)

Therefore we render thanks vnto our most gracious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that euen vnto vs being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisdom hidden) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the sauing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come vnto vs. This in briefe (running ouer the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirt and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we haue drawn and that out of the fountaines of Isral.

[Sidenote: Kranzius] In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Ilanders conuerted vnto Christ, &c.

It is doubtful vnto vs whether in these words Kranzius would haue said, that the Islanders were first conuerted vnto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070. or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuerted, but saith that it was knowne first vnto Adalbert that yeere. [Sidenote: The most ancient Chronicles of Island.] But whethersoever of these he affirmeth: notwithstanding the yeerely records, and most auncient Chronicles of our nation testifying the contrary do make his credite to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue assent concerning our owne proper and domesbcal affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Krantzaus or any other being ignorant in the story of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countrey men affirme those things onely that be knowen, and in a maner domesticall he writeth matters forreine and vnknowen they haue compiled their histories without the diffaming, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the trueth, and that to the vpbraiding of our nation being most vnknowen vnto him, as it shall immediatly appeare: they describe the names, yeres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one,

and that farre otherwise then the trueth. Furthermore that I may make good the credite of our Countreyemen, I wil impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most ancient records of the conuersion of Island vnto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of litle moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the trueth of our affaires against Krantzius and others: thus therefore standeth the certaintie thereof.

[Sidenote: Island first inhabited.] In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discovered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefetaine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called Ingulffs hoffdi. These planters are reckoned vp by name in our recordes more then to the number of 400 together with those of their blood and kinred, and great families besides neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainly set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what inland places eche of them did occupie and inhabite, and what names the first inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bayes, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rockes, cragges, mountaines, hilles, valleys, homockes, springs, floods, riuers. And to be short, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houses, whereof many at this day are reteined and vsed. Therefore the Norwayses with their company peopled all the habitable parts of Island now occupied by them for the space of 60. yeeres or thereabout but they remayned Ethnicks almost 100. yeres, except a very fewe which were baptised in Norwaie. But scarce a 100. yeres from their first entrance being past, presently Christian religion began to be considered vpon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing about 20. yeres together, was diuersly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in conuerting the Island to Christian faith: [Sidenote: Saxo, the first preacher of the Christian faith in Island. Anno Domini 981.] the former was one Fridericus a Saxon borne, who in the yeere 981. came into Island, and behaued himselfe courageously in the office of preaching, and preuailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were vsed in Island.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called Thangbrandt came first into Island in the yeere 997.

[Sidenote: Anno Domini 1000.] And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000, it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace Christian Religion.

Againe, in the yeere 1050, it was decreed in a solemne assembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of Norwaie were communicated vnto the Islanders by one Vfliot in the yeere 926.) should euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yere 1056. one Isleif went beyond the seas out of Island to be consecrated bishop of Island.

He came home consecrated into Island, and entred into the bishopricke of Scalholt in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of Iuly.

These things perhaps wil seeme trifling, short and base, not sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but

neither doe wee compile the Romane history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to conuince the errorrs of Krantzius and others, according to our purpose. [Sidenote: A notable testimonie of Saxo concerning the Islanders.] And vndoubtedly as touching the trueth of our histories, it is euident that Saxo Grammaticus attributeth very much vnto them: whose words in his preface of Denmarke be these: Neither is the diligence of the Thylenses (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the natiue barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and vse to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other men's exploits they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasures replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, haue compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation neither despised I to haue those men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilful in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre Saxo.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of Island, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre fourth as is possible, diligently put together out of our yeerely records, may make good that which we haue alledged against Krantzius concerning Isleif the first Bishop of Island.

#### CATALOGUS CHRONOLOGICUS EPISCOPORUM ISLANDIA.

Anno            Episcopi Schalholtenses  
Christi

I.

Isleif.

1056 Ordinatur peregre.  
1057 Redit et Schalholtensem cathedram adit  
1080 Anno atat 74. Moritur 4. Kalend. Iul.

II.

Gysserus.

1082 Ordinatur peregre,  
1083 Redit in Islandiam cum Episopatu.  
1118 Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.

III.

Thorlacus Runolphi. F.

Anno  
atatis Ordinatur eodem anno, quo pradecessor.  
32: Gysserus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die  
1133 Moritur.

IV.

Magnus

1134 Ordinatur.  
1148 Postridie festi omnium Sanctorum in villa sacerdotali Hittardal  
comuiuans, coenaculo fulmine percusso, cum viris 70. flammis  
absumptus est.

V.

Klaingus.



1151 Eligitur.  
1152 Cathedram adit.  
1176 Moritur.

VI.

Thorlacus.

Eligitur biennio ante obit, pradecessoris

1178 Ordinatur.  
1193 Moritur.

VII.

Paulus.

1195 Ordinatur.  
1211 Moritur.

VIII.

Magnus.

1216 Ordinatur.

IX.

Siguardus.

1239 Cathedram adit.  
1268 Moritur.

X.

Arnerus.

1269 Cathedram adit.  
1298 Moritur.

XI.

Arnerus Helgonis F.

1304 Ordinatur.  
1305 Cathedram adit.  
1309 In Noruagiam abit ligna a rege Noruagia petiturus, quibus  
templum Schalholtense readificaretur, quod eodem anno  
fulmine tactum conflagrarat.  
1310 Redit ex intinere.  
1320 Moritur.

XII.

Ionas Haldorus.

1321 Eligitur.  
1322 Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.  
1323 Cathedram adit.  
1338 Moritur.

XIII.

Ionas Indridi F. Roruages

1339 Cathedram adit.  
1341 Moritur.

XIV.

Ionas Siguardi F.

1343 Cathedram adit.  
1348 Moritur pridie Diui Magni.

XV.

Gyrthus.

1349 Ordinatus Asloia Noruagorum, ab Episcopo Asloensi Salomone.

1356 Abiens peregre fluctibus vitam finit.

XVI.

Thorarinnus.

1362 Cathedram adit.

1364 Moritur.

XVII.

Oddgeirus.

1366 Cathedram adit.

1381 Moritur in assumpt. beata virginis, in portu Noruagia Burgensi, e mercium aceruo in imum nauis delapsus. Sepultus Bergis in ade Saluatoris.

XVIII.

Michael Danus.

1385 Cathedral adit.

1388 Resignat profectus in Daniam.

XIX.

Wilhelmus Danus.

1394 Cathedram adit. Moritur.

XX.

Arnerus.

Hic cognomento fuit Milldur. i. liberalis. Gessit vna pafecturam Islandia tertius: Episcopatum Schalholtens. & vice Episcopatum Holensem.

1420 Obijt.

XXI.

Ionas Gerichso.

1432 Suecus siue cognomento siue natione praest Ecclesia Schalholtensi: ac postea ob quadam nimis audacter tentata, a quodam Thorualdo de Modruvallum (vt fama est) captus, & aligato ad collum saxo in amne Schalholtensi, qui a ponte nomen habet, viuus submersus & strangulatus est.

XXII.

Gosuinus.

1445 Praest Ecclesia Schalholtensi.

XXIII.

Sueno.

1472 Dictus sapiens praest.

XXIV.

Magnus Riolphi F.

1489 Praest.

XXV.

Stephanus.

1494 Cathedram adit.

Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritus esse videtur, Synchronos similem cum illo clementia & iusticia laudem reportauit.

1519 Moritur: aut circiter.

XXVI.

Augmundus.

Eligitur anno obitus Stephani

1522 Cathedram adit.

Hoc episcopo, prefectus regius cum comitibus aliquot Scalhotiam inuitatus, in ipso conuiuio a coniuram quibusdam interfectus est, eo quod impie passim in incolas & bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus vtro tanquam istius cadis author, quanquam se iuramento purgaret in Daniam transuectus, Obijt.

XXVII.

Gysserus.

1540 Eligitur viuento Augmundo

1541 Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa coniugium

1544 sacerdotum: Eius nuptia Schalholtia celebrata.

XXVIII.

Martinus.

1547 Praest, & sequentibus.

XXIX.

Gislaus Ionas.

Hic statim, Augmundo episcopo, coepit iuuenis vera pietatis & purioris doctrina Euangelica studio, & amore flagrare, eandemque pastor ecclesia Scardalemsis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorum odium adeo in se deriuauit, vt illorum insidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, vnde Haffniam Danorum profectus, in coepto vera Theologia studio strenue pergens, in multorum, prapicue vero in summa D. D. Petri Palladum temporis Episcopi, familiaritate et gratia viuebat.

1556 Postea, inde in patriam reuerso, Martinus sponte cessit.

1587 Moritur et hic 31. annos plus minus Euangelium Iesu Christi professus: nec tantum viua voce, sed et quocunque demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re et consilio Ecclesiam Dei iuuuit et promouit.

XXX.

Otto Knerus

Vir grauis, pius et eruditus.

1588 Electus abit patria.

1589 Ordinatur.

Redit et cathedram adit, susceptique muneris labores aggreditur.

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Anno Christi            Episcopi Holenses.

I.

Ionas Augmundi F.

Isleifi discipulus.

1106 Ordinatur peregre: anno atat. 64. cognomentum illi, sanctus: curus memoria dies 3. Martij, apud Islandos est antiquitus dicatus.

1121 Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.

II.

Ketillus siue Catullus.

1122 Ordinatur.

1145 Moritur.

III.

Biorno.

1147 Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.

1162 Moritur.

IV.

Brandus.

1163 Ordinatur.

1165 Cathedram adit.

1201 Moritur.

V.

Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.

1203 Eligitur et ordinatur.

1237 Moritur.

VI.

Botolphus.

1239 Redit ordinatus.

1246 Moritur.

VII.

Henricus.

1247 Cathedram adit.

1260 Moritur.

VIII.

Brandus.

1262 Abbas peregre abit.

1263 Cathedram adit.

1264 Moritur.

IX.

Iorundus.

1267 Cathedram adit.

1313 Moritur.

X.

Audunnus.

1314 Cathedram adit.

1322 Moritur.

XI.

Laurentius.

1324 Eligitur & ordinatur.

1331 Moritur Idib. April.

XII.

Egillus.

1332 Cathedram adit.

1341 Moritur.

XIII.

Ormus.

1343 Cathedram adit.

1355 Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.

XIV.

Jonas Erici F. \_cognomento\_ Skalle

1358 Cathedram Holensem aditurus venit in Islandiam. Hic Jonas, olim in  
Grondlandia Episcopatum Gronlandis ordinatus, a Pontifice Romano  
Episcopus impetrauit, vt liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui  
1356 tunc temporis vacabat. Vnde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis  
ac muneris, a Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud  
Presbyteros dioecesis Holensis, suspecta fidet esse coepit.  
Quare abijsdem in Noruagiam relegaus est, vt ea res arbitrio  
Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus fauente  
Cathedram Holensem obitnuit.

1391 Moritur.

XV.

Petrus.

Ordinatur, quo anno pradecessor rebus mortalium exemptus est.

1392 Cathedram adit Holensem.

Moritur.

XVI.

Jonas Wilhelmus.

1432 Anglus, siue genere, siue cognomine, prafuit Ecclcsia Holensi.

XVII.

Godschalcus.

1457 Moritur.

XVIII.

Olaus Rogwaldi F.

1458 Pradicti Godschalchi ex sorore nepos, vterque Noruagus, eligitur.

1497 Moritur.

XIX.

Godschalcus.

De mortus Olai nepos ex fratre, et ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem  
anno quo patruus decessit.

1500 Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter  
exercuisse fertur.

Anno 1520. cum inter pocula et voluptates conuiuales versaretur  
audiretque obijsse Ionam Sigismundum, quem cum vxore et liberis  
multos annos crudelissime vexauerat, in subitum morbum repente  
incidit, et sic paulo post, eam, qua in tota vita in miseros  
subditos vsus est vim cum miserabili morte commutauit.

XX.

Jonas Arasonius.

1525 Cathedram adit: etiam hic papisticarum superstitionum vltimus et  
acerrimus assertor. Qui, cum Gyssero et Martino episcopus  
Schalhotia acriter resisteret, a pientiss. Rege Christiano

1548 tertio iubetur sub poena exilij protinus in Daniam aduentare.

1550 Sed hoc neglecto, captum Martinum Schalholtia Episcopum custodia  
mandauit. Tandem et ipse a viro quodam magni nominis, quem  
prius vt fertur, laccessiuerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus,  
ibidem cum filijs duobus, autoritate regij prafecti, capitis

1551 supplicio affectus est. In cuius ultionem, non multo post  
 profectus ille regius, cum socijs aliquot, a quibusdam sicarijs,  
 decollatorum olim famulis, nefarie occisus est.

XXI.

Olaus Bialterus.

1552 Abit patria.

1553 Cathderam adit.

Hic primus sincerioris doctrina apud Holenses amorem in multorum  
 animis, etiam adhuc pradecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde  
 eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertius docuit et propugnauit.

1568 Moritur.

XXII.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.

Ille non modo sua atatis, sed et posterntatis ornamentum. Qui  
 praterquam quod inchoatum opus a pradecessore Olao sibi relictum  
 ducente S. S. optime ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem,  
 deduxit, (dico labores et diligentiam in asserenda veritate  
 Euangelica, et papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in  
 hac patria sua officinam Typographicam primus Islandorum  
 aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam  
 vernaculam translatos, etiam sacrosancta Biblia, elegantissimis  
 typis Islandica lingua in officina ipsius excusa, in aeternum  
 debbit.

Hic inquam Episcopus prasens, officium suscepturus.

1570 Abijt.

1571 Redit Cathedram Holensem ingreditur.

The same in English.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE BISHOPS OF ISLAND.

The Bishops of Schalholt.

In the yeere  
 of Christ

I.

Isleif.

Consecrated beyond the seas.

1056

Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of Schalholt.

1057

Dieth in the yere of his age 74. the 4. of the  
 Kalends of Iuly.

1080

II.

Gysserus.

Consecrated beyond the sea.

1082

Returneth into Island with his Bishopricke.

1083

Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of May being tuesday.

1118

III.

Thorlacus sonne of Runulphus.

Consecrated the same yeere, wherein his pradecessor.

In the year

Gysserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes before  
 his death. Dieth.

of his age 32

1133

IV.

Magnus.

Consecrated.

1134

On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his

1148

parish towne of Hiitardal, the house being striken with lightning, hee, and 70. men with him were consumed with fire.

V.  
Klaingus.

Chosen.	1151
Entreth the see.	1152
Dieth.	1176

VI.  
Thorlacus.

Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessour.

Consecrated.	1178
Dieth.	1193

VII.  
Paulus.

Consecrated.	1195
Dieth.	1211

VIII.  
Magnus.

Consecrated.	1216
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IX.  
Siguardus.

Entreth his see.	1239
Dieth.	1268

X.  
Arnerus.

Entreth his see.	1269
Dieth.	1298

XI.  
Arnerus sonne of Helgo.

Consecrated.	1304
Entreth the see.	1305
Saileth into Norwaie, to craue timber of the king of Norway, wherewith the Church of Schalholt might be reedified, which the same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe.	1309

Returneth home.	1310
Dieth.	1320

XII.  
Ionas Haldorus

Elected.	1321
Consecrated the first of August.	1322
Entreth his see.	1323
Dieth.	1338

XIII.

Ionas, sonne of Indred, a Noruagian borne.

Entreth his see.	1339
Dieth.	1341

XIV.

Ionas sonne of Siguardus.  
 Entreth his see. 1343  
 Dieth on S. Magnus euen. 1348

XV.  
 Gyrtus.  
 Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Salomon bishop of Aslo. 1349  
 Going beyond the seas he was drowned. 1356

XVI.  
 Thorarinnus.  
 Entreth his see. 1362  
 Dieth. 1364

XVII.  
 Oddgeirus.  
 Entreth his see. 1366  
 Dieth vpon the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, in the port of 1381  
 Bergen in Norway, falling downe from a packe of wares into the  
 botome of the ship. He was buried at Bergen in the Church of our  
 Sauour.

XVIII.  
 Michael a Dane.  
 Entreth his see. 1385  
 Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke. 1388

XIX.  
 William a Dane.  
 Entereth the Bishopricke. 1394  
 Dieth.

XX.  
 Arnerus.  
 Arnerus sirnamed Mildur, that is to say Liberall. He was at one  
 time Lord President of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and  
 vicebishop of Holen. He died. 1420

XXI.  
 Ionas Gerichson.  
 Sueden either sirnamed or borne is made Bishop ouer the Church of 1432  
 Schalholt and afterward for certaine bolde attempts being taken  
 by one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is reported) and a great  
 stone being bound to his necke, hee was cast aliue into the  
 riuier of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the bridge) and was  
 there strangled.

XXII.  
 Goswinus.  
 Bishop of Schalholt. 1445

XXIII.  
 Sueno.  
 Called the wise, bishop of Schalholt. 1472

XXIV.  
 Magnus sonne of Riolphus.  
 Bishop &c. 1489



XXV.  
Stephen.

Entreth the See. Then (liuing at one time with Godschalchus bishop 1494  
of Holen, who seemed worthy to be surnamed cruel) he had the  
same commendations for mercy and iustice, that Godschalchus had.  
He died: or thereabout. 1519

XXVI.  
Augmundus.

Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen deceased.  
Entreth the see. 1522  
While he was Bishop, the kings Lieutenant with some of his  
followers being inuited to Schalholt, in the time of the banquet  
was slaine by certaine conspirators because hee had in all  
places wickedly wasted the inhabitants and their goods. But  
Augmundus as the authour of that murther (although he purged  
himselfe with an othe) being transported into Denmarke there  
ended his life.

XXVII.  
Gysserus.

Elected, Augmundus yet liuing. 1540  
Entred the see. 1541  
He was the abolisher of Popish traditions about Priests marriages:  
his owne marriage being solemnized at Schalholt. 1544

XXVIII.  
Martinus.

Bishop &c. And the yeeres following. 1547

XXIX.  
Gislaus Ionas.

This man presently, in the time of bishop Augmund began in his  
youth to be enflamed with the loue of true pietie, & of the pure  
doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of the Church of  
Selardal, diligently to aduance the same, by which meanes he did  
so procure vnto himselfe the hatred of Papists, as being  
constrained to giue place vnto their craft & crueltie, he  
departed ouer to Hamburg, from whence comming to Copen Hagen in  
Denmarke & painfully proceeding in his former study of  
diuinitie, he liued in the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but  
specially of D. D. Peter Palladius: who was at that time bishop  
there. Afterward returning into his countrey, Martine gaue place 1556  
vnto him of his owne accord. This man died also, hauing for the 1587  
space of 31. years or there abouts, professed the Gospel of  
Iesus Christ: neither did he helpe & further the Church of God  
by the sound of his voice much, but by all other meanes to the  
vtmost of his abilities, by teaching, preaching, writing, by his  
wealth & his counsel.

XXX.  
Otto Knerus.

A graue, godly, and learned man. Being Chosen he departeth his 1588  
country. Hee is consecrated returneth, and entreth the sea, 1589  
endeuouring himselfe in the labours of his function.

The Bishops of Holen

In the yeere  
of Christ

I.

Ionas sonne of Augmundus.

Isleif his disciple.

1106

Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64, his  
surname was Sanctus, vnto whose memorie the 3. of March was by  
the inhabitants in old time dedicated.

Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of May.

1121

II.

Ketillus or Catullus.

Consecrated.

1121

Dieth.

1145

III.

Biorno.

Being consecrated came into Island.

1147

Dieth.

1162

IV.

Brandus.

Consecrated

1163

Entreth his Episcopall see.

1165

Dieth.

1201

V.

Gudmundus sirnamed Bonus.

Elected and consecrated.

1203

Dieth.

1237

VI.

Botolphus.

Returneth consecrated.

1239

Dieth.

1246

VII.

Henricus.

Entreth the see.

1247

Dieth.

1260

VIII.

Brandus an Abbat.

Goeth beyond the seas.

1262

Entreth the Bishopricke.

1263

Dieth.

1264

IX.

Iorundus.

Entreth his see.

1267

Dieth.

1313

X.

Audunnus.

Entreth his see.

1314

Dieth.

1322

XI.

Laurentinus.

Elected and consecrated. 1324  
 Dieth in the Ides of April 1331

XII.

Egillus.

Entreth his see. 1332  
 Dieth. 1341

XIII.

Ormus.

Entreth his see. 1343  
 Dieth vpon the feast of all Saints. 1355

XIV.

Ionas Sonne of Ericus, sirnamed Skalle.

Being to enter his sea of Holen came into Island. This Ionas 1358  
 being before time consecrated bishop of Gronland, obtained A Bishop  
 licence of the bishop of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which Gronland  
 was at that time vacant. Whereupon comming and not bringing 1356  
 with him the confirmation of this dignitie and function,  
 receiued from the Pope hee began to be suspected among the  
 priests of the diocese of Holen. Wherefore he was sent backe  
 by them into Norway that the matter might bee set through by  
 the iudgement of the king. The king therefore faououring his  
 part, he obtained the bishopricke of Holen.  
 He dieth. 1391

XV.

Peter.

Consecrated the same yeere wherein his predecessour departed out  
 of this present life.  
 Entreth the see of Holen. 1392  
 Dieth

XVI.

Ionas Wilhelmus.

An Englishman  
 Bishop of

English, either borne or sirnamed. Island.  
 Entred the see. 1432

XVII.

Godschalcus.

Died. 1457

XVIII.

Olaus.

Son of Rogwaldus nephew to the forenamed Godschalcus by the  
 sisters side, both of them being Norwayes.  
 He was established. 1458  
 He died. 1497

XIX.

Godschalcus.

The nephewes of Olaus deceased, by the brothers side: also hee

being a Noruagian was elected the same yeere wherein his vnclē  
deceased.

He entreth the see. And for the space of 20. whole yeres is 1500  
reported cruelly to haue entreated many of the subiects. In  
the yeere 1520. when he was in the midst of his cups, and  
banquetting dishes, and heard that Ionas Sigismundus was  
departed out of this life (whom with his wife and children,  
he had for many yeres most cruelly oppressed) he presently  
fell into a sudden disease, and so not long after changed that  
violence for miserable death, which in his whole life he had  
vsed against his distressed subiects.

XX.

Ionas Arasonius.

Entreth the see. 1525

This man was the last and most earnest mainteiner of Popish  
superstitions. Who stoutely withstanding Gysserus and Martinus  
bishops of Schalholt, was commanded by the most religious king  
Christian the 3. vnder paine of banishment to come with all  
speed into Denmarke. But neglecting the king's commaundement,  
hee tooke Martine bishop of Schalholt, and committed him to  
ward. At length he himselfe also being taken by a man of great  
name (whom before that time, it is saide, he had prouoked) and  
being brought to Schalholt, was, together with his two sonnes,  
by the authoritie of the kings Lieutenant beheaded. In reuenge 1551  
whereof not long after, the saide Lieu-tenant with some of his  
company, was villanously slaine by certaine roysters, which  
were once seruants to the parties beheaded.

XXI.

Olaus Walterus.

Departed his country. 1552

Entreth the see. 1553

This man (being as yet in the life time of his predecessour  
fellow-labourer with him) was the first that kindled the loue  
of sincere doctrine at Holen in the hearts of many: and then  
being bishop did openly teache and defend the said doctrine.  
He died. 1568

XXII.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.

The ornament, not onely of his age, but of posteritie also who  
besides that, by the direction of the holy spirit, he hath  
most notably brought the worke begunne, and left vnto him by  
his predecessour Olaus to that perfection which it hath  
pleased God to vouchsafe: (namely his labours and diligence  
in maintayning the trueth of the Gospel, and in abolishing of  
Popish superstitions) euen in this his country hee is the  
first that hath established a Printing house. For which cause  
his country (besides, for many other books translated into our  
mother tongue) shalbe eternally bounded vnto him, that the  
sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is fairely printed in the  
language of Island. (I say) being at this present, Hee Bishop,  
when he was about to take his charge:

Departed his country. 1570

Returned and entred the see of Holen. 1571

Circa hac igitur tempora mentibus nostris e coelo reddita lux est, et regni coelestis ianua per sinceriores doctrina Christiana expositionem reserata. Nam et Schola triualis in vtraque sede Episcopali, laudatissimi Regis Dania Christiani tertij munificentia et pietate, circa annum 1553. fundata est: ac subinde patris Christianissimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Diuo Friderico secundo rege nostro sanctissimo, Anno 1588. ad coelestem patriam euocato, aucta et promota: qua etiam hodie, clementissimi regis et principis nostri, Christiani 4. fauore et nutu viget floretque: in qua iuuentus nostra Insula, artium dicendi et sacra Theologia rudimentis imbuta, ad scientiam et veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc ministri Ecclesiarum petantur.

Peruenimus tandem ad hodiernum vsque diem in Episcoporum Islandia catalogo: quo pradioti viri clarissimi Dom. Gudbrandus Thorlacius, et Dom. Otto Enerus ille Holis, hic Schalholtia Ecclesiarum sunt antistites: quorum vtrumque, vt Deus opt. max. Ecclesia sua saluum et superstitem, propter gloriam nominis sui sanctissimi, diu conseruare velit, omnes serio et ardentibus votis flagitamus.

The same in English.

In these times therefore light is restored vnto our soules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnto vs by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renoumed King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the sonne following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called vp to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene increased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the fauour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our Islande being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred diuinitie, are trained vp to

knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of Island downe to this present day, wherein the forenamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Holen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedrall Churches both of which men, that it would please God long to preserue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with feruent prayers beseech him.

## SECTIO SECVNDA.

[Sidenote: Must. Krantz. Frisius.] Specus habitant plerumque, aut ad montium latera in excauatis mansiunculis. Et mox: Templa habent multa et domos ex ossibus piscium et balenarum constructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris asperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad solis astum vitandum. Item Munsterus. Multi in Islandia hodie costis et ossibus balenarum, domos suas construunt, &c.

Hic membrum secundum initium sumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione et moribus. Et primum, quibus vtantur, edificijs seu domibus: nempe secundum Munsterum, Krantzium, Frisium, &c. Specus et montium cauernis. Quamuis autem in splendidis adificijs, alijsque id genus mundani ornatus pretiosis rebus parum inest, quod ad vere beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hic

veritatem tacere possumus: dicimusque omnino Cosmographos et Historicos in errore etiam hic versari. Etenim, cuiusmodi gentis publica domicilia esse scribunt, ea sunt tantum in paucis locis, tum magalia, vt opilionum, tum piscatorum casa et receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piscatura operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. [Sidenote: Negotiatio cum Noruagis desijt. Sylua fluctibus maris delata.] At ipsas domus, seu ipsa hominum domicilia, antiquitus quidem satis magnifice et sumptuose, quoad huius terra fert conditio, ligno, cespite et saxis habuerunt Islandi constructa, vsque ad illud tempus, quo illis cum Noruagis, qui ligna sufficebant, negociatio, et mercium commutatio esse desijt, qua inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cum nec syluas adificijs aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte sufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopia nostra succurrant. Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, et iam quadam collapsa sunt, quadam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa sunt pradia, multa villa, quas haud facile recensuero, quarum adificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, et quarum domus sunt maxima, et lata et longa, tum plarumque bene alta. Vt exempli gratia. Pradia seu villa, qua cubilia habent plusquam 50. cubitos longa, 10. lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt coenaculum, hypocaustum, penuarium &c. huic sua proportione respondententes. Possum multa nostratium adificia ampla et vasta, nec in speciem deformia, nec ob artis structuram et sumptuosam firmitudinem, seu robur, contemnenda cum aliquot delubris, siue sacris adibus, solis lignis, antiqua et operosa grauitate et pulchritudine exstructis commemorare: Cuiusmodi est templum Cathedrale Holense atrium habens, cuius columna vtrinque quinque vlnas 14. alta, 5. circiter crassa: tum trabes ac tigna, et reliquum culmen, huic substructioni proportionaliter respondens. Ligna ad hoc ipsum atrium Anno 1584. horrenda tempestate collapsum, clementissimus Rex noster D. Fridericus cuius nobis sacratissima est memoria, Anno 1588. benignissime largitus est. Ipsum vero templum atrium suum omni quantitate manifeste excedit: tum templi intima pars qua chorus appellari solet, et templi meditullio, et atrio magnitudine nonnihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longe maius olim, vt accepi Schalholtense, quod iam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum est. Praterea aliquot alia templa nostra Insula horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non aequantia. Sed hic nequaquam res exigere videtur, vt in prolixiore eius rei descriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus et edificia nostra nihil depredicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quod contenti paupertate nostra Christo gratias immortales agamus, qui a nobis vili tecto non dedignatur recipi, quodque templa et domus nostras quas Munsterus Krantzius et Frisius piscium et balenarum ossibus non vere dicunt exstructas, non aspernetur magis, quam illa extraneorum culmina marmorea, parietes vermiculatos pauimenta tessellata reliquumque id genus ornamenta.

The same in English.

## THE SECOND SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius. Frisius.] They inhabite for the most part in caues, or hollowe places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe. Many of them also to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselues close in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the sunne. Also Munster sayth: Many in Island at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

Here the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe vse namely according to Munster, Krantinus, Frisius &c.

Holes and caues of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braueries there is very little helpe to the attayning of a life truely happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth and we plainly affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepherds, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. [Sidenote: Traffike with the people of Norway ceaseth.] But for their houses themselues, and the verie dwelling places of men, the Islanders haue had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, stones, andurfes, vntill such time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweene them and the Noruagians, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to decay whenas neither we haue woods of conuenient for building, [Sidenote: Drift wood not so plentiful now as in times past] nor yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast vpon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieue vs: neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our neecessities; whereupon many of our meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncicnt integritie, some whereof be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being verie large both in breadth and length, and for the most part in height also As for example farmes or granges which containe chambers in them, more than fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And so other roomes, as a parler, a stoue, a butterie, &c. answering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrey buildings both large and wide neither ilfauoured in shewe, nor base in regarde of their workemanship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, or religious houses, built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemelinese and beautie: as the Cathedrall Church of Holen hauing a bodie the fiue pillars whereof on both sides be foure elnes high, and about fiue elnes thicke, as also beames and weather-bourdes, and the rest of the roofe proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Frederick, whose memory is most sacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588. did most liberally bestowe timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doth manifestlie exceed the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somewhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our Cathedrall, which hauing now beene twise burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Island, although not matching, yet resembling the auncient magnificence of these. But here the matter seemeth not to require that I shoulde runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them, because being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be receiued of vs vnder a base roofe, and contemneth not our temples and houses (which Munster, Krantzius, and Frisius doe not truely affirme to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pauements, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.

## SECTIO TERTIA.

[Sidenote: Munsterus Krantzius.] Commum tecto, victu, statu, (hic Krantzius habet, strato) gaudent cum iumentis. Item: Solo pastu pecorum et nunc captura piscium victitant.

Hac sunt et sequentia, qua Krantzius suo Munstero pramansa, in os ingessit, adeo vt Munstero non opus fuent ea vel semel masticare, quod ex collatione vtriusque patet. Munsterus enim hac opprobria, vt ex Krantzij in suam Noruegiam prafatione hausta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. Cosmographia capit. 8. in gentem nostram euomit. Qua hactenus fuerunt, etsi satis grauia sunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc vero commentum malignissimum, et qua sequentur, non facile est sine stomacho praterire. Nostrum igitur est, etiam hic veritatem asserere, et mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Tecto: Primum igitur quod de commum tecto (vti etiam de victu et statu) cum iumentis dicunt, falsum et erroneum clamamus, teste non modo re ipsa, si quis id hodie perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, et veritati plus quam gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipsi domos et habitationes nostras viderunt, et norunt in singulis pradijs seu villis, multas esse distinctas domus: nempe in abiectissimis et vilissimis 7. vel 8. in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40, nunc 50; qua vt plurimum, et tecto et parietibus distincta, vni possessori vel domino, raro duobus aut tribus, rarissime pluribus inseruiunt, ac vsibus quotidianis et domesticis sufficiunt. Vnde facile intelligis, Lector, quam vere eodem tecto cum iumentis vtantur Islandi, cum singuli rustici in hac domuum varietate, peculiaria bouilia, ouilia, equitia, agnilia, debitis interuallis dissita habeant, qua serui, quoties opus est, petunt, vnde rursus habitationem subinde repetunt.

Quod autem quidam in mappa Islandia de prouincia Skagefiord annotauit, sub eodem tecto homines, canes, sues et oues, viuere, partim falsum, partim minime mirandum est. De ouibus quidem, vt iam dictum est, et prapicue suibus (cum illa prouincia sues non habeat) falsum: De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aula caruerint nec hodie careant, vt nimis omnibus est notum. Sed de canibus paulo post Sect 7. huius.

Victu. An iumentorum pabula possint commode victus appellatione contineri, merito dubitauerim. Cum Doletus, Ciceronis interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iureconsultis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo contineantur, qua esui, potui, cultuique corporis, quaque ad viuendum homini sunt necessana. Et Vlpianus, de verborum significat. Iisdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco vero Authores illi, etiam iumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Caterum videamus quomodo hic eluceat veritatis et candoris prastantia. Iumenta non habemus praterquam equos et boues: His gramina et foenum (nisi vbi foeni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum prabet. At hi ipsi scriptores fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco et aduentitio viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen ijdem his verbis asserunt. Communi victu gaudent cum iumentis: Quod quid sit Munstero, ipse paulo superius haud obscure docuit. Islandia, innquit, populos multos continet, solo pecorum pastu, et nunc captura piscium victitantes. Quid autem est pecorum pastus, aliud, quam pecorum cibus? ait Doletus: nisi Munsterus forte pecorum pasium, ipsa pecora ad pastum hominum mactata appellet: cui, vt existimo, vsus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines vesci, ita pecora pasci docuit:



hominumque victum pecorum autem, pastum et pabulum vocari iussit. An vero existimem tam dementes fuisse Munsterum et Krantzium vt senserint Islandos graminibus et foeno viuere? Quo miseria Nabuchodonozor, diuina vltionis iugum subiens redactus est Dani 4. 30. Facile dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modo nostrates, sed vestrates quoque vescuntur, iumenta et pecora forte non reijcere, si familiari pabulo destituantur. Vt equi frumento et panibus hordeaceis pascuntur: ijdem lac (quemadmodum etiam vituli et agni) et cereuisiam, si offeratur bibunt, et quidem auide. Sed et canes quavis fercula et cibaria deuorant. An idcirco quisquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus et iumentis gaudere?

Iam quacunq; famis grassantis tempore contigere pro vniuersali gentis alicuius consuetudine in historiam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis de extraneis scribere huius aut illius terra populos canum murium aut felium vsu vicitare solitos, etsi forte fame siue obsidione, siue alioqui annonas charitate inualescente immissa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum esse multis cum iumentis communem non magnopere contraibimus: nempe aquam limpissimam, naturalem ilium potum omnibus animantibus a Deo creatum quem etiam ex parte, medicina consulti comendant, imo nec patres Hebraei nec ipse Seruator noster fastidiebat.

Ad amictum vero quod attinet, (Nam et amictum victus vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam hic cum iumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis et villis natura (quod Munsterum et Krantzium nouisse iurarim) vestiuit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere necesse habent. Hac indumenta, qua quidem Islandia suppeditat, ex lanis ouium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideo recte dici, amictum esse nobis cum ouibus communem siue eundem. Vtuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim est, ex eo laudem vel superbam astimationem quarere quod natura nostra infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Restat ille status quem cum brutis habere communem dicimur. Qui qualis aut cuiusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certe non facile assequor. Status inquit Doletus est vel corporis, vel causarum vel ordinis et conditionis. Certe alium esse statum nostri corporis quam iumentorum (nam prater duos pedes etiam manus habemus et corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem et conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri si id de se aut alijs cognitum habent fateantur. Nos hac tam vana et in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contemptibilia irridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

[Sidenote: Occasi harum fabularum.] Caterum quia nostrum est nec amor patriae, nec vlli rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper et vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit quod huic infami scriptorum conuicio occasionem forte dederit.

Sunt in vicinia Schalholtia, ad littus Islandie australe paroechiola tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes Thiorsaa et Olffwis Aa intercepta; qua et syluis et cespitibus consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite fere destituuntur. In istis paroechijs habitantes et si qui sint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, qua ad focos et balnea opus habent, sibi opportune prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam sed infirma tantum sortis coloni, qui quoniam estis rebus domi destituantur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant in culinis foeno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Ast vbi hyemis niuosa savitia horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bouile refugiunt illic scilicet exstructis tabulatis interidui operas domesticas exercentes, a bobus, cum

focos habere nequeant, calorem mutantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs narratum est. Sicque illi tantum qui sane paucissimi sunt, communi cum bobus tecto in bruma vti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verum victum et statum longe alium habent, de qua re hactenus. Hac est in istis Paroeciolis quorundam sors et inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamuis non satis iuste. Vbi quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, libentur quasierim? Tadet de his pluribus agere: Tantum quia mihi cum Theologis res est illud Saiomonis ijs reponam. [Sidenote: Prouerb 14.] Qui calummatur egenum, deridet factorem eius.

Equidem quia gens hac nostra pauper et egena est et fuit, ad veluti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra et scommata tulit. Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certe, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex iisdem constamus elementis, et vnus et idem omnium Pater, Deus.

The same in English.

### THE THIRD SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus.] They and their cattell vse all one house, all one food or victuals, one state (here Krantzius hath it lodging.) Also. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes.

Those be the things together with those that followe, which Krantzius hath champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munster, as hee swallowed these reproches, taking them out of Krantzius his preface vpon Norway, so he casteth vp the verie same morsels vndigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosmographie cap. 8. Those things which haue beene hitherto, although they haue sufficiently grieued vs yet will we let them seeme more tollerable: but this most malicious deuise, and those which follow we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to auouch the trueth, and to turne the leasing vpon the authors owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also liuing, and state) with our cattell, we plainely affirme to be false and errorious, not onely the truth it selfe being our witness, if any man would make triall, but also the experience of manie strangers, that haue liued some yeeres amongst vs, and haue more minde to speake the trueth then to reuile our nation: who haue seene our house and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many seuerall roomes namely, in those that were most simple and base, seuen or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes twentie. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being seuered, both by roofes and walles, doe serue for the dayly and household affaires of one owner or master, seldome of two or three, but almost neuer of more: whereupon the Reader may easily iudge, howe true it is that the Islanders and their cattell haue all one house to lie in, when euery husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath seuerall oxe stalles, sheepe-cotes, stables lambes-cots separated in different spaces one from another, which the seruants goe vnto so oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But whereas one noted in his Mappe of Island, concerning the prouince of Skagefiord, that vnder the same rooffe, men, dogges swine and sheepe liue

altogether, it is partly false, and partly no maruell: for sheepe, as it hath been sayde, and especially for swine (when as that prouince hath no swine at all) it is vtterly false: for dogges it is no maruell, when is not kings courts were euer, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges afterward in the seuenth section.

Victuals, &c. Whither beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of Victus, a man may lustly doubt: When Doletus interpreting a peece of Tullie, saith: As for Victus (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the Ciuilians, namely that we comprehend vnder the word of Victus all things necessarie for the life of man as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And Vlpianus de verborum significatione defineth Victus in the very same words. But in this place the saide authors call beaste meate by the name of Victus.

But let vs see what trueth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men. We haue no labouring cattel besides horses and oxen: these haue grasse and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very same writers confesse, that the Islanders liue by fish, butter, flesh both beefe and mutton, and corne also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the same foode with brute beasts, which notwithstanding the sayde writers affirme in these wordes: They and their cattel vse all one victuals or food. What Munsters meaning is in this clause, he himselfe a little before hath plainly taught.

Island (saith he) containeth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Doletus? Vnlesse perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, cattell themselues slaine for the foode of men: whom, as I thinke, the vse of the latine tongue doth gaine say, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, so beasts do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattell. But may I thinke that Munster and Krantzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders liue vpon grasse and hay: To this passe of miserie was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easily graunt that beasts and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the saide beasts be destitute of their vsuall food: as horses are fedde with corne and barley loaves: they will drinke milke also (like vnto calues and lambes) and ale if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will deuour any deinty dishes whatsoever. May any man therefore say that men vse the same common victuals with dogges and horses?

Now, whatsoever things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought not to be recorded in historie for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrey, doe vsually liue by eating of dogs, mice, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of corne, they haue often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is sometimes common to many men with beasts we will not greatly gainesay: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all liuing creatures: which also in some respect Phisicians doe commend, yea, neither the Patriarkes themselues, nor our sauour Christ despised it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also vnder the name of Victus) it is no wise common to vs with beasts. For nature hath clad them

with hairs and bristles (as I dare say Munster and Krantzius cannot be ignorant) men, being otherwise naked stande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore haue properly beene sayde that sheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countries also weare cloth of sheepes wooll, although it be more finely wrought. But no more concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

State, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to haue common with beasts; but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would haue it to be I cannot easily discerne. State (sayth Doletus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beasts (for besides our two feet, we haue hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellowes, if they know any such matter by themselues or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scorne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so great contempt against the Maiesty of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duty not so highly to regard either the loue of our cuntry, or of any other thing whatsoever, but that we may be ready at all times and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminance: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be neere vnto Schalholt, vpon the South shore of Island three small parishes standing betweene two most swift riuers Thiorsaa and Olffwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fewell of the cuntry. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yeere prouide all things necessary for householde, so especially those things which belong to fires and bathes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who because they want those things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are constrained to vse straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigor of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their oxen stales, and there setting vp sheds, and doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oxen, as it hath beene reported to mee by others: And so they onely being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enioye, but are constrayned to vse the same common house with their oxen. But for their liuelihooode and state it is farre otherwise with them then with their oxen, of which thing I haue entreated before. This is the lot, & pouertie of certaine men in those pettie parishes, the condition whereof is therefore made a common byworde of the people amongst vs, though somewhat iniuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and skantly true of these fewe poore men? I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon suffice, Prouerbs 17, verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath been poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongst many rich men, it hath susteined so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbraide. Verely if there were nothing else common vnto vs with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and haue all one

father and God.

#### SECTIO QUARTA.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munster] In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quarant quam natura concedit. Beata gens, cuius paupertati nullus inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici et Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam vehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoque nostra inuexerunt. Nam et fruges aqua miscere in potum didicerunt, et simplicis aqua haustus oderunt. Nunc aurum et argentum cum nostris admirantur.

Simplicitate. Equidem sancta simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, merito gaudemus: Sed id dolemus, quod reperiatur etiam apud nos iustitia ac legum ingens deprauatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur, quod pij et boni omnes quotidie deplorant. Id mali autem nequaquam supremi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed verius nostra culpa accidit: qui hac qua clam ipso prapostere geruntur et qua in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad maiestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porro, non solum Angli et Dani, sed maxime Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces euehentos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miscendarum frugum aqua, Islandos docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Noruagi primi, quod nobis constet, terra nostra incola; a quibus oriundi sunt Islandi, artem illam, sicut etiam aureos argenteosque nummos, secum ex Noruegia attulerunt; vt initio non fuerit minor argenti et auri vsus apud nos, quam est hodie.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorumue frequentes ad nos nauigationes, terra nostra multo, quam nunc, senescentis mundi incommoda, coelo soloque persentiens, fertior, in delectis simis quibusque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

The same in English.

#### THE FOURTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munster.] They leade their liues in holy simplicitie, not seeking any more then nature doeth afforde. A happie Nation, whose pouertie no man doth enuie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and siluer like vnto our men.

Simplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found so great a decay of iustice, and good lawes, and so great want of gouernement amongst vs, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences which all honest and godly men doe continually bewayle. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is of our most gracious King, but rather by our owne fault, who doe not present these thinges vnto his Maiestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferiour Magistrate.

Merchants. Moreouer, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but

especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our cuntry, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For the Noruagians themselues, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Island, from whom ye Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and siluer coine, so that in old time there was no lesse vse of siluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

[Sidenote: Corne of old time growing on Island.] And it is certaine that before the often nauigations of Danes, Germans, and English men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the aged and decayed worlde, both from heauen and earth) and brought foorth, in certaine choyse places, corne in abundance.

#### SECTIO QUINTA.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius.] Rex Dania qui et Noruagia quotannis prafectum immittit genti.

Anno Domino 846. natus est Haraldus Harfagre (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858, Rex Noruagia designatus, vbi atas viresque iustum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij Noruagici mutauit. Nam antea in minutas prouincias diuisum (quas Fylki vocabant, et qui his praerant regulos, Fylkis Konga) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum et genere et potentia valentes aliquot regni incola agre ferrent, patria exulare, quam ipsius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in Islandiam, antea quidem a quibusdam visam et inuentam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto Superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostra originem prabentes, se Islandos nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodie posterii retinent. Vixerunt itaque Islandi diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamuis Rex Noruagia Haquinus ille conatus, qui omnium regum Noruagia diutissime, nempe plusquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, saepe per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere Islandos, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi prastarent. [Sidenote: Margareta.] Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, et regibus Noruagia parentes, translato per Margaretam, Dania, Suecia, et Noruagia reginam, Noruagorum imperio, ad Danos, vna cum reliquis imperij Noruagici Insulis, Serenissimum Dania regem; Dominum et Regem suum hodie salutant.

The same in English.

#### THE FIFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius.] The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the COUNTRY.

In the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harold Harfagre (which is to say, golden haire or faire lockes) was borne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being chosen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian gouernment. For whereas before it was diuided into pettie Prouinces (which they called Fylki, and the pettie kings that gouerned them, fylkis konga) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. [Sidenote: The occasion of the first inhabiting of Island by the people of Norway.] But when some inhabitants of the cuntry, being mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they

chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere about named eight hundred seuentie and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discovered by some men and found out, but vnpeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselues Islanders, which name their posteritie retaineth vnto this day. And therefore the Islanders liued a long time, namely, three hundred eightie and six yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. [Sidenote: Haquinus coronatus.] And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway who reigned longest of any Noruagian king, namely, about sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadors to make the Islanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstoode him, till at length about the yeere of our Lord 1260. they performed homage vnto him. And afterward continued alwayes in their promised loyaltie, being subiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the Noruagians was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their soueraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.

#### SEXIO SEXTA.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus] Omnia eos communia sunt, prater vxores.

Hoc loco pramittit Krantzius talem Ironiam.

Multa insignia in moribus illorum, &c. Porro etiam hic fidem vestram eleuat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompetas nimis procliuē, cupidinem nouitatis, et nominis ac fama, imo veritatis curam preposteram arguit, omnium et rerum personarumque et temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politica, quibus inde ab initio cum Noruagis vsi sunt eisdem Islandi: De Rege et subditis: De foro, et his qua in forensem disceptationem cadere possunt: De hareditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo contractibus et ceteris: Qua omnia, quorsum illis, quebus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus et immobilibus contentiones, turba et certamina, in foris ac iudicijs Islandorum: Testes sunt Reges nunc Dania et olim Noruagia, qui tot libellis supplicibus Islandorum, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controuersias, olim et nunc interpellati saepe fuerant. Testis contra seipsum Krantzius, cuius verba distinction. i. huius, hac fuerunt. Ante susceptam Christi fidem (Islandi) lege naturali viuentes parum a lege nostra discrepabant, &c. Si lege natura, certe lege illa iustitia, qua tribuit vnique suum: Si lege iustitia, certe proprietatum et dominiorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quanquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, et quidem satis atrocitur, saepe delinquitur tamen et Ecclesia et Ethnici iustissimam et optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

The same in English.

#### THE SIXTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius. Munsterus.] All things are common among them except their wiues.

Here Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreouer, your wit being too hastie in

affirming things vnknown, doth here also diminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proueth your ouer greedie desire of noueltie, of fame and vaine glorie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. O worthy writers.

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, wee call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the Islanders from the beginning haue vsed all one with the Norwayes: of the King and his subjects: of the seate of iustice, and of law cases which come to be decided there, of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enioyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many broyls and contentions in our courts, and places of iudgement in Island concerning goods moouable, and immoouable: we call to witnesse our kings now of Denmarke, aforesayde of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of Island in old time, and of late haue beene often interrupted, for the setting through of controuersies concerning possessions. Wee call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these: Before the receiuing of Christian faith the Islanders liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtlesse by that lawe of iustice, which giueth to euery man his owne: If by the lawe of iustice, then certainly distinctions of properties and possessions must needes haue taken place in our Nation: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that haynously euen in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most iust and good.

#### SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos et pueros aquo habent in precio: Nisi quod a pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quam catulum, &c.

Quamuis principio huius commentarioli censuerim, Munsterum et alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, qua de Islandia scripta reliquerunt, esse a calumna nota liberandos: num tamen id hic, etiam a candidissimo et maxime sincero quocunq; fieri possit, non satis video. Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt Nautarum maleuolas nugas et mendacia secuti, tam atroci et contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularentque? Nihil profecto, nisi secura ridendi et contemnendi gentem pauperem et ignotam, licentia, et si qua sunt huic vicia confinia.

Caterum norint omnes non tam Islandis, quam ipsis Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, et plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulans, efficiunt vna, vt alibi quoque suspecta fidei habeantur. Illudque quod ait Aristoteles lucrantur, vt cum vera dixerint, illis sine suspitione non credatur.

Sed age Lector, subsiste paulisper, mecumque grauitatem et sapientiam tantorum virorum expende: Ne tantum Islandia Elogium intactum pratereamus. Docuerunt hactenus Krantzius et Munsterus: Islandos esse Christianos. Item: Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos vixisse lege quadam non multum a lege Germanorum discrepante. Item: Vixisse eos in sancta simplicitate. Adesdum igitur Lector, et quas Christianismi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorum, sancta simplicitatis notas Authores illi requirant, et in Islandis monstrent ac depingant, perpende. Vna fuit supra, quod infernum siue carcerem damnatorum montis Hecla voragine et radicibus circumscribant Islandi: de quo vide Sect. i. huius: et sect. 7. prior. part. Altera nota, quod, cum Anabaptistis, proprietatum et dominiorum



distinctiones tollant: de quo Sect. preced. Tertia eaque longe excellentissima hac est: illi praclari affectus naturales, amor, cura, et animus tam pius et paternus Islandorum in liberos, quod videlicet eiusdem precij sint apud illos canes et filij, aut hi etiam vltoris. Siccine nobis Munstere et Krantzi. Legem Christi, natura, Germanorum, et sanctam simplicitatem depingitis: O picturam praclaram et excellentem, quamuis non prorsus Apellaam: O Inuentum acutum et admirandum, si bene authenticum: O scientiam plusquam humanam, etsi non prorsus diuinam.

Nos vero Islandi, quamuis vltimi et gelidum conclusi ad Arcton, longe alias Christianismi notas requirimus. Nam et praceptum Dei habemus, vt quilibet proximum diligat velut seipsum. Iam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluris faciat, quam canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximi cuiuslibet fauor, tanta astimatio, tantus amor, quantus quaso erit in liberos? Quorum arctissimum amorem, praterquam quod ipsa parens natura nobis firmissime conciliauit, etiam Lex diuina curam summam in enutriendo habere iussit (Exo. 12. 24. Ephe. 6, 4.) vt scilicet sint in sancto coniugio, Ecclesia quadam seminaria, omnis pietatis et honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrime cecinit.

Vult Ecclesiolam quamlibet esse domum.

Item: Coniugium humana quadam est Academia vita.

Vt iam satis constet, apud Christianos longe pluris faciendos et curandos filios, quam canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

Sed et hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis aperte conspicitur: vt si quos hoc penitus exueris, eosdem etiam homines esse negaueris. Monstrant id matres Carthaginenses, cum tertio bello Punico adolescentes quique lectissimi obsides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illa fletu et lamentatione miserabili ad naues comitata, et ex his quadam a filiorum complexibus agre diuulsa, cum ventis pandi vela cernerent, nauesque e portu egredi, dolore stimulante, in subiectos fluctus dissiluere: Sabellico authore. Monstrat Ageus, qui nauem filij Thesei, cum velis atricoloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijsse filium ratus, vitam in proximis vndis finiuit. Sabellic. lib. 3. cap. 4. Monstrat Gordianus senior, Africa proconsul, qui similiter, ob rumores de morte filij, vitam suspendio clausit. Campofulgus. lib. 5. cap. 7. Monstrant idem locasta Creontis filia, Auctolia Sinonis F. Anius Tuscorum Rex, Orodes Rex Parthorum, et alij numero innumero. De quibus vide stat. lib. 2. Plutarchum, et alios, &c. Huc illud. Amor descendit, &c. Adeo, vt videas non minus esse homini proprium, sobolem intime diligere, et summo amore prosequi, quam aut volare; vt si iam aliquando homines esse Islandos, nedum Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem et affectum in filios ijsdem, quantumuis inuiti et repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modo hominis titulum et dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infra bruta et quasuis bestias, qua ipsa, stimulante natura, maximo prolis sua et arctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiarias ipsis Islandis antiquiores, quippe a Noruagis acceptas, qua exstant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo Mannhelge: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Iam vero si quis eo fortuna deueniat, vt proprium filium, siue incola, siue extranei alicuius potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunque vrgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne familiarum \*media deficientem

aspicere cogatur, canem vero in proprias dapes reseruet, Is minime dicendus est filium aquo aut inferiore loco habere quam canem, siue id faciant, Islandi, siue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant forte Germanorum vel Danorum nauta apud nos mendicos quosdam, liberis onustos, quorum hic maximus est numerus, qui iocando, vt sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cumque rogarint extranei: Quid tu mihi vicissim? Responderint mendici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14. dabo ex eis vnum vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluuias istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis instituere. Quod si tum quispiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis et inopia mendicorum, vno illos filio leuauerit, eique propter Deum in alijs terris, aliquo tandem modo bene prospexerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame et paupertate moriturus, filium miserenti permittit et committit, filium istum suum minoris facit quam canem? Prastitum est a multis tam Islandis quam extraneis huiusmodi beneuolentia et commiserationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobilissimus Accilius Iulius a serenissimo rege Dania olim missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperculos assumpsit et secum in Daniam auexit: Vbi postea ipsius beneficio singulos suo vita generi addictos, in viros bonos et frugi euasisse, mihi narratum est.

Quid si quis in extrema constitutus angustia, filium non modo vendat; sed si emptorem non habet, ipse mactet et comedat? Nota sunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitia crudelitatis in filios, stimulante non odio vel astorgia, sed ineuitabili necessitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuersale gentis alicuius conuicium extruxerit? Legimus, in obsidione Samaria matres duas filios suos mactasse, et coctos comedisse: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obsidione Ierosolymitana, quam flebilis fuerit vox miserima matris, filium misellum iam mactatura. Infans, ait, (referam enim Eusebij verba de hac re, etsi notissima, vt misera matris affectus appareat,) miselle et infelix, cuinam in hoc belli. famis, et seditionis tumultu, te commode reseruem? Si Romanorum subijciamur imperio, illic seruitutis iugo pressi, vitam infoeliciter exigemus. Sed seruitutum credo fames anteuertet. Accedit factiosorum pradonum turba, his vtrisque miserijs toleratu multo asperior. Age igitur mi gnate, sis matri cibus, sis pradonibus furia, sis communi hominum vita fabula, qua res vna ad Iudaorum calamitates deesse videtur. Qua cum dixisset, natum trucidat, assatumque dimidium mox comedit, dimidium reseruat &c. Eusebius libro 3. capite 6. Iam quis est, qui non credat misserrimam hanc matrem filium hunc suum, domini alicuius, si se obtulisset, apud quem credidisset seruatum iri, aut emptoris possessioni fuisse permissuram? Nota est fames, Calagurium, Hispania vrbem, olim a Cneio Pompeio obsessam opprimens (Val. libro septimo cap. 7.) cuius ciuibus, vxores et liberi in vsum extrema dapis conuersi sunt, quos profecto; pro cibarijs et alijs dapibus haud inuiti vendidissent. Nota est quoque fames, qua Anno Domini 851. (Vincent. libro 25. cap. 36.) Germaniam attriuit, vt etiam pater filium suum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam est, post mortem Henrici septimi Imperat fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes deuorant, et praeipue quidem in Polonia et Bohemia. Et ne exempla tantum antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annona sauitiam, Anno 1586. et 1587. in Hungaria grassatam fuisse, vt quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, et in perpetuum seruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos suos, quos vltius tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli misericordia in Danubium proiecisse, et, suffocasse dicantur. Sed, num hac et similia exempla quempiam eo insania adigent, vt dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in escam propriam mactare \*consuetuisse, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis submergere et suffocare solitam esse? Non opinor. Sic neque, quod mendici apud Islandos, extrema vrgente necessitate, cuius durissimi sunt

morsus, filios suos libenter amittant, toti genti, et quidem probri loco, communiter adscribendum est a quoquam, nisi apud eundem omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.

Caterum optarim ego, parcius Islandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matrona, et praeipue nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinum gestent, quem morem in peregrinis quibusdam, quos Roma catulos simiarum et canum in gremio circumferre Casar conspexit, hac quaestione reprehendit, dum quareret: Numquid apud ipsos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui a natura inditos sibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac praeipue sobolis incitarentur, in bestias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam Munstere et Krantzi, alias nobis Christianitatis, (vt sic dicam) legis natura, legis item Germanorum, et sancta simplicitatis notas quesente.

The same in English.

#### THE SEVENTH SECTION.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke.

Although in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they haue left written concerning Islande, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that fauour may here be shewed by any man whatsoever (be he neuer so fauourable, and neuer so sincere) I doe not sufficiently conceiue. For what should moue such great men, following the despightful lyes, and fables of mariners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so shamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a poore and vnknownen Nation, and such other like vices.

But, be it knowen to all men that this vntrueth doth not so much hurt to the Islanders, as to the authors themselues. For in heaping vp this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus muche (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleeeue them without suspition.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the grauitie and wisdom of these great Clarkes: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of Island. Krantzius and Munster haue hitherto taught, that the Islanders are Christians. Also: that before receiuing of Christian faith they liued according to the lawe of Nature. Also: that the Islanders liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they liued in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the lawe of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authors require, and what markes they shew and describe in the Islanders. There was one of the sayd markes before: namely, that the Islanders doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seuenth section of the former. The seconde marke is, that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular and natural affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly

minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely, that they make the same accompt of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture out vnto vs the lawe of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? O rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: O sharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authentically: O knowledge more then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen clime) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we haue the commaundement of God, that euery man should loue his neighbour as himselfe. Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not loue or esteeme more of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee so great fauour, so great estimation, so great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe we owe vnto our children? The most neare and inseparable loue of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly settled in our mindes, the loue of God also commaundeth vs to haue speciall regard in trayning them vp (Exod 12. 24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie according to the excellent saying of the Poet--

God will haue each family,  
A little Church to be,

Also,

Of humane life or mans societie,  
A Schole or College is holy matrimonie

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are more to be accompted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection toward our most deare of-spring is plainly seene in the heathen themselues: that whomsoeuer you totally deprive of this, you denie them also to bee men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choyse and gallant young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicilia, whom they followed vnto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with grieffe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the saules hoysed, and the shippes departing out of the hauen, for very anguish cast themselues headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egeus doth testifie this, who when he sawe the shippe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabell lib. 3. cap 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Affrica, doth testifie this, who likewise, vpon rumours of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful lib 5. cap. 7. Also, locasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thuscans, Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch stat. lib. 2. and other authors, &c. To these may be added that sentence, Loue descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confessed the Islanders to be men (much lesse to be Christians,) they must, will they nill they, ascribe vnto them this loue and affection towardes their children: if not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them vnder euery brute beast, which euen by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse vntruth most notable examples of our owen countrey men: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, more ancient then the Islanders themselues, being receiued from the Noruagians, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Manhelge cap. 5, Whosoeuer selleth a free man (any man much more a sonne) vnto strangers, &c.

Now if any man be driuen to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his own sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being vrged thereunto by famine, or any other extreame necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hunger-starued for want of sustenance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or more basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countrey men do the same.

[Sidenote: The occasion of this slander.] The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst vs certaine beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in iesting maner, for they are much giuen to trifling talke, might saye: Giue me this, or sell me that: and when the stranger should aske, What will you giue me for it? the beggar might answere: I haue ten or foureteene children, I will giue you some one or more of them, &c. For this rabble of beggars vseth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well-disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggars, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes prouide for him in another countrey: doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeldeth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge? Such works of loue and mercie haue bene performed by many, as well Islanders themselues as strangers: one of which number was that honourable man Accilius Iulius, being sent by the most gracious King of Denmarke into Island in the yere of our Lord 1552, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into Denmarke fiftene poore boyes: where afterward it was reported vnto me, that, by his good meanes euery one of them being bound to a seuerall trade, proued good and thriftie men.

What if some man be driuen to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the vnwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being pricked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation? We reade that in the siege of Samaria, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden: 4. King, chap. 6. We reade in the siege of Ierusalem, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender childe: My sweete babe, sayth she (for I will report Eusebius owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conueniently reserue thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition? If we be subdued to the gouernment of the Romans, we shall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of slauery. But I thinke famine will preuent captiuitie. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the lewes. These sayings being ended, she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reseruing the other, &c. Eusebius lib 3. cap. 6. Now, what man will not beleeeue that this vnhappy mother would full gladly haue passed ouer this her sonne into the

possession of some master or chapman, if she could haue happened vpon any such, with whom she thought he might haue beene preserued: That famine is well knowen which oppressed Calagurium, a city of Spaine, when in olde time Cneius Pompeius layed siege thereunto (Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.) the citizens whereof conuerted their wiues and children into meat for the satisfying of their extreame hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all their heartes haue solde for other victuals. That famine also is well knowen which in the yere of our Lord 851. (Vincent lib. 35. cap 26.) afflicted Germany, insomuch that the father was glad to deuoure his owne sonne. It was well knowen after the death of the Emperour Henry the seuenth, in a famine continuing three whole yeres, how the parents would deuoure their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in Polonia and Bohemia. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples: it is reported that there was such a grieuous dearth of corne in the yeeres 1586, and 1587, thorowout Hungary, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children vnto the most bloody and barbarous enemy of Christians, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of Turkish slauery: and some are sayd to haue taken their children, whom they could no longer sustaine, and with cruell mercy to haue cast them into Danubius, and drowned them. But should these stories and the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly vnto the Turks, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in Island being enforced through extreame and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sonnes) is this custome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leaue of all modesty, plaine dealing, humanity, and trueth.

But I could wish that the loue of dogges in Islanders might be more sparingly reprehended by those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes thorow the open streetes. I will not say in Churches: which feshion Casar blamed in certaine strangers, whom he sawe at Rome carrying about yong apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question: Whether women in their countrey brought foorth children or no? signifying heereby, that they do greatly offend who bestow vpon beasts these naturall affections, wherewith they should be inuited to the loue of mankinde, and specially of their owne ofspring, which strange pleasure neuer ouertooke, nor possessed the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde vs out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

#### SECTIO OCTAVA.

[Sidenote: Krantzius Munsterus] Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege ad cuius nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege, scripturis, et ex consuetudine aliarum gentium constituit, quam sancte obseruant.

Fuit equidem initio fere ad repurgatam Euangelij doctrinam maxima Episcopi obseruantia; sed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut consuetudini cederent nostra leges politica, ex nutu Episcopi. Nec tempore Alberti Krantzij, multo minus Munsteri (quorum ille 1517, hic 1552. post partum salutiferum decessit) Episcopi Islandorum regiam obtinuerunt autoritatem, cum scilicet multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulo plus valebant aduersus ipsos consurgere non dubitarint; qua res apud nostrates liquido constat. Intenm tamen Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in suam potestatem redegerunt, alios furibunda sauitia id temporis persecuti sunt.

Porro etsi tum fuit magna, imo maxima Episcopi obseruantia, tamen nunc dispulsis tenebris Papisticis, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorumque mentes contemptus libertate et refractaria contumacia, aduersus Deum et sacrum ministerium, etiam hic armare non negligit.

The same in English.

#### THE EIGHTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Krantzius, Munsterus] They honour their Bishop as their King vnto whose command all the whole people haue respect. Whatsoever he prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other nations, they do full holily obserue.

There was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reuerence had vnto the bishop; but neuer so great, that our politique lawes at the bishops command should giue place to outlandish lawes and customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authonty of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well knowen in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some vnder their subiection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted.

Moreouer, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence, yet now adayes, the darkenesse of popery being dispelled, the deuill assaulteth men after another sort, and euen here amongst vs, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerse stubbornnesse against God, and his holy ministry.

#### SECTIO NONA.

[Sidenote: Munster.] Illic victitant plerumque piscibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde a maritimis ciuitatibus infertur: & qui inde cum magno lucro pisces exportant. Item Munsterus. Illic piscibus induratis vtuntur loco panis qui illic non crescit.

Vide Lector, quam Munsterum iuuet, eadem oberrare chorda: vt cum de gente ignota nihil scribere possit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falsa afferre, vel eadem sapius repetere, sicque cramben eandem recoquere sustineat: Dixerat enim paulo ante, Islandos piscibus viuere. Verba ipsius superius etiam recitata, hac sunt. Islandia populos continet multos, solo pecorum pastu et nunc captura piscium victitantes, etc. Et vt cetera transeam in quibus leue quiddam notari poterat: Illud sane, panem in Islandia non crescere, perquam verum est. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune esse crediderim, quod videlicet nec illic panis crescat, nisi forte in Munsteri, agro, vbi etiam acetum naturale optime crescit. Sed hac, troporum indulgentia, scilicet, salua erunt. Ad conicia autem, qua ex victu Islandorum petunt extranei, infra paucis respondebitur, Sect. 15.

The same in English.

#### THE NINTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus.] They liue there for the most part vpon fishes,

because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great gaine. Also Munster sayth, they do there vse stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

Consider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe vpon one string, that when he can write nothing of an vnknown nation which may cary any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in falshood, or often to repeat the same things, and so to become tedious vnto his reader: for he sayd a little before, that the Islanders liue vpon fish. His words aboue recited were these: Island conteineth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted whereas he sayeth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall vineger also doth marueilously encrease. But these toyes, by the liberty of rethoricke forsooth, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drinks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answer, Sect. 15.

#### SECTIO DECIMA.

[Sidenote: Munster. Krantzius.] Incola res maiorum et sui temporis celebrant cantibus et insculpunt scopulis, atque promontorijs, vt nulla, nisi cum natura iniuria, intercidant apud posteritatem.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] Citharadi, et qui testudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quam plurimi, qui pradulci modulamine et volucres et pisces irretiant et capiant.

[Sidenote: Veterum gesta apud Islandes conseruata.] Quin veterum gesta aliquot cantibus et poematibus nostratum, vt et soluta oratione, apud nos conseruentur, non negamus. Quod vero a nobis aut maioribus nostris eadem scopulis vel promontorijs insculpta sunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam Citharadum, aues aut pieces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi esse generosi ac veracis, vt crimina falsa refellere, ita laudem immeritam sibi haud vendicare, nec, etsi quis tribuat, agnoscere.

The same in English.

#### THE TENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: Munsterus. Krantzius.] The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

[Sidenote: Frisius.] There be diuers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable musicke ensnare and take both fowles and fishes.

[Sidenote: The Islanders preserue in writing the acts of their ancestors.] We denie not but that some woorthy actes of our forefathers be reserued in the songs and poemes of our countreymen, as also in prose: but that the same things haue beene engrauen by vs, or by our ancestors in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it



to be part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge undeserved praise unto himself, nor to accept it being offered.

## SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Sed cum scriptoribus iam dictis, viris alioqui spectata eruditionis et preclari nominis, qui tamen hac ita inconsiderate scriptis suis interseruerunt, actionis finis esto.

Etiam magna mei pars est exhausta laboris:

Sed restat tamen fatus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcirco anonymum secundo partu mater edi voluit, ut venenatis aculeis nomen Islandorum tanto liberius pungeret.

Porro licet aduersus hanc bestiam in arenam descendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen constate volo, quoniam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non ut cum illius pestifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem (Nam ut est in triuali paroemia,

Hoc scio pro certo, quod si cum stercore certo,  
Vincō, seu vincor, semper ego maculor:)

Sed ut bonis et cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, satisfaciam qui maledicentiam istam Germanicam lecturi vel audituri sunt, aut olim audierint, ne et hi nos merito calumniam tantam sustinere credant: Tum etiam ut alios qui istis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis nostra opprobrium vtuntur, et inde diceria et comumeliosas subsannationes ad despiciendos Islandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in posterum, si fieri possit, abducamus.

Ergo, ne longis ambagibus Lectori fastidium oratio nostra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, qua maledicus ille Gennanus in suum pasquillum congegit: Quem etiam sua de Islandis carmina Encomiastica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, nisi prauiderem foetum illum probrosum, tot et tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauseam mouere posse, ac sua spurcitie ab ijs legendis absterrere.

Referam igitur praecipua, (ijs scilicet omissis qua cum alijs communia habet, atque hactenus ventilata sunt) sed, quam ille, longe mitius; ne, ut dixi, lingua ipsius obscoena petulantia, aures bona et erudita offendantur: Qui ipsum videre aut audire volet, quarat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non est in animo putida ipsius calumnia et conuiciorum sentina, has chartas inquinare. [Sidenote: 1. Obiectio seu conuicium.] Primum igitur obijcit Germanicus hic noster, si Dijs placet, Historicus: Multos ex pastoribus Islandia toto biennio sacram concionem ad populum nullam habere: Ut in priore editione, huius pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio eiusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantum quinquies concionari solitos: qua duo quam rite sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox a prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam. Ita scilicet plerumque mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: Verum vero consentit; Falsum nec vero nec falso.

Sed com nostrum non sit veritatem vsquam dissimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vixit, nempe anno 1554. aut circiter multo fuisse rariores, quam sunt hodie, tum scilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de

Psalmis Daudicis a vulgo Latine demurmuratis, vt idem nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papista enim totam spem salutis in sua Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parum fuere solliciti. Postquam vero caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo imprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundam pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiem et curam praposteram non possimus omni modo excusare. Quod vtrum in nullos suorum popularium etiam competat, alia quoque nationes viderint.

The same in English.

#### THE ELEVENTH SECTION.

But now, let this be the end of our controuersie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately haue entermedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

But yet there remaynes that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would haue come to light, as it were at a second birth, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venomous sting.

Moreouer, although I be not afrayd to encounter with this beast, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I vndertake this enterprise, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing speeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I striue with dung most vile,  
How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile);

but that I may satisfie all honest and well affected men, euen strangers themselues, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who vse those venomous Germane rimes to the vprading of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and reproachfull taunts to the debasing of vs Iselanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped vp in his leud pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the llanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or, that heretofore haue been examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens cares to tingle at his leud and vnseemely rimes: that they are desirous to see or heare him let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy sinke of his reproches.

[Sidenote: The first obiection or reproch.] First therefore, this our goodly Germane Historiographer obieteth that there be many Pastours in Island, which preach not to their people once in two yeres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter

edition doth refute: saying that the sayd Pastours vse to preach but fiue times in an whole yeere which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarce seene Island. So oftentimes one he betrayeth another, according to that saying: Trueth agreeth vnto trueth; but falshood agreeth neither to trueth nor to falshood.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the trueth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this sycophant liued in Island, namely in the yere 1554, were seldomer in vse then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarcely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be vnderstood concerning the Psalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he casteth vs in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their saluation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre otherwise with vs: although we cannot altogether excuse the dulnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of certeine of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countrey men or no, let other nations iudge.

## SECTIO DUODECIMA.

[Sidenote: 2. Conuitium] Secundo calumniatur vitiligator: Adulteria et scortationes non modo publica esse et frequentia scelera inter Islandos: sed ab ijs pro scelere ne haberi quidem.

Etsi autem foedissima ista turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitatae sunt: tamen cum omnibus constet in alijs quoque nationibus longe etiam frequentiores esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia maior: immerito et maligne hoc nomine magis Islandos, quam populos et gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine male audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longe minus ad scelera, et turpitudines in nostra patria conuiueri, quam passim hic fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in prasenti conuitio attexuit: videlicet, quod scelera ista ab Islandis pro scelere non habeantur. Nam in qua demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audeat? Illane; qua in legem codicis II. titulo Mannhelge: cap. 28. iurauit; qua statuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam pectatur? Illane, qua pro adulterio, a famulo cum vxore domini commisso, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum mulctam irrogauit? Illane, qua eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium proscribendum decreuit? Illane: cuius leges politica, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, a viro legitime deprehensum, si euaserit, homicidij mulctam expendere iubent? Illane, cuius itidem leges politica, in complexu matris, filia aut sororis, a filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam midio eius, quod quis si eundem insontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent? Illane, cuius leges politica adultorium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt et damnarunt? Et in eo tertio deprehensum, capite plectendum seuere mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quam iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium et scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni et pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut male audire.

The same in English.

## THE TWELFTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The second reproach. ] Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

Although indeed these most filthy abominations, euen in our common wealth, be not altogether vnusuall: notwithstanding, since al men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vnderstandedly, and maliciously note the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countrey men.

And albeit I wish with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this iugler by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely that these vices by the Iselanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealth dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealth which hath sworne to obserue the law contained in our statute booke vnder the title of Manhelge chap 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoever committeth adultery with another man's wife the second time, his goods being confiscate, he shall be punished with death? Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dollars vpon a seruant committing adultery with his masters wife? Or in that common wealth which hath decreed that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed he shalbe banished the country? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe straightly command that whosoever be according to law found in adultery with another man's wife, by her husband, if he escape, he shall vndergoe the punishment of manslaughter? Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to haue payed, if he had shed the innocent blood of the sayd party? Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a most heinous offence? And do straightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shalbe punished with death?

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an iniurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whoredome in Island deserueth not the name of sinne and wickednesse for although some officers let slip this or that vice vnpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or euill spoken of.

## SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

[Sidenote: 3. Conuictum] Tertium conuictum est, quo fraudis et perfidia erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit. Fuit autem proculdubio famosi huius libelli author, cerdo et propola circumforaneus, multosque Islandia angulos, sordida mercatura gratia, ostentim adierat: quod ipse de se in praclaris illi suis rythmis testatur, maximam Islandia partem sibi peragratam esse. Vnde cum ipse mala fide cum mulus egerit (plerumque enim fraus et mendacia coniunguntur, et mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenij sui experientia satis probauit) etiam forte a se deceptorum fraudem est expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Dissimulato interea, qua fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua est nauigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus

agant. Ea autem querela, cum non alios conuiciari, sed aliorum in gentem nostram immerita conuicia monstrare instituerim, consulto supersedeo.

The same in English.

#### THE THIRTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The third reproach] The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and trechery toward the Germans.

Doubtles the author of this libell was some vagabond huckster or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to vtter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had trauailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the cousining mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath sufficiently proued himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peraduenture himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander, against our whole Nation: dissembling in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans, making yerely voyages into Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I haue not determined to reproch others, but to lay open the vnderdeserued reproches of others against oar nation, I do here of purpose surcease.

#### SECTIO DECIMAQUARTA.

[Sidenote: 4. 5. 6. & 7. Conuitia.] Quarto: negat in conuitijs quemquam discumbentium a mensa surgere: sed matres familias singulis conuiuis quoties opus fuerit matellas porrigere. Praterea variam conuiuiorum edendi bibendique rusticitatem notat.

Cubandi et prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto promiscue viri cum foeminis pernoctent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atque interea se non nisi alea aut latruncolorum ludo exerceant.

Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem et os vrina proluere.

Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem et funerum ritus contemptuose extenuat.

Hac et huiusmodi plurima in gentem insontem, imo de se et suis optime meritam, impurus calumniator euomit. Qua quidem eius generis sunt, vt illi de his respondere prorsus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiusmodi apud homines sordidos, et ex ipsa vulgi colluue infimos, quibuscum longe sapius, quam bonus et honestis conuersabatur, animaduertisse praclarum hunc notarium Gemanicum (vixerat enim, vt eius rhythmus testantur, diutiuscule in locis maritimis Islandia, quo fere promiscuum vulgus, tempore piscatura annuatim confluit, et tam extraneorum nautarum, quam sua nequitia corruptum, sapius inhoneste mores et vtam instituit) Tamen manifestiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vnus nebulonis et desperati Sycophanta turpitudine, totam gentem (vt fere solent etiam alij) aspergendo, quam vt refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versati, locupletissimi testes esse possunt.

Possem multas eius farina foeditates, rusticitates et obscoenitates etiam in ipsius natione deprehensas colligere. Sed odi facundiam caninam, nec in

aliorum opprobrium disertum esse iuuat: nec tam tenet esse volo, vt verbulis transuerberer. Id tantum viderint boni et pij omnes, cuius sit animi, pessima quaque ab vno aut altera designata, toti genti obijcere. Si quis Germania aut alterius nationes vrbes et pagos omnes peragret, et scelera ac mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, parricidia, scortationes, adulteria, incestus luxuriam, rapinas et reliquas impietates et obscoenitates in vnum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuius toti nationi communes esse asserat, atque hac omnia insigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, isne optima rei studiosus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, et, vt proprie notem, porcus impurus, iste, inquam, Rhythmista, naturam et ingenium suum eiusmodi loidoria prodiderit?

Notum est enim porcos, cum hortos amanissimos intrarint, nec liliu nec rosas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos et suauissimos decerpere: Sed rostro in coenum prono, quicquid est luti et stercoreis volutare, vertere et inuertere, donec impurissima, hoc est, suo genio apprime congruentia eruant, vbi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

Ad istum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmista, optima, et qua in nostra Repub. laudabilia esse possunt, sicco pede praterit, pessima quaque atque ea, vel a nullo, vel admodum paucis designata, hoc est, sua natura, et ingenio aptissima, vt se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, corrasit; vnde posthac porci nomen ex moribus et ingenio ipsius factum, sortitor.

The same in English.

#### THE FOURTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The 4. 5. 6. & 7. reproches.] Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests vse to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to euery one a chamber pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerliness of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fiftly, he obieteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women be altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands or their faces in pisse.

Seuenthy, he despightfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spousals, birth-dayes, and our customes at burials.

These, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer, spued forth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserued right well of him and his countrimen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we altogether disdeigne to make answeere vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obserued some such matter among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with whom he was much more conuersant than with good and honest persons (for he had liued, as his rimes testifie, somewhat long vpon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do yerely resort, who being naught aswell through their owne leudnesse, as by the wicked behaiour of outlandish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place more manifestly wronged through the knauey of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others also vsually do) then that it

should need any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselves, who are not a little conversant in our land, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, unmannerly, and bawdy fashions noted by others even in his own country. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure to be witty in the disgracing of others: and yet I will not shew myself such a milke-soppe as to be daunted with light words. Only, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to object against a whole nation certaine misdemeanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should traue throughout all the cities and townes of Germanie or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most lewd manners, the robberies, manslaughters, murders, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy actes, should affirme them to be common to all Germans, or otherwise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notorious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument? But what marvaile is it, though a varlet, and, that I may give him his true title, a filthy hogge, that Imer (I say) hath betrayed his nature and disposition in reproches? For it is well known that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lilies or roses, or any other most beautiful and sweet flowers; but thrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and tesse vp and downe whatsoever dirt and dung they can finde, vntill they haue rooted vp most vnclane things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themselves: Euen so this hoggish Rimer lightly passeth ouer the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the worst, and those which haue been committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed show himselfe to be the same which we haue termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped vp together: whereupon hereafter by my consent, for his manners and disposition let him enjoy the name of a swine.

#### SECTIO DECIMAQUINTA.

[Sidenote: 9. Conuictum.] Nonum conuictum hic recensebimus, quod a victu, ac praecipue cibo potu Islandorum maledicus ille porcus, non vno aut paucis verbis, sed proluxa inuictua petiuit: Nempe quod cibis vtantur vetustis, et insulsis, idque sine panis usu: Tum etiam quod varia et incognita extraneis piscium genera illis sint esui, et aquam ac serum lactis in potum misceant. Qua omnia venenatus hic pasquillus diserta contumelia, et ingeniosa calumnia, pulchre amplificauit.

Ceterum etsi illum proluxiore responsione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leuiter nostra genti obijciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primum igitur totam hanc gentem bipartito secabimus: In mendicos, et hos qui et se et cum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, et eorum qui ad hos proxime accedunt, omnia cibaria recensere aut examinare haud facile est, nec quod illos edere, aut edisse, extrema aliquando coegit necessitas, reliqua genti cibariorum genera aut numerum praescribere fas est. Nam et de suffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum seruantissima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora distinguemus, vt nihil minim sit grassante annona sauitia, multa a multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuisse, qua alias vix canes pascant. Vt nuperrime de Parisiensibus accepimus, Anno

1590, arctissima Henrici 4. Nauarrai obsidione pressis, et famem Saguntinam, vt P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpessis; eos non modo equinam, sed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum ossibus in mortario contusis farina pugillo vno aut altero misto, confectam, in suas dapes conuertisse, et de alijs quoque populis notum est, qui simili vrgente inopia, etiam murium, felium et canum esu victi tarint. Sic etiam Islandis aliquando vsu venit (quanquam a canina, munum et felium, vt et humana carne hactenus, nobis quantum constat, abstinerint) licet non ab hoste obsessis: Nam cum ad victum necessaria ex terra marique petant, et ab extraneis nihil commeatus, aut parum admodum aquehatur, quoties terra, marisque munera DEVS praeluserit, horrendam annona caritatem ingruere et ingruisse, et dira fame vexare incolas, necesse est. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere soliti fuerint, nec praecedentium annorum superantes commeatus habuerint, extrema tentasse, quoties egestas vrserit, credibile. Caterum, vtrum hac res publico et perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Islandos, quam alias nationes, occasionem merito prabere debeat, candidis et bonis animis iudi candum relinquo.

Porro quod de gentis nostra proprijs et consuetis alimentis multi obijcere solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inueteratis, Item de lacticinijs, frumenti inopia, potu aqua, &c. et reliquis: id nos in plurimis Islandia locis (nam sunt multi quoque nostratium, qui Danorum et Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis et temperatis animis ad mediocritatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt et ipsis Pharmacopolijs, destituimur, mensam instruere et frugaliter viuere sustineant) ita se habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet pradicta victus genera, passim sine salis condimento vsitata esse. Et insuper addemus, hac ipsa cibaria, qua extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipsos tamen extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. [Sidenote: Ratio conseruandos cibos sine sale.] Nam etsi frumenti aut farris pene nihil vulgo habeamus, nec sal, gula irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus opt. max. etiam nostros homines rationem tractandi et conseruandi, qua ad vitam sustentandam spectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel salem alligatum. Quod vero sua omnia extranei iucundiora et salubriora clamant; negamus tamen satis causa esse, cur nostra nobis exprobrent: Nec nos DEVM gula nostra debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod sine opiparis illis delicijs et lautitijs, qua tam iucunda et salubres putantur, etiam nostra gentis hominibus, annos et atatem bonam, tum valetudinem etiam firmissimam, robur ac vires validas (qua omnia statimus boni et conuenientis alimenti, [Greek: kai tes euchrasias] esse indicia) concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non prorsus tam crasso ac sterili, quam huic nostro aeri et alimentis assignare Philosophi videntur, quod re libentius, quam verbis multi fortasse nostratium comprobare poterant.

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) paupertas inuidia deprimeret.

Sed hic vulgi iudicium, vt in alijs saepe, etiam eos qui sapere volunt (iam omnes bonos et cordatos excipio) nimis aperte decipit: Videlicet hoc ipso, quod omnia, qua illorum vsus non admittit, aut qua non viderunt, aut experti sunt antea, continuo damnant. Veluti, si quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum esse aliquod, non possit adduci vt credat: Sic illi sensu sua experientia omnia metiuntur, vt nihil sit bonum, nihil conductibile, nisi quo illi soli viuunt: At profecto nos, eo dementia non processimus, vt eos qui locustis vescuntur, quod tum de alijs, tum Athiopia quibusdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, et India, gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus et Magestanes dederunt, teste Agatarchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris mannis, aut squillis gibbis, qua res hodie nota est, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponere prassumamus, a



quibus tamen edulij, in totum nostra consuetudo abhorret.

The same in English.

#### THE FIFTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The ninth reproch.] Wee will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawn from the maner of liuing, and specially from the meat and drinke of the Islanders, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and vnsauoury meates, and that, without the vse of bread. Also that they eate diuers kinds of fishes which are vnknownen to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous pasquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slaunder hath set out at the full.

And albeit we doe scarce vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly woonder at the matter, and partly object it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggars, and those that susteine both themselues, and amongst others, beggars also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggars and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them; neither, because extreame necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore it is meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we haue also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the obseruing of which canons, antiquity hath seemed to be very deuout.

Moreouer, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue bene vsed by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarce meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the most streite siege of Henrie the fourth, King of Nauarre, suffering (as Petrus Lindebergius speaketh) the famine of Saguntum; insomuch that they did not onely eate their horses, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a mortar, they mingle therewith a bandfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well knowne also of other nations who in the like vrgent necessities haue liued by eating of mise, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we Islanders constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue abstained from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mise, and cats) for whereas we prouide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, and no sustenance, or very little is brought vnto vs by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreadfull scarcity of victuals, whereupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with griuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst vs which vsed to liue from hand to mouth, and had not some prouision of former yeeres remaining, haue beene driuen to great extremities, so often as need hath enforced them thereunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publike and perpetuall reproch against the Islanders, more then other nations, I referre it to the iudgement of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreouer, whereas diuers vse to object concerning the proper and accustomed

fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt, also concerning white-meats, want of corne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countrimen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre foorth as ought in a meane to suffice chaste and temperate minds, although we haue not any great variety of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to liue moderately) we confesse it to be euen so: [Sidenote: Want of salt in Island.] namely that the foresaid kind of victuals are vsed in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meats, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselues, when they are among vs do vse to eat them with delight. [Sidenote: The Islanders meanes of preseruing their meates without salt.] For albeit for the most part we haue no corne, nor meale, nor yet salt the prouocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to vs all, yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the way how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and susteining of vs Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debter vnto our deinty mouthes: but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant euen vnto the men of our country many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and conuenient nourishment and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to assigne vnto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countrymen could much rather verifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise, namely, that whatsoever their vse doth admit, or that they haue not seene, nor had trial of beforetime, they presently condemne. As for example, he that neuer saw the sea will not be persuaded that there is a mediterranean sea; so doe they measure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely wherewith they mainteine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we haue heard of certaine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clitarchus and Megasthenes haue named Mandri, as Agatarchides witnesseth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or sea-crabs, or round shrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustenance.

## SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

[Sidenote: 10. Conuicium.] Decimo. Hospitalitatem nostris hominibus inhumanissimus porcus obijcit. Marsupium inquit, non circumferunt, nec hospitari aut conuiuari gratis pudor est. Nam si quis aliquid haberet, quod cum alijs communicaret, id faceret sane in primis ac libenter. His quoque annectamus, quod templa, seu sacras adiculas domi propria a multis

Islandorum extractas velut pudendum quiddam commemorat: quodque eas primum omnium de mane oraturi petant, nec a quoquam prius interpellari patiantur. Hac ille velut insigne quoddam dedecus in Islandis notauit.

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui:

Nec porci diuina vnquam amarunt: quod sane metuo ne nimis vere de hoc conuiciatore dicatur, id quod vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus constare poterit.

Verum enimvero cum ipse suarum virtutum sit testis locupletissimus, nos Lectorem eius rei cupidum ad ipsius hoc opus Poeticum remittimus, quod is de Islandia composuit, et nos tam aliquot proximis distinctionibus examinauimus: cuius maledicentia et foeditatis nos hic pro ipso puduit; ita, vt qua is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate et maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius est et tam abominanda petulantia, tam atrox calumnia. DEVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plastrum (paucissima namque attigimus: Nolui enim laterem lauare, et stulto, vt inquit ille sapientissimus, secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis verbum non sit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit pasquilli istius autorem hominem fuisse pessimum, imo facem hominum, cum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, sine pietate, sine humanitate?

Sed hic merito dubitauerim, peiusne horum conuiciorum autor de Islandis meritis sit, an vero Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (et quicumque sunt alij, qui in suis editionibus, nec suum nec vrbis sua nomen profiteri ausi sunt) qui illa iam bis, si non sapius Typis suis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hoccine impune fieri sinitis, o senatus populusque Hamburgensis? Hancine statuistis gratiam deberi Islandia, qua vrbi vestra iam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim nostratum quibusuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumque carnibus butyro et piscium copia quotannis, pene immodica, quadam quasi cella penuaria fuit? [Sidenote: Vrbes Anglia commercia olim in Islandia excercentes.] Sensere huius Insula commoda etiam Hollandia olim et Anglia vrbes aliquot: Praterea Danis, Bremensibus, et Lubecensibus cum Islandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportarunt, qualis hac est Gregoriana calumnia: In vestra, vestra inquam vrbe, nata, edita, iterata, si non tertiata: qua alias nationes, quibus Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium et contemptum armauit: quam a ciue vestro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, et plus eo, Islandia sustinet. Sed etiam, inscio magistratu, eiusmodi multa saepe fiunt: Neque; enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiusmodi scripta famosa indigne ferant, et ne edantur, diligenter caeant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure naturali: Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Casareo, de libellis famosis: in quo irrogatur poena grauissima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt, proferunt, emi vendiue curant, aut non statim repertos discernunt.

Caterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Nosque ad te, Islandia parens carissima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Chnsto hospitia cupide et libenter exhibere non desistis, inuisam fecient conuertamus: Vbi te primum ad id quod modo diximus, nempe serium et ardens studium ac amorem DEI, et diuina scientia, nobis in Christo patefacta, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cuncta posthabeas, doctrina et verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum ministerium et ministros, non parum cures, non contemnas aut odio prosequeris: sed reuerearis, foueas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impijs et profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis et honestatis prascriptum geras, in vita priuata et communi, vt huic status et ordines Ecclesiastici et Politici, in vniversum obtemperent: In vtroque

vita genere ab illi amussi seu norma aqui et boni dependeas, et ceteros qui pertinacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, auersens, quos aquum est poenis condignis affici, id quod magistratur cura futurum non diffidimus. In pritimis vero nullos nisi spectata fidei et probitatis viros, quique ad istas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula admittas, qua ratione reliquis incommodis rite occurritur Res ista enim, si probe curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi et huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur, subditorum conditio, longe erit optatissima: vita et mores tanto magis laudabiles sequentur: pietas et honestas tanto erunt illustriores. At vero si secus fiat. si Pastores Ecclesiarum suo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non respondeant, si ad administrationem politicam promiscue admittantur, quicumque eo propria leuitate, ambitione vel auaritia et contentione honoris, ruunt: si iisdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel suspecti vel conuicti sint, aut suspectorum et conuictorum protectores, vel iisdem illicite indulgentes, quis tuus quaso demum futurus est status? qua facies? qua conditio? Certe longe omnium miserrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam et interitum tuum appropinquabis, quam si istis te regendam commiseris, qui quod in ijs est, licet sint et ipsi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, et odia latentia, quotidie petere contendunt/ Quamobrem (ne ista pluribus agam) quanti intersit, vt hac probe curentur, facile, o Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hac tuis auribus a me occinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altissimos, qui sub hac ad te Apostrophe latent, Serenis sima Regia Maiestatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, qua ea de causa exoriuntur maxime, quod patria nostra a regia sede, et conspectu, tanto interuallo sit remota, vt multi propterea tanto sibi maiorem sumant licentiam, et impunitatem securius promittant. Caterum ista numini iustissimo, quod aquis omnia oculis aspicit, committenda ducimus.

Reliquum est, o patria, vt studium in te nostrum, eo quo speramus animo i. comi et benigno, suscipias: quod quamuis minime tale est, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT INSTAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me satis strenue diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id est si modo quicquam est et quantulumcunque tandem, quod ad tui patrociniū pro mea tenui parte afferre possem, nequaquam suppressendum putauī nec enim illos laudare soleo,

Qui, quod desperent inuicti membra Glyconis,  
Nodosa nolunt corpus prohibere Chiragra.

Me sane, si hac commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, opera nequaquam poenitebit. Quod si ad laudem vel aliquale patrociniū tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidisse haud videbor. Sin vero alios alumnos, meos conterraneos, arte et industria superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc, vel in posterum suscipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid est cur opera precium non fecisse dicar? quibus scribentibus, licet mea fama in obscuro futura est, tamen prastantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me consolabor: Nam etsi fama et nominis cura surnma esse debet maior tamen patria; cuius dignitate salua et incolumni, nos quoque saluos et incolumes reputabimus.

Scripsi Holis Hialtadalensium in Islandia, Ara Christiana Anno 1592. 17.  
Kalendas Maias.

The same in English.

THE SIXTEENTH SECTION.

[Sidenote: The tenth reproch.] Tenthly, that vnciuill beast casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about money with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be entertained in a strange place, and to haue meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Moreouer, he maketh mention of certeine churches or holy chappels (as of a base thing) which many of the Islanders haue built in their owne houses: and that first of all in the morning, they haue recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man before they haue done their deuotion to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace vnto the Islanders. And no maruell:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,  
And hogs vnclene regarde not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too truely affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last obiections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witness of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes against Island, which we haue now examined in our former sections at whose railing and filthy speeches we haue bene ashamed on his behalfe: insomuch that those things which he with satyricall, satyricall? nay sathanicall biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are irksome for vs to repeat: so great and abominable is his insolency and his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoever shall view this cartlode of slanders (for we haue mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answer a foole according to his foolishnesse, whereas in his rimes there is not one word without a reproch) will he not iudge the authour of this pasquill to haue bene a most lewde man, yea the very drosse of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie?

But here I haue iust occasion to doubt whether the authour of these reuilings hath bene the more iniurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof loachimus Leo (and whatsoever else they be who in their editions dare neither professe their own name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twice, if not oftener, published the saide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to goe vnpunished, O ye counsell and commons of Hamburg? What? [Sidenote: The commodities of Island.] Haue you determined to gratifie Island in this sort, which these many yeeres, by reason of your abundant traffique with vs, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeues and muttens, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene vnto your Citie in stead of a storehouse. [Sidenote: The ancient traffique of England with Island.] In times past also, certeine Cities of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Isle. Moreouer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Brema, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they neuer gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are contained in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought forth, iterated, if not the thirde time published: which I hath armed other people vnto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdain and contempt of this our Nation: and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island susteined these 30. yeeres and more, and doeth as yet susteine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at such infamous libels, and do take diligent heed that they be not published:

for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldest not haue done vnto thy selfe: [Sidenote: Lawes against libels.] and to the laws Emperial of infamous libels: wherein is enioyned a most grieuous penaltie vnto those who inuent, write, ytter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently vpon the finding thereof teare them in pieces.

But now time bids vs to sound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee, Island (our most deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconueniences shall make irksome vnto vs, so long as thou ceaseest not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heauenly knowledge reueiled vnto vs in Christ: that thou wouldest preferre this before all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme, contemne or hate the holy ministerie and ministers, but reuerence, cherish and loue them. Accompting those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane: and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that vnto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed; and so in either kinde of life relying thy selfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and iustice, and auoyding others, who vpon stubbornesse and impietie swerue therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict iust punishments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will haue respect vnto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approued fidelitie and honestie, and such as may adioyne vnto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publicke authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiected; the condition of the subiects shalbe most prosperous: the hues and maners of all men shal proue by so much the more commendable; godlinesse also and honestie shal become the more glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or auarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or conuicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or vniust fauourers of such persons as are suspected and conuicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What wil be thy outward show or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes more suddenly approach to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the gouernment of such men, who to the vttermost of their power, although they be of thine owne brood, dayly seeke thine ouerthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and secret malice. Wherefore (to be short) let these be to aduertise my deare Countrey, how behouefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilst I am speaking these things vnto thee (my Countrey) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speach, might pierce the eares of our Kings most excellent Maiestie, before whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take more libertie, and promise more securitie of offending vnto themselues. But we will commit all these matters to the most iust Judge of heauen and earth who beholdeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldest take in good

part these my labours employed in thy seruice, and accept them with that fauourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet sith a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore giue ouer because I mistrusted my selfe as one insufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Country. But rather whatsoever it be (if it be ought) and how mickle soeuer which for my slender abilitie I was able to afford in thy defence, I thought good not to suppress it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

To ouergrow the limmes of Lyco stoute,  
Neglect to cure their bodies of the goute:

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne disgrace. But if it

shall any thing auaille to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my trauaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt, I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my natiue Countreyemen, being farre my superiours both in learning and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter what reason is there why any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they addresse themselues to write, howsoeuer my fame shalbe obscured, yet wil I comfort my selfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to haue speciall regard of his name and fame, yet he is to haue more of his Country, whose dignitie being safe and sound, we also must needes esteeme our selues to be in safetie.

Written at Holen Hialtedale in Island, the yeere of our Lord 1592. the 17. of the Kalends of May.

\* \* \* \* \*

A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland, &c.

Reuerendissimo viro, eruditione et virtute conspicuo, D. Hugoni Branham, Ecclesia Hareuicensis in Anglia pastori vigilantissimo, fratri et symmysta obseruando.

Mirabar equidem (vt conijcis, reuerende domine pastor) primo literarum tuarum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, scriptis salutari. Caterum, cum vltius progrederer, comperi me, si non aliter, certe nomine tenus, tibi (qua tua est humanitas) innotuisse: Simulque quod te nominis Islandorum studiosum experirer, ex animo gauisus sum. Vnde etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuumque nomen, de Euangelio Iesu Christi nobis congratulantis, deque gente nostra tam benigne tamque honorifice sentientis, et scribentis apud nos ignotum esse desinat.

[Sidenote: Commentarius breuis de Islandia: per Arngrimum Ionam Islandum editus, 1593.] Quod vero ad antiquitatis monumenta attinet, qua hic extare creduntur, nihil sane est (prater illa, quorum in Commentario isto de Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra insula lectu scriptuua dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem terris pauca, prater historiam Regum Noruegia, seu verius eiusdem historia fragmenta; qua alijs aliter descripta sunt: sunt tamen talia, qua Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certe pauca. De vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema Noruegia, vbi Biarmlandia [Marginal note: Biarmia.] nuncupatur, et a qua haud vasto

interuallo sita sit, circum quasi Islandiam exporrigi. Illic nostrates aliquando commercia exetcuise, et eam terram tempore Pontificiorum suos Episcopos habuisse annales nostri testantur. Catera nobis incognita. [Sidenote: Gronlandia olim suos habuit Episcopos.] At hodie fama est, vestris Britannis (quos ego prope maris dominos appellarim) quotannis csse in Gronlandia negotmiones de qua re, si me certiolem feceris, non erit iniucundum. Euam velim quacunque noua erunt de rebus vestratum aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omittas.

Vale foeliciter (reuerende Dom. pastor) Deo musis, et commissio gregi quam diuttssime superstes, Amen. Ex Islindij in festo visitationis D. Mariae Anni 1595.

Human. tua studiosus Gudbrandus Thorlacius Episcopus Holensis in Islandia.

The same in English.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Master Hugh Branham minister of the Church of Harewich in England, his brother and felow pastour, &c.

I much marueiled (euen as you your selfe, reuerend sir coniectured that I would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should be saluted in writing by one altogether vnknown vnto mee. Howbeit, reading a little further I found my selfe, if not otherwise, yet by name at least (which procedeth of your courtesie) knowne vnto you: And also, for that I sawe you desirous of the credite and honest report of vs Islanders, I greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (because you congratulate with vs for the gospel of Christ here published, and doe thinke and write so louingly and honourably of our nation) may sease hereafter to be vnknown amongst vs.

[Sidenote: This is the brief Commentarie of Ionas Arngrimus immediatly going before.] As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deede nothing (except those particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Island which you write vnto me that you haue seene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbor Countreys we haue litle to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history) which others haue otherwise described: howbeit they are all in a maner such things as Crantzius neuer mentioned: vnlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreouer, as touching Grondland, we holde this from the opinion of our ancestours, that, from the extreeme part of Norway, which is called Biarmlandia [Marginal note: Biarmia.] and from whence the saide Gronland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northren coast of Island with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. [Sidenote: Gronland in old time had Christian Bishops.] Our Chronicles likewise doe testifue that our owne countrey men in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very same countrey of Gronland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. More then this we cannot auouch. But now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea) make yeerely voyages vnto Gronland: concerning which matter if you please to giue me further aduertisement, you shall doe me an especial fauour. Moreouer, whatsoever newes you heare concerning the the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend sir) wishing you long life, for the seruice of God, for the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you farewell. From Island vpon the feast of the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.



Yours Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holar in Iceland.

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