WILLIAM CAMDEN'S RESHAPING OF BRITAIN

By Geoffrey Eatough

Abraham Ortelius asked William Camden to restore her antiquity to Britain and Britain to her antiquity. Camden's discovery of Britain's ancient remains confirmed that all things change, the peoples themselves, who had migrated to this land, and even the land itself change. Old divisions and antagonisms are made obsolete. The engines of progress are the resources of the land, industry and above all trade, aided by the very shape and setting of Britain. Trade is not the antithesis of religion, it is a civilising and unifying force, and it brings knowledge. In the old legionary city of Chester, from which the whole world can be envisaged, memories of empire are awakened.

William Camden (1551–1623) and his *Britannia* helped the British define themselves for over two centuries.[1] The first six editions, each succeeding edition an expansion of its predecessor, were in Latin. Camden's *Britannia*, the work which he controlled, as against the Camden's *Britannia* which others took over, was in Latin, and, to be sure you know what Camden thought, you must read Latin. My reading of Camden has been in three of them, the 1586, 1590 and 1607 editions. I was able to access them through *Early English Books Online* (EEBO), an indispensable resource, especially for those who have to pursue their research in remote places. I started my reading with the 1586 edition, the first edition, to keep close in time to two other Latin writers, Humphrey Lhuyd (1527–1568),[2] a precursor of Camden, and John Twyne (*c*.1505–1581),[3] whose work is a witty but sometimes abusive critique of views held by Lhuyd. Both authors influenced Camden. The

---

[1] For Camden's life and achievements see Herendeen 2004. Besides the editions listed in the bibliography there was a new translation of Camden's Latin edition by Edmund Gibson in 1695 (republished in 1722) with extensive additions by a team of contemporary antiquarians. This has become the standard edition of Camden. In 1786 Richard Gough produced his own translation of Camden's Latin in an edition which drew on contemporary scholarship. This was republished in 1806.

[2] Jones 2004. Lhuyd, Llwyd, and Lloyd are just three of the ways of spelling this name.

[3] Martin 2004.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

EEBO scan of the 1586 edition of Camden, however, became impossible to read, because of the stiff binding of the book, so I migrated to the 1590 edition with its clear print, and later started to read in tandem with it the 1607 edition, the sixth and final Latin edition, which was also the first folio edition. The advantage of the 1607 edition is that it is the fullest edition, on the whole it totally incorporates the 1590 edition, Camden had travelled over more of the country, learned more, and he still had undisputed control over the text. Since I did my own complete reading of a Camden edition in the 1590 edition, I quote mainly from the 1590 publication. There is no modern critical edition, which would demonstrate the progress of Camden's researches, and there may never be one.

Not only had Camden discovered more by 1607, but more had also been discovered, for example round Hadrian's Wall.[4] Camden operated within a network of British and European antiquarians. This means that even what I might call the Camden *Britannia* has implications of multi-authorship, which is why the work lived on after his death, because the format of the work invited successive generations of antiquarians to expand it. It was the most popular of Camden's works. He described it as chorography not history, and chorography gave it an encyclopaedic nature, an ancient Wikipedia. The 1607 edition was translated into English by Philemon Holland, perhaps the most remarkable of Elizabethan and early Stuart translators,[5] which meant that the work could be appropriated by those with no Latin. A work intended for a European elite was available to a wider English audience. Even in Latin it was an English classic, but now it was so in the full sense of the phrase. Holland and Camden collaborated on this translation, nonetheless Holland's English is not Camden's Latin. Although this is not a theme of this article, it can be fascinating to see how a different language imposes itself on the material, or was imposed, and also how Holland can bend the text to his own sometimes differing viewpoint. Despite this lack of true fidelity I have, when quoting, generally used Holland's translation of Camden instead of my own.

Camden writes that he was prompted to compose the *Britannia* by Abraham Ortelius.[6] Ortelius had also encouraged Lhuyd, whose *Commentarioli Britanniae Descriptionis Fragmentum* (1572) had been immediately well translated into English by Thomas Twyne as *The Breviary of Britayne* (1573). Thomas Twyne later published his father, John Twyne's *De Rebus Albionicis, Britannicis atque Anglicis* (1590), a work which has not been

---

[4] Camden 1607, 630–653.
[5] Considine 2004.
[6] Camden 1590, immediately at the beginning of the dedicatory letter to William Cecil, Lord Burghley.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

translated, which attacked Lhuyd's positions. Twyne's work is presented in the form of a dialogue between the abbot of the prestigious St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, John Essex, otherwise known as John Foche, whom Twyne gives the role of the Socratic figure, John Digon, famous musician and future prior of the abbey, and Nicholas Wotton, diplomat and future dean of Canterbury cathedral. Although it was published after the first edition of the *Britannia*, the dialogue is imagined as taking place at the Manor of Surry, at a time which the fictional setting of the work allows to float between 1523 and 1534, prior to the dissolution of the abbey in 1538. John Twyne may have substantially composed it anytime between 1545 and the late 1570s. It was edited by his son, Thomas Twyne, whose confession of neglect and tardiness in publishing his father's work is unconvincing. English nationalism was in the ascendancy; there might also still be time to express a most discrete sympathy for the old Catholic order.

To be brief, Lhuyd claimed that in order to understand British history one had to learn the old British tongue represented by Welsh. The survival of the Welsh language demonstrated that the Welsh had never been truly conquered by the Romans. An investigation of place names throughout Britain would show that many of them had an old British origin, and that the British, that is the ancient Welsh, had therefore been in occupation of all of what was now England, and indeed much of Scotland. Lhuyd's predecessor, Sir John Price (*c*. 1502–1555) argued that Welsh historical sources, including oral poetry of the bardic tradition, must be given precedence over Latin.[7] Ancient British was not be confused with Gallic, since the languages were distinct. Lhuyd claimed that the absence of the Gallic language from Britain meant that Britain had never been settled by Gauls or indeed other races from Europe, a situation which was not fundamentally altered until the coming of the Angles and Saxons. The inference was that the Channel had been a barrier, not a means of communication. The ancient Welsh were therefore an exclusive people, the Angles and Saxons were German intruders. To understand the Britishness of the island one had physically to know Britain by travelling the country, something which the leading historian of Britain, in earlier Tudor times, the Italian Polydore Vergil (*c*. 1470–1555), the servant of popes, had not done. Lhuyd was a cartographer, who produced an excellent map of Britain which was at the same time a trilingual historical map, with places marked out in Welsh, Latin and English. He made himself an expert on boundaries and locations and had a bitter dispute with the Scot, Hector Boece (1465–1536), who attempted to steal the ancient British tribes from their southern locations. Lhuyd was equally clear that in the new order

---

[7] Price 1573; Eatough 2007.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

of Henry VIII, a Tudor whom the Welsh saw as one of their own, much of the territory in the Marches, between Wales and England, which had been assigned to England, was in fact Welsh, as to judge from the large presence of Welsh speakers in these areas, it may well have been. In two summaries of the character of the Welsh he presents them as upwardly-mobile members of the new Tudor society, an educated people, valued as lawyers and courtiers, but also among other trades, merchants; seen through the eyes of Giraldus Cambrensis (*c.* 1146–*c.* 1223), their medieval ancestors had been outstanding warriors. Lhuyd presented the ancestral Welsh as those Celts whose imperial ambitions had taken them across the Channel, where under Brennus they troubled ancient Rome. Otherwise the Welsh had a shared ancestry with the Romans, since the Trojan Brut was the leader who had established the Welsh in the beautiful country, *Prydcain*.[8]

The two major premises of John Twyne's counter thesis were that Britain had been linked to the continent by a land-bridge[9], and that the history of the human race was longer than Lhuyd presumed[10], that there had been a long period of time before the hypothetical arrival of the Trojan Brut, when people had moved into Britain at will and easily. Even without the land-bridge people would have crossed the sea to an island which was clearly visible. If Trojan refugees did come to Britain, they would have been one of many groups of people who came there to occupy a portion of land[11]. The real ancestors of the Welsh, who did indeed leave their imprint on the land after it had become an island, had like the Trojans come from the East, and since Britain was now an island had arrived by sea. Tacitus had posited a Spanish origin for the British of South Wales[12]. Twyne claims that these Spanish people were in fact Phoenicians from Spain. He takes his position from Vives, the Spanish humanist, who claimed that the Phoenicians had destroyed an ancient golden age Spanish culture.[13] The Welsh, as Phoenicians

---

[8] Eatough 2005.

[9] Twyne 1590, 7 and 17–32. This theory was supported by greater scientific evidence in Verstegan 1605, chapter 4.

[10] Twyne 1590, 8, where through the person of John Foche he makes the point that the human race race had been scattered throughout the world, there had been the governing of great empires, and famous wars, long before Troy.

[11] Twyne 1590, 33, where in the person of Foche he mischievously hypothesises that some Trojans came to Britain, and founded some little village near the sea.

[12] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 4.

[13] Augustine 1610, where Vives is commenting on *De Civitate Dei* VIII.9. Vives bases his thesis on the behaviour of the Spaniards in the Americas. The detail is very particular to the exploitation of the Americas, such as the use of shoddy items to trade for gold and pearls, the frequency of the expeditions, often small and based on a competitive free enterprise, the corruption of the natives, the progression from affrays to open warfare conducted on a national scale.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

with an unsavoury history, are made members of an Oriental empire, the Chaldaean, which had later been supplanted by a Western empire, the Roman, these being the only two real empires that there had ever been in world history.[14] It was Phoenician lust for gold which had destroyed ancient Spain, and it was as traders they came to Britain. As Orientals they could be described as coloured migrants,[15] and frequent among the characteristics which identify them with the Welsh are customs involving sexual license, a slur against the Welsh and a perpetuation of the myth of the Orient.[16] Twyne admitted that the Romans had taxed and made use of British resources, though sometimes to alleviate want in neighbouring countries.[17] Britain, described as another world,[18] the America of antiquity, had and still had resources in abundance. He gives for example an account of the supply and variety of fish in the seas of Britain, which the Romans could take. In return the Romans had brought their civilisation, demonstrated first and foremost by their wonderful roads and high material culture, down to the glass phials which were being discovered still full of liquids, and pottery in all its different shapes.[19] That part of Britain which was to become England had been civilised and imbued with Roman humanity, while Kent, the bravest and most humane part of Britain, had been chosen as the hub of Roman rule. Welsh and Scots had belonged to barbarian fringes, which at different times had been walled off from England.[20] The dissolution of the monastery at Canterbury is a reminder that the Roman Empire might now have come to an end. This is stated at the beginning of the dialogue and at the end where Twyne writes "just as the *imperium* of the Romans has now been ended in *Britannia*, let us too, if you agree, put an end to our present discussion".[21] The sun had by now almost completely disappeared in the west, so the interlocutors Digon and Wotton say farewell, and turn to Canterbury; the old abbot departs.[22]

Camden was a Londoner, living near to Kent and influenced by Kentish English nationalists such as William Lambarde (1536–1601)[23] and Twyne, but it was London which by its size and position dominated England, and

---

[14] Twyne 1590, 34 and 77–79

[15] Twyne 1590, 77–78.

[16] Twyne 1590, 77–78.

[17] Twyne 1590, 150–151.

[18] Twyne 1590, 148.

[19] Twyne 1590, 151–153.

[20] Twyne 1590, 149, and 150.

[21] "ut Romanorum iam in Britannia finito imperio, nos quoque, si placet, praesenti disputationi finem imponamus", Twyne 1590, 162.

[22] Twyne 1590, 6 and 162.

[23] Lambarde wrote *A Perambulation of Kent* (London 1576), the first historical topographical survey of an English county. On Lambarde see Alsop 2004.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

defined what England had to be. In sharp contrast, his mother was a Curwin from the Cumberland elite, in the remote north west of England, a shire whose name recalls the lingering presence of the Cymru, the Welsh name for themselves, in what had become England. He has sympathy for the Welsh, while resisting the more insubstantial claims of their champions. He demonstrates in scholarly detail that the ancient Britons originated from the continental Gauls.[24] Nonetheless his writing on the north, the home of the ancient British tribe, the Brigantes, among others, and later of the English Northumbrians, is consistently engaging. As he finishes his account of Wales, he passes over to what he calls *our Brigantes*, claiming them as his own, content that their name suggested that they had been brigands, an accepted way of life in antiquity for a martial people.[25] Camden did accept Lhuyd's statement that one needed to know Welsh to understand ancient place names in Britain. He learnt Welsh, not an easy language. He was quite certain however that Roman evidence had to be given precedence over the ancient British tradition.[26]

Camden defined himself as English, and belonged therefore to those treacherous invaders, who had defeated the Scots and the Picts, then, with reason, turned on their masters the Welsh.[27] Yet bloodthirsty Saxon pirates on converting to Christianity had evangelised Europe. The Anglo-Saxons had become a cultured people and there was a growing interest in Anglo-Saxon and English antiquities in Camden's time.[28] His text is marked by words in the old English script which stand out boldly from the surrounding print. The Saxons, like the Welsh in their crisis, had been betrayed at the time of the Norman invasion, in their case by bishops and other leaders who feared papal *anathema*.[29] Camden was ambiguous about the Normans. Their exploits had brought fame to England, but their supremacy had caused suffering to the English, the seizure of land and the suppression of English institutions. The conquest had been the end of a Saxon *imperium* which had lasted six hundred

---

[24] Camden 1590, 12–23.

[25] Camden 1590, 551–553.

[26] Camden 1590, 38–39.

[27] Camden 1590, 65–73.

[28] Seen immediately in the account of Cornwall, the first county described by Camden, where he manages to insert a reference to Laurence Nowell "who revived the dead Saxon language of our ancestors", and he writes that Tavistock, after it recovered from having been put to the flame by the Danes, instituted readings in the ancestral tongue, the Saxon, to prevent the disappearance of the language, which had nonetheless disappeared just before Camden's times. (Camden 1590, 118 and 128).

[29] Camden 1590, 87–88. He calls, at page 79, the accession of William the Conqueror "recentissimam Britannici imperii conversionem" (the most recent change of power/empire in Britain).

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

and seven years.[30] He has few good things to say about the Danish contribution to the British nation, yet they too had contributed to the development of this people. The conclusion is that the people living in Britain were all immigrants.

He originally showed a distinct lack of interest in the Scots, yet within his lifetime James VI of Scotland became James I of Britain.[31] This meant that the borderland of Scotland and England, the furthest bound of empire under the Romans, became the centre of the new island empire.[32] Most interestingly this place on the boundary of ancient empire revealed the greatest evidences of ancient Roman material culture, the pattern for modern urban development, which was taking place at a dramatic rate in London, and in other towns.[33] It was also the place from which the most new inscriptions were being unearthed, which enabled the Romans to speak from outside the canon of literary texts, of which Sir John Prise had been so suspicious. They could speak more securely than the oral tradition espoused by Prise, and at the same time be a demonstration of how civilisations could fall, and also be raised again. Seneca encapsulated Camden's view of history.

> It is manifest, that nothing hath continued in the same place, wherein it had the first beginning. There is a daily stirring and mooving to and fro of mankind: some change or other there is every day in so great a revolution of this world. New foundations of Cities are laid: New names of nations spring up, whereas the old are either growne out of use, or altered by the comming in of a mightier.
> (Holland 1610, 154).[34]

---

[30] Camden 1590, 88–89. The military achievements of the Normans in Sicily and the Holy Land reflected favourably on the English. Camden writes (p. 91): "Iam inde Anglia non minus belli gloria quam humanitatis cultu inter florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes imprimis floruit" (From then on England was in the very front rank of the most successful peoples in the Christian world because of the glory gained in war as well as for the pursuit of *humanitas*).

[31] March 1603.

[32] Camden 1607, 682, divides the Scottish people into Highlanders and Lowlanders, but excludes the Borderers (*Limitaneos)* from the division "in Britannici imperii umbilico sunt censendi" (they should be reckoned as being at the navel of the British empire). Holland (1610, Scotland, 5), perhaps to flatter a Scottish king on the English throne has a fulsome translation "they are to be ranged and reckoned in the very heart and midst of the British Empire."

[33] This is seen in the account of Bristol in Camden 1607, 173–175, where there is an account of the city which is strikingly modern in tone, a vigorous trading city reaching out all over Europe, and, a rare mention, to America.

[34] "Est itaque manifestum nihil eodem loco mansisse quo genitum est. Assiduus humani generis discursus est. Quotidie aliquid in tam magno orbe mutatur. Nova urbium fundamenta iaciuntur. Nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, aut in accessionem validioris conversis, oriuntur." (Seneca, *De Consolatione* quoted from Camden 1590, 91).

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

The ancient British had soon regretted using Saxons to deal with attacks of the Scots and the Picts, since the Saxons, with reason, had turned on their masters and seized the Britons' land. Camden however attempted to demonstrate that the Picts must have been those invincible freedom loving Britons, whom the Welsh claimed to be, who had been prepared to put up with the awful north British climate to escape the Romans, as evidenced by the British toponyms of northern Scotland.[35] Their invasion of the south had been a civil war. Similarly, those Brigantes, who could not bear Roman rule, had taken refuge in Ireland and become part of an Irish mix, which later included varying layers of Anglo-Irishry.[36] Camden, who had an obsessional interest in the Irish (an indication of tightening English grip on Ireland and a growing overseas imperialism), did worry about the way in which the English of his own times, who went to Ireland, quickly lost their sense of original national identity, and became Irish.[37] Again the peoples either side of Hadrians wall, whether nominally English or Scot, shared a culture.[38]

Camden to a large extent accepted Twyne's view about the benefits of Roman civilisation, which set the pattern for the modern British:

> This yoke of the Romanes although it were grievous, yet confortable it proved and a saving health unto them: for that healthsome light of Iesus Christ shone withal upon the Britans, whereof more hereafter, and the brightnesse of that more glorious Empire, chased away all savage barbarisme from the Britans' minds, like as from other nations whom it had subdued […] the Romanes having brought over Colonies hither, and reduced the naturall inhabitants of the Iland unto the society of civill life, by training them up in the liberall Arts, and by sending them into Gaule for to learne perfectly the lawes of the Romanes […] governed them with their lawes and framed them to good maners and behaviour so, as in their diet and apparell they were not inferior to any other provinces: they furnished them also with goodly houses and stately buildings, in such sort, that the reliques and rubbish of their ruines doe cause the beholders now, exceedingly to admire the same […] but especially the Picts wall, whereof I will write more in due place: and those Causeies thorowout the whole land, a wonderfull peece of worke, what with dreining and drying up the meres in some places, and what with casting up banks where low vallies were, in others: so fenced and paved with stone, and withall of that breadth, that

---

[35] Camden 1590, 50–55. The name *Pictus* meant the coloured one and the British had painted themselves with woad.
[36] Camden 1590, 553.
[37] Camden 1590, 704–706.
[38] Camden 1590, 648.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

they can well receive and with roome enough, waines meeting one the other.
(Holland 1610, 63).[39]

Camden liked to walk a Roman road because that was where one could find a hidden Roman town, perhaps revealed by a cache of coins. His account of Overborough in the Lune valley in a most remote area of Lancashire is an awesome example of change, as well as of the Roman civilizing mission, the building of great cities in what had reverted to waste places. It is also a showcase of Camden's historical methods, in this case use of oral tradition, even if an imaginary tradition, of building remains, of coins which were much used by Camden, which could of course speak of things not found in Latin literature, and the use of toponymy, the name in this instance being deciphered by reference to Old English.

> As soone as *Lune* is entred into Lancashire, *Lace*, a little brooke from out of the East joyneth his streame with it. In which place now standeth *Over-Burrow*, a verie small village of husbandmen; which, as the inhabitants enformed mee, had beene sometimes a great City and tooke up all those large fields betweene *Lacce* and *Lone*, and after it had suffered all miseries, that follow famine, was driven to composition through extremity: This tradition they received from their ancestours, delivered as it were from hand to hand unto them. And in very truth by divers and sundry monuments exceeding ancient, by engraven stones, pauements of square checker worke, peeces of Romane coine, and by this new name *Borrow*, which with us signifieth a *Burgh*, that place should seeme to bee of great antiquity.
> (Holland 1610, 753).[40]

Elsewhere Camden starts from a more theoretical position, based on the Antonine Itinerary, and Camden's attempt to locate Mediolanum is another

---

[39] "Hoc Romanorum iugum quamvis grave, tamen salutare fuit. Salutare enim Iesu Christi lumen Britannis una affulsit, de quo postea et clarissimi illius imperii lex barbariem a nostrorum animis fugavit. Traductis nanque Colonis et convocatis in civilis vitae societatem indigenis, ita legibus temperarunt et moribus excoluerunt, ut victu, cultuque ceteris provinciis non concederet; et aedificiis et magnificis operibus instruxerunt ut eorum reliquiae et ruderes summam iam intuentibus admirationem commoverunt. Imprimis vero Murus Picticus de quo suo loco, et viae illae admirando opere per omnem regionem, alicubi desiccatis paludibus, alibi aggeratis vallibus munitae et constratae ea latitudine, ut occurrentia se invicem vehicula libere exciperent" (Camden 1590, 37).

[40] "Quo in loco nunc Over Burrow est, pertenuis sane rusticorum viculus, quem urbem magnam fuisse amplosque campos inter Laecum et Lonum occupasse, et ad extrema deditionis, fame nihil non experta, compulsam nobis memorarunt incolae, quod a maioribus quasi per manus traditum acceperunt. Et variis certe priscae vetustatis monumentis, insculptis lapidibus, tessellatis pavimentis, Romanorum nummis, et nomine hoc novo quod nobis Burgum denotat, locus iste antiquitatem suam asserit." (Camden 1590, 619).

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

beautiful example of his investigative methods, this time by survey, using the Antonine itinerary, and expertise in the Welsh language. It was a key name since John Buchanan (1506–1582) had used it to demonstrate that the Welsh had originated in Europe, by showing that forty seven examples of Mediolanum occurred throughout Europe including Britain. Lhuyd in a game of strategic toponymy, extending the territory of the ancient Ordovices, had decided that it was Lancaster. Camden brought it back inside Wales. He was mistaken, but close to the mark. It was modern Whitchurch just outside Wales in the Marches.[41] He was successful with the name of what is now Aldborough in Yorkshire, A tiny village had flickered into existence with the name *Ealdburgh* or *Aldborrow*, meaning Old Town. Since it was situated on the river Ure, it must have been the site of the Brigantine capital of *Isurium*, a case strengthened by the fact Roman coins were constantly being dug up. The distance between this and York agreed with the information in the Antonine Itinerary.[42]

Camden followed rivers even more than roads, and this led to other landscapes and other kinds of towns. He says of the West Riding of Yorkshire, as he does of Cheshire, that the most convenient system to describe it was for him to follow the rivers.[43] He later takes us to the source of the Ure, in Richmond, and gives us a glimpse of a kind of landscape which later inspired Romantic and Gothic fantasies. Amid the mountains on the border with Lancashire are vast, rough, solitary wastes, where there is no sound, through which creep streams, which those nearby call *Hell Becks*, meaning streams from the Underworld, Stygian streams, especially at the source of the Ure, where the waters flow deep at the bottom of a chasm bridged by a single stone, so that whoever looks down is struck with dread.[44]

In neighbouring solitary landscapes people could be found living a most ancient way of life.

> Heere every way round about, in the *Wasts* as they tearme them, as also in *Gillesland*, you may see, as it were, the ancient *Nomades*, a martiall kind of men; who from the moneth of Aprill unto August, ly

---

[41] Camden 1590, 534; Eatough 2005, 52.

[42] Camden 1590, 566.

[43] Camden 1590, 556.

[44] "Qua Lancastrenses attingit haec regio, inter montes adeo vasta, solitaria, squallentia, et muta sunt omnia, ut quosdam rivulos hac reptantes Hell Becks quasi rivulos infernales sive Stygios dixerint finitimi, praecipue ille ad fontes Uri fluminis qui uno saxo pro ponte coniunctus tam profunde defluit ut despectantibus horrorem incutiat", Camden 1607, 591, on Richmondshire. The detail about the chasm, the bridge and horror of looking down is not found in Camden 1590, 593.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

out skattering and sommering (as they terme it) with their cattaile, in little cottages here and there, which they call *Sheales* and *Shealings*. (Holland 1610, 806).[45]

Or a solitary expanse could recall terrible events, such as Towton Moor, where on Palm Sunday 1461 35,000 men, mainly Lancastrians,/ were slain, and very many of the nobility. Camden calls it our Pharsalia, a murderous episode in a war which marked the end of the old medieval order.[46] The Tudor Age saw not only the dissolution of the monasteries, but also the obsolescence and decay of castles, of which Camden says in the reign of Henry II (1154–1189) there had been 1115.[47]

In Camden's new Britain power rested on trade, towns flourished where trade or industry flourished. He follows the river Ure down to the Humber and the sea by way of York, the ancient capital of the north, a beautiful city which he describes in detail, and on to Hull, a new city which had attained greatness from humble origins. The citizens attributed the change partly to king Richard the Second (1377–1399) raising Michael de la Pole from being a Hull merchant to the dignity of Duke of Suffolk (1385), and partly to the profitable trade in dried Icelandic fish, which they called stockfish, from which they accumulated great wealth. In a brief time they had fortified the city in the place where it was not protected by the river with a towers and a brick wall, and they brought in so much stone as ballast for their ships that they paved their city most beautifully. The settlement became a city, having a mayor with bailiffs, and then was raised to a county or shire with viscount and mayor.[48]

Camden described his themes for the *Britannia* as follows: that in the individual regions he would briefly touch upon the boundaries of these regions, their natural resources, the places of more ancient memory, and the people who were the dukes and counts.[49] The regions are the shires, an English system of organisation. Camden takes us across England, then Wales and Scotland shire by shire. At the end of each section he writes about some of those who were the leading families in these shires. He was as Clarenceux King of Arms officially a leading authority on the members

---

[45] "Hic circumquaque in *vastis* quas vocant terris, ut etiam in Gilleslandia quasi nomadas antiquos videas, militare genus hominum qui a mense Aprili usque ad Augustum in tuguriolis hinc inde dispersis, *Sheales* et *Shealing* vocant, passim cum suis pecoribus excubant." (Camden 1607, 664).

[46] Camden 1590, 562.

[47] Camden 1590, 657.

[48] Camden 1590, 579.

[49] In singulis Angliae regionibus qui sunt limites, quae terrae dotes, quae antiquioris memoriae loca, qui Duces, qui Comites fuerunt, paucis perstrinxi (Dedicatory letter to William Cecil, Lord Burghley).

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

of the nobility, many of whom found unhappy ends. The "places of ancient memory" include significant places with or without material remains, recalling any of the various peoples who had inhabited Britain at any period in the more ancient past. The "natural resources" bind all the ages past, present and future. The past could remind one of wine making in Gloucestershire which had been allowed to disappear,[50] or the salt mines in Cheshire still being used, and which had been used by Romans, as evidenced by what Camden argues is a Roman road between Middlewich and Northwich. The mines had been an object of battles between the English and the Welsh.[51]

There were also the resources which were starting to be used, or which were there but being carelessly neglected. The Dutch and the Flemings were constantly being given permission by the Lords of Scarborough to fish for British herring. It was incredible what a great power of money the Dutch were gathering, for themselves. Camden describes the annual movement of the herring round Britain, a demonstration that they were meant to be a national resource.[52] The Cornishmen on the other hand had based their admirable economy on tin and pilchard exports. This enabled Michael, a Cornish poet and chief of rhymers, to savage the French king Henry III's archpoet in three nice lines on the wealth of Cornwall which Camden, an advocate of medieval Latin poetry, a Latin poet himself, following in the tradition of Leland,[53] reproduces:

> Non opus est ut opes numerem quibus est opulenta
> et per quas inopes sustentat non ope lenta
> piscibus et stanna nusquam tam fertilis ora
> (Camden 1607, 135).

Holland, who wrote a lively English prose, was no English poet. His version is:

---

[50] Camden 1590, 272.
[51] Camden 1590, 486.
[52] Camden 1590, 584.
[53] Camden 1605. At the end of *Remaines of a Greater Worke*, with its separate pagination is a fifty nine page collection entitled "Certain Poemes or Poesies, Epigrammes, Rythmes, Epitaphs of the English Nation in former Times". The poems are almost entirely medieval Latin poems. In the section on Gloucestershire, and later Oxfordshire, Camden 1590, 281–282, 285, 295–296 (Holland 1610, 267–268, 373, 384–388) Camden modestly introduces substantial passages from his poem *Tamae et Isis Connubium*. John Leland (1506–1552) among his poetic works wrote two substantial topographical poems, the *Genethliacon* and the *Cygnea Cantio*.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

> I need not here report the wealth, wherewith enrich'd it is,
> And whereby alwaies to sustaine poore folke it doth not misse:
> No coast elsewhere for fish and tinne, so plentious, ywis
>
> (Holland 1610, 186).

One notices that the wealth gained from fish and tin is used for social ends. Camden, heavily indebted to Carew, was particularly interested in the tin mines, their organisation and above all the way they were worked. Mining, especially coal mining, was to be woven into the psyche of the British people, and Camden admired the skills involved:

> Of these Mines or tinne-works, there be two kinds: the one they call, *Lode-works*; the other *Streame-works*. This liest in lower grounds, when by trenching they follow the veines of tinne, and turne aside now and then the streames of water comming in their way: that other, is in higher places, when as upon the hils they dig verie deepe pits, which they call, *Shafts,* and doe undermine. In working both waies there is seen wonderfull wit and skill, as well in draining of waters aside, and reducing them into one streame; as in the underbuilding, pinning and propping up of their pits: to passe over with silence their devices of breaking, stamping, drying, crasing, washing, melting, and fining the mettall, than which there cannot be more cunning shewed.
> (Holland 1610, 184–185.)[54]

On Newcastle and the Northumbrian coalfields Camden in the later 1607 edition has chosen a different mode of celebration, quoting the Scots poet, John Johnston (1565–1611), whom he allows a little too much room in *Britannia*, but who here writes some interesting lines on the godlike qualities of coal which he compares to divine powers in heaven. When coal reigned supreme in the British economy it was called King Coal, here it is the God Coal:

> Rupe sedens celsa, rerum aut miracula spectat
>   Naturae, aut solers distrahit illa aliis.
> Sedibus aetheriis, quid frustra quaeritis ignem?
>   Hunc alit, hunc terra suscitat ista sinu.
> Non illum torvo terras qui turbine terret,

---

[54] "Horum autem stannariorum, sive metallicorum, operum duo sunt genera. Alterum lode-works, alterum Streame-works vocant, hoc in locis inferioribus est et cum fossis agendis stanni venas sectantur, et fluviorum alveos subinde deflectunt, illud in locis aeditioribus cum in montibus puteos, quos Shafts vocant, in magnam altitudinem defodiunt et cuniculos agunt. In utroque ingeniorum solertia admiranda, tam in aquarum derivationibus et corrivationibus, quam in puteorum substructionibus, et suffulcimentis, ut contundendi, lavandi, discernendi et excoquendi rationes, quibus nihil est solertius, tacitus praetermittam." (Camden 1607, 134).

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

Sed qui animam terris, detque animos animis.
Eliquat hic ferrum, aes, hic aurum ductile fundit.
    Quos non auri illex conciet umbra animos?
Quin (aiunt) auro permutat bruta metalla,
    Alchimus hunc igitur praedicat esse deum.
Si deus est ceu tu dictas, divine magister,
    Haec quot alit? Quot alit Scotia nostra deos?

(Camden 1607, 667–8).

(Newcastle sitting on her lofty rock gazes on these miracles in the world of nature, or cleverly sells them off to others. Why do you vainly look for fire in heaven's halls. Earth nurtures this fire, this is the fire that Earth who enfolded it, sparks into life, not that which frightens people with its savage storms, but this which grants life to countries and souls to human souls. This brings to liquid perfection iron and bronze, this pours out the gold it has brought forth. Is there any mind which even the shadow of gold does not allure and rouse to action. Moreover (they say) that coal changes dull metals to gold. The alchemist preaches that it is a god. If it is a god as you say, master of divine mysteries, then tell how many gods this city nurtures, how many our Scottish land?)

Prior to this verse Camden has told us that Newcastle was founded by Robert, son of the Norman William the Conqueror, that it gradually developed a very profitable trade with Germany, that it supplied coal to most of England and also to Belgium. The poem has echoes of Stoic natural philosophy of divine fire in the world's material substance. It is an earthly substance which can be put to spiritual purposes, that is the comforting of mankind.

The major industry of many parts of Britain was weaving. Manchester, unlike Newcastle, was a very ancient town, a Roman town, a fact which could promote the economic success of a place.[55] Manchester's reputation however rested on more substantial grounds. Camden describes it as a yarn manufacturing town, which had a reputation for its woollen cloths which were known as Manchester cottons, a fine looking town, where crowds came, with assizes, a church and a famous school. One can here start to see the great city of the late nineteenth century.[56] In south Lancashire in the vicinity of Manchester, Camden noted, in his 1607 edition, that many of the gentry were named after the towns in which they lived. The fact that these families had remained in their localities, showed that these families had their foundations in *virtus*, and that they had prospered through a restraint

---

[55] Camden 1590, 148.
[56] Camden 1590, 612.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

which provided for the future ("provida moderatio") and through an open honesty, characteristic of ancient times, that is of people content with their own possessions ("antiquis suis bonis contenti simplicitas"). He uses this as a platform to attack the corruption and degeneracy of the nobility in what he calls the southern provinces of England. It has been an enduring image of how northerners have liked to see themselves. It was also a prescription for a new puritanical bourgeoisie, which would drive the industrial revolution.[57]

Yet it was London, the ancient trading city, which was the epitome of Britain.[58] Camden there sings a different tune, celebrating the great houses the nobility and entrepeneurs were building for themselves. Britain had by its position and shape been designed to trade.

> A circumvicinis illis regionibus commodo undique intervallo disiuncta, patentibus gremiis universi orbis commercio opportuna, et tanquam ad iuvandos mortales avide in mare omni ex parte se proiiciens.
>
> (Camden 1590, 1).
>
> (Disjoined from those neighbour-countries all about by a convenient distance every way, fitted with commodious and open havens, for traffique with the universall world, and to the generall good, as it were, of mankind, thrusting it selfe forward with great desire from all parts into the sea).
>
> (Holland 1610, 1).

This passage occurs at the very begining of *Britannia*, establishing a major theme. Camden shows an awareness of Twyne, because he immediately goes on to say that some think the land was joined to the continent and the sea broke through. He himself is not going to join in the debate but he knew that the land itself, not just its inhabitants, could be subject to enormous changes.[59] The separation was convenient because it gave Britain protection from invasion and yet kept it close enough to trade, though as he goes on to say trade was with the whole world, not just nearby Europe. "Patentibus gremiis" refers to the great river estuaries such as the Thames, the Humber, the Severn and the Dee and Mersey, as well as the smaller ports and estuaries, in every part of Britain, through which trade passed. It is a maternal image, if *gremiis* is translated as bosom or lap, and even a sexual image. Trade in Twyne, is an acquisitive occupation based on greed; in Camden greed

---

[57] Camden 1607, 612.

[58] Camden 1590, 323, "Londinium totius Britanniae Epitome"; see also Pryor 2006, 202–222.

[59] e.g. Camden 1590, 264–265 on the sea having moved away from Hythe, 266 on Romney Marsh, 278 on fossils quoting Fracastoro to the effect that where there were now mountains there had once been sea, 379 on the threat posed to King's Lynn by the sea.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

(*avide*) translates into eagerness and trade is a means of helping the human race.

So far from seeing the ocean as a barrier, as Lhuyd did, Camden celebrates the fact that the tidal Thames penetrates into England further than any river does elsewhere in Europe. In Holland's words the violence of the sea rushing in is to the advantage of the people living along its banks:

> Neither to my knowledge is there any other river in all *Europe*, that for so many miles within land feeleth the violence of the Ocean forcing and rushing in upon it, and so driving backe and withholding his waters, to the exceediing great commodity of the inhabitants bordering thereupon.

(Holland 1610, 298).

London is not merely the market where the world's goods can be peacefully exchanged, but the most mild merchant, as Holland translates it, of these goods. The ships' masts crowded in the docks provide a new form of pastoral scene, they are a forest, but a forest into which good husbandry has allowed light to penetrate:

> the most milde Merchant, as one would say, of all things that the world doth yeeld: which swelling [superbus] at certaine set houres with the Ocean-tides, by his safe and deepe channell able to entertaine the greatest ships that be, daily bringeth in so great riches from all parts [in Camden "of the East and the West"], that it striveth at this day with the Mart-townes of Christendome for the second prise, & affoordeth a most sure and beautiful road for shipping. A man would say that seeth the shipping there, that it is, as it were, a very wood of trees disbranched to make glades and let in light: so shaded it is with masts and sailes.

(Holland 1610, 422).[60]

Camden writes towards the end of his account of London that it would be too long to cover in detail the excellent laws and institutions by which the city was governed, the high standing of its aldermen ("senatorii ordinis dignitatem"), the loyalty and obedience shown to the monarch, the *humanitas* of its citizens, the splendour of its buildings, the success which comes from fertile minds ("foelicissimorum ingeniorum proventum"), the suburban gardens full of delights and packed with exotic plants, the unbelievable power

---

[60] "qui placidissimus rerum in orbe nascentium mercator, statis horis oceani aestibus superbus, alveo tuto, praealto, et navium quamlibet magnarum capacissimo, tantas orientis et occidentis opes quotidie invehit ut cum orbis Christiani emporiis se secunda palma hodie contendat, stationemque praebeat navibus cum fidissimam tum pulcherrimam, sylvam intercludatam dicas, tot navium malis velisque undique obumbratur" (Camden 1590, 324).

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

(*vis*), or impact, of merchandise of every kind, and the overflowing (*redundantem)* abundance of all the things, whose aim is to make for a civilised life and provide its necessities. This is an encomium, in which Camden unites the commercial with the spiritual. Just prior to his passage he stated that London had more churches, 121, than Rome, it had hospitals and inns in abundance, it maintained 600 orphans and 1240 poor people. John Stow, who at the beginning of his *Survay of London* (1598) expresses the hope that it might be of use to his friend Camden, gives glimpses of an older world that he had experienced but which had been lost, inner city fields where people walked and carried out ancient acts of piety to poor bedridden people sitting by their open windows, now given over to housing, to accommodate London's rapidly expanding population. Stow also expressed surprise at the large size of some of the hospitals discovered in the friaries when they were dissolved. He has a story of a decent man hanged outside Stow's own front door on a trumped-up charge, and of the all powerful Thomas Cromwell aggressively encroaching on neighbour's property, including that of Stow's father.[61]

I conclude by returning to the Marches of Wales. Lhuyd had wanted us to see the River Severn as the natural frontier between Wales and England. He commented on the fact that the great cities occupied by the English were on the eastern side of the river, using the river as protection against the warlike Welsh, much as the Romans had used the Rhine against the Germans.[62] Shrewsbury the most central city in these Marches is almost entirely surrounded by the Severn, but in Camden the garrison town was in fact now a market town, exceedingly rich from its cloth-making and its trade with the Welsh. The town was inhabited by both Welsh and English speaking their different languages, but they had co-operated and set up a school which had more scholars then any school in England. Welsh goods were brought out of Wales on rafts, which Twyne had seen as a Babylonian practice, but which Camden says was an idea imported from the German Rhein, as was the name, *flotes*.[63]

In the north of the Marches was Chester, the Roman *Castrum*, situated on the holy Welsh river Dee, which only became English in the vicinity of Chester, as it came to the sea.[64] It had by Camden's time become famous for its shops, forerunners of the modern mall, the *rowes* as they are called in

---

[61] Stow 1598, prefatory letter to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, 79, 92–93, 108–109, 129, and 140–141.
[62] Lhuyd, 1731, 34.
[63] Camden 1590, 477–478.
[64] Camden 1590, 481.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

Holland's translation, and are still called.[65] It was however also a frontier town, the scene of fights between the English and Welsh; the Welsh had called it "Tre Poeth, that is Hot Town", since they were always burning it, while the English had retaliated by sticking Welsh skulls on the walls of the city. Yet the people of Cheshire and the Welsh, even five hundred years before Camden, had become assimilated. Lucian, a monk at St.Werburgh's monastery, in the early years of the Norman rule, tells us "per longam transfusionem morum maxima parte consimiles" (by long transfusion of customs for the most part they were close alike). Camden slyly acknowledges the encomiastic nature of Lucian's writing. He is a moralising monk, and an encomiast, but amid the rhetoric Camden must have detected a kindred spirit. I quote from Camden's Lucianic insert, a passage to which, as I have discovered, Catherine Clarke in her *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England* also gives prominence.[66]

I retain the services of Philemon Holland. Camden in recontextualising this passage within his own age makes it into prophecy, which the second half of Holland's translation captures beautifully:

> First, it is to bee considered, that Chester is built as a Citie, the site whereof inviteth and allureth the eye, which beeing situate in the VVest partes of Britaine, was in times past a place of receipt to the legions comming afarre off to repose themselues, and served sufficientlie to keepe the keies, as I may say, of Ireland, for the Romans, to preserue the limite of their Empire. For, beeing opposite to the Northeast part of Ireland, it openeth waie for passage of ships and mariners with spread saile passing not often but continuallie to and fro, as also for the commodities of sundrie sortes of merchandise. And whiles it casteth an eye forward into the East; it looketh toward not onelie the See of Rome and the Empire thereof, but the whole world also: so that it standeth forth as a kenning place to the view of eyes; that there may bee knowne valiant exploites, and the long traine and consequence of things; as also whatsoever throughout the world hath beene done by all persons, in all places, and at all times: and what ever hath beene yll done may also bee avoided and taken heed of.

(Holland 1610, 606).[67]

---

[65] Holland 1610, 605.

[66] Lucian 1912, 45, Clarke 2006, 99–100.

[67] "Primo videndum quod Cestria qua aedificatur ut civitas cuius positio invitat aspectum, quae in occiduis Britanniae posita legionibus ex longinquo venientibus receptoria quondam ad repausandum fuit, et Romani ut servent limitem imperii, claves, ut ita dixerim, Hibernorum custodire suffecit. Nam contra aquilonare cornu Hiberniae opposita non tam crebro quam continuo ob caussas meantium et commoda mercium diversarum, velis aptatis viam aperit cursibus navium atque nautarum. Dumque in orientem protendit intuitum non

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

Chester was a place of welcome to the legions of the ancient Roman empire, whose task it was to guard that empire by holding the keys to Ireland, an empire which endured into the Norman empire to which Lucian belonged, and was to be a pattern for a British empire. On the edge of this world, trade passed to and fro through Chester to the benefit of all, along a well used sea route. Camden takes to the sea towards the end of *Britannia*. In the successive editions information on Ireland constantly expands, and his editions end in their different ways with the islands round Britain, some of quasi mythical nature, most of them exemplary, leading the eye beyond the limits of mainland Britain, suggesting what might be.[68] Because of trade and the ships and sailors which came to Chester, it was a place of knowledge, not found in books but as seen by the eyes, a place where to have visions, to see the papal power and that Roman empire which had endured through it, and beyond these to the world at large. Trade is the entry into history. Later he describes the four gates of Chester, the east with a prospect to India, the west looking to Ireland, the north to Greater Norway, and the south to where the ancient British by their own sins had been confined in Wales. Greater Norway was Scandinavia, including the Danes so badly served by Camden's *Britannia*, into whose thalassocracy Chester had once been taken up, when England only with difficulty existed, and whose voyages and journeys had taken them through Russian to contacts with the East and even to America.[69]

Bibliography

Alsop, J. D. 2004, "Lambarde, William", Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15921, accessed 12 Jan 2010.

Augustine 1610, *Of the Citie of God, with the learned comments of Io. Lod. Vives*. eds. Io. Lodovicus Vives & John Healy, London.

Boece, Hector (Hector Boethius) 1526, *Scotorum Historiae,* Paris

Buchanan, George 1583, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, Antwerp.

solum Romanam ante se cathedram et imperium, verum et orbem prospicere universum, ut tanquam spectaculum proposita sit obtutibus oculorum. Fortia facta, series longissima rerum, et quicquid in orbe quibusque personis, locis, temporibus bene gestum etiam cognoscantur, quod male actum etiam caveatur." *Lucian the monk* (Camden 1607, 459–460).

[68] It is interesting to see how the section *Insulae Britannicae*, islands round Britain defined as being British, is revised between the 1590 edition, 741–62, and the 1607 edition, 846–860. The reach in the 1607 edition is much more audacious.

[69] McCormick 2001, 606–613.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

Camden, William 1586, *Britannia: sive Florentissimorum Regnorum Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae et Insularum Adiacentium ex intima antiquitate Chorographica descriptio*, London. (further constantly expanding editions of this title published in London in 1587, 1590, 1594, 1600, and 1607).

— 1605, *Remaines of a Greater Worke, concerning Britaine, the inhabitants thereof, their Language, Names, Surnames, Empresses, Wise speeches, Poesie, and Epitaphes*, London.

Clarke, Catherine 2006, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England, 700–1400*, London.

Considine, John 2004, "Holland, Philemon", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, http://www.oup.com/oxforddnb/view/article/13535, accessed 12 Jan 2010.

Eatough, Geoffrey 2005, "Putting Wales on the Map", Petersmann & Oberparleiter 2005, 39–52.

— 2007, "In defence of Arthurian history: John Price's case for a most ancient British historical tradition", Oberparleiter, Hohenwallner & Kritzer 2007, 184–195.

Herendeen Wyman H., 2004, "Camden, William", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, http://www.oup.com/oxforddnb/view/article/4431, accessed 12 Jan 2010.

Holland, Philemon (tr.) 1610, Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adioyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified vvith mappes of the severall shires of England: vvritten first in Latine by William Camden Clarenceux K. of A. Translated newly into English by Philémon Holland Doctour in Physick: finally, revised, amended, and enlarged with sundry additions by the said author*, London.

Jones, R. Brinley 2004, "Llwyd, Humphrey", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, http://www.oup.com/oxforddnb/view/article/16867, accessed 12 Jan 2010.

Lhuyd, Humphrey 1572, *Commentarioli Britannicae Descriptionis Fragmentum*, Cologne.

— 1573, *The Breviary of Britayne*, tr. Thomas Twyne, London.

— 1731, *Britannicae Descriptionis Commentariolum: necnon de Monâ Insulâ, & Britannicâ Arce sive Armamentario Romano Disceptatio Epistolaris. Accedunt Ææ Cambro-Britannicæ*, ed. Moses Williams, London.

Lucian 1912, *Liber Luciani de Laude Cestrie*, ed. M.V. Taylor, Edinburgh & London (*The Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relatiing to Lancashire and Cheshire* LXIV).

LATIN AND THE VERNACULARS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE
Renæssanceforum 6 • 2010 • www.renaessanceforum.dk
Geoffrey Eatough: William Camden's Reshaping of Britain

Martin, G. H., 2004, "Twyne, John", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, http://www.oup.com/oxforddnb/view/article/27925, accessed 12 Jan 2010.

McCormick, Michael 2001, *Origins of the European Economy*, Cambridge.

Petersmann, Gerhard & Veronika Oberparleiter (eds.) 2005, *The Role of Latin in Early Modern Europe: Texts and Contexts: Akten der Tagung "The Role of Latin in Early Modern Europe: texts and contexts II", Salzburg 2.–4. Mai 2003*, Horn & Vienna (*Grazer Beiträge, Supplementband 9*).

Oberparleiter, Veronika Coroleu; Ingrid Hohenwallner & Ruth Elisabeth Kritzer (eds.) 2007, *Bezugsfelder: Festschrift für Gerhard Petersmann zum 65. Geburtstag*, Horn & Vienna (*Grazer Beiträge, Supplementband 11*).

Price, John (Ioannes Priseus) 1573, *Historiae Brytannicae Defensio*, London.

Pryor, Francis 2006, *Britain in the Middle Ages: an Archaeological History*, London.

Stow, John 1598, *A Survay of London*, London.

Twyne, John (Ioannes Twinus) 1590, *De Rebus Albionicis, Britannicis atque Anglicis Commentarium*, London.

Vergil, Polydore 1546, *Angliae Historiae Libri Viginti Septem*, Basle.

Verstegan, Richard 1605, *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, Antwerp.