HISTORIA RICHARDI REGIS ANGLIAE EIUS NOMINIS TERTII

by

Master Thomas More
Undersheriff of London
c. 1513

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Latin text edited, and intra-textual notes
added, by Dr. Gerald Malsbary

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HISTORIA RICHARDI REGIS ANGLIAE EIUS NOMINIS TERTII, PER THOMAM MORUM, LONDINENSIS CIVITATIS IAM TUM: VICECOMITEM CONSCRIPTA, ANNUM CIRCITER M.D. XIII. ***[cf. English 2/3-8] Quam propriae exercitationis gratia, nec ita magno studio conscriptam, neque absolutam haud umquam postea emendavit, ut minime mireris, si cum aliis eius Latinis operibus quoad sermonis elegantiam non conferenda sit. Hoc opus nunc primum Latine in lucem editum est. Nam ante complures annos Britannice ab eodem auctore quam elegantissime conscriptum, in manus hominum prodierat: quod in eius Anglicorum operum volumine insertum invenies.***[1]

Editor's note:

In this preliminary study of More's Latin text of *Richardi Tertii*, compared to the English version in *CW* 2, I have indicated six categories of text: 1) common (regular type); 2) English variants of something common (in bold italics in English text, and referred to the variant in the other language in both texts with **cf**., within brackets, immediately preceding the indicated words); 3) Latin variants of something common (same system of reference); 4) English additions to the Latin (put into bold italics in the English text, with no brackets preceding, referred to by the Latin text with the symbol ***^[English page no./line no.]***; 5) Latin additions to the English (put into bold, non-italic type in the Latin version, with the same kind of reference to it in the English version, using **^[Latin page no. line.]**; 6) passages that are common to both texts but "re-located" into different positions with respect to the common order: these will be in regular type, but underlined, and will be equipped with an indication of the corresponding position in the other version.

All the Latin additions and variants have been translated in footnotes to the Latin version, with the exception of proper name variants that are self-evident. In the same footnotes there are also indications from time to time of word play or other details with the symbol: <NB: > , and these comments can sometimes apply to the English text as well as the Latin. I want to emphasize that the work is a provisional attempt to sort out the differences between the versions at a basic level. There is no attempt to classify or characterize the variety of variants and additions, or to make premature judgments about their stylistic, rhetorical or thematic functions.

Dr. Gerald Malsbary, Belmont Abbey College, 7/26/2013

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[1] **He wrote this work for the sake of an exercise, and his labor on it was not very great, nor did he finish it or scarcely correct it afterwards: it is no wonder that it does not compare in elegance with his other Latin works. The work is now being published in Latin for the first time; in fact, the work was written by the same author many years ago, in a most elegant English version, and has been in circulation: you will find it included in the volume of his English works.**

EDUARDUS rex, eius nominis quartus, actis vitae annis quinquaginta tribus, mensibus septem, diebus sex, qui annum ab regno coepto secundum et vicesimum numeraret, concessit fatis **^*[English 3/4]***, anno post Christum natum quadringentesimo et octuagesimo tertio supra millesimum, ***[cf. English 3/5-6]*** **superstitibus masculi sexus liberis duobus, feminei quattuor[2]:** Eduardo videlicet rege designato, annorum circiter tredecim: Richardo Eboraci duce, qui biennio minor erat: Elisabetha, quae postea ducentibus fatis Henrici septimi coniunx fuit, et octavi mater, regina forma atque indole egregia; Cecilia, non perinde fortunata ac formosa, et Brigitta, virtutem eius cuius nominis erat repraesentante, professa, et vitam religiosam ducente in monasterio monialium inclusarum apud Dertfordiam; Anna, postea honorifice nupta Thomae, tunc temporis domino Havvardo, et postea Comiti de Surre, et Catherina, quae sortem subinde variam experta, interdum secundam, saepius adversam, postremo, si haec postrema est, (nam adhuc vivit), pietate beneficentiaque nepotis Henrici octavi prosperrimam, ac se plane dignam consecuta est.

Is, quem dico, rex quum in palatio obiisset, **quod est apud Benedictinorum coenobium, ad occidentem solem circiter mille passus Londino distans,**[3] magnifico inde funere delatus est Vindesoram: ibique non sine summo totius populi dolore lacrimisque sepultus est. Quippe qui tam benignus ac facilis fuit, dum pax erat, (nam bello necesse erat partes mutuo esse infestas) ut neque alius quisquam in Anglia regnarit umquam **^*[English 3/ 23-24]*** patribus populoque carior: neque is ipse alia vitae parte aeque carus atque ea quae illi postrema fuit. At eam ipsam tamen caritatem, desideriumque eius

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[2] *Edward IV …died…]* **with two children of masculine sex surviving him, and four [1565** ed.**; five:** *mss.* **A , P] of feminine sex** …

[3] *Palace of Westminster,]* **which adjoins a Benedictine monastery, located about a mile west of London**

[cf. English 4/1-2] **invisus parricidae sequentis principatus**[4] auctiorem fecit. Etenim quo tempore vita functus est, invidia omnis depositi regis Henrici sexti, quae diu apud eius fautores flagraverat, tandem consopita resedit, iam multis eorum, viginti illis plus minus annis, quibus imperitavit defunctis ***^[English 4/6-7]***. Aliis interea in gratiam atque amicitiam receptis, in quam conciliandam obvius omnibus atque expositus ferebatur. Erat corpore procero, specie vere regia, multum illi animi, nec minus consilii inerat. Adversis rebus imperterritus, prosperis laetus magis quam elatus. Aequus in pace clemensque, in bello acer et ferox. In aggrediendis periculis promptus nec, ultra tamen quam posceret ratio, praeceps. Cuius res bellicas quisquis recte aestimet, is profecto non minus prudentiam eius admirabitur, sicubi cessit, quam laudabit audaciam, ubi vicit. Os et vultus erat, quem videre velles. Corpus amplum, ac magno robore strictis artubus: quamquam liberiore victu corporisque indulgentia paulo tandem habitior est factus: nec tandem aspectu indecorus. Ceterum genio ac libidini ab ineunte statim aetate ***[cf. English 4/21-22]*** **per omnem vitam** (**quatenus eum rerum gerendarum ratio non avocabat**) admodum dedebatur, **more hominum fere omnium: nam** valentibus **aegre persuaseris modum** in magna fortunae licentia.[5] Id vitium eius non admodum fuit molestum populo, quod neque unius voluptas viri diffundere se tam late posset, ut omnibus fieret grave: **et ille vel pretio quod libuit emercari solebat, vel precibus eblandiri:**[6] nusquam grassatus violentia: flexu praeterea aetatis evasit (ut fit) postremis diebus moderatior, in quibus regnum eius quietissimum, et rerum status florentissimus fuit: bellum neque aderat ullum, neque ullum imminebat, nisi quod nemo exspectabat: quippe externus metus omnis aberat. Domi vulgo quies, et inter purpuratos ab rege ***^[Eng. 4/31]*** conciliata concordia. ***[cf. English 4/28-29]*** <u>Regi ipsi omnes non vi, sed</u>

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[4] *Which favor and affection yet after his decease]* **by the hateful reign of the murderer who followed him** *[highly toward him more increased.*

[5] *he was of youth]* **and throughout his whole lifetime (except whenever he was called to his duty of governing)** *[greatly given to fleshly wantonness]***as is the way for most people; and indeed, those who are healthy** *[in great prosperity and fortune]* **you would have difficulty persuading to have restraint.**

[6] *… neither could any one man's pleasure stretch and extend to the displeasure of many]* **, and he would usually pay something for his pleasure or be assuaged by entreaties:** *[was without violence…*

sua sponte oboediebant, veriusque reverebantur eum quam metuebant[7]. A pecuniis exigendis (quae res una fere mentes Anglorum alienat a principe) iam pridem prorsus destiterat, neque moliebatur quicquam unde nasceretur occasio tributorum; vectigal e Gallia iam olim obtinuerat. Baruico annum ante mortem unum armis potitus fuerat. Hic rex quamquam per omne tempus imperii tanta comitate fuit in quoslibet, ut nihil illum magis commendaret multitudini, eam tamen progressio temporis (quum plerosque principes diu confirmata potentia ***[cf. English 5/11-12]*** **vertat in superbiam**[8]) multis partibus auctiorem fecit: nempe ea aestate, quae illi postrema fuit, Vindesorae versatus, praefectum Londini, atque aliquot e senatoribus accersit ad se haud alia de causa, quam ut se apud eum venatione oblectarentur. Ibi eos non tam magnifico **ac sumptuoso**[9] quam amico et populari apparatu excepit, ferinamque carnem tam affluenter illinc transmisit in urbem, ut **haud temere invenias aliud,**[10] quod ei aut plurium aut maiorem benevolentiam conciliaverit apud populum: apud quem res exigua facta comiter magnis beneficiis praeponderat, ac pro maioris in se amoris argumento ducitur. Ita princeps iste tum obiit mortem, quum vita eius maxime optata omnibus, ac iucunda foret. Cuius tam egregia apud suos gratia liberis **^*[English 5/24]*** eius (in quibus etiam ipsis tam eximiae naturae dotes et illustria regiarum virtutum signa conspiciebantur quam capere eorum aetas poterat) mirum haud dubie ***[cf. English 5/27]*** **firmamentum** fuisset ad principatum, si non eos amicorum inter se divisio exarmasset atque exsecrabilis imperandi sitis ad eorum perniciem incitasset illum qui, si aut ***[cf. English 6/1]*** **natura** valere quicquam aut

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[7] **Everyone willingly obeyed the King without any coercion, and revered him more than feared him.** < Equivalent thoughts are found in the English, but earlier in the sentence (English 4/28-29)>

[8] *…long continued sovereignty]* **turns them toward pride…** <NB alliterative word-play in English, not in Latin>

[9] *…made them not so stately]* **and costly** *[but so friendly and so familiar cheer …*

[10] *That]* **you would scarcely discover any** *[one thing…got him more hearts or more hearty favor…*

fides potuisset,[11] suum corpus hostibus pro ipsorum salute obicere debuisset. Quippe Richardus Glocestriae dux, natura patruus, nomine tutor, beneficiis devinctus, obstrictus sacramento, ruptis omnibus humanae societatis vinculis, contra ius ac fas hoc egit, ut **nepotibus suis orphanis ac sibi creditis**[12], auferre vitam, ***[cf. Eng. 6/7]*** **regnumque in se transferre posset.**[13] Ceterum quoniam huius viri facta materiam fere praesentis operis implent, haud abs re fuerit mores eius describere, ***[cf. English 6/10-11]*** **quo fiat illustrius**[14] cuiusmodi vir ille fuerit, qui tantum animo scelus sustinuit concipere.

Richardus ergo Eboraci dux, nobilis, factiosus, potens, cum rege de regno non armis hostiliter, sed civili more legibus in ***[cf. English 6/16]*** **senatu** disceptavit. Tantum aut causa aut gratia valuit, **quum rex innocentior esset quam sapientior**,[15] ut ex parlamenti **senatusconsulto, cuius apud Anglos summa atque absoluta potestas est,**[16] successor Henrico regi, repudiata ipsius sobole, (quamquam egregio principe) designaretur, regnum sibi posterisque suis perpetuum, protinus ab Henrici morte auspicaturus. Quam ille non moratus, dum civilium praetextu dissensionum conatur praestitutum regnandi tempus praeoccupare, vivoque adhuc Henrico sceptrum sibi asserere, in Vacensi proelio cum multis una purpuratis occubuit, relinquens liberos tres: Eduardum, quem diximus, Georgium ac Richardum hunc. Qui ut erant omnes illustri loco nati, sic animo etiam elato ac sublimi fuere, avidi gerendi principatus, neque superiorum neque parium satis patientes. Eduardus patris mortem ultus, Henricum bello victum regno exuit, ac locum eius ipse occupavit. Georgius

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[11] <NB word play in English, absent in Latin: **natura … fides** = ***kind … kindness***>

[12] *… contrived to bereave...]* **his own nephews** *[… their lives]*, **although orphaned and entrusted to his care …**

[13] <NB reverse order in the versions: English version: ***their dignity…their lives;*** Latin version: **auferre vitam regnumque .. transferre: "to take away their life and take over their kingdom"**. Also note word-play in Latin.

[14] *…it is therefore convenient to describe],* **in order that it become more clearly known** *[…what manner of man*

[15] *…his cause was…so far forth advanced,]* **since the king was rather more innocent than he was wise** *[that…the crown was entailed unto the Duke of York…* <NB in the English version the passage below (in note 12) precedes this one>

[16] *…by authority of Parliament]* **the power of whose [decree] is highest and absolute for the English**

Clarentiae dux procerus, elegansque, undique fortunatus videri potuit, si non aut ipsum regnandi cupiditas in fratrem, aut inimicorum calumnia fratrem incitasset in illum. Nam sive ei reginae factio insidias fecerit, cui cum regis consanguineis acre odium intercessit (ut mulieres non malitia quidem, sed natura invisos fere semper habent quicumque sunt maritis cari) sive etiam dux suapte superbia viam affectabat ad regnum, certae proditionis crimen obiectum est, cuius, sive sons insonsve esset, frequens eum senatus **acerbissimo supplicio**[17] adiudicavit. **Sed rex atrocitatem poenae sustulit, mortem tulit, qua ut levissima defungeretur,** ***[cf. English 7/13]*** **in vini Cretensis dolium immerso capite**,[18] respirare prohibitus, exspiravit. Cuius necem idem qui iussit ubi rescivit patratam, misere deploravit.

Richardus hic ***^[English 7/16]***, de quo praesens sermo instituitur, ingenio atque animi robore utrivis fratrum par: forma, probitateque utrique fuit inferior: habitu corporis exiguo, inaequalibus atque informibus membris, exstanti dorso, alteroque humero erectior, os inamabile, torvum, ac plane eiusmodi, quale bellicosum in purpuratis ac Martium appellari, in aliis aliter solet. Versipellis, iracundus, invidus, semperque etiam ante partum pravus. Quippe quem fama est haud aliter alvo materna eximi, quam obstetricante ferro potuisse. Quin ***[cf. English 7/26]*** **Agrippam etiam natum eum pedibusque praelatis exiisse ferunt**.[19] Praeterea nec indentatum, sive aliquid astruxit vero odio natus rumor, sive natura futuri praescia praepostere multa in eius ortu ostendere voluit, qui multa foret in vita contra naturae fas designaturus. Ceterum bello haud instrenuus dux est habitus, cui, quam

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[17] *attainted was he by Parliament and judged to]* **a most bitter punishment.**

[18] **But the king permitted it to be a horrible punishment, a death as flippant as possible, his head immersed** *[and thereupon hastily drowned in …]* **a vat of Cretan wine**

[19] *He came into the world]* **as a breech birth** (Latin "born an Agrippa", from the ancient Roman Marcus Agrippa) **and with his feet ahead of him , they say, he also left** [the world]**.** …

ad pacem, natura fuit accommodatior: saepe victor evasit: subinde etiam victus, quam rem ne aemulorum quidem quisquam ipsius aut inscitiae aut ignaviae umquam tribuit: supra facultates profusus, quae ne deficerent, ex aliis exhaurire cogebatur quod in alios effunderet. His artibus factum ut amicitiam instabilem stabile odium pareret. Consilia sua non aliis umquam credere, quam per quos exsequi necesse fuit: at ne iis ipsis quidem aut ante aut amplius quam res urgebat. Personam quamlibet induere, gerereque, et tueri naviter: hilarem, severam, gravem, remissam, prout sumere aut ponere suasit commodum. In vultu modestia, in animo fastus impotens, immanis. Verbis adblandiens his, quos intus impense oderat: nec eorum abstinens complexibus quos destinabat occidere. Crudelis atque immitis, haud ob iram semper, sed ambitionis ergo saepius, dum vel augendae fortunae suae, vel firmandae studeret. Quippe amici inimicique aequa ratio fuit, comparati cum commodis, neque cuiusquam morte abstinuit umquam, cuius vita videretur consiliis suis obstare. Constans fama est Henricum sextum, dum exutus regno in arce Londinensi captivus asservaretur, ab isto **crudeliter adacto sub costas pugione**[20] confossum ac trucidatum, idque nec iubente nec opinante rege, qui si maxime decrevisset **de medio tollere quem fortassis e commodo magis ducebat suo vivum in sua potestate habere**[21], alium tamen haud dubie tam dirae carnificinae fuerat praefecturus, quam germanum fratrem. Sunt qui suspicentur istius etiam tecta et callide occultata consilia in fratris Clarentiae ducis perniciem non defuisse, quamquam resisteret, ac reniteretur aperte. Ceterum (ut rem aestimantibus visum est) aliquanto languidius quam is facturus putabatur, qui sibi serio statuisset ad salutem germani fratris incumbendum. Quibus hoc verum videtur, hi nimirum persuasum habent Richardum iam olim vivente adhuc Eduardo, hoc apud se consilium de asserendo sibi aliquando regno agitasse, si forte, uti accidit, frater inhabilibus

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[20] *...slew with his own hands King Henry the Sixth …as men constantly say]* **cruelly thrusting a dagger under his ribs** *[… and that without commandment… of the king ..*

[21] *… would undoubtedly, if he had intended…]* **to remove from the public one whom he could, perhaps more conveniently for himself, have kept alive, but still in his own power,** *[have appointed that butcherly office to some other than his own born brother.*

regno liberis decessisset. Cuius rei spem commessatio regis frequens, atque intemperantia victus fecit. Eam igitur ob causam Richardum putant Clarentiae ducis mortem appetiisse, quum ipsius proposito illius vita non satis opportuna videbatur: quippe quem sive in fide nepotis manentem, sive aspirantem ad regnum hostem sibi vidit capitalem futurum. Sed hac de re nihil certe asserere possum, suspiciones dumtaxat hominum, coniecturasque secutus, quibus vestigiis ***[cf. English 9/6-7]*** **ut aliquando venitur ad verum, ita frequenter erratur**.[22] Quamquam hoc ipse iam olim fideli relatione comperi, Mistelbrocum quendam protinus Eduardo defuncto ad Potieri domum, ***[cf. Eng. 9/10]*** **qui Richardo familiaris erat,**[23] curriculo contendisse, pulsatoque violenter ostio multo ante lucem, **quum et violenta et intempestiva pulsatio magni ac subitarii negotii fidem faceret**,[24] propere intromissum regem eadem hora exstinctum nuntiasse. Ad quam vocem Potierus velut exsultabundus: Non est ergo dubium (inquit) quin meus dominus Glocestriae dux ilico sit futurus rex, sive consiliorum eius conscius fuerit, sive aliquo signo rei eventum praesenserit (nam temere dictum haud existimo); **quem ego sermonem ab eo memini, qui colloquentes audiverat, iam tum patri meo renuntiatum, quum adhuc nulla proditionis eius suspicio haberetur.**[25] Ceterum ut revertar ad historiam, seu Richardus olim secum animo regnum invaserat, seu consilium ex nepotum aetatis opportunitate ceperat, quae res plerumque segnes etiam, et quietos impellit ad facinus, certum est decrevisse eum, vita pueris adempta, regno velut sceleris pretio potiri. Gnarus itaque veterum factionum, quibus inter aulicos laborabatur (quas, quoad eius erat, sedulo etiam aluerat) regis Eduardi cognatis reginae sanguini et familiae tantam auctoritatem et tantas opes invidentibus, contraque non minus iisdem de rebus invisis, eam rem suis consiliis

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[22] …and whoso divineth upon conjecture], **granted he may sometimes arrive at truth, so also does he frequently err.**

[23] *… the self night in which King Edward died, one Mistlebrook came in great haste to the house of one Pottier…]* **who was one of Richard's associates** *[…and when …*

[24] *… long ere morning … was with hasty rapping]* **when a violent and unexpected knocking is a sure sign of some important and sudden event** *[quickly let in, he showed unto Pottier that King Edward was departed…*

[25] *For he was not likely to speak it of naught].* **I recall that this conversation had been reported to my father by someone who actually heard them talking, before there was any suspicion of his treachery.** *[But now to return to the course of this history …*

magno putavit adiumento fore, ***^[English 10/2-3],*** si partium praetextu, velut offensas veteres ulturus, suum occulte negotium ageret, iraque et ignoratione factionis alterius ad alterius perniciem abuteretur. Tum ex ea quae superesset paulatim quos posset commodum in suam sententiam perductis, si quos parum opportunos offenderet, eos per insidias incautos, nec mali quicquam suspicantes opprimeret. Nam hoc illi constabat, si qua evasione consilium eius efferri contingeret, confestim fore, ut inter dissidentes factiones suo ipsius sanguine foedus sanciretur.

Hae dissensiones amicorum, quamquam nonnihil erant ipsi Eduardo molestae, tamen dum erat incolumis, eo neglegentius eas habuit, quod utramque partem cognovit frenare se, quum vellet, pro suo arbitratu posse. Ceterum ubi postrema aegritudine decumbens, vires labascere sensit, et deploratam medicis salutem suam, aetatem liberorum animo reputans, quamquam nihil formidabat minus quam id quod evenit, prospiciens tamen multa illis mala nasci ex amicorum dissensione posse, quando aetas eorum, ***[cf. English 19-20]*** **per se imbecilla atque improvida,** consiliis amicorum (**quibus fulciri solis poterat**) **nudaretur,**[26] qui dum se discessione ac discordia disiungerent, partibus et studiis intenti, minus verum quod esset cernerent, aut curarent: saepeque quo suam quisque factionem in principis gratiam promoveat, placitura magis omnes quam profutura consulerent. **Haec, atque huiusmodi secum revolvens**, **multos e purpuratis**[27] accersi iubet, nominatim marchionem Dorsettum, reginae ex priore marito filium, atque Richardum Hastyngum, virum nobilem, cubicularium suum, ***[cf. English 10/26]*** **qui**

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[26] *…while the youth of his children]* **be weak and improvident in itself and be stripped bare of the** *[good counsel of their friends]* **(by whom alone they could have been supported),** *[(of which either party …*

[27] **Turning over in his mind these and similar things**, *[he called]* **many of the "royal purple"** *[before him that were at variance …*

insignes inter se inimicitias exercuerant;[28]

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% ***^[Eng. 11/1-8]***

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item alios utriusque factionis, qui tum aut in aula fuerunt, atque aliunde conquiri poterant. Hos ubi rex adesse vidit, levatus paululum, et suffultus pulvinis, sic, uti fertur, allocutus est: Viri clarissimi, idem cognati mihi, affinesque carissimi, mea quo loco vita sit et vos videtis, et ego sentio: quae res facit, uti quo minus diu futurum me vobiscum reputo, tanto impensior animum sollicitudo subeat, quanam animorum coniunctione affectos vos relinquam. Enimvero quales ego vos reliquero, tales liberi mei vos excipiant necesse est: qui si (quod ***[cf. English 11/16]*** **superi**[29] prohibeant) discordantes invenerint, ipsi nimirum partibus accessuri, novasque ante lites inter se moturi videantur, quam ad eam prudentiam pervenerint, qua vos compositis rebus vestris reponant in concordiam. Teneram eorum aetatem conspicitis, cuius ego praesidium unicum censeo in vestra concordia situm; siquidem haud satis firma res est vestra in illos caritas, si mutuis in vosmetipsis odiis feramini. Quod si viri essent, minus fortasse desideraretur fides. At vero pueritia auctoritate regenda est, adulescentia fulcienda consiliis, quas res neque illi aliunde poterunt consequi nisi vos dederitis, neque vos concedere, si intestinas inter vos simultates alueritis. Etenim ***[cf. English 11/24-25]*** **ubi mutuo infensi diversa sentiunt**[30] et alter alterius consilium odio consulentis eludit, ibi necesse est bene consulta male cedant, **quippe rata esse nisi consensu non possunt**.[31] Praeterea dum suam quisque factionem studet commendare principi, fiat nimirum uti ad gratiam plura quam ex vero atque utili

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[28] *…called some of them before him…]* **that had famously been feuding with one another …**

[29] *that]* **the heavens** *[forbid*

[30] <NB word play in English, not in Latin> **For where people who are hostile to each other have different views** *[and for hatred of each other's person impugneth each other's counsel…*

[31] *…must it needs be long ere any good conclusion go forward]* **since matters cannot be finally decided without consensus.** *[And also while either party …*

suadeantur. Ita pravis adulationibus imbutus adulescentis animus, tener princeps in vitia fertur, ac regnum secum in perniciem trahit, nisi si quid Deus inspiret melius. Quod si eveniat ut resipiscat princeps, atque ad frugem redeat, tum vero hi quorum primae partes apud eum fuerant, longissime ab favore excident. ***[cf. English 12/3-4]*** **Ita gratia male parta cito perit; quae vero bonis artibus acquisita est, ea demum stabilis, firmaque perdurat.**[32] Diu iam inter vos magna odia exarsere, haud magnis saepe de causis. Rem enim plerumque non male factam aut male narrantis depravat oratio, aut per se exiguam durius interpretando audientis affectus exaggerat. Unum hoc scio, haud quaquam pares vobis irarum causas et amoris esse: nam quod homines sumus, quod in Christi verba iuravimus, **qui unum atque unicum caritatis symbolum suis militibus dedit**,[33] contionatoribus commemoranda praetereo. Quamquam haud scio an cuiusquam verba contionatoris magis vos commovere debeant, quam mea, qui protinus hinc ad ea loca demigro, de quibus illi tam multa praedicant. At istud tantum a me rogabimini, uti vobiscum reputetis alteram harum factionum partem cognatos mihi, alteram affines esse, vosque ipsos invicem aut sanguinis vinculo aut affinitatis coniungi: ***[cf. English 12/14-5]*** **quae necessitudo iuncta sacramento coniugii,**[34] si Christi instituta tantum haberent ponderis, quantum apud Christianos habere deberent, atque utinam certe habeant non minus momenti ***[cf. English 12/17]*** **ad conciliandos animos**[35] quam ipsa sanguinis ratio contineret. Tantum prohibeant ***[cf. English 12/17-18]*** **superi** ne idipsum discordiae vobis causam praebeat, quod maxime ad concordiam incitare deberet. Equidem nescio quo malo fato fiat ut inimicitia nusquam exerceatur infestius quam apud hos, quos potissimum aut natura aut leges debeant ab omni simultate deterrere. Adeo exsecrabilis ***[cf. English 12/22]*** **belua** est superbia, et praecellendi cupiditas: quae quum semel ***[cf. English 12/24]*** **generosis illustrium virorum pectoribus**[36] irrepserit, non ante desinit dissidiis cuncta turbare, quam ***[cf. English 12/25]*** **caedibus omnia et sanguine permiscuerit**[37] dum quisque primum summo proximus esse moxque aequari

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[32] *… out of favor; so that]* **the favor which has been wrongly acquired, will quickly vanish, while [the favor] which has been acquired by decent means will in the end become stable and strong and lasting.** <NB alliterative word-play in English, not in Latin>

[33] *…that we be all men, that we be Christian men* (lit*., have sworn by the words of Christ*)*]*, **who gave the one and only password of " love" to his soldiers** *[this I shall leave for preachers…*

[34] *…either of kindred or affinity*] **which** [latter] **relationship, secured through the sacrament of marriage**…

[35]*…spiritual affinity … should no less move us to]* **the reconciliation of minds** *[than the respect of fleshly consanguinity.*

[36] *Such a pestilent]* **beast** *[is ambition and desire of vainglory of sovereignty],* **which into the noble hearts of illustrious men** *[where he once entereth …*

[37] *…creepeth forth so far till with division and variance …]* **has drenched everything in slaughter and blood**

postremo praecellere contendit. Qui tam improbus ardor gloriae ***^[English 12/28]*** hoc in regno proximis his annis, ***[cf. English 12/28-13/1]*** **quantum suscitaverit incendii, quantum stragis ediderit**[38] utinam tam facile Deus oblivisci velit, quam nos reminiscimur. Cuius mala si privato mihi tam animo praecipere et praecogitare licuisset, quam re ipsa postea maiore meo dolore, quam voluptate sum expertus, ***[cf. English 13/4-5]*** **dispeream si**[39] flexis poplitibus exhibitum honorem tam multis hominum capitibus redemissem. Sed quando facta quae sunt infecta esse non possunt, qua ex re ante tam multum damni acceptum novimus, ea ne porro accidat danda sedulo opera est. Omnia iam ***^[English 13/10]*** pacata sunt et spes est perfore prospera sub liberis meis, cognatis vestris, si ***^[English 13/11]*** neque illos vita destituat, neque vos concordia: quarum si prorsus alterutra sit carendum, profecto in illis minus iacturae fuerit. ***[cf. English 13/13-14]*** **Quibus si quid communis hominum sors attulerit**, **Anglia**[40] tamen facile inveniet reges, illis nulla fortassis parte deteriores. Verum si vos in pueri regno discordia occupet, multi nimirum viri boni atque egregii videntur ante perituri, ut pariter ipsi nec principe interim tuto, et vobis ipsis in primis periculo obnoxiis, quam populus intestina semel seditione saeviens in pacem rursus ac concordiam redeat. Vos igitur ratione hac, quam hodie vobiscum postremam mihi videor habiturus, hortor, obtestorque per amorem illum, quem ego semper hactenus erga vos, quem vos vicissim erga me, quem Deus erga nos omnes habuit, ex hoc tempore condonetis, et remissis offensis omnibus vos amore mutuo complectamini: quod ego vos profecto facturos confido, si vos oratio ulla aut Dei aut principis, cognationis, patriae, aut vestrae denique ipsorum salutis commoveat. Haec ubi rex locutus est, haud diutius sustinens sese, in dexterum latus recubuit, facie ad proceres versa quorum nemo erat qui a lacrimis temperare potuerit. Ceterum verbis eum quantum quisque poterat consolati, tum ad rem quae placitura sentiebant respondentes, velut icto foedere in morientis gratiam regis ***^[English 13/29,30]*** <u>manus</u> inter se iunxerunt, quum, uti paulo post apparuit, <u>animis</u> longe disiungerentur. Defuncto rege, ***[cf. English 13/31- 14/1]***

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[38] **how much conflagration it has set off, how much slaughter it has produced** *[within these few years …in this realm …*

[39] *… if I could have foreseen as I have…proved]* **– may I perish! if --** *[I would never have won the courtesy of men's knees …*

[40] *…the less loss were they],* **to whom, should the common lot of mortals bring some<u>thing</u>** [i.e. death] *[yet should]* **England** *[always find kings…* <reading at Latin 13/14 **quid (A, P)** rather than **quis (1565 ed.) >**

filius natu maior Londinum, **utpote regiam urbem,**[41] petere maturat, qui vivo patre, Ludloi vixit in Vallia: **nam ea deinceps primogenitis regum, vivis adhuc parentibus propria dicio est**, quae ***[cf. English 14/4]*** **quum ab rege prout sita esset,**[42] eo neglegentius habita, in morem prope silvestrem, coepta est efferari improbis hominibus, latrociniis, ac caede licenter impuneque grassantibus. ***[cf. English 14/6]*** **Eduardus filius** eo cum imperio missus est, ut praesentis auctoritate principis facinorosorum audacia frenaretur. Moderator pueritiae datus est Antonius Vodevilus, cognomento Riverus, reginae frater, vir (**haud facile discernas**[43]) manune an consilio promptior. Tum adhibiti in consilium alii, ut quisque puero proximus materno genere fuit. Eam rem ab regina curatam, quae suae factionis opes ab teneris statim principis annis firmaret, frustratus tantam eius spem, ***[cf.English 14/17-18]*** **Richardus** praetextum sibi ad eos evertendos initiumque ad reliquum **^*[English 14/19]*** inceptum suum conficiendum fecit. Nam quorum in illos odium maxime implacatum novit animosque in se benevolos, eos partim coram, alios per epistolam ac nuntios ***[cf. English 14/21-22]*** **exploratae fidei**[44] compellans, admonet rem neutiquam ferendam principem, **amisso patre,**[45] iuvenem ipsis cognatum in custodia et manibus esse agnatorum, ablegatis propemodum ipsis, qui neque minus certa in eum fide, et longe honoratior pars regii generis fuerant quam sanguis eius maternus (qui, nisi libidini patris visum aliter esset, perquam erat indignus qui cum eius atque ipsorum sanguine misceretur); quos nunc non primos apud regem esse, neque illi honorifice neque sibi tutum, ut quorum permagni referat, haudquaquam pati aemulorum suorum

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[41] *As soon as the King was departed]* **the oldest son** *[drew toward London,]* **since it was the royal city …**

[42] *Wales:]* **for in those days** [this country] **became the special domain belonging to the first-born of kings, when their parents were still living** *[which country]* **in so far as it was located far from the King** *[was begun to be far out of good will and waxen wild …*

[43] *Woodville, a … man]* **(you could not easily tell) whether he was more** *[valiant of hand ..[or] politic of council…*

[44] *…he broke unto them, some by mouth, some by writing, and messengers]* **of proven trustworthiness,** *[that it ..was not to be suffered that …*

[45] *…the young King, their master and kinsman,]* **after having lost his father,** *[should be in the hands of……*

potentiam gratia et favoribus adolescere apud principem puerum, natura facilem, aetatis vitio credulum, **nec satis callentem delatorum calumnias.**[46] Meminisse vos, inquit, opinor, patrem eius quamquam annis et rerum usu maturum, tamen eius factionis suasu impulsuque quovis circumactum longe profecto magis quam aut ex ipsius honore, aut ex usu cuiusquam fuerit praeterquam illorum qui, suane bona an mala nostra avidius appetierunt, in incerto est. Itaque si non quorundam nostrum gratia magis apud regem, quam ulla cognationis ratio valuisset, paulum certe afuerat quominus aliquot nostrum circumventos insidiis oppressissent; tam, hercle, facile quam oppresserunt eum qui regis sanguine haud minus prope aberat. Verum (***[cf. English 15/14]*** **faventibus superis**[47]) eo periculo defuncti sumus: sic, tamen, ut vel maius impendeat si principis affectus patimur ***[cf. English 15/16]*** **quocumque nostris inimicis libebit impelli, quibus haud difficile sit**[48] vel ignorantis iussum ad perniciem nostram praetexere, nisi Deus et vestra vigilantia malitiam eorum in ipsos avertat; qua in re non est quod quisquam nostrum neglegentius se gerat ob male sartam paulo ante concordiam quam, tametsi simulate inierint, regis potius affectibus sunt obsecuti quam suis. Neque quemquam nostrum tam vecordem arbitror, ut multum sibi putet ei confidendum, qui ex inimico veteri amicum recentem se profiteatur; nisi quis forte existimet una hora subito coactam pacem—ac ne toto quidem adhuc mense coalitam—altius eorum pectoribus insedisse quam tot annis alte actam ac radicatam invidiam.

His atque huiusmodi verbis litterisque homines ex se ardentes vehementius incendit, sed praecipue duos: Eduardum Bukyngamiae ducem, et Richardum Hastyngum, ambos fama atque opibus celebres, sed dux natalibus illustrior; alteri, ex munere quod gerebat, multum auctoritatis accreverat, **siquidem praefecerat eum rex cubiculo suo, quod est apud Anglos perquam honorificum**[49]. Hi qui non tam sibi

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[46] *… youth … which is light of belief and soon persuaded]* **nor adequately skilled** [at detecting] **the slanders of informers**.

[47] *But]* **by the favor of the gods (or "heavens":** *Latin* **superi)** *[that peril is past*

[48] *… if we suffer this young king]* **to be pushed around in any direction our enemies want him to go, and for whom it will not be difficult** *[without his witting]* **to** *[abuse the name of 'his commandment'…*

[49] *…by his office and the king's favor]* **since the king had put him charge of his bedchamber [i.e. appointed him chamberlain], which is a very prestigious position with the English.**

mutuo bene vellent, quam reginae parentibus pariter cuperent male, hactenus facile cum ***[cf. English 16/1]*** **Richardo** conspirarunt, ut suorum inimicorum praetextu maternos amicos principis amolirentur. Ita rebus inter ipsos ad hunc modum compositis, quum ***[cf. English 16/4-5]*** **illos intellexissent**[50] tanta manu regem deducturos, ut nihil in eos auderi tute queat ab inermibus, sin ipsi contra parent copias, ad manus rem venturam (cuius et semper dubius eventus est) et, quum ab adversa parte princeps esset, suam proditionis nomen ac speciem subituram, ***[cf. English 16/11]*** **ingenio eos exarmandos statuunt.** Itaque **curaverunt**, uti **per viros idoneos**[51] reginae persuaderetur, multum esse periculi ***[cf. English 16/13]*** **in eo consilio, quod depellendi periculi causa inibatur.**[52] Nam pacatis rebus, proceribus reductis in concordiam, animisque omnium intentis ad excipiendum regem, ac diademate insigniendum, si amici reginae cogant multitudinem **^*[English 16/16],*** iniecturos haud dubie metum his, quibus aliquando simultas cum illis intercesserat, ne non tutandi regis causa (cui nemo discrimen intentet) sed invadendi sui congregetur, recrudescente discordia. Atque hoc pacto fore, ut hi vicissim suas cogerent copias, deinde velut vim repellerent, illaturos quorum opes (quod illa nosceret) plurimum pollerent; qua ex re totum regnum in armis ac tumultu futurum. Tunc eius damnum omne, quod et immensum exspectabatur, et magna pars in eos fortasse casura, a quibus illa maxime vellet averti. Omnes ei uni atque amicis eius acceptum relaturos, utpote quos causarentur ***[cf. English 16/27-29]*** **privati odii causa conturbasse rempublicam,**[53] violata per iniuriam concordia, cuius maritus ipsius moriens auctor sanciendae fuisset **^*[English 16/30].***

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[50] *Upon this concluded]*, **they** [i.e. the conspirators Richard, Buckingham and Hastings] **understood that they** [i.e. the **"lords at that time with the king"** [or] "**his mother's friends"]** *[intended to bring him up to his coronation accompanied with such power …that*

<NB: the English version has a <u>singular subject</u> here: "the Duke of Gloucester"; **illos =** *either* "the Lords which at that time were about the King": English version 16/4-5, *or* "his mother's friends": English version 16/2-3]>

[51] *…[lest* **their***] part should have the face and name of a rebellion]* **they** [i.e the conspirators] **decided to disarm them by means of a stratagem.** *[Therefore]* **they** *[caused the queen to be persuaded …]* **through suitable individuals**

<NB English version continues the <u>singular subject</u>: "The Duke of Gloucester", "he" him" "his", etc. >

[52] *…it …should be jeopardous]* **to have a plan that was motivated by a defensive action against danger.**

[53] *...and say that they had…]* **for the sake of private hatred, upset the republic** *[and] … had … broken the amity and peace that the king had made between his kin and hers in his deathbed …*

His rationibus adducta regina, sic apud **Vodevilum** fratrem, filiumque **Richardum Graium**[54] egit, qui tum in aula principis primas obtinebat,

% ***^[English 17/2-5]***

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ut illi, ***[cf. English 17/5-7]*** **repudiato priore consilio, praesidio supersedentes,** regem comitatu modico **Londinum** deducerent.[55] Erat in itinere regis Hamptona **quae, quamquam in umbilico prope regni sita, tamen alteri eiusdem nominis oppido, quod obiacet australi freto comparata, Borialis vocatur. Hanc eodem die, quo rex inde digressus est,**[56] Gloucestriae ac Bukyngamiae duces intrant: ac forte accidit, ut Vodevilus reginae frater, quem diximus, ibidem restiterit, postero mane Stratfordiam iturus ad regem ***[cf. English 17/14-15]*** **ubi eam noctem traduxit**.[57] ***[cf. English 17/15-17]*** **Ab Hamptona igitur Vodevilus officiose ducibus occurrens, ac summa gratulatione vicissim exceptus: ubi quantum temporis visum est, sermone atque epulis produxere, dimittitur.**[58] ***[cf. English 17/17-18]*** **Ita delinitus humanitate ducum, ut optima spe plenus, hilaris, atque animi securus**[59] iret cubitum. **Sed illi qui longe diversum agitabant animo quam vultu prae se tulerant,**[60] ***[cf. English 17/21-22]*** **reliquis omnibus secedere iussis, Richardum Ratcliffum equitem, et alios qui talibus erant consiliis intimi, retinuerunt**,[61] ac discumbentes ad mensam de suis inceptis in adultam noctem deliberant. Post hanc deliberationem assurgentes, mittunt qui nullo tumultu comites suos admoneant, uti parent sese, nempe duces tantum non in equis esse. Hoc nuntio excitatus ipsorum comitatus praesto aderat, quum Vodevili adhuc ministri sterterent. Ad haec effecerant, uti ***[cf. English 17/29]*** **omnibus itineribus oppidi obsessis,**[62] nemo sineretur exire. Tum paulo ab oppido longius, qua parte Stratfordiam itur, ***^[English 18/1]***, disposuerant

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[54] *The Queen …such word sent unto… her brother,]* **Woodville,** *[and unto… her son],* **Richard Grey** <NB order of the two reversed between the versions>

[55] *that they [i.e. Grey and Woodville]* **rejecting their earlier plan, and omitting the guard** *[.. .brought the king up]* **to London** *[… with a sober company* <NB word play in English, not in Latin: “in great haste/not in good speed>

[56] *Now was the King in his way …gone from]* **Hampton, which, although located near the very heart of the kingdom, is nevertheless called “North”-hampton, in reference to the town of the same name** [i.e Southampton] **lying on the southern coast. Into this town, on the same day the King left it** [i.e. going toward Stony Stratford]**, entered therein** *[these Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham …*

[57] *…intending … to follow the King and be with him at Stony Stratford…]* **where he** [i.e the King] **spent that night.**

[58] *So]* **Woodville, then, going out from Hampton to meet the dukes courteously, and was in turn very graciously received by them,** [until], **when it seemed that enough time had passed in drinking and conversation, he was dismissed.**

[59] *[But incontinent after that they were openly with great courtesy departed]* **he** [Woodville] **was so assuaged by the humanity of the dukes, that, full of optimism, cheerful, and with a mind set at ease, he** *[the Lord Rivers [i.e. Woodville] lodged …*

[60] **But those** [others]**, who were casting about with their minds things very different from what they showed on their faces,** …

[61] *…the dukes…]* **ordering everyone else to leave, kept with them one Richard Radcliffe, a knight, and others who were privy to such plans of theirs,** [*and set them down in counsel, wherein they spent a great part of that night …*

[62] *Now had these dukes ….also]* **set up roadblocks on all the roads leading from the town** *[that none should pass…*

equites, qui si quos forte deprehenderent fefellisse custodiam in Hamptonam rursus repellerent ***^[English 18/4-5]. [cf. English 18/7-8]*** **Praetexerunt causam**[63] quasi duces constituerint, videlicet officium suum approbaturi, ipsi eo die omnium primi salutare principem. At Vodevilus ubi accepit clausos undique exitus, facultatem vero abeundi neque suis neque sibi fieri, rem tam atrocem et non temere et se inscio coeptam, facta eorum praesentia cum proximae noctis vultu verbisque conferens, tam magnam paucarum horarum interventu fieri rerum mutationem magnopere admirabatur. Ceterum quum neque discedere liceret, et continendo se nihil assequeretur aliud quam ut latebras quaesivisse videretur (quod cur opus factum esset nullius culpae sibi conscius erat) adire duces statuit, et causas huius consilii conscientia innocentiae suae fretus sciscitari. Qui ut primum in conspectum venerat, queri illi ultro, atque accusare eum coeperunt, quod discordias inter proceres sereret, animumque regis niteretur ab se alienare, perdereque ***[cf. Eng. 18/21-22]*** **per insidias** moliretur, **quas ipsi deprehensas merito sunt in auctorem regesturi.**[64]
Mirantem hanc orationem
ac[65] sese purgare conantem ***^[English 18/22], [cf. English 18/23]*** **quum ratione causaque deficerentur, ad vim conversi**[66] comprehendunt, atque asservandum adhibitis custodibus relinquunt. Mox conscensis equis Stratfordiam contendunt, ac regem reperiunt parantem iam tum discedere, ideo **– uti fertur** [67]**–** ut oppidum universis angustum, liberum illis relinqueret. Dimissis igitur equis, praeeunte longa stipatorum serie, ubi ad regem propius ventum est***^[English 18/30-19/3],*** **scindente se in partes comitatu**,

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[63] *…till they should give other license;]* **they gave out as a pretext that** *[forasmuch as the dukes …*<NB equivalent thought in English below, at 18/7-8>

[64] *.. they began to quarrel with him and to say that he intended to set distance between the king and them and to bring them to confusion]* **through a plot** … **and that, now they had discovered it, they were rightly going to turn it back on its perpetrator.**

[65] *And]* **when he wondered at such talk and** *[began…*

[66] *...(as he was a very well-spoken man) in goodly wise to excuse himself …]* **since they were lacking any explanation or justification, and, resorting to force,** *[… shortly took him and put him in ward…*

[67] *… they found the king with his company ready to …depart …to leave that lodging for them, because]* **-- so it is reported –** *[it was too strait for both companies.*

per medios ordines perrexerunt,[68] ac se dimittentes in genua principem reverenter salutaverunt. Quos ille contra porrecta manu de terra levatos amabiliter complexus est, nihil etiam mali aut resciscens aut suspicans, quum illi – nihil cunctati aut eius reveriti praesentiam – Richardo Graio fratri eius uterino movere litem occipiunt, calumniantes illum ac germanum eius marchionem cum avunculo Vodevilo coniurasse adversus suum sanguinem, ***^[English 19/11],*** decrevisseque circumventis atque sublatis fraude nobilibus, regis pariter ac regni sibi procurationem arrogare. Atque eam ob rem **protinus ab defuncto rege**[69] marchionem in arcem Londinensem irrupisse, atque expilato regis aerario stipendium ***[cf. English 19/15]*** **in milites elargitum, quos in classem ad confirmandas illius factionis opes coegisset.**[70] Ita rem quam gnari erant communi consilio ***^[English 19/17]*** decretam, regisque plurimum reique publicae retulisse ut fieret, ***[cf. English 19/17]*** **illi per calumniam inverterant, ne nihil esset quod dicerent.**[71] At princeps **Graium parantem respondere praeveniens**[72]: Quid fecerit, inquit, marchio, **quamquam nihil mali spero, tum quoniam nobiscum non fuit,**[73] certo non possum scire. Verum quod ad fratrem attinet, Graium atque avunculum Vodevilum, innocentes hercle illos facile praestare possum, **ut qui non usquam a nostro latere iam diu sunt digressi.**[74] Non dubium est eos, inquit Gloucestriae dux, tam sceleratum propositum, optime princeps, sedulo te celasse; nec plura locutus manus iniecit in Graium, ac Thomam Vaughanum equitem, reginae cognatum. **Graius ut erat et animo generoso, et non improcero corpore, commotus praesente periculo, manum capulo admovit. Tum increpitus a quodam admonente serum esse hunc conatum, concidens animo manum retulit, et se capiendum dedit.**[75] Ergo regem***^[English 19/29]*** retroagunt Hamptonam, ubi de integro consultant. Ibi quos volunt e ministris

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[68] *And thus in a goodly array they came to the king]* **his retinue dividing, to let them pass through the ranks** [*and on their knees, in very humble wise, saluted His Grace…*

[69] *They said that]* **as soon as the king was dead** *[the Lord Marquis had entered into the Tower of London and thence …*

[70] *…taken out the king's treasure]* **and given it to soldiers whom he had collected to form a fleet to ensure the military support of his faction.**

[71] *All which things these dukes wist well were done for good purposes … by the Whole Council at London]* **[but] they had slanderously changed the interpretation, in order for them not to be without something to say.**

[72] *…the King]* **cutting off Grey, who was about to say something** *[answered…*

[73] *…"What my brother marquis hath done,]* **although I suspect nothing evil;** [but] **since he was not with us at that time,** *[I am certainly not in a position to know* **.**

[74] *… mine uncle Rivers and my brother here …* [are] *innocent of any such matters]* **as they have not once left my side for quite some time.**

[75] *…forthwith they arrested* [them] *…in the king's presence.]* **Grey, being of a noble spirit and not a small man, reacted to the perilous situation by moving his hand to his sword hilt. When he was scolded by somebody standing there with the warning that, "it was too late to try anything", his resolve collapsed, and taking his hand away from his sword, he surrendered.**

regis exauctorant, substituuntque quos ipsis magis quam illi lubebat. Quibus rebus ***[cf. English 20/2]*** **graviter offensus quum prohibere non posset, quod solum potuit, flevit**[76]**.** In prandio Gloucestriae dux e suis ferculis unum Vodevilo misit, iusso dapifero, uti solaretur eum, iuberetque ducis nomine ut bono esset animo, neu dubitaret huius tumultus facilem exitum fore. Ille gratiis actis orat ministrum idem ferculum ad nepotem ferret Graium, eumque tali nuntio recrearet, quem ut fortunae adversae insuetum eoque paulo iniquius ferentem, magis egere consolationis arbitrabatur. Sibi vero saepius utramque experto, adversam minus novam videri. Ceterum Gloucestriae dux post tam officiosam consolationem, captivos omnes, alium alio ablegavit in carcerem, atque inde haud multo post in quoddam oppidum, quod Pons Fractus appellatur, ipsius iussu adducti capite plectebantur.

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% ***^[Eng. 20/15-17]***

Sed ***[cf. English 20/18-19]*** **nocte** quae eum diem sequebatur, **quo haec Stratfordiae gesta sunt**, trepidus ad reginam nuntius venit **ad occidentale coenobium**,[77] tristia omnia atque atrocia denuntians, captum a patruo principem, retroque vi abductum **Vodevilum,** reginae fratrem, ac **Richardum Graium**, tum alios amicos eius comprehensos atque ablegatos incertum quo, tractandos incertum quomodo. **Mutatam rerum summam, eversa concidisse omnia: proinde occupandum ipsi tempus, ac sibi reliquisque suis fortunis dum liceret consulendum, ne propere accurrentes adversarii reliquias interciperent**.[78] Hoc nuntio exanimata regina, calamitatem tam insignem tantam, tam insperatam filiorum, amicorum, ac suam ipsius ingemiscens, ad haec damnans ac detestans consilium suum, quae principis dimittendum praesidium suaserat, pavida ac trepida e

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[76] *At which dealing]* **gravely offended as he was, since he could not stop any of it, did the only thing he could, which was weep.**

[77] *…the tidings of this matter came hastily to the Queen]* **at Westminster** *[a little before the midnight following the day]* **on which these events took place at Stratford** *[and that in the sorest wise …* <NB the order of these two phrases is the reverse of the English version>

[78] *… to be done with God wot what;]* **that the whole government had changed from top to bottom, that everything was in ruins: that she had better seize the moment to look out for herself and anything else she held dear that was still left, before her enemies (who were working fast) could stop her.** *[With which tidings the Queen …*

palatio suo ***^[English 20/30]*** se in coenobium proripit: **erat enim asylum illud aedibus palatinis contiguum.**[79] Ibi se ac minorem filium, et filias quattuor in abbatis domum **cum familia sua**[80] conicit. Missus est eadem nocte minister ab **Hastyngo** cubiculario ad Eboracensem archiepiscopum ***^[English 21/5]***, qui et ipse haud longe ab occidentali coenobio habitabat, qui ministris episcopi narravit sibi a domino mandatum, ne quieti praesulis parceret, tanti esse momenti quod afferebat. Illi magnitudinem negotii ex festinatione aestimantes, soporem domini haud cunctanter interrumpunt. Is intromisso ad pulvinar nuntio, quum aversum retro ***^[English 21/9-10]*** principem et captivos eius cognatos accepisset, **immani tantae rei atrocitate perculsus obstupuit**.[81] Tum nuntius: iubet te, inquit, dominus meus, reverende pater, animo bono esse, ac tibi pollicetur salva fore omnia. Abi, inquit ille, ac renuntia, quamvis bene futura sint, numquam tamen tam bona fore quam fuerunt. Tum eo dimisso protinus excitat familiam, et stipatus suis, ***^[English 21/17-18]*** appenso ad collum sigillo (**erat enim cancellarius**[82] *[placed earlier in* ***English, at 21/5]***) recta contendit ad reginam, ibi plena repperit consternationis, luctus, pavoris, ac tumultus, omnia trepidari, festinari, convehi in asylum e palatio, scrinia, sarcinas: otiosum neminem, imponentes alios, alios deponentes onera, alios depositis quae pertulerant nova petere: effringere alios medium parietem, qui solus ab asylo palatium dirimebat, uti viae compendium fieret: nec deerant (ut accidere fere in tali tumultu solet) qui alio quaedam quam quo destinabantur, efferrent. Reginam ***[cf. English 21/26-27]*** **videt humi sedentem** solam, tristem, atque attonitam, **complicatis digitis suam suorumque fortunam complorantem**.[83] Solatur eam episcopus ***^[English 21/29-30],*** hortatur ***[cf. English 21/30-22/1]*** **ne praesentibus rebus deiciat animum desperatione meliorum, sibi**

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[79] *… sanctuary (Latin "coenobium")]* **since there was an asylum there, adjoining the palace.**

[80] *lodging herself and …]* **her younger son and her four daughters** *[there in the abbot's place]* **with her household**. <NB placed earlier in the English version at 20/29-30>

[81] *Of whom [when] he heard that these dukes were gone back with the king's Grace …unto Northampton]***he was stunned with astonishment at the enormous atrocity of the deed.**

[82] *…he took the Great Seal with him]* **because he was chancellor** *[and came … unto the queen.* <NB already mentioned in the English version, at 21/5>

[83] *The queen herself]* **he sees.. sitting on the ground** *[alone, all desolate and dismayed,]* **with fingers interlaced in prayer, grieving for the misfortune of herself and her family.**

factam spem rem haud perinde atrociter **cessuram** ac **ipsi fingeret malignus rerum interpres timor**.[84] Addit quo magis eam confirmaret auctorem esse spei suae nuntio ad se misso cubicularium. Ah pereat, inquit illa: is enim **princeps**[85] est eorum, qui odio implacabili in sanguinis mei perniciem incumbit. Tum ille: regina, inquit, erige animum. In hanc rem fidem hic tibi astringo meam quo die alium quemquam illi in regem creaverint, quam filium illum tuum quem habent secum, nos postridie istum alterum quem hic tecum habes, hoc ipso in loco diademate insigniemus. **Quod quo minus dubites**,[86] en hoc sigillum, quod meae fidei princeps illustrissimus credidit, maritus tuus, tibi iam in manus trado ***^[English 22/11],*** et simul haec dicens, sigillum reginae tradidit, et priusquam illuxit, abiit domum; quum iam e fenestra despiciens, unde illi prospectus erat in Thamesim, persultari totum fluvium cymbis videt, asylum videlicet obsidente ducis Glocestriae satellitio, ne quis eo per aquam transfugeret, aut inexcussus praeterveheretur. ***[cf. English 22/16]*** **Iam continuo res dispergi, toti populo in ore esse, stupere omnes, ira, metu, ac maerore compleri,**[87] conglobari alii alibi in armis, turmatim volitare diversi, **atque invicem minitantes,** prout quosque partium studium aut periculi formido copulaverat.[88] **Ad haec ut odio quisque aut favore ferebatur, ita elevare* alii verbis invidiam facti, alii aggravare* oratione nitebantur**[89]**. Tum ne quid Londinum detrimenti caperet, excubari** ***[cf. English 22/19:*** *placed later in Latin]* a civibus coeptum, quum et proceres iam quicumque ***[cf. English 22/17-18]*** **aut in urbe erant, aut non longe aberant,** diverse **de his rumoribus ac tumultu** multa divinabant.[90] ***^[English 22/ 27]***

Sed Eboracensis episcopus veritus ***^[English 22/29]*** ne levis ac praecipitis consilii videretur iniussu regis sigillum tradidisse

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[84] *…comforted her…]* **exhorting her not to be discouraged by present circumstances, or despair of any improvement, that he \ had hope that it was***[nothing so sore as]* **fear, that evil interpreter of events, was making her** *[*take*] it for.*

[85] *"Ah, woe worth him, quoth she, "for he is]* **the chief** *[one of them that laboreth to destroy me …*

[86] **And that you not have any doubts about this** *[here is the Great Seal…*

[87] **And then immediately the news began to be spread, everybody was talking about it, everybody was astonished, filled with anger, fear, and anxiety …**

[88] **…** *[assembled in sundry companies and went, flockmeal, in harness]…* **threatening each other…** *[either for favor of the Queen or fear [for] themselves*

[89] **And in addition to this, according as each group felt hatred or fear, some were trying to play down the wickedness of the deed, while others insisted on [its evil] in their prayers** … <NB reading *lenire* instead of **elevare** and *intendere* instead of **aggravare** with *mss. A, P*> <NB this sentence does not appear to be present in the English version>

[90] **Then, in order that London not suffer any injury, the citizens began to keep vigils, while whatever nobles there were,** *[*as *well in other places about as specially in the city* [*were*] *diversely divining]* **about these rumors and this tumult.**

reginae, priusquam in consilium iret, quo factum tegeret, sigillum ab ea receperat. ***[cf. English 22/24-26:** placed later in Latin**]*** Ibi factum illud ducum plerisque incessentibus atque odiose interpretantibus, tamquam privatae simultates structis in principem insidiis praetexerentur[91]**.** Hastyngus contra (**quem nesciebatur huius facti conscium esse**[92]) suam fidem, quam perspectissimam ***^[English 23/3-4]*** habuerunt omnes, ***[cf. English 23/4-11]*** **pro ducibus interponere, nihil adversus regem cogitatum, positos ab his in custodiam eos a quibus sua salus impetita credebatur**.[93] ***[cf. English 23/12-14]*** **Rectene an secus vestrum erit iudicium**[94] inquit, quorum examini reservant eos **hi qui nihil merentes, se tamen laesos ab illis esse conqueruntur.**[95] Ceterum eam litem vos aut iudicabitis vestro arbitratu, aut componetis, tantum ne quid re incognita statuatis, et privatas controversias in publicam seditionem atque intestina bella vertentes, eo rem deducatis ut irritatis animis, interturbata coronatione principis, quem huc eadem causa comitantur, componi res et redintegrari non possit, in quo certamine si cetera paria essent, tamen ius et auctoritas maior in illis castris sit necesse est, in quibus princeps erit.

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Haec oratio ***^[English 23/25-6]*** ob cognitam viri fidem magnam habuit vim ad commovendum, sed multo maxime tumultuantes animos compressit imminens adventus regis,

% ***^[English 23/27-30]***

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quem comitatu magnifico duces admodum reverenter habitum Londinum versus producebant.

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% ***^[English 23/29-30]***

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Ceterum quacumque ibant, rumorem disseminandum curaverunt, molitos qui in vinculis erant, primum

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[91] **At that time many were attacking this action of the dukes and interpreting it as evil, as if they were covering up their private quarrels through a plot against the king …** <NB: in the English version, a rough equivalent of this sentence is placed earlier, where it seems to belong, at 22/24-26, just before the sentence concerning the archbishop's recovery of the great seal>

[92] *And at this meeting the Lord Hastings]* **(and it was not known that he was in on the plot)**

[93] *…whose troth toward the king no man doubted …]* **intervened on behalf of the dukes,** [saying that] **nothing was being planned against the king, that those by whom** [the king's] **safety was threatened had been arrested.** <NB this Latin sentence abbreviates the English 23/4-11 and lacks proper names>

[94] **Rightly or wrongly, will be your judgement, he said** <NB use of second person plural pronoun in the Latin version>

[95] … to whose examination they will be submitted by*]* **those who, although innocent, complain that they have been injured by them.**

ipsos ***^[English 23/32 – 24/1]*** deinde alios e proceribus per vim opprimere, atque ita sibimet viam struere, qua regem pariter et regnum sibi subicerent. Cuius commenti quo fides plebi fieret, aurigae, atque alii ducum ministri, qui cum praesidio impedimenta sequebantur, ostentabant undique captam supellectilem, dolia quaedam armorum plena, quae ipsis, ***[cf. English 24/6]*** **quum transferretur aula principis**,[96] necesse fuit aut auferre secum aut abicere. Quod quamquam satis scirent, tamen per malitiam dissimulantes, quum ea passim tamquam manifestarii criminis argumentum ostentarent, inclamaverunt: En arma ipsa, quae proditores isti in dolia clam abdiderant, ut duces atque omnes nobiles per insidias obtruncarent. Hoc commentum tametsi prudentibus rem suspectiorem reddidit (facile coniectantibus eos qui tale facinus animo destinassent, corporibus potius arma fuisse gesturos quam vincta atque impedita congesturos in dolia), simplici tamen ac rudi populo mirum quam satisfecerit, adeo conspectis armis, **velut certa atque explorata proditione salus undique ducibus, suspendium captivis acclamatum est**.[97]

Quum rex adventare propius nuntiaretur, ***^ [English 24/16-20]***

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senatus urbis cum magno civium numero progressi obviam quattuor ab urbe milibus occurrerunt. Ita princeps honorifice exceptus, procerum ac civium celebri pompa civitatem est invectus, quarto die Maii, anno regni sui primo, eodemque ultimo. Sed hac honoris magnifica specie, vultuque in observantiam principis composito, Glocestriae dux e summa invidia ac suspicione, quibus paulo ante laborabat, in tantam subito caritatem omnium, tantamque integritatis opinionem venit, ut unus omnium protector regis regnique eius consensu procerum ***^[English 24/26-27]*** renuntiaretur. Itaque sive id inscitia factum, sive fato, agnus certe consulto in lupi fidem creditus est. Mox ***^[English 25/1]*** Eboracensis episcopus acriter increpitus quod

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[96] *No marvel though some were harnesses …]* which] **when the prince's domicile should be handed over** [to someone else]…

[97] *…the common people were therewith very well satisfied],* **as if, by popular demand, now that a clear treachery had been exposed, the dukes should get full protection and the captives should be hanged.**

sigillum reginae tradiderat, administratione privatus est. Eo munere inauctoratus est Rusellus, episcopus Lincolniensis, vir et usu rerum et vitae probitate singulari, tum in litteris haud dubie sua tempestate primarius.

^ *[English 25/8-10]*

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Igitur ubi protector effectus est, quamquam singuli ei dies anno longiores viderentur, qui morae impatientem cupiditatem eius moraretur, avidumque quam primum re ipsa usurpandi regni, quod animo iam ante invaserat, tum haud temere quicquam censuit ante tentandum, quam reliquam praedae partem in nassam pellexerat: haud ignarus fore, ut si alterum fratrem privaret imperio, in alterum protinus evehendum universorum studia incumberent, sive permaneret in asylo, sive, ***[cf. English 25/16-17]*** **quod multo metuebat magis, extra Britanniam aliquo transmitteretur.**[98] Ergo in proximo conventu procerum graviter incusat reginam, odiose ab ea factum **^*[English 25/20-21]***, quae unicum et carissimum a principe fratrem distineret, tamquam utrique invideat dulcia illa mutuae consuetudinis oblectamenta: **in illum vel magis impia, cuius potissimum curam prae se fert: quippe quem libertati subductum, ab luce ac splendore clarissimae fortunae suae detractum in asylum, misere velut in tenebras et squalorem abstrudat**.[99] Nec horum quicquam alia causa patratum, quam uti nobilibus qui regi a consilio sunt acris apud populum

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[98] *…either remained in sanctuary, or,]* **what he feard much more, that he be sent somewhere outside Britain.**

[99] **…and that she was even more unjust to the boy, whose care she particularly pretended to have in mind: she had taken away his freedom, pulling him out of the light and glory of his good fortune, and plunging him into the wretched squalor and darkness of that sanctuary.**

concitaretur invidia**. Adeo ei odio esse eos, ut vel cum liberorum dispendio suorum, quod de Medea ferunt fabulae, ulcisci quos odit ardeat.**[100] Alioquin enim quorsum in asylo puerum, inquit, nisi quod videri vult populo **vos** aut parum fideliter, aut non satis sapienter prospexisse principi, si periculum sit eius mihi fratrem credere, cuius ipsum corpus **mihi vos** alendum tuendumque **credidistis**[101]? Cuius incolumitas haud mihi certe fulciri satis ***^[English 26/7]*** ulla victus cura videtur, nisi ludi quoque voluptas accesserit: **quae mirum in modum pueriles spiritus reficit vegetatque,**[102] nec eam potest mollis puerorum aetas ab senibus capere. Blandus abhiberi collusor debet, qui neque annos eius superet, neque multum aetate illi sit inferior, tum qui ad eius nobilitatem accedat proxime. **Ita simul aetatis habebitur, simul maiestatis ratio**[103]. Quis igitur omnibus partibus accommodatior quam germanus frater, **quem nunc deterior noverca mater abstinet?**[104] Si quis haec levicula sentiat, quod ego certe nemini visum iri puto, cui salus principis curae fuerit, is sic habeto, maximas interdum machinas consistere, nisi minorum adminiculo non posse. Ad haec quam istud nobis regni huius proceribus inhonestum, quam ipsi regi invidiosum omnium per ora, non in hoc regno tantum, sed apud exteras etiam gentes iactari ***[cf. English 26/19]*** (**ut cito pervolat malus rumor**[105]) fratrem eius eo necessitatis adactum, ut florentibus illius rebus ipse in asylo delitescat.
Neque enim temere quisquam credetur ***[cf. English 26/21]*** **in antrum sese abdere, cui citra periculum liceat in luce ac libertate vivere.**[106] Hanc persuasionem ubi semel animis insederit, haud facile evellas postea, maiusque in malum crescet denique quam divinare facile quisquam possit.
[cf. English 26/26] **Huic igitur pesti quo propere eatur obviam**[107] virum aliquem aetate gravem, atque auctoritate pollentem mittendum ad matrem censeo, eumque cui et regis honor et ordinis huius fama curae sit, tum cui apud eam sit et amoris nonnihil et fidei. Quibus omnibus de causis nemo circumspicienti mihi magis occurrit idoneus quam reverendissimus iste pater (aderat enim) Cardinalis, qui solus mihi sua prudentia

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[100] *…obloquy and murmur of the people]* **In fact, she hates them so much that she is even ready to do what Medea did in the myth: take vengeance on her enemies by killing her own children.** *[As though …*

[101] <NB: the first and second persons are used in the Latin (“ does he want it to seem to the people that **you** were not to be trusted”), the third person only in English: “*as though **they** were not to be trusted”*>

[102] *Partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure]* **which in a marvelous way restores young people’s spirits and enlivens them** *[…which he cannot take in the company of ancient persons …*

[103] **In this way, account will be taken of his age and at the same time of his royal rank.**

[104] *… his own brother,]* **whom his mother (worse than a stepmother) is holding back …**

[105] (**as ill fame flies around quickly) …**

[106] *For every man will ween that no man will]* **hide himself in a cave when he could safely live in freedom in daylight**.

[107] *Wherefore],* **… in order to respond quickly to this pestilence** *[some honorable, trusty man…*

videtur rem confecturus, modo ne laborem recuset: non recusaturum autem spero vel regis causa vel nostra, vel ipsius ducis nepotis mei secundum principem ipsum carissimi: Quibus omnibus si id quod spero reginae recta persuaserit, non facile dictu fuerit ***[cf. English 27/3-6***] **quantum** adimet **molestiae.** Ceterum ea si incepto pravo, muliebri pertinacia sic institerit, ut ab libidine animi ad verum flecti nulla tanti patris neque auctoritate neque consilio neque fide possit ***^[English 27/8-9],*** ego certe auctor fuerim ex edicto regio e coenobio eximendi eius, ducendique in felicissimum regis contubernium apud quem adeo honorifice excipietur, ut omnes intelligant ***^[English 27/13]*** eam quum filium in asylum clauderet, vel malitiam a consilio, vel stultitiam habuisse. Haec mea est hac de re sententia, nisi vestrum quisquam contra sentiat. Neque enim umquam usque adeo mea mihi ratio blandietur, ut non paratus sim cuivis vestrum rectiora consulenti parere.

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Huic orationi nobiles fere quotquot aderant suffragabantur.

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% ***^[English 27/20-25]***
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Cardinalis, atque episcopi reliqui, cetera assensi, tantum invita matre nihil audendum censebant, neque vim adhibendam si forte verbis minus obtemperetur. Rem enim videri **superis**, hominibusque invisam, tantae vetustatis asylum tam religiosum temerari, quod reges ac pontifices tam boni instituerant, tam multi ratum sanctumque

habuerant: atque ei loco inferri contumeliam, quem locum ***[cf. English 28/3-5]*** **Petrus ipse, princeps Apostolorum**, magno superorum choro comitatus, olim tam peculiariter Deo, sibique dedicaverat

% ***^[English 28/5-6]***

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ut per tot retro saecula neque rex tam audax fuerit quisquam, qui non sit veritus violare neque tam religiosus episcopus, qui sit ausus consecrare. Nullo ergo pacto me auctore, ***[cf. English 28/9]*** **cardinalis** inquit, sancti loci imminuetur immunitas ***^[English 28/10],*** qui tam multis misere alioqui perituris tam saepe fuit praesidio. Sed neque necesse erit ***^[English 28/13]*** spero, verum quantumvis etiam necesse fuerit, non faciendum censeo. Equidem spes est reginam audientem rationi fore,

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% ***^[English 28/15].***

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quod si minus succedat e sententia, ipse tamen sedulo conabor, ut facile omnes intelligant non meam industriam defuisse negotio, sed maternam indulgentiam, ac muliebrem potius metum obstetisse. Muliebrem metum, inquit dux Bukyngamiae, immo pervicaciam mulieris invictam. Nam hoc ego vel quovis pignore ausim certare, nihil illam prorsus vel filio timere vel sibi. Quis enim bellum sibi sumat cum femina? Quod si ***^[English 28/23]*** mares quoque sanguinis eius aliquot feminae essent, melius profecto sese res haberent. Quamquam nec illis quidem reginae cognatio fraudi est, sed ipsorum compositus ad seditionem animus. Ceterum ut maxime nobis ipsa, cognatioque eius, invisa foret, non posset tamen carus non esse frater principis, nempe cui nos ipsi cognati sumus, ***[cf. English 28/29-32]*** **cuius vere conservandi si tanto studio, quanto nobis incommodandi cupiditate duceretur non minus libenter illum ex illis latebris educere, quam nunc abdere ac vincire studeret.**[108]
Nam si quid saperet,

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[108] [If she were being led by the desire] **of whose safety, with as much eagerness as she is being led by her desire for our discomfiture** *[she would be]* **no less** *[loath]* **to take him out of that hiding place** *[as]* **she now strives to hide him and tie him there.**

% ***^[English 29/1]***

haudquaquam sibi plus tribueret quam ***[cf. English 29/2-4]*** **quibusdam nostrum**, de quorum fide non dubitat. Sed vere persuasum habet filii sui salutem non minus **nobis** curae esse, quam sibi: cui quo magis bene **volumus**,[109] eo minus esse apud illam ferre debemus, si illi penitus constitutum fuerit in asylo continere, contraque nemini non placere arbitror principis curationem parenti committi, modo inducat animum ibi vivere, ubi versari neutri sit indecorum.

Quamobrem si in reddendo filio eorum consilia aspernetur sequi, quorum neque ambigua prudentia est, neque incerta fides, quis non intellegat facile eam hucusque progressam odio nostri magis quam metu suo? Quod si adeo meticulosa sit, ut ex animo metuat quod nusquam est? Quis enim prohibere queat, quominus vel umbram horreat suam ? Certe quo ea magis filium nobis timet credere, eo nobis contra iustius timendum est puerum illi relinquere. Etenim si tam vanos metus concipiat animo, ut filio periculum esse fingat, profecto ut est metuentium sollicitus animus ne asylo quidem satis fidet. ***[cf. English 29/18-21]*** **Nam si id cogitet, adeo immanis quempiam animi esse, ut puero innocenti nocere studeat, aut tanta feritate, ut neque huic superum timor neque hominum pudor a flagitio revocet, facile ei asyli nomen leve ac vanum esse videbitur.**[110]

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% ***^[English 29/ 23-24].***

Itaque falsa suspicione periculi subigetur animus, munimentum aliquod firmius extra regnum quaerere. Quin nunc quoque quamquam nihil tale metuentem haud dubito tamen hoc ipsum tam illam animo agitare, ut faciat, quam nos contra ne faciat. Quae si tam improbum facinus muliebri temeritate patraverit (patrabit enim facile oscitantibus nobis) omnes ubique mortales praedicabunt, dignos scilicet nos qui principi a consilio simus, cuius germanum fratrem per vecordiam sub oculis nostris perire patiamur. Ego igitur **^** ***[English 29/32]*** illustrissimum ducem, dum licet, vel invita matre, censeo eximendum potius, quam tantisper

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[109] <NB: Latin version uses first person plural (**quibusdam nostrum**…**nobis…volumus**), English version uses third person plural (***some that be here***…***they***).

[110] **For if she thinks that anyone is of so cruel a mind that he would want to harm her innocent son, or that anyone is so uncivilized that neither fear of God nor shame before men could keep him from doing such a foul deed, the word "asylum" will readily seem trivial and meaningless to her.**

ibi relinquendum quoad eum mulieris mala mens praetextu metus emittat in periculum, nec asyli tamen immunitatem ullo pacto violari velim. Quae quoniam vires ab vetustate ceperit, non ego is sum qui suadeam infringendam. ***[cf. English 30/4-5]*** **Contraque si integra res esset,**[111] non suaserim instituendam. Neque tamen infitior bene factum ac misericorditer, ut quos naufragium, aut male expuncta nomina, aliave quaepiam fortunae vis adversa fecit inopes, his ***[cf. English 30/9]*** **aliquis aperiatur portus**,[112] qui corpora saltem integra praestet a creditorum saevitia. Ad haec si regni titulus, quod non semel accidit, in quaestionem veniat **dum armis de iure decernitur**, atque alteri alteros habent proditorum loco, non displicet aliquem locum esse ad quem utrique confugiant, **ubi dubiis aut afflictis rebus, pendente adhuc victoria, sint in tuto.**[113] Ceterum furibus ac latronibus, quibus ea loca plena sunt, quique semel eiusmodi flagitiis ***[cf. English 30/15-16]*** **imbuti numquam resipiscunt postea,**[114] facinus est profecto asylum ullum praesidio esse, multoque magis homicidis, quos ab aris ipsis avelli, mactarique iussit Deus, maxime si ad crimen accesserit. At nisi consulto peccatum sit, nec opus quidem apud nos asylo est ***^[English 30/19-20].*** Nam si quem in alterius necem aut necessitas armavit ***^[English 30/20-21]*** aut impulit casus, eius delicti aut veniam lex, aut princeps gratiam facit. Numeret aliquis nunc quam raros in asylo comperiat, quos illic favorabilis aliqua necessitudo compulit: contra quanta illic affluit turba perditorum, quos ***[cf. English 30/27]*** **alea, luxus, ac libido exhauserit.**[115] Praeterea latronum sicariorum, sectorum homicidarum atque immanium proditorum, **quam tetra atque horrenda colluvies in asylum, velut in pestilentissimam sentinam confluxerit:**[116] idque potissimum in duo, e quibus alterum est ***[cf. English 30/29-30]*** **urbi propinquum**, alterum in ipsis urbis visceribus collocatum. Ausim profecto confirmare, quisquis

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[111] **On the other hand, if matters were normal** *[I would not be he that should be about to make them [i.e. privileges of asylum].*

[112] *that [for] such men] …***some harbor be made available** *[to keep their bodies out of the danger …*

[113] *If the Crown happen … to come in question]* **when arms must determine the law** *[…I will well there be some places of refuge for both]* **where they** [i.e contenders for the crown] **could be safe while everything is still in doubt and in crisis, and a decisive victory has not yet taken place.**

[114] *…thieves, of which these places be full]* **and who, once they have been imbued** [with that vice], **never get smart again,** *[it is a pity …* <NB: word play in English, not in Latin>

[115] *…what a sort there be commonly therein, of whom]* **gambling, lust or passion** *[has brought to naught.*

[116] *What a]* **foul and horrible dregs** *[of thieves, murderers …]* **has drained into asylum, as if into the worst disease-ridden sewer:**

asylorum commoda compararit cum incommodis, eum pronuntiaturum potius, quam tot incommoda perpetienda sint, ***[cf. English 31/1]*** **multo fore commodius ipsis etiam commodis caruisse.**[117] Atque hoc affirmo sic habere se, ut non accedant alia, in quibus ad perniciem bonorum homines flagitiosissimi in dies magis ac magis abutuntur asylorum licentia. ***^[English 31/3-6]***

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Nam nunc ***[cf. English*** **31/7-8*]* iuventus improba non alia causa liberius, quam** horum fiducia locorum, **profundit**, **perdit, abligurrit:**[118] quin ditiores aliquot eo provolant cum tenuiorum bonis. Ibi aedificant, epulantur, oblectant sese, creditoribus interim impune illudentes. Illuc uxores fugiunt cum suppellectili maritorum duritiam eorum **libidini suae praetexentes**.[119] Illuc fures convehunt quae furto sustulere: ibique inde vivunt ac triumphant. Ibi nova latrocinia machinantur: inde quavis nocte prorepunt, furantur, occidunt, et commisso facinore revertuntur, tamquam loci reverentia non tueretur modo eorum vitam **ad paenitentiam**[120] ante actorum scelerum, sed nova quoque designandi licentiam indulgeret. Quamquam, si viri prudentes adniterentur, bona pars huius mali facile tolli posset: idque ***[cf. English 31/19]*** **cum bona divi Petri gratia**. Reliquum quum nescio quis pontifex ac princeps misericordes magis quam prudentes instituerunt, et ceteri deinceps religioso metu pertulere, ***[cf. English 31/23-25]*** nos **feramus**, censeo, quatenus **feret** ratio, quae non eo usque suffragatur asylo, ut nos prohibeat illustrissimum inde ducem ipsius bono producere.[121] Cuius loci privilegium nullum in eo locum habet: Ego certe hunc asylorum verum ac nativum usum esse semper sum arbitratus, ut eorum corpora tuerentur, quos alioqui maneret malum tum magnum, tum in primis meritum. Nam ut declinetur immeritum,

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[117] *And ye shall find it]* **more advantageous to lack the advantages.**

[118] *Now]* **wicked youth, for no other reason but** *[upon the boldness of these places]* **pours forth, goes into debt, luxuriately wastes …**

[119] *…wives.. . say they dare not abide with their husbands for beating]* **using their husband's harshness to them as a pretext for their own lusts**

[120] *…as though those places not only gave them a safeguard]* **for repenting of** *[the harm they have done …*

[121] **Let us …<u>bear</u> it** [*cf. English "let it stand in force"*] **I say, as far as reason will <u>bear</u> it** …[*cf. English "**as far forth** …]*
<NB word play in both English and Latin>

[cf. English 31/30-32/1] **non est cur implores**[122] peculiare cuiusque loci privilegium. Etenim ne cuiquam usquam inferatur iniuria, eam immunitatem leges, mores, natura cuique loco ex aequo tribuunt: nisi quis aliquem novit locum, in quo maleficia fas est perpetrare. At ubi ab ipsa lege periculum est, ibi vero praesidium a privilegio petendum est: indeque ego ***[cf. English 32/8]*** **malum**[123] natum altumque asylorum usum putem. A qua necessitate illustrissimus iste dux abest procul. Cuius fidem erga principem sanguinis necessitudo probat, cuius erga reliquos omnes innocentiam tenera declarat infantia, ne quis illi opus asylo putet, in quod ascribi nec potest quidem. Neque enim ad asylum sic quemadmodum ad baptisma confugitur, ut susceptorum compatrumque vicaria voce beneficium impetretur, sed cuius bono datur, ipse supplex flagitet, ac precetur oportet. Idque adeo merito quum competit nemini, praeterquam ei cuius mens facinoris conscia indigum egentemque talis auxilii facit: Quam ergo voluntatem habet ille puerulus, **qua sibi inutile munimentum ab asylo postulet?**[124] qui, si eo proveheretur aetatis ut usum eius loci posset intellegere, profecto non parum irasceretur iis qui illic manendum ei suaderent.Unde nunc **eximere non repugnantem**[125] usque adeo nihil mihi videtur formidandum, ut in eos quoque quibus vere asyli ope opus est, aliquanto tamen magis audendum quam solemus censeam. Nam si quis eo subducat se cum alienis bonis, quid ni regi liceret a fugitivo ablata domino reddere, sine ullo privilegii praeiudicio?

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*%^**[English 32/24-26]***

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Ea verba fere qui e clero aderant, sive assentabantur duci, sive ita vere sentiebant, confirmavere. Sic divino iure cautum, uti obaeratorum bona in asylum confluentium dispartiantur creditoribus, relicta tantum libertate corporibus, quorum labore victum quaeritent. Credo vos, inquit ille, verum dicere. Quod si mulier eo transfugiat pertaesa mariti, sed tamquam perterrita, mihi certe videtur inoffenso divo

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[122] *For against unlawful harms]* **there is no reason why you would implore [**the special] *[privilege* [of] *any one place. For that privilege hath every place…*

[123] *Which is the]* **evil** *[ground and cause of all sanctuaries*

[124] *What will, then hath yonder babe]* **by which he would demand from asylum a useless protection for himself ?**

[125] *And I would think]* ***to take one out [of sanctuary] who does not resist*** *[without any scruple …*

Petro maritus e medio Petri templo coniugem iniecta manu protracturus. Alioqui si nemo inde deduci potest, qui se dixerit ibi manere velle, certe puer quispiam qui a praeceptore fugerit ibi relinquendus est. Quod exemplum quamquam leve ut est videri possit, tamen haec nostra causa est aliquanto levior. Nam illic quamquam puerilis metus est, est tamen aliquis: at hic omnino nullus est. Et profecto ante hac saepe viros asyli immunitate usos audivi, sed pueros nunc primum audio. Quamobrem ut aliquando finiam, quisquis id facinoris admiserit, ut opus ei asyli ope sit, is ibi maneto. Sed hic illustrissimus dux ibi dimittendus non est qui neque aetatem habet, qua possit istud petere, neque malitiam, propter quam possit promereri: cuius neque vita, neque libertas venire in discrimen ullo iure potest. **Per iniuriam vero prope minus potest, fratre rerum summa potiente: ipse opibus potens, amicis etiam potentior, quippe patruo clarissimo, nobisque omnibus in salutem atque incolumitatem eius incumbentibus.**[126] Postremo qui ex asylo quempiam ipsius bono commodoque protraxerint, **etiam si vim fecerint,**[127] hos ego tamen asylo vim fecisse pernego.

Huic ducis orationi quum laici quotquot aderant, tum vero clericorum plerique nihil etiam mali suspicantes assensere, eoque discessum denique, ut sin redderetur ultro, vi deducendus ex asylo videretur.

[cf. English 33/23-25] **Ceterum verbis ante visum est quam vi experiendum.**[128]

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% ***^[English 33/25-28]***

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Cardinalis ergo e consilio in asylum recta contendit, unaque aliquot e nobilibus, sive dignitatis eius viri habita ratio est, sive protector huc respexit, uti ex tot praesentia procerum regina colligeret non ex unius esse hominis sententia quod tum agebatur, sive ne ausus quidem est tantam rem

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[126] **And even less can it be an injustice, since his brother rules the kingdom: he is powerful on his own, but even more powerful because of his friends; that is to say, his very renowned uncle, and all of us here, intent on keeping him safe and out of harm's way.**

[127] *And he that taketh one out of sanctuarytodo him good]* **even if he uses force** *[I say plainly that he breaketh no sanctuary*

[128] **However, it seemed a good idea to try accomplishing it with words before resorting to force.** *[And thereupon all the Council …*

uni credere. **Quamquam suspicantur aliqui**,[129] si regina, quod exspectabatur, filium obstinate pernegare pergeret, mandatum seorsum fuisse quibusdam e comitibus ilicet ut invitae per vim eriperent, neu tempus alio amandandi darent. Cuius rei consilium post eum sermonem habitum agitatura videbatur, modo ad id suppeteret spatium. Igitur ubi mutuo in conspectum venere, cardinalis exponit rem atrocem videri nobilibus, **unicum** regis fratrem **ab eo seiunctum, ab illa velut in carcere**[130] asservari: quo ex facto ut nihil super ipsorum infamiam queratur,

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consequi tamen et conflari apud exteras omnes gentes invidiam,[131] ipsi nimirum principi, ***[cf. English 34/12-15]*** **cuius germanus unicus narretur in asylo delitescere, ne patria quidem interim exempta calumniae, tamquam populum tam immanem gignat et efferum,**[132] ut fratri etiam a fratre immineat periculum. Proin se ad eam ab **rege**,[133] proceribusque missum, ***[cf. English 34/17-20]*** **uti pro sua in eam fide atque amore recta et salutaria consuleret. Eius generis in primis esse ut ducem emissum ex illis latebrarum angustiis augustissimae principis aulae, iucundissimo fratris contubernio redderet**[134]**:** id si ita fecisset, et regni rebus publice, et amicorum communiter, et privatim suis recte consulturam. Sed regi in primis atque etiam duci perquam rem gratam facturam, quibus maxime commodum sit iucunde simul vivere.

% **^*[English 34/25-30*]**

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Ad haec regina: Haud equidem negarim inquit, honorande pater, optandam filio huic meo condicionem esse quam affers, uti videlicet

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[129] *…or else]* [as] **some, however, suspect** *[if she were finally determined to keep him ….*

[130] *…that her keeping of the King's]* **only** *[brother]* **separated from him, as if in a prison** *[was a thing which …*

[131] *…rumor of the people and their obloquy]…* **but unpopularity** *[especially toward the King]* **would also follow, breaking out in all foreign nations**,

[132] *..grief …of the King's royal majesty],* **whose one and only brother would be heard to be languishing in asylum, and that not even our own country would be spared the reproach in the meantime, that it nourished a people so harsh and monstruous that** *[… the one brother was a danger to the other.*

[133] *…that]* **the King and** *[the Council therefore had sent him …*

[134] *… sent him unto her]* **to provide good and right counsel as a sign of his good faith and love toward her, and the first of this kind of** [favors] **would be, that the duke be sent away from the confines of that hiding place, to the most glorious court** < NB: word play in Latin: angustis/augustissimis> **of the King, and the most delightful company of his brother;***[And she in doing this …*

perpetuo cum rege versetur, et convivat fratri: ceterum contra quoque rem ego neutri parum incommodam censuerim, si ambos aliquot adhuc annos tueretur, atque educaret mater, aestimata utriusvis aetatula, sed huius praesertim minoris, cui praeter infantiae teneros annos (quae et ipsa curae non oscitantis indiget) febris etiam neutiquam levis accessit, cum qua diu conflictatus, adeo nuper potius remissius aegrotare coepit quam revaluit, ut ego nemini mortalium omnium eum audeam praeterquam mihi uni credere. Quandoquidem et rerum medicarum periti aiunt, quod **vel tacentibus illis**[135] cotidiana probant pericula, neminem in morbum nisi duplicato periculo recidere. Opinor quod priore conflictu fatigata natura minus recentes vires ad secundos congressus affert neque diffido tamen inveniri posse qui sint ad salutem eius partes suas diligenter obituri. Sed neminem usquam esse reor, cui aut penitus exploratum sit quid eius natura ferat postuletque, quam ego, quae cum eo frequens et assidua semper vixi: neque qui vel minus remisse, vel magis indulgenter puerum sit curaturus, quam mater. Ad haec Cardinalis: Nemo, inquit, ibit infitias, regina clarissima, neminem usquam esse, qui viva te sit accommodatior tuorum vitae liberorum isthac praesertim aetatula moderandae, neque procerum quisquam est omnium, qui non ambos optet in tuis manibus oculisque potissimum enutriri, modo tu adduci posses eo in loco vivere, qui et illorum amplitudini maxime conveniat et minime alienus sit a dignitate tua. Sin tibi ipsi persuaseris in hoc asylo delitescendum, communi omnium sententia iudicatum est, longe magis ex usu esse ducis cum rege liberum in dignitate ac splendore vivere, utriusque bono ac commodo, quam cum illius damno, huius invidia, certe utriusque dolore ***[cf. English 35/24-25]*** **miseram tecum vitam in latebris et squalore ducere.**[136] Neque enim usque adeo necesse est puerum educari a matre, ut non interdum incidat occasio, qua alibi eum ali praestet. Nam et quum olim carissimus filius tuus tunc designatus rex profecturus esset in Valliam, sui patriaeque commodi causa procul abs te victurus, memini eam rem pro egregia prudentia tua te quoque ipsa approbante fieri. Non admodum approbante, inquit illa, neque tamen haec causa simile quicquam habet cum illa, quum et alter tunc

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[135] *… as physicians say]* **and even if they are quiet about it,** *[as we also find* [Latin**: "as daily experiences prove"**] …

[136] *…to the comfort of them both than … to their both dishonor and obloquy]* **to lead a wretched life with you in darkness and squalor.**

esset incolumis, et alter nunc infirma valetudine. Quo in statu quum sit, cur tam avide conetur eum protector ad se trahere, nequeo equidem satis demirari. In quo si puer (absit omen verbo) citra ullam eius culpam periret fato, facile tamen posset in suspicionem fraudis venire. **Iam quod rem neque per se inhonestam, etiam si abesset necessitas, et nunc tam necessariam ut veniam facile mereretur, etiam si paulum ab honestate deflecteret, ille quod cuique proclive est orationis depravat atrocitate, dum piam hanc meam pro filio sollicitudinem tristibus verbis invadit, metumque meum interpretatur malitiam: neque mihi natoque salutem, sed sibi et proceribus invidiam quaeri. Haec ego certe non admodum inique fero. Utinam non maioribus aerumnis distringerer, quam ut vacaret verbis commoveri: neque tamen satis video, quomodo ipse secum constet: nam qui incolumia mihi simulat esse omnia, idem aegre me retinere sustinet vel filium, et qui ubivis tutam me esse fingit, is ne ibi quidem sinit, ubi et latronibus tutum est quiescere. Nam quid iniqui habet, me si modo libera sum, ubi mihi licet, vivere: aut cur invidiosum fuerit puerulum manere cum matre?**[137] Nam quod istud minus honorabile futurum contendit tum sibi, tum proceribus omnibus, tum ipsi denique principi: ego certe contra censeo, nemini esse non honorificum ibi ducem relinquere, potissimum ubi sit credibile habitum iri exactissimam salutis suae rationem, quam hoc habendam loco me hic manente nemo, opinor, dubitat: e quo non est consilium adhuc exire, neque in discrimen post reliquos consanguineos meos conicere: qui utinam hic mecum essent in tuto potius, quam ipsa cum illis foris in vitae versarer periculo. Sub haec verba: Ergo, inquit quidam ex nobilibus, qui comes eo venerat cardinali, nostin aliquid regina, cur eorum cuiquam debeat imminere periculum? non cur debeat, inquit illa, ut ne cur in carcerem quidem trudi, in quem truduntur tamen. Quamobrem non est quod mirere, si metuam ne ***[cf. English 36/29-31]*** **qui immerentes in vincula coniecerunt, iidem ad innocentium perniciem sint incubituri.**[138]

Tum cardinalis nutu linguacem illum admonens ut conticesceret, ***[cf. English 36/33]*** **ac ea in re ne pergeret ulterius**[139] mox reginam super amicorum casu solabatur, nempe excussa et cognita causa nihil fore discriminis, de seipsa vero vanissimum esse quod metuat quippe cui neque mali

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[137] *…suspicion of fraud.]* **And since it is not a thing dishonorable in itself, even if there were no necessity for it, and in fact it is so necessary that it is easily excused, even if it departs a little bit from what is honorable, but he depraves by the atrocity of his speech whatever he feels inclined to, while he attacks this concern of mine for my son with his dreary words, and interprets my fear as malice: as if I were not seeking safety for myself and my son, but only ill-will for himself and the people now in charge. I certainly do not think my attitude unjust in this. I would wish not to to be too distressed by my woes to be persuaded with words, and I don't see how his position is at all consistent: he pretends that everything is safe for me, while at the same time cannot stand to see me keep my son with me, and while he claims that I will be safe anywhere, does not permit me to stay in a place that is safe even for robbers to remain undisturbed. What ill-will is there, as long as I am free, to live where I can? Or why would it be invidious for a son to stay with his mother?** *[And where they call it a thing so sorely against my child's honor …*

[138] *…though I fear lest]***those who have put the undeserving in chains will bethe same ones who will be intent on the destruction of those innocents.** <NB: word play in English, not in Latin>

[139] …that he should be silent], **and not proceed any further with that subject.** <NB: metaphorical expression in English "*harp no more upon that string…*">

impendeat quicquam, neque intentari queat. At istud qui confidam, inquit? Num innocentiae conscientia? quasi vero illi nocentes sint. An quod illorum inimicis sim fortasse minus invisa quibus illi vel maxime propter me invisi sunt? An securam praestet sanguinis haec necessitudo cum principe? Sed quoto cognationis gradu absint illi, quibus iam vides quam nihil prodest cognatio, quae ne exitialiter obsit, id mihi vel in votis est. Quamobrem et ipsa me inter haec saepta continere statui, nec filium hinc emittere, ***[cf. English 37/9]*** **donec spes aliqua affulserit meliorum**.[140] Nam illum quo magis impense quosdam hoc agere video, ut tam levium rerum praetextu in sua potestate habeant, eo nimirum ipsa vehementius quoque horreo a me amittere. At contra, inquit ille, quo tu regina magis pertimescis amicis eum tam propinquis credere, eo vicissim alii magis metuunt apud te relinquere, ***[cf. English 37/14]*** **ne muliebris iste frustra conceptus timor in mentem tibi subiciat, ut aliquo eum ableges longius**[141]. Sunt qui negant etiam fratrem ius esse tibi a rege distinendi, quum nihil ad asyli rationem faciat simplex atque innocens aetas pueri qui neque iudicio praeditus sit quo possit implorare, et malitia careat, propter quam illo posset indigere. Itaque nec infringi quidem censent huius loci privilegium, si invitae quoque eum tibi hinc ereptum eant, quod **te obstinate commodis tuorum refragante**[142] fortasse facturi sunt. Adeo anxius est protector amantissimus eius patruus, ne tu, **dum vanos tibi metus fingis animo, in certam perniciem aliquo**[143] emittas puerum. Ita ne, inquit illa, adeone filium amat meum, ut nihil aeque vereatur, ac ne elabatur aliquo manusque eius evadat? Timet scilicet ne emittam hinc longius eum, quem sic affectum **nec possum quidem citra salutis dispendium, cui adeo accurate consulere me quidam non libenter videret, hinc ne eum emitterem, credo ut in dispositos in itinere casses immitterem? Liceat certe, quod ad hanc rem attinet in utramvis aurem dormiat:**[144] nam ubi ego illum sperem tutum, si hic desperem? Estne ullus usquam locus hoc uno sanctior? Cuius immunitatem nec tyrannus quisquam hactenus inventus est tam impius, qui

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[140] *… he shall be where I am]* **until some hope gleams of better things.**

[141] *…the farther that you be to deliver him, the farther be other men to suffer you to keep him,]* **lest this vainly conceived, womanish fear of yours suggest to your mind to place him somewhere farther off.** <NB: word play in English, not in Latin: "*farther…farther…causeless fear … cause… further*">

[142] *…if you finally refuse to deliver him,]* **obstinately fighting against the interests of your own people,** *[I verily think they will [i.e. fetch him out] …*

[143] *So much dread hath my lord his uncle, for the tender love he beareth him, lest Your Grace]* **conceiving a vain fear in your mind,** *[should hap to send him away]***somewhere, to his certain destruction …**

[144] *Thinketh he that I would send him hence which neither is in the plight to send out]***nor could I without endangering his safety; cannot a certain person readily see that since I am so worried about not letting him go from here, would I trust to let him be sent out, only to be caught in traps laid for him along the way? However the situation be with regard to this (lit: "no matter on which ear [i.e. right or left side] the matter is sleeping")** *[in what place could I reckon him sure …* <NB: note figurative, colloquial expression in the Latin>

non sit veritus violare? Atque ego certe confido ***[cf. English 38/1]*** **divi Petri sanctissimi huius asyli praesidis numen,**[145] non minus potentem vindicem adversus asyli sui violatores hodieque fore, quam olim fuit. Sed puerilis aetas privilegium non capit: pulchre scilicet ***^[English 38/3-4],*** quasi vero locus qui sontes recipit, insontes excludat. Nam quod argutatur asyli beneficio non indigere puerulum, utinam non egeret, **nec egeret certe, si per se tuta esset adversus sceleratos innocentia.**[146] Adeo me protector (qui superos precor ut protectorem se probet) stupidam arbitratur, ut quorsum eius phalerata tendat oratio non sentiam? **Asyli latibulum principis maiestatem dedecorat, conciliat infamiam proceribus, invidiam principi,**[147] ex utriusque commodo esse ut coniunctim habitent, maxime quum princeps egeat collusoris, quod ego superos omnes obtestor utrique, ut collusor obtingat felicior, quam is qui callidis consiliis praetexit tam grandibus verbis personatas ineptias, tamquam nusquam reperiri possit qui iocetur cum principe (si modo hoc ipsi vacat) nisi frater (cui per valetudinem non lubet ludere) ex asylo, id est, extra munitiones suas, velut lusurus eliciatur. Perinde quasi pueri tantam habeant rationem maiestatis ut ioco sint potius carituri quam admittant impares, aut tamquam ludere nisi cum fratribus suis non possint, quibus id aetatis pueri minus plerumque oblectantur quam alienis. Sed puer hic loci beneficium implorare non potest. ***^[English 38/21*]** Quid si implorantem audiat? ***^[English 38/22]*** Sed finge non posse, finge non velle, immo recusare, immo ut exeat vehementer instare, tamen quisquis illum vel volentem invitae mihi abstulerit, eum ego plane contendo sanctum hoc asylum temerare: ***^[English 38/26-7]***
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nisi putemus unde sacrilegium sit equum mihi abducere, inde fas esse abstrahi filium. Quin nisi me periti fallunt, filium cui

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[145] *…and I trust]* **the divine power ("numen") of this asylum of the most holy Saint ("divi") Peter** *[as strong now to withstand his adversaries as ever he was.*

[146] *Would God he had not [need of sanctuary!]* **nor certainly would he need it, if his innocence by itself were safe from wicked people!**

[147] *Troweth the Protector …that I perceive not whereunto his painted process draweth? 'It is not honorable that the Duke bide here;]* **the hiding place of an asylum dishonors the majesty of the Prince, it creates a bad name for the people in charge, and ill-will towards the Prince;** *[it were comfortable for them both…*

nullum haereditate praedium obvenit, operae cuiquam militaris obnoxium Angliae iura matri tuendum credunt, et quisquam hinc mihi pupillum abstrahet meum inoffensa sacri loci libertate ? Quod si neque meum ius eum tueri posset, neque ille suum petere tamen quum tutela eius ad me pertineat, quis me non videt petere eius vice posse, nisi forte lex ***[cf. English 39/4-6]*** **bonorum tantum** haberi tutelam velit, non etiam corporis, cuius unius gratia curat lex salva ut pupillo **bona** sint. ***[= English 39/7-24]*** **Quod si quid ad obtinendum puero privilegium exempla valent, haud longe petitis indigeo. Nempe hic ipse locus, in quo nunc stamus, qui nunc an puero usui esse possit disputatur, alterum olim filium meum videlicet ipsum principem et nascentem excepit, et vagientem texit, et prosperiori fortunae (quae nunc precor ut ei sit perpetua) conservavit. Neque enim quod omnes intellegitis, asyli nunc primum incola sum, eiecto quondam e regni solio, atque exsulante marito meo, gravida huc confugi, hic regem peperi, hinc reduci ac victori marito gratulatura prodii, hinc infantem filium primis parentis amplexibus obtuli. Cui nunc regnanti utinam tam tutum palatium sit quam hic locus, olim regnante hoste fuit.**

[cf. English 39/23-24] Quo **ex** loco alterum etiam filium **mitttere non decrevi**

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neque cuiquam utrumque credere, illi praesertim ad quem utroque deficiente regnum successionis iure devolvetur. Nemo timores meos excutiat **maternae sollicitudinis**, **fas est etiam vana me tuere**.[148] Quamquam ego in hac re nihil sum publica lege cautior quae, si periti vera narrant, neminem umquam admittit tutorem eius, cuius interitu sit haereditatem aliquanto minorem etiam regno lucraturus. **Adversus quae pericula certissimum ac prope unicum est in huius immunitate loci**

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[148] *The cause of my fear hath no man to do to examine]* **[as if it were merely] maternal anxiety, for it is right for me to fear even in vain** *[And yet fear I no further than the law …*

praesidium, e quo is quem habeo me volente non exibit, quod si quis **invitae (quod non opinor) abstraxerit ac**[149] sanctissimam asyli religionem duxerit violandam, ego **superos eius praesides obtestor**[150] idem ut asyli propediem immunitate careat, facultate interceptus **praeoccupatusque omnium sacrarum sedium prohibeatur aditu;**[151] nam ingressum extrahi ne inimicum quidem vellem.

Cardinalis ubi vidit **sese multum urgendo nihil promovere**[152] sed illam magis magisque incensam, posteriora quoque duriora iacere tristibusque verbis fidem protectoris invadere, quam ille, quum integram crederet, gravatim audit insimulari, denique respondit haud diutius se rem verbis extracturum; si libeat illi ***[cf. English* 40/13*]*** **puerum** ipsis in manus dare, ***[cf. English 40/14, 16, 18]*** fidem **ipsos** suam eum salvum et incolumem fore **obstricturos**. Sin retinere, sciat **discessuros** ilico

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nec verbum **addituros**[153] amplius in eam rem in qua vel prudentiam eorum suspectam illa [*corr. from* ille] vel fidem habeat: prudentiam, si rerum ignari et nimis creduli; fidem, si prudentes alienae perfidiae administri putarentur.

Sub haec regina velut deliberabunda conticuit, cui quum cardinalis ad abeundum paratior reliquis videretur et protector ipse in palatio adesset cum satellitio, cogitare apud animum suum coepit palam servari filium in asylo non posse, ***^[English 40/28]*** celandi vero spem non esse subducendo illinc nihil opportunum quum neque tempus suppeteret neque quo mitteretur provisum esset, imparata omnia, adeo securam nuntius hic

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[149] *…than a kingdom!]* **Against which dangers, the most secure and sole protection lies in the immunity of this place, from which he shall not leave by my free will.** *[I can no more but whosoever he be that]* **takes him from me unwillingly (and I don’t think anyone will) and** *[breaketh this holy sanctuary …*

[150] *… this holy sanctuary,]* **I call to witness the heavenly powers, his guardians,** *[shortly send him need of sanctuary…*

[151] *I pray]* **to the divine powers who are the protectors of this [place]**, *[shortly send him need of sanctuary, when he may not come to it]***and be seized and prohibited from entering all holy places.** *[For taken out of sanctuary …*

[152] *The Cardinal, perceiving that]* **he was not getting any farther despite all his urging and** *[that the Queen waxed ever …*

[153] *… to the other lords there present]* **they themselves would pledge their faith that the boy would be safe and unharmed.** *[And if she would … to the contrary… …***they** *[would forthwith depart … for]* **they** *[they never intended more to move her in that matter…* <NB: singular pronoun in English (=Cardinal only), plural in Latin (=Richard’s men)>

oppresserat nihil minus cogitantem, quam in asylo inferendam vim cuius nunc obsessos exitus omnes cernebat, nec ullam puero elabendi facultatem **nisi per dispositos in insidiis milites dari aliquando,**[154] **contra (ut in perditissimis etiam rebus fieri solet) sperabat non esse fortassis tam inclementem patrui in nepotes animum quam ipsa concepisset,**[155] ***[cf. English 41/4-5]*** **denique si non vanus eius timor esset, certe serum fore.**[156] Praeterea cardinalis animum satis exploratum habuit, nec minus compertam nobilium aliquorum qui simul venerunt fidem quos ut verebatur ne falli possent, ita sibi persuaserat non potuisse corrumpi**.** ***[cf. English 41/6-7]*** Igitur si filium omnino dimissura sit praestare censuit sponte ut illum tradere quam invita videretur,[157] rata fore uti id nonnihil ad conservandum puerum curam atque industriam eorum quibus iam tradebatur accenderet, si ipsa sua manu filium in eorum tutelam fidemque deponeret. ***[cf. English*** **41/13*]*** **Producto igitur in medium et constituto coram puero**:[158] Viri inquit clarissimi, neque adeo impudens ipsa sum vestrae ut prudentiae diffidam, neque adeo suspiciosa ut de fide dubitem, cuius meae fiduciae id hodie documenti dabo, quod si alterutra desideretur in vobis, aeternum sit mihi reique publicae vulnus inflicturum, ***^[English 41/18]***. ***[cf. English 41/13;*** *placed later in Latin]* Simul manu puerum apprehendens, En hic quem vultis inquit, ***[cf. English 41/18-21]*** **meum atque Eduardi carissimi olim regis vestri filium,** quem ego non ambigo, **nil nisi vobis eum credere statuissem huius loci posse sancta religione** tueri. [159] Tamen istud etiam minus ambigo esse aliquos meo sanguini infestos ut si quid eius scirent sanguinis in ipsorum corporibus contineri non cunctarentur suis ipsorum manibus exhaurire. Ad haec periculo nostro didicimus quam facile ***[cf. English 41/24-25]*** **cognationis affectum omnem exsecranda regni sitis extinguat**:[160] frater fratrem e medio tollit, **liberique perpulsos regno, atque adeo ita parentes ad imperium affectant,**[161] et nepos de patruo securus est? Meorum certe liberorum alter alteri praesidium est, dum seorsim asservantur, utervis incolumis utrumque servat: eoque nihil periculosius, quam ambos uni concredere, mercator siquidem parum cautus haberi solet, qui uni naviculae sortem semel universam committit. Tamen hunc vobis in manus do, fratremque simul in illo utrumque vestrae committo fidei: ab iisdem utrumque rursus coram

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[154] *…that he could not be conveyed out …]* **except through soldiers that had already been secretly stationed.**

[155] **On the other hand, (as usually happens in hopeless situations) she hoped that perhaps the mind of the uncle was not quite so malevolent toward his nephews as she had thought …**

[156] *…and partly, as she thought it might fortune her fear]* **not to be false, it would certainly be too late** [to do anything] **anyway** <NB: the English seems to negate this: "*her fear to be false*", but the thought appears the same>

[157] <NB the underlined sentence appears one sentence earlier in its English variant than in its Latin variant>

[158] *And at the last]* **taking the boy out and standing him in the midst in front of them,** *[said unto the lords …*

[159] *For lo, here is", quoth she]* **my and your beloved former king Edward's son** *[whom I doubt not but that]* **if I had not decided to entrust him to you,** *[I could here keep safe if I would]* **by the holy religious nature of the place.**

[160] *We have also had experience that]* **the execrable thirst for a kingdom extinguishes kindred affection.**

[161] *The brother hath been the brother's bane]* **and children … have striven after power so much so, that, their parents driven forth [??]** *[And may the nephews be sure of their uncle?* <NB the text is corrupt here; the text of ms A is lacking, and P provides an alternate reading: *sobolesque per ipsum parentis corpus proruit ad imperium:* "the offspring rushes to the throne by way of the very body of the parent">

Deo atque hominibus repetitura. Prudentiae vobis multum inesse scio, fidei plurimum, opum ac potentiae satis: nec deerunt qui hac in causa sese libenter vobis adiungent: ^***[English 42/4]***

Unum tantum per vestram fidem, perque mariti mei memoriam, per meam erga filios sollicitudinem, atque in nos fiduciam vos obtestor, uti quemadmodum ego vobis nimium timida videor, ita ne vos vicissim plus iusto securi sitis. Statimque ad puerulum versa: Vale dulcissime, inquit, fili ***[cf. English 42/9]*****: Superi tibi curatores adhibeant, immo ipsi curam habeant**[162] matrem semel saltem amplectere, atque exosculare digrediens, incertus an idem umquam licebit: denuo simul os admovit ori, ***[cf. English 42/11]*** **cum cruce eum consignans**[163] avertit sese, ploransque a plorante discessit. Quem cardinalis, comitesque eius exceptum, recta in ***[cf. English 42/14]*** **palatium, ubi protector cum proceribus eorum reditum operiebatur, per dispositos tota via satellitum ordines adduxerunt. Adductum**[164] protector amplexus, atque in ulnas e terra subvehens, Advenisti, carissime nepos, inquit, ac domine, gratus nimirum omnibus, mihi longe profecto gratissimus.^***[English 42/18].*** Tum inde continuo Londinum itur ad principem: diversabatur is in episcopi palatio, unde **protinus ambo mediam** per urbem celebri pompa **faustis undique acclamationibus, et clamantium vota frustraturis**[165] arcem ingressi sunt, unde numquam eos pedem retulisse constat.

Igitur [166]**ubi protector utrumque puerum petitus esset, maiore fiducia quum aliis aliquot, tum praecipue duci Bukyngamiae, aperit sese: quamquam non ignoro multis visum totius eum consilii inde ab initio participem fuisse; protectoris amici quidam auctorem etiam eum**

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[162] "*Farewell, my own sweet son;]* **may the heavenly powers give you caretakers, or rather, let the heavens themselves see to it** *[let me kiss you once yet …*

[163] *Therewith she kissed him and]* **signed him with the cross,** *[turned her back,and wept …*

[164] *…they brought him into the Star Chamber* ***[Lat. : palace]*** *where the Protector]* **along with the leading men, was waiting their return,** *[they brought him]* **through ranks of underlings stationed along the whole route, and once the boy was brought there,** *[the Protector took him in his arms…*

[165] *…unto the bishop's palace at Paul's, and from thence]* **they both immediately [were brought]** *through the city honorably]* **to the acclaim of people shouting blessings on them from all sides – but such blessings as would disappoint the wishes of the shouters, entered** *[into the Tower, out of which after that day they never came abroad.*

[166] <NB: starting from here to 44/18, is a passage closely translated from the Latin and added to the English version>

suscipiendae rei exstitisse tradunt, ultro ad Gloucestriam misso protinus ab Eduardi morte clandestine nuntio. Sed alii, quibus exploratius est callidum protectoris ingenium, negant ante communicata postrema quam priora confecisset. Ceterum coniectis in carcerem necessariis reginae, et utroque filio in suas manus producto, reliqua minus timide quibus res postulare videbatur aperuisse, ducique potissimum, cuius accessione dimidia parte suas vires auctiores fere intelligebat, per homines astutos et tractandarum rerum artifices rem insinuat. Proponitur ei cognatorum causa princeps iratus et, si quando licuerit, futurus ultor; qui seri dimittantur instigarent: haesuram etenim semper carceris et vinculorum memoriam. Sin trucidentur, haud dubie mortem illorum ei curae fore, quorum carcer dolori fuit. Ad haec paenitendo nihil profici, redimendae beneficiis offensae non relictum locum: at esse nempe facilius per[d]iturum quam servaturum principem, quem cum fratre una cognatisque eo iam iniectos videat, ubi protector omnes posset uno nutu tollere; nec dubium sit, si quid novi moliminis intentaretur, ausurum; quem, ut erat credibile, occultum sibi praesidium ita duci exploratores struxisse, et si adversaretur, insidias; idque fors ex iis quos minime suspicaretur: eum nam rerum statum, eos animorum habitus esse, ut cui confidas, quem timeas, statuere certo non possis. Talia suggerendo fatigatum ducis animum eo perpulere, uti quam viam ingressum iam sese esse paeniteat, eadem tam pergeret: et quando semel coeperat, naviter usque insisteret. Itaque scelestissimo protectoris consilio quum resistere non posset, fautorem se sociumque adiunxit, malumque publicum statuit, quando nequiret corrigi, quam maxime posset in suum bonum vertere.

Conventum est, ut protector opere ducis ad usurpandum regnum, filium quem unum habebat legitimum cum illius filia matrimonio coniungeret. Ad haec Herfordiae comitatum, quem dux velut haereditarium appetebat, neque Eduardo superstite potuit obtinere, perempta lite concederet. His illius postulatis protector magnam ultro thesauri vim, regiaeque suppellectilis adiecit. Igitur ubi inter eos convenit, quo magis a suis consiliis oculos animosque hominum averterent alio, quae ad inaugurationem novi regis pertinerent, magnifico apparatu multis in speciem,[167] **ne noctu quidem intermisso a labore operantibus adornabantur in eam celebritatem.**[168] **Proceres per omnem regni partem evocati frequentes aderant. Ceterum protector ac dux, ubi cardinalem atque cancellarium**[169] **cum Eboracensi archiepiscopo, comiteque Darbiae atque Eliensi praesule, nec non Hastyngo cubiculario, multisque aliis nobilibus*** collocaverant **de ordine, ritu ac solemnibus** insigniendi regis **caeremoniis**[170] locuturos. Ipsi interim subducentes sese cum his quos sui propositi participes habebant, ***^[English 44/ 19-20]*** alio in loco longe diversa tractabant. Cui consilio quamquam pauci adhibebantur, iidemque minime futiles, spargi tamen suspicio coepit, ac mussitare populus, tanquam rebus haud diu bene permansuris: quum nec sciret quisquam aut quam ob causam, aut quo auctore metueret, sive animis ingentia mala secretiore naturae vi praesagientibus, pelagi in morem, sponte sua exaestuantis adversus instantem procellam, sive unus quispiam ***[cf. English 44/28]*** **aliquid odoratus**[171] multos suspicione impleverat ***^[English 44/28-29].***

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Quamquam nonnihil ipsa res etiam quantumvis dissimulata cogitationes hominum excitavit: siquidem paulatim quisque ab arce regia dilabi, ***^[English 44/32]*** in domo protectoris aula esse, ibi frequentia celebritasque

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[167] <NB: order of sentences here is not the same in the two versions [1) **quo magis … oculos animosque … averterent alio**] [2) **quae ad inaugurationem novi regis** …]: *[2) they went about to prepare for the young king's coronation …][1)… and that they might turn both the eyes and minds … otherwhere]*

[168] <NB:This clause was not translated into English: **with laborers working even all through the night for the celebration>** The close English translation of the Latin then resumes briefly, starting with *proceres …*

[169] <NB: The English translation corrected the text to make the Archbisop of York the Chancellor, instead of the Cardinal>

[170] *… to commune and devise about the]* **order, ritual and ceremonies of the** *[coronation*

[171] *…some one man, haply]* **having smelled something,** *[filled many with suspicion…*

versari, silentium ac solitudo circa principem, plerisque eo divertentibus unde negotiorum expeditio sperabatur: quibusdam etiam admonitis, parum tuto regem se frequentaturos, quibus nihil necessarii negotii esset ***^[English 45/4-5].***

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Sic ubi multa signa concurrere, partim casu, quaedam industria ad ultimum efficere, uti non plebs modo (***[cf. English 45/7-8]*** **quae temere quovis agitatur** [172]) sed prudentes quoque, atque aliquot etiam proceres expergiscerentur, ac rem notarent, **hactenus tamen ut disputarent verius quam diffiderent**;[173] ceterum ***^[English 45/10]*** Darbiae comes **qui in multarum rerum usu consenuerat**,[174] providenter illa suspectans, Hastyngo, **quod erant mutuo sibi secretorum conscii, compellato**[175]: Bina haec mihi haud placent, ait, seorsim habita consilia: nempe dum nos in altero **communem rem simpliciter et aperte** tractamus, qui scias illi quibus de rebus in altero **clandestine mussitent**?[176] Tace, inquit Hastyngus, et minime dubita, dum unus quidam illic aderit qui numquam abest, ne verbum quidem umquam dubium sic efferri posse ut non citius ad me perferatur, quam loquenti excidat. Haec ille de Catesbio innuebat,

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quo valde familiariter utebatur: neque tantum sibi de cuiusquam in se amore fideque promittebat, ut cui perinde sese ratus est carum, ac devinctum sibi illum intelligebat, **nempe quem opibus admodum atque auctoritate promoverat, et erat qui provehi haud difficulter posset**.[177] Nam praeter egregiam Britannicarum legum peritiam, ***[cf. English 45/26-28]*** **accessit corporis amplitudo, et oris decor, species insignis, ut idoneus non ad agendas modo causas, sed ad magnas etiam res gerendas haberetur.**[178] Ingenii vero tanti, quantum homini tam nullius fidei non optasses: quippe cuius unius dissimulatio totam eam quae illam consecuta est malorum pestem conflavit. Cuius fidem nisi secutus fuisset Hastyngus, Standlaeus, comes Darbiae, ceterique earum partium nobiles, ad primam statim

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[172] *…common people]* **which is rashly driven anywhere-you-please** <NB: English has word play, not Latin>

[173] *…to mark the matter and muse thereon]* **only** *[so far forth]* **however, that they disputed about it, without suspecting anything** *[that the Lord Stanley …*

[174] *that was after the Earl of Derby)]* **and who had grown old in the experience of many things** *[wisely mistrusted it …*

[175] *…said unto the Lord Hastings],* **addressing[him], because they shared each other's secrets** *[that he much misliked …*

[176] *"For while we" quoth he, talk of one]* **public** *[matter]* **plainly and openly** *[in the one place, little wot we whereof they]* **secretly whisper about** *[in the other place…*

[177] *…so much beholden as was this Catesby]* **since he had advanced him in rank and wealth and he was the kind of man it was not difficult thus to advance and** *[which was a man well learned in laws of this land …*

[178] *… well learned in the laws …]* **to which was added largeness of body, a pleasant face, and good looks, so that he was considered fit not only for offering support in promoting things, but also for the actual carrying out of great deeds.** *[But surely great pity was it that he had not had either more troth or less wit…*

fraudis suspicionem discessissent, et discessu suo ***[cf. English 46/1-2]*** **omnia eorum clandestina et nefaria consilia turbassent.**[179]

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[cf. English 46/2-4] **Ceterum Hastyngus dum nimium illius unius fide nititur, ceteri cunctantes perfidia illius tum demum captos se sentire coeperunt, quum tam damnare iam, non etiam vitare potuerunt.**[180] Sed et protector quoque et dux Hastyngum mira ne quid suspicaretur mala, amicitiae simulatione lactabant: quamquam illi creditur ex animo amatus, ***[cf. English 46/10-11]*** **huic invisus, neutri ad haec consilia commodus. Fertur** Catesbius a protectore **missus**,[181] ut animo eius callide pertentato experiretur, an pertrahi quoquo pacto hominem posse ad suas partes speraret, **aspera omnia et contraria retulisse**.[182] Pessime etiam cesserat, quod Hastyngus hinc in familiari colloquio ***[cf. English 46/17-18]*** **iactantia suae fiduciae aliorum formidines**[183] aperuerat: veritus ergo Catesbius ne multi contra suam simulationem movendo ac fatigando proficerent, neu consilia quae iam prorepere videbantur cuncta erumperent, ***[cf. English 46/20]*** **censet maturandum facinus, occupandos dum dubitant, illum quia flecti non posset amoliendum.**[184] Quod eo suasit avidius, quum Hastyngi principatus, quo tum plurimum pollebat, **in Lancastrensi comitatu**[185] sibi destinabatur. Cuius rei detestabilis ambitio Catesbium ad ineundam exsecrandi sceleris societatem impulerat. Igitur consultantibus **^*[English 46/27-28]*** paulo post in arce proceribus, quo eos protector convocaverat,

^[English 46/29 – 47/1]

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[179] *…had departed,with diverse other lords …],* **and would have turned awry all their secret and wicked plans.**

[180] **… But while Hastings depended too much on his trust in one man, the others, delaying, began at last to see that they had been taken in by his treachery, when it was possible for them to condemn the action, but not get out of it**. *[And of truth, the Protector ..*

[181] *… and kept him much in company. And undoubtedly* **[he believed that**] *the Protector loved him well]* **but he was hated by the duke, and useful to neither.** *[For which cause]* **it is said that *Catesby* was sent by the Protector** *[to prove…*

[182] *But Catesby … reported unto them that]* **he** [i.e Hastings] **was all harsh and contrary.**

[183] *The Lord Chamberlain]* **by boasting of his trust in him** *[… showed unto Catesby the]* **fears that others began to have** *[in this matter.* <NB: word-play in English, not in Latin>

[184] *… whereunto only all the matter leaned,]* **decided that the deed must be hurried, while they were hesitating about which ones to seize, and that that one** [i.e. Hastings] **should be gotten out of the way, because he could not be bent.** *[And much the rather for that he trusted by his death to obtain …*

[185] *…much of the rule that the Lord Hastings bore]* **in the county of Lancaster.**

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ipse serius veniens in consilium excusat tarditatem ***^[English 47/3-5].*** Tum hilaris, ac prope iocanti similis accubuit protinusque in Eliensem versus episcopum: Pater inquit, fraga tibi in hortis audio insignia nasci, non gravatim scio ferculum unum tot nobilibus in prandium, velut symbolum tuum conferes. Utinam, inquit ille, maius aliquid tam facile possim quam hoc, libenter faciam: simulque ministrum qui afferret emittit. At protector, velut nescio quid necessariae rei in proximo facturus cubiculo, statimque in consilium redditurus egreditur, **proceribus interim tanta eius festivitate oblectatis, quantam haud temere ante in illo viderant, simulque humanitatem benignitatemque animi laudantibus,**[186] ille non diu moratus ***^[English 47/14-15]*** revertitur: sed mirum quam totus ab illo mutatus, qui modo tam laetus exierat: nempe nunc contra tristis, torvus, obducto supercilio, corrugata fronte, admorso labro, minabundus, stupentibus universis quae illum intemperies tam repente corripuisset; hoc vultu se in sellam coniciens, ubi paululum tristi silentio ***[cf. English 47/20-21]*** **pavidos exspectantium animos suspendisset,** in haec verba **prorupit**: Quae **supplicia excogitentur illorum digna sceleribus**,[187] qui nec non sanguine modo tam propinquum principi, sed eius, regnique huius protectorem, impiis actibus machinantur tollere? Ad haec verba omnes qui aderant attoniti **atrocitate rei** [188] conticuere, volventes tacite secum quis tanti flagitii conscius esset: cuius sibi quisque expers esse videbatur. Sed Hastyngus, cui praesumptus in se protectoris favor animos loquendi fecit, Ultima meritos exempla respondit, quicumque essent. ***^[English 47/28-29]*** At huius, inquit ille, sceleris machinatrix est fratris uxor: innuebat reginam. Cui qui favebant, ad eam vocem miro pavore defigebantur. Sed Hastyngus, **cui uni caedes imminebat,**[189] coepit recreari, quum id malum, quod amicorum cuipiam intentandum pertimuerat, derivari ad inimicam

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[186] *Departed thence,]* **all the courtiers in the meantime were so delighted with his jollity, which they had hardly ever seen in him before, and were praising his humanity and kindness of spirit** *[and soon]* **without a long delay** *[he returned …*

[187] *When he had sat still a while]* **keeping the terrified minds of them all in suspense, he burst out with these words:** *[“ What]* **punishments** *[were …]* **to be thought up** *[worthy]* **of the crimes of those people** *[that compass and imagine…*

[188] *…Lords sat sore astonished]* **by the atrocity of the matter,** *[musing much …*

[189] *…Hastings]* **who was the only one about to be put to death,**

cerneret. Ceterum animo nonnihil anxio requirebat secum, cur se protector hanc rem celasset, **quem conscius esset ab opprimenda regina non abhorrere,**[190] nec rationem inire poterat cur hoc dissimulatum oportuerit apud se, cuius conscientia protector fuerat usus in captivos reginae cognatos, ea ipsa die in ***^[English 48/4,6]*** **quo** asservabantur **oppido** trucidandos, videlicet haud opinantis in eandem propemodum horam sibi vicissim **alio, clanculario consilio**[191] constitutam necem. Interim protector: videbitis, inquit, ut haec scelesta mihi cum uxore Shori, atque aliis praestigiatricibus fascinatum corpus magicis veneficiis exhauserit simul subducta in cubitum manica brachium profert, admodum haud dubie macilentum, sed quale tamen ab initio fuerat. Tum vero merito praeter conscios cuncti expavescere, reputantes **materiam** tantum rixae primum**, deinde caedis quaeri.**[192] ***[cf. English 48/17-19]*** Nam brachium illud macilentum probe noverant et reginam ab magicis praestigiis longe abesse, et si minus abfuisset, Shori tamen uxorem numquam fuisse in societatem consilii vocaturam mulierem, propter libidinem quidem famosam, a magicis artibus autem alienissimam, tum sibi maxime omnium invisam ut paelicem olim: nam et regi in primis caram.

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Igitur iam Hastyngus Shorae commemoratione perculsus (nam eam deamare ferebatur) ***^[English 48/19-22]***

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si talia, inquit, ausae sint, merito certe sunt puniendae. Ad haec ille: Quid tu mihi, inquit, si ? ego tibi fecisse aio: idque si defendas, duello tecum, proditor, approbavero; manumque fortiter velut iratus incussit in mensam, iamque ad ostium Proditio clamabatur, simulque ad hoc intenti signum satellites irrumpentes, armis totum locum complevere, protector ilico manu in Hastyngum iniecta. Ego te laesae maiestatis reum facio, proditor, inquit. Mene, inquit, o protector? Te (inquit) ipsum, o proditor: statimque **Mideltonus**

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[190] *… not before made of counsel in this matter,]* **since he** [i.e. the Protector] **was aware that he** [i.e. Hastings] **had no qualms about overpowering the queen** *[as he was of the taking of her kindred…*

[191] *… not aware that it was by others]* **secretly** *[devised that he …* <NB: English version supplies proper names of the two locations>

[192] *…that this matter… was but]* [the pretext (Latin ‘materiam’) for seeking] *a quarrel]* **and afterwards, bloodshed.**

quidam in Darbiae comitem securim libravit,[193] sic ut nisi propere sub mensam dilapsus evitasset, ictum ad dentes usque caput fuerit divisurus, quippe quem sic quoque celeri lapsu ictum declinantem, extrema tamen acies consecuta vertici impacto vulnere totum cruore perfuderit**. Inter comitem et percussorem hunc lis de praediis olim, atque hinc inimicitia vetus intercesserat. Nam comes eum de possessione, vine an iure incertum, invitum certe, deiecerat, unde ille plus ausus, quam imperatum est in aliena causa, suo dolori serviebat.**[194] Iamque **reliqui proceres episcopique comprehendebantur, et ne mutuo consultarent,**[195] alii alio amandabantur. Sed Hastyngum protector iussit ad mortem se componeret, ac si quid cum sacerdote vellet, accersendum quam primum curaret, Nam ita divum, inquit, Paulum propitium habeam, ut non ante cibi quicquam gustaturus sim quam tibi caput amputatum videam. Ergo ille nihil se reluctando profecturum sciens, adducto quem locus ille offerebat sacerdoti confessionem criminum qualemcumque fecit: nam prolixiorem temporis brevitas non admittebat, protectore iam ad prandium composito, et ut caput illi praecisum esse audiret intento. **Quamobrem urgente Bukyngamiae duce (quem ille suppliciter intuens ut sui misereretur obsecrabat) vix temere facta confessione,**[196] producitur in mediam planitiem arcis, atque ibi super trabem **aedificio reparando destinatam** deposita cervice, **luctuosum insons vitae finem recepit.**[197] Corpus amici cum capite Vindesoram vectum haud procul ab Eduardi carissimi sibi principis ossibus humavere. ***^[English 49/24]***.

Operae pretium est cognoscere, **quae somnia mortem eius praesagiata antecesserint:** sive monita **talia putanda sint a Deo missa**[198] ut caveantur insidiae, sive ineluctabilis fati praevia signa; **aut anima futuri praesaga, sopitis somno sensibus, imminentia fata confusis imaginibus adumbrans, futuros rerum eventus praemonstrat corpori.**[199] Iam primum ad medium eius noctis, quam letalis ei dies sequebatur ab Stanleo minister anhelus domini sui verbis hortatur, ut se quam primum e lecto proripiens fuga inita imminenti periculo se subduceret:

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[193] *"Traitor!" quod the Protector]* **And immediately a certain Middleton swung his axe at the Count of Derby** *[which shrank…*

[194] **… there had been a legal dispute between the Earl of Derby and this axe-wielder concerning some estates, and so there had been an old enmity between them. It seems that the Earl had ejected the other from his lands—whether by force or by legal measures, was unclear – certainly he was driven off unwillingly, and that was why he went beyond what was ordered with regard to this issue which concerned another man (Latin, ' in aliena causa'), in service to his own injury.** *[Then were they all …*

[195] **… the remaining bishops and courtiers – in order to keep them from taking counsel with each other –** *[were all quickly bestowed in diverse chambers …*

[196] *…for saving of his oath,]* **therefore, at the duke of Buckingham's urging (whom he[i.e.Hastings] was staring at and was beseeching to have mercy upon him), had scarcely finished his hurried confession** *[… So was he (i.e Hastings brought forth …*

[197] *…head laid down upon a long log of timber]* **set aside for repairing the building** *[and there stricken off],* **in his innocence he reached the lamentable end of his life .** *[Afterward his body, with the head…*

[198] *A marvelous case it is to hear]* **what portentous dreams he had fortelling his death** *[either the warnings…]* **whwhether such must be be considered to have been sent by God** *[or the tokens…]*

[199] *…of that which he could not avoid]* **or if it be that the soul, prescient of what is to come, when the senses are asleep, shadows forth the impending destiny with confused images, showing future events to the body.** [*For the self night next before his death…*

nam domino obiectam per quietem terribilem, **magnique mali speciem, utrique ipsorum, nisi fuga praeveniretur, exitiosam, ut verebatur futuram.**[200] Visum enim aprum prostratos ambos appetere dentibus: **Hastyngum repente confectum, ipsi vero**[201] sic lancinatum caput, ut sanguis ubertim in sinus efflueret. Hanc imaginem animo eius tam altum impressisse terrorem (quum aprum recordetur protectoris esse insigne) ut illi plane deliberatum sit discedere etiam ante lucem, ille itineris comes sit futurus, plus adhuc viae priusquam desiderarentur emensuros, quam ut consequi eos si qui persequerentur possent. Vah, inquit Hastyngus, adeo ne meticulosus est, uti ad vana somniorum deliramenta contremiscat, quae vel ***[cf. English 50/12]*** **ipsius bilis animo figurat**,[202] vel diurna cogitatione reddit dormienti? Superstitio est nimirum, propeque adeo impietas, inania istaec nugamenta curare, quae si futurorum omnino signa putet, cur non cogitat rata posse etiam fugiendo fieri, vel multo certe potius si retractos ex itinere (ut fugientibus nihil est fidum) iure nos aper invaserit, tanquam ***[cf. English 50/17-18]*** **sceleris conscientia**[203] fugitivos? Quare aut nihil est usquam periculi, nec certe est aut illic etiam amplius. Quod si omnino sit, malo tamen aliena ut perfidia cecidisse, quam vel culpa vel ignavia nostra videamur. Proin abi, ac **manendum nobis**[204] renuntia. ***^[English 50/22-23].*** Nam ego virum illum (quem ipse probe novit) tam certum fidumque mihi, quam dextram hanc manum habeo**.** ***[cf. English 50/24-25]*** **Fecerit** (ait ille) **Deus verum istud, ut eventu comprobes**:[205] atque ita discessit. **Ad cuius nuntium manente Stanleo, intra decem horas proxime consequentes, correpti ambo neglecto somnio fidem fecere.**[206] Certum est quum iam in arcem tenderet, paulum afuisse quominus ter intra breve spatium toties offendente equo provolveretur in terram, quae res etsi nullo die non accidat vel equi vitio vel insidentis incuria, tamen vetusta superstitione sic est observatum, ut denuntiare credatur grande aliquod instans in proximo infortunium. Iam quod sequitur, non tam monitio, quam inimici ludibrium fuit.

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200 *…he had so fearful a dream]* **a vision of a great evil that would mean death for both of them, he feared, unless it was avoided by their flight** *[in which him thought that a boar …*

201 *…with its tusks so razed them both]* **that Hastings was immediately killed and** [Stanley**'s] head was so mangled** *[that blood ran about...their shoulders…*

202 *…which either his own]* **melancholy ('bile') shaped in his mind** *[or … by reason of his day thoughts..*

203 *…as folks that fled]* **for a guilty conscience.**

204 *…therefore go to thy master]* **and tell him that we must stay.**

205 *…own hand].* **"May God bring it about, that you actually experience [what you say will happen] in fact"** *[quoth the messenger …*

206 *…and went his way.]* **When he heard the message, Stanley stayed put, and within the next ten hours both men had been arrested, thereby providing confirmation of the dream that they ignored**.*[Certain is it also that…*

Eques quidam tum perquam tenuis fortunae, nunc purpuratorum facile princeps, ad eum adhuc dormientem venit, officii simulatione comitaturus ad arcem: re autem ipsa a protectore missus, utpote gnarus exitii, ut eius in arcem adventum acceleraret. Is restitantem in via, et cum noto sibi sacerdote qui forte occurrerat ***^[English 51/6-7]*** colloquentem, quasi per iocum interpellans: Quid tibi tam multa cum sacerdote, inquit, nondum enim sacerdote tibi opus est: tecte insultans brevi fore.

% ***^[English 51/10-12]***

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Sed quidvis potius quam vanissimam hominis exitio iam proximi securitatem praeterierim? In ipso arcis ***[cf. English 51/14]*** **vestibulo**[207] non admodum procul ab eo loco in quo caput eius propediem esset amputandum, forte caduceator illi obvius offertur gentilicio sibi nomine. Ad eius occursum subiit animum illius temporis alterius recordatio, quo eidem eodem in loco similiter occurrenti **dolorem ac metum suum communicaverat**.[208] Fuerat enim tum reus apud Eduardum factus, accusante Rivero germano reginae, **tamquam habuisset consilium de prodendo Gallis Caleto, cuius praesidii praefectus erat**.[209] ***[cf. English 51/22-23]*** **Quae tametsi (prout postea compertum est) mera esset calumnia, indignante Rivero sibi illum in eo magistratu praelatum, quem velut destinatum ac promissum ipse speraverat, tum accusatoris dolo, et nocturna reginae oratione praeoccupatis regis auribus, initio tamen** [210] sibi magno in periculo versari videbatur. Igitur ingens eum libido nunc incessit, ibi cum illo de discrimine praeterito iam atque evitato colloquendi.

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[207] *…upon the very]* **entry-way of the** *[Tower*

[208] *…it had happened before to meet in like manner together in the same place]***and he had told him of his grief and fear.**

[209] *…accused … by the Lord Rivers…]* **of having a plan to betray Calais to the French, when he was the prefect there.**

[210] *…it lasted not long]* **and although, (as was later discovered), it was sheer slander, since the Lord Rivers was indignant that he** [i.e., Hastings] **had been preferred to the office** [of Chamberlain] **when he had hoped that it was destined and promised to him, by the trick of accusing him, while the King's ears were kept busy by him while the queen was saying her nightly prayers, at first** *[he stood in great fear of himself.*

Ecquid Hastynge, inquit (**nam id erat etiam caduceatori nomen**)[211] meministi quem olim et hoc ipso in loco sermonem contulerimus? Memini, inquit ille, admodumque certe gratulor, ab invidis intentas insidias ipsis male, tibique contra bene cessisse. Quanto magis, inquit, istud sentias, si ea scires quae sunt adhuc mihi paucisque cognita, quae tu quoque paulo audies posterius. Hoc de capite plectendis eo die, quos ante captos ostendimus reginae cognatos, intellegebat, haudquaquam gnarus quam prope cervicibus idem fatum immineret suis. Quin superis, inquit, habeo gratias, ut numquam aeque mihi dubiae res ac tum fuere, ***^[English 52/10-12]*** ita vicissim numquam magis certae ac melius constitutae fortunae meae quam modo sunt. O densam mortalitatis caliginem! tum demum maxime sibi tutus videbatur, quum tamen post momentum fere temporis periit misere. Vir celebri apud suos loco, utpote equestris ordinis, illustri et antiqua familia natus, **familiae gloriam a maioribus acceptam ipse rerum belli domique gestarum laude cumulavit**.[212] Vitae fuit paulo remissioris, populo ob comitatem gratiosus, regi ob fidem in primis carus, artibus et insidiis malitiosorum hominum expositus propter generosam quandam animi simplicitatem sibi praefidentem, et a dolo maxime alienam. Insidiantibus facile obnoxius, utpote ob innatam animo audaciam.

Caedis huius fama repente per urbem primum, inde quaquaversum pervolavit ***^[English 52/24].*** Sed protector ilico ab facinore patrato, ut aliquid saltem haberet quod tegendo sceleri suo praetexeret, **praefectum urbis, ac senatores aliquot**[213] accersiri ad se in arcem iubet; ubi venere, ostendit ***[cf. English 52/30-53/2]*** sibi ducique instructas in eum diem insidias, quas ipsi quum nihil minus opinantes paulo **ante prandium** deprehendissent[214], ***[cf. English 53/4-5]*** in ipso conatu ad eas opprimendas coactos arma subito qualiacumque corripere.[215]

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[211] *"Ah Hastings,]* **for that was also the messenger's name** (placed earlier in English at 51/15-16)*[art though remembered …*

[212] *…a good knight and a gentle,]* **he had augmented the ancestral glory of his family with his own achievements in war and peace** *…[of great authority with his prince …*

[213] *…sent in all haste for]* **the mayor (Latin 'praefectus urbis') and the senators …**

[214] (Similar statements in English text, but in different order) *And then the Protector showed them]* **that an ambush had been contrived that very day against himself and the duke by** *[… the Lord Chamberlain and others of his conspiracy …of which their treasohn …he never had knowledge before]* **lunchtime**

[215] (Placed later in English text, at 53/4-5: **In their very attempt to suppress the attack they were forced to grab whatever arms were ready to hand …**

Ut aliquam veri speciem habere viderentur quae dicerent,[216] ***[cf. English 52/ 28-30]*** <u>stabant ante oculos milites aliquot multo situ et rubigine loricas, prout in subito exorto tumultu fieri solet, gestantes</u>. ***^[English 53/2-3].*** **Ceterum deprehensis insidiis naviter ac strenue propulsato periculo, pluribusque coniurantium captis, ipsorum benignitatem unius Hastyngi supplicio contentam (cui parci sane maximo ipsorum periculo non posset) reliquos omnes servasse paenitentiae**.[217] ***^[English 53/6-7].*** Ad haec illi, simulantes se credere quae dicerentur, **extollere fortitudinem, laudare clementiam, et incolumitatem gratulari,**[218] quum tacite interim apud se facinus simul et auctorem abominarentur. Protector eodem etiam commento ratus deliniendum populum, caduceatorem interea ***^[English 53/11]*** cum edicto **iam olim in id parato** miserat, **a quo ad tubae sonitum commota plebe**, **locis maxime celebribus eadem fere praeconis voce** [219] praenuntiarentur.

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% **^[English 53/14-32]**
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Sed addita in Hastyngum, quo supplicium eius aequius audiretur, velut praeter noxam eam flagitiosi mulcta consilii conatu punitum,[220] ne quem forte tumultum eius liberandi causa perditi, et proditionis conscientia stimulati parricidae concitarent: quorum nunc spe merito

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[216] **And in order that what they were saying might seem to have an appearance of truth,** *[stood harnessed in old …*

[217] *…such harness as came next to hand.]* **But the plot had been detected and the danger energetically driven away, with many conspirators being captured, but in their generosity they had limited their punishment to Hastings (whom it was most dangerous to spare) and were sparing the others to make their repentance**. *[Every man answered him fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter …]*

[218] **praising their courage, lauding their clemency, congratulating them for accomplishing it safely**,

[219] *… sent…one herald of arms with a proclamation]* **that had already been prepared for the purpose** *[to be made through the city in the King's name]* **summoning the people to the sound of the trumpet in all the most frequented places, reported as if by the voice of one and the same herald,** *[containing that the Lord Hastings …*

[220] **But an accusation of Hastings was added to this, in order for his execution to be more calmly accepted, namely, that beyond the other harm that he had done, he had been punished in the very attempt, just as he deserved for his wicked plan**, *[lest … other mischievous persons …*

illius supplicio providenter oppressa nihil restare periculi, quominus ***[cf. English 54/2]*** **omnes boni sub optimo principe**[221] quietissime sint victuri. Iam hoc edictum, quod intra horas duas ab eius nece pronuntiabatur, et prolixius erat, quam ut vel temere dictatum tam brevi temporis spatio potuerit describi, et tam ambitiose compositum, tam polite membrana descriptum, ut ne duplicato quidem temporis intervallo apparari possit, unde quivis facile persensit elaborati commenti perspicuam vanitatem: nempe quam rem videri volebant modo primum repente comperisse, eius rei poenam deprehendebantur antea meditati.

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% ***^[English54/9-13]***
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Sed inde protinus in Shorae domum irruitur, ***^[English 54/15-17]*** extrahitur ipsa, et truditur in carcerem: direpta bona per iram scilicet ***^[English 54/14]***, atque ad protectorem comportata, velut in mulctam maleficii magici, cuius quum nullum in illa signum posset haerere, ne per iniuriam afflicta videretur, tandem in id descenditur criminis, quod nec ipsa poterat negare: quippe quod populus tam scivit verum, quod nemo tum demum tam atrociter obiectum ei non risit, nempe quod impudicitiae nomine famosa esset;

% ***^[English 54/24-26]***
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unde effecit protector, ut ***[cf. English 54/26-27]*** **in divi Pauli templo,** magna celebritate **Senatu Londinensi prodeunte** supplicatum, ut **nudis pedibus et** cereum accensum manu gestans (**qui mos est illic agentium publicam paenitentiam**)[222] crucem et psallentium chorum praecederet. Caeterum illa vultu gressuque tam composito incedebat, et quamquam neglecto horrendoque cultu, facie tamen adeo venusta, praesertim quum decentissimam in candidas eius genas

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[221] *All the realm]* **under an excellent prince** *[should …rest ..*

[222] …**the Protector** *[caused her… to* [perform] *open penance]* **in St. Paul's Church** *[going … in procession]* [behind] **the London City Council**… **barefoot and** *[with a taper in her hand]* **(which is the custom in that place for those who are performing public penitence)**

rubedinem pudor affunderet ***^[English 55/1]***, ut ingens illud dedecus haud parum ei laudis gratiaeque conciliaverit, apud multos corporis eius potiundi magis quam animae servandae cupiditate flagrantes: quanquam et boni quoque, et quibus vitia invisa erant, misericordia illam magis quam probro dignam censebant, reputantes protectorem illud non tam odio vitiorum, quam scelerati consilii sui tegendi studio adductum fecisse. Haec mulier Londini bonis prognata parentibus, bene pudiceque educata, coniuncta est matrimonio cetera feliciter nisi quod nimium festinato. Nam quum virum haberet multis tum corporis tum fortunae bonis cumulatum, animo tamen ab eo alienato vixit, quod ***[cf. English 55/10-12]*** **prius viro coniuncta foret quam virum amare per aetatem posset**;[223] unde reiecto marito facile regi ambienti assensum praebuit, et alioquin **tanti proci splendor, et aspectus insolens viri ceteris metuendi sibi blandientis ac supplicis:**[224] ad haec spes apparatus, et mundi muliebris conspicui; denique otii, luxus, voluptatum, facile poterant mobilem puellae animum impellere. Sed eam ubi rescivit coniunx, rem habuisse cum rege, ut erat homo modestus ***^[English 55/18]***, haud se tanto honore dignatus ut principis concubinam attingeret, in totum eam regi cessit. **Quanto civilior aliis, quibus haudquaquam aequum in illam ius erat**.[225] Defuncto regi successit Hastyngus, quam etsi vivo illo adamaverat abstinuisse, tamen ferebatur sive reverentia, sive sodalitia quadam fide permotus. Erat illa insigni cutis candore, **totius oris egregia specie praedita, sed oculis praesertim mirae illecebrae inerant;**[226] reliquo corpori nihil quod immutari velles, nisi quis forte optasset altiorem. **Nam bella fuit magis quam procera.**[227] Talem eam fuisse narrant qui illam in ipso formae simul et aetatis flore cognoverunt.

^[English 56/26-32, 57/1]

223 *But forasmuch as]* **she was joined to her husband before she was of an age to love him** *[…easily made her incline unto the King*

224 *Howbeit, the respect of his royalty –]* **the splendor of such a suitor, the unaccustomed sight of a man feared by other men flattering him and begging him for things, and in addition to this** *[the hope of gay apparel …*

225 *…left her up to him altogether,]* **so much more civil than the others who had by no means an equal right to her…**

226 *Proper she was and fair]* **endowed with an extraordinary beauty of the whole face, but especially in her eyes that were marvelously enticing** *[nothing in her body that you would have changed…*

227 *..wished her somewhat higher].* **For she was more beautiful than she was tall.** *[Thus say they who…*

[cf. English 56/1-2] **Et illa quidem etsi tanta esset oris pulchritudine, ut omnium facile ad se oculos converteret,**[228] ingenio tamen adeo festivo, ac moribus tanta comitate conditis fuit, ut magis propter morum sanitatem, quam oris pulchritudinem amanda videretur. Sermonis faciendi egregia artifex, ***^[English 56/3-5]*** neque silentio rustico, neque immodica dicacitate notabilis. Rex siquidem **cum esset solito hilarior,**[229] interdum solebat praedicare meretrices se habere tres, diversis quamque dotibus insignes: unam lepidissimam, alteram astutissimam: tertiam vero meretricum quae usquam essent ***[cf. English 56/8]*** **omnium sanctissimam**: ut quae extra lectum regium non facile alibi quam in templo conspiceretur. ***[cf. English 56/10-12]*** **Reliquae haud sat compertum habeo quae fuerint.**[230]

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Laetissimam hanc esse constat, quam dicimus eo nomine carissimam, qui quum alias nonnullas haberet, unam hanc prae ceteris adamavit. Quin et haec mulier ***^[English 56/14-15]*** tantum afuit ut favore principis in cuiusquam abuteretur malum, ut plurimis etiam bono fuerit. Nam et offensum regis animum plerumque leniebat, invisis gratiam, delinquentibus veniam impetrabat,

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denique multis in magnis rebus suis magno saepe usui erat, mercede plerumque vel nulla, vel praeexigua, eaque specie magis quam pretio spectanda, sive facti sui conscientia contenta, seu bene de omnibus merendo ostendere cupiens quantae apud principem auctoritatis foret ***^[English 56/23-24].*** **Certum est adeo extra invidiam fuisse, ut praeterquam ab una regina, ab utraque reliqua factione mutuo sibi infesta pariter amaretur.**[231]

^[English 56/25-31]

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[228] *…a fair face.]* **And although she was so beautiful as to readily turn everyone's eyes towards herself,** *[Yet delighted men … in her pleasant behavior*

[229] *The King]* **when he was more light-hearted than usual** *[would say that he had three concubines…*

[230] **As for the remaining two, I don't have enough information to know what they were like.**

[231] **Certain it is, that she was so far from being hated, that besides being loved by the queen, she was equally loved by the two factions who hated each other.**

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Haud temere
cuiquam illorum auctoritate gratiaque inferior, qui diversis aetatibus apud suos quique principes valentes sola scelerum fama posteris inclarescunt, ***[cf. English 57/3-4]*** **eo diuturniore memoria**, **quo deteriore**:[232] ut beneficia pulveri, mali si quid patimur, marmori insculpimus. **At eadem adeo olim celebris, amicis nunc notisque omnibus superstes, annisque velut in alterum progressa saeculum, deleta propemodum etiam sibi longis malis pristini luxus memoria,**[233] miseram hodie vitam mendicando sustinet: viventibus tamen ac simulantibus quibusdam, qui nunc ei fuissent adversae fortunae consortes, nisi res illis incolumes ipsa aliquando conservasset.

Sed uti supra narrare coepimus,[234] eadem hora qua Londini truncatus est **Hastyngus, Antonius** interim **Vodevilus**, reginae frater, **Richardus Graius,**[235] quos Hamptoniae ac Stratfordiae comprehensos diximus ad oppidulum, quod a fracto ponte nomen accepit, capite plectebantur, curante caedem Richardo Ratclyffo equite, cuius ministerio protector ad eiusmodi tyrannica facinora ut plurimum utebatur, utpote valde taciturni, et multarum experti rerum; ingenii magni, malique, sermone rudis erat, habitu rusticus, ad quaelibet atrocia facinora suscipienda princeps, ab omni aut erga homines misericordia aut erga superos reverentia alienissimus. Is e carcere productos,
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% ***^[English 57/27-28]***
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ac respondere
prohibitos, ne cognita eorum innocentia protectori conflaret invidiam, indemnatos, inauditos, atque adeo nec accusatos quidem celeriter

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[232] (Note word play in Latin (**di**utur**niore**, **det**er**iore**) comparable to the English at 57/2-3) : "*famous only by the infamy*"): **the longer-lasting the remembrance, the lower the level [of the things to be remembered]…**

[233] *..write it in dust. Which is not not worst proved by her]* **who was once so famous, and now has survived all her friends and acquaintances, and with the years has passed into another century, the memory of erstwhile luxury now almost destroyed by the long-enduring evils she has had** *[for at this day she beggeth of many …*

[234] *Now]…* **as we began to say before**, *[was it so devised by the Protector…*

[235] *… that the self day in which]* **Hastings** *[was beheaded]* **at London** *[was there, not without his [i.e Hastings'] assent beheaded at Pomfret]* **Anthony Woodville, the queen's brother, and Richard Gray** *[that were taken …at Northhampton…*

necandos curavit, nulla alia culpa quam quod boni erant, aut vel nimis propinqui reginae, vel nimis fideles principi. Igitur patratis rebus his, ***^[English 58/3]*** et nobilium quos maxime adversaturos putabat necatis aliis, aliis adhuc captivis, tum reliquis fere ***[cf. English 58/6]*** **Londini agentibus**, procul ab suis cuiusque viribus, denique attonitis et perculsis omnibus, quum neque sciret quisquam quorsum res evaderet, aut cui consilia crederet, protector rapiendam occasionem ratus est: unde suspensis subito pavore omnium adhuc animis, occupandam regni possessionem, priusquam rebus plenius excussis, et communicatis consiliis in diversa discedendi spatium firmatis partium copiis esset. Ceterum in hoc haerebatur, quinam color rei tam sceleratae praetexi posset, quo leniretur invidia. Huic consultationi plures **adhibebat**, quos spe praemiorum facile ad se traductos usui sibi **sperabat**[236] fore, vel viribus pollentes vel ingenio. In his Edmundum Shaum, Londini praefectum, velut ingentium praemiorum spe sollicitant, sperantes fieri commode posse, ut ille ***[cf. English 58/19]*** **sententias confirmaret**[237]. E clero delecti, quibus apud plebem auctoritas contionando quaesita fuerat ***^[English 58/21]:*** potissimum vero Ioannes Shaus, praefecti frater, ac Pynkerus, Augustinensium fratrum in Anglia praeses. Ambo sacrarum professione litterarum insignes, ambo contionum gloria celebres. Ceterum utrique doctrina tam infra famam, quam virtus infra doctrinam.

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% ***^[English 58/25-26]***

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Hi sermones e suggestu

[236] *To this counsel]* **he engaged** *[… divers, such as]* **he hoped** …(note use of singular subject in Latin, but plural subjects in English; a plural subject is resumed in the Latin version at line 15: *sollicitant*)

[237] *Edmund Shaa … that he should]* **confirm them in their opinions**

accuratissimos in laudem protectoris (alter antequam rex creatus esset, alter post regnum initum habuere) plenos adulationis intolerandae. Pynkerus in medio orationis cursu destitutus voce descendit, **populo id in superos referente, velut sacrilegae palpationis ultores:**[238] Shaus publica omnium ignominia notatus, haud multo post vita excessit, taedio solitudinis, in quam sese pudore publici conspectus abdiderat. ***^[English 59/6-7]***. Sunt et qui Pynkerum negant initio propositi conscium, sed, re peracta, vulgato more gratiam aucupatum apud cupidum laudis principem. ***^[English 59/9-11]***

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Ceterum ut de illo ambigitur, ita cum Shao constat usque adeo communicatum consilium, ut ei primae etiam partes insinuandae populo rei mandarentur. Nam ea commodissima incipiendi negotii visa est ratio, si is contione solemni ***^[English 59/13]*** proposita re, et tractata concinne, labefactatos animos plebis ab rege ad protectorem ***^[English 59/15]*** pelliceret. Ceterum praecipua negotii pars in excogitanda mutandi regis causa versabatur, **ne tam impium consilium impudenter expositum protinus exploderetur.**[239] In eam rem alia aliis conferentibus, huc denique summa recidit, ut persuaderetur populo, et Eduardum ipsum, et eius omnem sobolem illegitimo esse coitu natam: ita nec illum umquam iuste regnasse, nec hos ei rite successuros, **ea ratione restare protectorem unum regni capacem, et unicum Eboraci ducis legitimum filium**.[240] Sed obiectum Eduardo ipsi natalium vitium, fieri non potuit quin et ipsum protectorem perstringeret, utpote ei cum Eduardo commune: ***^[English 59/26-27]***

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nec ideo tamen censuit abstinendum. Sed eum locum obliquo ductu atque arte tractandum, sic ut quum dicantur omnia, multa tamen supprimi viderentur: scilicet ne ipsius animus in matrem pius offenderetur. At illud alterum, de filiis Eduardi pro spuriis habendis, recta atque aperte agi placuit, et quam maxime

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[238] *Penker so lost his voice that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst]* **and the people saw it as divine punishment for such sacrilegious flattery:** *[Doctor Shaa by his sermon lost his honesty …*

[239] *…pretext …to depose the King and accept the Protector for king]* **lest such an impious plot , through imprudent exposure, be immediately quashed.** *[In which, divers things they devised …*

[240] *So that (Edward) should seem disabled to inherit the crown by the duke of York, and the Prince by him]* **and for this reason that the Protector was the only one left that was capable of having the crown, and the sole legitimate son of the Duke of York.** *[To lay bastardy in King Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the Protector's own mother, which was mother to them both …*

posset exaggerari: ***[cf. English 59/34]*** **atque huic rei quam falsam et olim revictam, reiectamque calumniam praetexuit**,[241] melius cognoscetur, si quaedam altius ab Eduardi coniugio facta repetamus. Eduardus Henrico deposito, potitus regni, ***^[English 60/4-5]***

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comitem Varvici, **virum opibus simul et populari gratia florentem,**[242] legaverat in Hispaniam tractaturum de nuptiis cum regis Hispani filia contrahendis.

% ***^[English 60/9-11]***

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Sed interea forte venit ad eum Elisabetha Graia ***^[English 60/14]*** vidua, **fortunae perquam tenuis, at**[243] materno genere nobilitatis magnae vetustaeque ***^[English 60/15-17]:*** paterno impare, sed non obscuro. Ipsa quum in aula versaretur Henrici, reginae obsequens, nupserat Graio, **eleganti quidem ac strenuo, sed honesto magis, quam claro aut potente: nempe nullo adhuc pacis, bellive gradu insigni.**[244] Sed eum Henricus postea proelium initurus ***^[English 60/21-22]*** adversus Eduardum equitem fecerat: quo ille honore haud biduum gavisus eodem in proelio occubuit.

% ***^[English 60/24-25]***

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% Ergo ***[cf. English 60/26]*** **uxor eius,**[245] **ut dixi, amisso viro, Henrico victo captoque, ipsa bonis omnibus exuta, relatis videlicet in Eduardi fiscum quod maritus eius ab adversa parte steterat, cecideratque habitu lugubri et miserabili, ac advoluta pedibus Eduardi**[246] supplices ei libellos porrigit; **tum in se conversum ac restitantem videns audituro similem, causam verbis proponit, atque addit preces**,[247] uti praedia quaedam haud magni census ob nuptias ei pridem a marito donatae

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[241] *… enforced to the uttermost.]* **But with what a false and long-ago-refuted-and-dismissed slander he clothed this matter** *[cannot be perceived but if we first repeat you some things …*

[242] *…sent over in embassage the Earl of Warwick,]* **a man both wealthy and flourishing in popular favor** *[… unto Spain…*

[243] *…a widow,]* **of very slender fortune, but** *[born of noble blood …*

[244] *…was married unto one John Grey, a squire],* **an elegant and ready man, but more honorable than he was famous or politically powerful, since before that time he had not been decorated in peace or war,** *[whom King Henry made knight upon the field…*

[245] **Therefore** *[this]* **man's wife,** *[….made humble suit…*

[246] *…Warwick being in his embassage…this poor lady (Latin: "this man's wife")]* **as I said, having been bereft of her husband when King Henry was conquered and captured, and having been deprived of all her possessions, which had been absorbed into Edward's treasury because her husband had fought on the wrong side, dressed in sorrowful and poor clothing, fell down at Edward's feet and** *[made humble suit unto the King (i.e. "handed him a writ of supplication")…*

[247] *..humble suit unto the King];* **then, seeing him stop and turn towards her, and seem to listen to her, she spoke her suit with her own words, and added some prayers to him**, *[that she might be restored …*

reddi sibi iuberet, **neque enim quae sua iam erant facta, ullo viri sui crimine cadere in commissum potuisse, ut modo detur crimen esse, apud quem sacramentum dixerat, in eius fide regis ad mortem usque mansisse, nec minus firmam illam, si fata servassent incolumem, novo regi fidem servaturum fuisse.**[248] Rex in loquentis vultum defixus, mulieris constantiam tanta cum modestia coniunctam mirabatur, orationis gratiam duplicante forma, non misereri modo supplicem suam, sed amare quoque incipit**: et modo quidem placide respondens bene sperare illam iubet, brevi enim se de re cogniturum.**[249] Sed paulo post revocatam ***^[English 61/8-9],*** **de negotio pauca praefatus facilem se ostentat fore, modo illa sese non difficilem praebeat; quin ultro plura daturum, si ea vicissim paululum ei quiddam gratificaretur. Illa, quamdiu per ambiguam regis orationem licuit, dissimulare scire se quid ille vellet interim** respondere benigne et circumspecte**, omnia** nec absque honesti cautione **promittit.** [250] Sed ubi remotis ambagibus ad inhonesta sollicitari vidit, tum vero aperte resistere: verum sic composito et temperato sermone, ut cupiditatem eius incenderet magis quam leniret, ***^[English 61/18-19]*** **quam,** ***[cf. English 61/19-23]*** **quum vehementius accensam viderit quam ut facile posset extingui,**[251] **modo infamiam, modo culpae conscientiam praetendens, orabat uti frustra niti desisteret.**[252]

% Ipsam enim etsi minus dignam existimaret, quae fieret uxor regis, digniorem tamen se, quam ut concubina eius fieri vellet censere. Regi haudquaquam ante sueto tam obstinate repelli, nova illa constantia fuit admirationi, qui tam raram castitatem (**cum eximia venustate coniunctam**)[253] maximarum opum loco ponens, ab amore consilium mutuatus, primo quoque tempore eam sibi uxorem ducendam constituit. Itaque ***[cf. English 61/30]*** **re animo eius altius impressa, quam ut ullo consilio evelli posset, ne tamen videretur cupiditatem magis suam quam suorum consilium secutus**,[254] cum amicis deliberat, qui facile cernentes in quam partem regis animus propenderet, certatim approbant. Ceterum***^[English 61/35]*** mater eius adeo rem aegre

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[248] *…such small lands as her late husband had given her in jointure]* **since the things that had already been made her own could not be liable to confiscation by reason of her husband's crime, assuming that it even *was* a crime for her husband to stay faithful, even to his death, to that king to whom he had sworn his oath, since if his destiny had allowed him to escape the battle unscathed, he would have sworn, and been just as faithful, to an oath to the new King** *[. Whom when the King beheld and heard speak…*

[249] *…waxed enamoured on her]*, **and now quietly answering her, said that she had good cause to be hopeful, that he would soon look into the matter.** *[And taking her afterward …aside, began …*

[250] *…began to enter in talking more familiarly],* **talked a little at first about her issue, then showed that that he would be obliging, as long as she did not prove difficult; in fact, he would even give her more than she asked for, if she would do him a little favor in return. And she –as long as she was able to get away with it by the King's ambiguous way of speaking – pretended, modestly and in a good natured way, that she had no idea what he meant, meanwhile promising** [to oblige completely], **but** [made this response in a cautious and upright manner].

[251] *…rather kindled his desire than quenched it… espied his heart]* **too powerfully set afire to be easily extinguished** *(cf. English: " more firmly set than to fall off for a word")*

[252] **at times protesting that it would give her a bad reputation, at other times that she would feel the guilt of wrongdoing, she asked him to give up his vain attempts.** *[And in conclusion she showed him plainly …*

[253] *…her … chastity]* **(joined with her extraordinary beauty)** *[that he set her virtue in stead of possession and riches …*

[254] *…to marry her. And after]* **the idea was too deeply rooted in his soul for it to be torn out by any advice, in order nevertheless not to seem like he was following his passion rather than the advice of his friends,** *[then asked he counsel*

tulit, ut dissuadendo ***[cf. English 62/2]*** **vix temperarit iurgiis:** [255] honorificentius illum utiliusque rebus consulturum suis haud satis adhuc domi pacatis, si externum sibi regem affinitate conglutinet. Inde non praesidium tantum stabiliendo regno, sed augendae praeterea dicionis spem esse.

% ***^[English 62/5-8*** *cf. below, lines 27-32*

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Nam istud, inquit, coniugium haudquaquam sane regium, fuerit,

% ***^[English 62/9-11]***

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ut si quispiam paulo ditior ancillam depereat suam sibique adsciscat in sociam, **quod quoties accidit**;[256] etiam qui connubium puellae gratulantur, tamen delirum dominum irrident, quamquam haud ita longe supra condicionem virginis ***[cf. English 62/15]*** quam huius humilitas viduae infra tuae maiestatis eminentiam subsidit, in cuius corpore indoleve animi ut nihil improbo, ita nihil tam eximium esse contenderem idem, ut non aliis etiam supersit, quae tibi multis praeterea modis congruerent magis, ***^[English 62/19]***; **incommode certe iunguntur imparia nec umquam coalescunt bene quae valde dissident. Manca sunt et imperfecta semper disparibus nata parentibus. Sustinere potes ut huic florentissimo quod obtines regno progeneres hybridas ac degeneres regulos? Et tuus sanguis Graii filiis ut fratres generet?** [257] Certe si illa tibi alioqui conveniret maxime, ***^[English 62/23-26]*** qua nunc nihil convenit minus, tamen sacrosanctam maiestatem principis quem aeque deceat sacerdoti puritate parem esse ac dignitate proxime accedit, haudquaquam censeam statim primo coniugio, indelebili bigamiae labe polluendam. ***[cf. English 62/5-8]*** Quid quod tractando alibi matrimonio longius progressus es, quam unde regredi non inhoneste queas, fortasse nec tuto quidem, quippe legato in id Varvice comite**, viro totius regni tui secundum te potentissimo,** qui frustrari labores suos et eludi quae firmavit indoleat, **non satis aestimare te video quam valde tuarum rerum interfuerit**[258]. At rex, ***^[English 63/1],*** quamquam

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[255] *… dissuaded the marriage]* **scarcely refrained from railing at him** *[alleging that it was his honor…*

[256] *…a rich man that would marry his maid …only for a little wanton dotage]* **and whenever that happens,** *[… many more commend the maiden's fortune than…*

[257] *…more meet , quoth she, for your estate, and maidens also];* **it does not work for unequal things to be joined, and things will not grow well together that are quite different from each other. The offspring of unequal parents is lame and defective. Could you stand to procreate half-breed and degenerate kinglets for this most flourishing kingdom that you possess? And your blood produce brothers for Gray's children?** *[whereas …*

[258] (Similar statements placed earlier in the English text, at 62/5-8) : What about the steps you have taken for finding a marriage elsewhere, from which you cannot ignobly withraw from now, especially since you sent Count Warwick to do this**, the man second in the entire kingdom in power to you,** who were not likely to take it well if all his voyage were in such wise frustrated **…I see that you do not appreciate how much he is doing on your behalf.**

libenter optabat quam sibi ipse delegisset matri quoque probari, tamen utut illa rem acciperet, quum quid facturus esset apud se constituisset, multa serio, quaedam ioco respondit, ut qui solutum sese materna curatione meminisset.[259] Tametsi ***^[English 63/5]*** matrimonium divina quaedam res, inquit, ***[cf. English 63/6-8]*** **virtutis ergo** contrahi **non opulentiae**[260] debeat, Deo videlicet amorem fidemque mutuam inspirante coniugibus, quod ego certe nobis contigisse confido, tamen hoc meum coniugium ***[cf. English 63/9]*** **si quis vel crassius aestimet vulgato more hominum sanctis utilia praeferentium,**[261] is ipse, ni fallor, inveniet illud non usque adeo incommodum. Nam ego[262] certe nullius amorem populi potiorem duco mihi, quam mei, cui haud paulo cariorem ita me spero fore, si coniugium mearum non videar aspernari. Externorum vero necessitudines principum, **quas maternus affectus tuus potissimum censet ambiendas, unde nos malorum saepe flumen erupisse vidimus**[263], tamen licebit adiungere, minore cum damno meo, si qui meorum forte sustineant cum incognitis copulari. Nam ipse certe nec ducere possum quam non amo, **nec adamare quam non video,**[264] nec sat consultum arbitror futuri incrementi spe quod promittunt quam praestant saepius externa matrimonia, praesentium bonorum fructum corrumpere, quorum ***[cf. English 63/20-21]*** **quis esse sensus potest eam habenti perpetuam vitae sociam, quam non libenter aspicias.**[265] ***[cf. English 64/3-6:*** *placed earlier in Latin]:* Quin accedere mihi uxoris nomine in ulteriore dicione novos titulos ne optarim quidem, quippe cui iam nunc tantum terrae marisque debetur, quantum asserere fideliter tuerique satis nimirum unicuipiam superque fuerit.[266] At sunt ubique nonnullae quae huic meae nulla corporis aut animi dote cesserint, **multis exsuperant etiam,**[267] istud ego neque hercle infitior neque prohibeo sane quominus eas hi quibus sic videntur, fruantur: eoque contra iniurium est aegre cuiquam esse meo me quoque genio obsequi. Nec Varvici **comitem quem vel utcumque animatum non tam valde formido,**[268] tamen haud tam adverso in me animo reor id illi ut doleat quod mihi sentit lubere, neque tam iniquum ut postulet in delegenda coniuge eius me potius oculis regi quam meis, perinde ac pupillus adhuc sim, a cuius coniugio requiratur tutoris auctoritas,

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[259] The order of these two clauses (1: **at rex quamquam libenter…=** *albeit he would gladly …)* and (2: **multa serio, quaedam ioco**… = *part in earnest, part in play …*) is the reverse of the English.

[260] *…marriage, being a spiritual thing, ought rather to be made]* **by reason of virtue** *[rather… than]* **wealth**

[261] *…nevertheless him seemed that this marriage]* **even if someone were to look at it more crudely, in the common way of those people who prefer useful things to holy things** *[was not unprofitable …*

[262] Note the use of the first person in the Latin, in contrast with the indirect statement of the English, using third person.

[263] *And yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite]* **and which you, in your maternal sollicitude, think that I should especially seek out, but from which we have often seen flow a river of evils** *[…much better by others of his kin…*

[264] *… marry… whom* **[I** *]should haply never love]* **nor love whom I have never seen** …

[265] *...lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already…]* **and what would be the sense of having as your perpetual lifelong companion someone you might not like to look at?**

[266] (A similar statement is placed later in the English at 64/ 3-6): But I do not even want to have further possessions and new titles in my wife's name, since I already have as much land and sea to claim as my own and faithfully to guard – in fact, (and it is no surprise) more than enough for one person .

[267] *… in every point comparable with her],* **in many ways even superior…**

[268] *…And I am sure that my cousin]* **the count** *[of Warwick]* **whom I do not fear very much, no matter how agitated he is…**

[cf. English 64/2] **quin dispeream in privatis esse liber**,[269] quam rex hac servitute vellem, uxor ut invito mihi alieno arbitratu obtruderetur.

% ***[cf. English 64/3-6:*** *placed above in Latin at 63/21-24]*

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[cf. English 64/17-19] Iam bigamiae labes illa quam tu, carissima mater, severioribus verbis impetere videris non me tam valde multum territat, obiciat hanc mihi patriae pontificulus ambienti forte sacerdotium, nam administrando quantum memini regno non officit.[270] Denique quod habet ex priore matrimonio liberos, id ego per gratias etiam in lucro pono, quin mihi quoque caelibi adhuc non desunt aliquot. Ita mutuo probamentum dedimus nuptias nobis non infecundas fore. **Quamobrem coniugium hoc quod ipse mihi superis aspirantibus delegi,**[271] tu quoque dulcissima genitrix approba, **idemque nobis ut feliciter cedat faustis comprecationibus tuis adnitere, quae si pergas in praesens adversari,** nascetur hinc brevi nepotulus tibi qui nobis te **blanditiis suis** conciliet.[272]

% ***[cf. English 64/17-19:*** *placed above in Latin at 64/7-10]*

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Tamen mater ubi regis animum vidit inflexibilem, ***[cf. English 64/21-22]*** **ipsa contra fit obstinatior, et dolore spreti consilii sui magis succensa**[273] novam ingreditur viam ad disturbandas nuptias **^*[English 64/23]***. Erat Elisabetha quaedam gentilicio nomine Lucia, puella nec ignobilis et egregia forma. Eam forte virginem rex **corrupit**. **Igitur ubi nuptiarum appetebat dies, et pro more populus admoneretur, ne si quis obicem sciret eludi sacramentum pateretur,**[274] mater eius velut exsolutura sese pollutorum religione sacrorum, deflet Luciam filio vere uxorem esse, data fide et firmata concubitu. Igitur seu non ausis progredi pontificibus, sive nolente rege ***[cf. English 64/31-3]*** **nuptias suas adverso rumore conspergi, cui materna pietas auctoritatem pondusque tribueret**.[275] Interea restitum est quoad cognita re, falsitas eius famae revinceretur. Accersita Lucia quamquam occultis instructa consiliis, ostentata spe uxorem se regi fore, modo fidem coniugii sibi a rege datam constanter

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[269] *… as though I were a ward* [bound by a guardian's authority] **to prevent me from freely falling in love with particular individuals of my own choosing** (Latin: "privatis"). *[I would not be a Kingwith that condition …*

[270] (Similar statements are placed later in the English at 64/17-19): As for the stain of bigamy, dearest mother, which you seem to be casting at me with such harsh words, it does not frighten me all that much: let the "little pope" (i.e. Archbishop) make an objection if I try to become a priest, since, as far as I recall, it (i.e. bigamy) does not get in the way of my administration of the secular realm.

[271] *…neither is likely to be barren.]***Therefore, [concerning] this marriage, which, with heaven's blessing, I have chosen for myself** *[…I pray you be content*

[272] **And strive with your own auspicious prayers that it turns out happily, and if you continue to oppose me now, soon** *[she shall bring forth a prince (Latin: "grandson") that shall please you]* **with his charms**.

[273] *…seeing the King so set thereon that she could not pull him back,]* **she became more obstinate, and more angered by the hurt of having her advice rejected,** *[she devised to disturb this marriage …*

[274] *…whom the King had...gotten with child (Latin: "corrupted").]* **And so, when the King's wedding day approached, and, as is the custom, the people were asked if anyone knew of any objection that might invalidate the sacrament** *[…the King's mother …*

[275] *…by… which words, such obstacle was made that either the bishops durst not, or the King would not]* **have his nuptials be stained by an ugly rumor, to which his mother's piety was lending weight and authority** *[…until the same [nuptials] were clearly purged and the truth well …testified.*

affirmet, quum tamen proposito iuramento super ea re in iudicio interrogaretur, fatetur nullo coniugii promisso regem obstrictum. Ceterum amoris prae se tulisse tantum ut ipsa suum obsequium speraverit consecuturas nuptias. ***[cf. English 65/4-6]*** **Alioqui numquam concubitum eius fuisse passuram.**[276] Comperta ergo et denuntiata falsitate commenti matrimonii, Elisabetham Graiam ducit rex sibique in reginam sociat hostis paulo prius uxorem

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%^***[English 65/11-12]***.

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Sed comes Varvicensis reversus adeo aegre tulit illusam legationem suam ut coacta manu regem ***[cf. English 65/16-18]*** **in exsilium expulerit**[277]

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% ***[cf. English 65/21-25:*** *placed below in Latin at 65/23-24]*

e carcere restituto in regnum Henrico quem Eduardus ipsius ope Varvici deposuerat. Tantus ille vir fuit et reliquis opibus et populari gratia ut ab utra parte stetisset, in eam nimirum regni gubernacula inclinarent, potens et sibi sumere nisi honorificentius multo duxisset, reges creare quam regnare. ***[cf. English 66/1]*** **Sed immodica potentia raro perpetua**[278].

[cf. English 65/22-26] Siquidem Eduardus cum biennium afuisset, regina interea **in asylo memorato** enixa principem,[279]

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[276] *…she verily hoped he would marry her. …]* **otherwise, she would never have suffered to lie with him.** <NB: play on the word "kind" in the English, is absent in the Latin>.

[277] *Assembled a great puissance agasint the King and]* **drove him into exile.**

[278] *But…]* **excessive power rarely** *[lasteth always.*

[279] (A similar statement is placed earlier in the English at 65/21-25): Now, since Edward was away for two years, the **Queen,** (cf. English "his new wife") in the meanwhile, bore the child (Prince Edward) **in the asylum of which** (cf. English "the prince of whom") we before have spoken.

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haudquaquam pari manu cum Varvicensi congressus apud Bernettum ***[cf. English 66/3-5]***
decem ab Londino milibus, **capto rursus Henrico comiteque magna utriusque partis strage occiso**,[280] regnum in sua domo sic constabilivit,
% ***^[English 66/5-6]***
%
ut concuti nisi domestico dissidio et intestina fraude non posset.
Haec, ut fors narrata verbosius, ita praetermitti prorsus haud decuerat, ne protector ignoraretur Eduardi filiis natalium vitium obiecturus ***[cf. English 66/ 9-10]*** **nihil reperisse** quod illius matrimonio obiceret **praeter excussam olim et antiquatam calumniam**[281]. Ceterum id commentum quamlibet frigidum ***[cf. English 66/13-16]*** **illi** placuit **cui**[282] satis erat aliquid dici, nimirum securo certoque probationes ab se non exigendas. Igitur postquam initium insinuandae populo rei Shao decretum est, hactenus ut Eduardo, fratreque eius Clarentiae, totaque Eduardi sobole spuriis declaratis,
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% ***^[English 66/19-22]***
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protectoris ad regnum ius ostenderet, taceret voluntatem.[283] Is e suggestu dominico die proximo ad aedem Pauli frequentissimo auditorio, quod eius fama viri contraxerat, hoc themate sermonem exorsus est. Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas,
% ***[cf English 66/27 =** *translation of line above]***
inde praefatus
infundi atque inspirari, semperque contracto rite matrimonio, propriam quandam ac peculiarem gratiam, quae in sobolem sancte conceptam derivetur, qua plerumque deficerentur hi qui vago vel adulterino concubitu nati, parentum crimen pravitate sua testentur usque adeo ut si qui ***[cf. English 66/34-35]*** **materna fraude celato originis vitio supplantatis**

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[280] *at Barnet…]* **ten miles distant from London, taking Henry captive again** *[… slew the]* **count** *[with great]* **slaughter** *[of that party* (cf. Latin: "**both** parties") …

[281] *…it might better appear]* **that the Protector found nothing** [to bring against the marriage] **besides that antiquated worn–out scandal** *[by which he pretended…*

[282] *But that invention, simple as it was, it liked]* **him to whom** *[it sufficed …* <NB: the Latin version uses the singular, referring to Richard alone, while the English version uses the plural, referring to "the Protector and his Council">

[283] *Doctor Shaa should…signify to the people that neither King Ward himself nor Duke of Clarence nor … and so, all bastards that were begotton upon the Queen,]*[and should also assert] **the Protector's right to the throne, although not his desire for it.**

veris haeredibus,[284] alieni patris fortunas invaserint, atque occuparint ad tempus, ita tum rem disponente Deo, erumpente brevi veritate, restitui legitimos successores **et genuinos reddi suae terrae surculos,**[285] deprehenso ac reuulso vitulamine spurio priusquam altius agat radices. Haec ubi vetustis aliquot confirmasset exemplis ***^[English 67/6-7]***, protinus in laudes divertit Richardi nuper Eboraci ducis, eum subinde vocans patrem protectoris, tum admonito populo successionem regni perpetuam **senatusconsulto ac scito plebis**[286] eius unius, deinceps stirpi decretam ostendit.

% ***^[English 67/11-13]***

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Eduardum contra ius ac fas reginae copulatum, superstite Lucia vera eius et indubitata coniuge etenim contracto cum ea virgine matrimonio, **tum (suscepta etiam sobole) consummato, supervenientis forma viduae transversum actum, fidem libidine posteriorem habuisse, sic nullam eius sobolem regni capacem esse. Hunc locum egit magna contentione, non signis modo et suspicionibus, sed nominatis etiam falso testibus. Addit non ignarum se quanto cum periculo dicat, sed ex eo loco loquentibus, in quo ipse stabat veritatem habendam, vita quoque ipsa potiorem, sibi Ioannem Baptistam auctorem esse contemnendae necis, dum illicita regum coniugia redarguat, nec tum admodum mirari se Eduardum nihil habuisse pensi, legitimosne an spurios relinqueret**,[287] quippe nec ipsum, nec fratrem eius Clarentiae ducem satis certo natos patre, ut qui notos quosdam homines e familiaribus Eboraci ducis magis ***[cf. English 67/25]*** **oris specie**[288] referrent, quam ipsum ducem. A cuius etiam generosa indole dicebat Eduardum longe degenerasse. Ceterum protectorem virum omnium quos sustineret terra clarissimum non vita modo, sed vultu quoque ipso patrem referre. Hic est, inquit, unus atque unicus Eboraci ducis, verus et indubitatus filius, haec illius viri nota facies, haec certa forma, atque ipsa carissimi ducis pectoribus adhuc vestris obversantis effigies.

Sed antea iam convenerat, ut dum haec verba dicebantur, protector

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[284] *… some, by …]* **a mother's fraud, supplanting the true heirs** *[inherited …other men's lands…*

[285] *…the rightful inheritors be restored]* **and the legitimate shoots be returned to their own land** *[and the bastard slip pulled up …*

[286] *…title of his heirs unto the crown …entailed by]* **"senatus consultum" and "plebiscitum"** (i.e. both Parliament and people) <NB: Roman political terminology used in the Latin>

[287] *…that Edward was before God husband unto Dame Lucy]***and then this marriage having been consummated (for a child was born) but driven astray by the beauty of a widow who came before him, put his fidelity in second place to his lust, and thus none of his offspring was able to inherit the kingdom. He [i.e. Shaw] drove this point home with much argument, not only finding indications and raising suspicions, but also by calling false witnesses. He added that he was not unaware of what danger he was getting himself into, but that, for those who had to speak in his situation, the truth was more important than life itself, that John the Baptist set an example of someone who thought little of incurring death for decrying the illicit relationships of kings, nor should it be any wonder that Edward did not care whether his heirs were legitimate or not** *[and besides that, neither King Edward nor the Duke of Clarence …*

[288] *…as those that]* **by the appearance of their face** *[more resembled other known men than* [the duke of York himself]

interveniret, ita fore ut putetur eam contionator haud humano consilio, sed ***[cf. English 68/3-4]*** **divino quopiam afflatus numine**[289] protulisse, tum ut ea re permotus populus, Richardum regem ilicet ingeminaret, sic visum iri posteris divinitus in regem illum quasique miraculo delectum. Verum id consilium sive neglegentia protectoris, sive nimia contionatoris diligentia, ***[cf. English 68/7]*** **longe aliter cecidit atque constitutum est:**[290] nam dum uterque metuit, ne superventus eius illa verba in quae debebat incidere praeveniret, altero moras in via nectente, alter ita dicendo festinaverat, ut eo loco toto perorato in alias res neque similes neque affines ei descenderit, quum iam protector transiret. At contionator ubi conspicatur ingressum, relicta ea re quam tum tractare coeperat, repente velut attonitus nullo ductu ordineve, sed ineptissimo recursu illa verba repetit denuo. Hic est unus atque unicus Eboraci ducis verus et indubitatus filius, **et quae sequuntur.**

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% ***^[English 68/15-21]***
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Inter quae verba protector comitante Bukyngamiae duce ad locum ***^[English 68/23]*** in quo reliquum sermonem audiret per medium incedebat populum. Sed illi tam longe aberant, ut illum regis nomine publico clamore salutarent, ut attoniti perstarent immobiles stupore tam pudendae contionis.

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% ***^[English 68/26-29]***
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Cuius auctor postea, quum amicum quendam rogasset, quidnam de se sentirent ac loquerentur homines, quamquam satis e sua conscientia intellegebat nihil boni, tum ubi omnia sinistra accepit ita perculsus est, ut paucis post diebus maerore contabuerit. **Sed quoniam quod tam audacter**

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289 … a*s though … the preacher* spoke] **while being inspired by some sort of divine power** ..

290 *…but this device]* **turned out very differently from the way it was planned …**

iam coeptum erat pari audacia urgendum videbatur,[291] ***[cf. Eng. 69/1]*** **uno tantum die** post eum sermonem **interposito**,[292] Bukyngamiae dux nobilium atque equitum non exiguo comitatu stipatus (plurium fortasse quam sciretur quid ageretur) Londini in curiam venit, **locum et elegantem et maximae turbae capacem;**[293] tum convocato in curiam populo dux ex editiore loco, saeptus nobilibus et senatu Londinensi, *%* ***^[English 69/4-5;7-8]*** paulum promovens sese, ut erat neque prorsus illiteratus, et suapte natura facundus, ***^[English 69/10]***, huiuscemodi verba fertur habuisse: Amor vestri, ***[cf. English 69/11]*** **viri Londinenses,** effecit uti nos quales enim sumus cognoscitis, huc veniremus ad vos de re in primis magna relaturi, nec magis magna quam ***^[English 69/14],*** omnibus utili, neque cuiquam utiliore quam vobis: etenim quam rem diu maximis votis optastis, magnoque redimere voluistis, ***^[English 69/18],*** eam nunc ultro vobis nos afferimus, nullo discrimine vestro, labore nullo, nec ullo prorsus impendio. Quaeritis ea quae sit? Corporum certe vestrorum securitas, ***[cf. English 69/21-22]*** **uxorum filiarumque inoppugnata pudicitia**,[294] bonaque vestra certa vobis atque ab insidiis tuta, quorum omnium quid iam diu fuit quod vocare suum quisquam certo poterat, tot intentatis laqueis atque exstructis decipulis, exactis praeterea tam multis magnisque nullo non anno tributis, quorum ne tum quidem finis erat, ***[cf. English 69/27-28]*** **quum nec regi qua de re exigeret causa, vel populo unde exsolveret facultatum quicquam relictum esset.**[295] Sic bonis in dies abradebatur, ut effunderetur in improbos. Quae calamitas eo processerat ut iam ***^[English 69/30],*** ne consuetae quidem tributorum formae sufficerent, sed benevolentiae plausibile et populare nomen meris rapinis

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[291] *…withered and consumed away].* **But since what was so boldly entered upon seemed to be in need of further urging with like boldness** ,

[292] **with only one day … interposed** *[following this sermon…*

[293] *… came into the Guildhall in London]* **an elegant venue, and able to contain a very large crowd** *[And there…*

[294] *…the surety of your own bodies]* **the unassailed purity** *[of your wives and your daughters…*

[295] *taxes … of which there was never end]* **when there was no more reason for the King to ask for them, nor any wealth among the people left to pay them** *[So that there was daily pilled …great substance*

obtrudebatur. Nam quaestores a quoque non quantum ille sponte sua dedisset, sed quantum ipsis collibuisset auferebant, tamquam populus in concedendo tributo vocabulum benevolentiae ad ipsius voluntatem regis, non ad suam cuiusque bonam retulisset. At ille numquam mediocri quaestu contentus, ***[cf. English 70/4-6]*** **omnem corradendi praetextum ad summum usque intenderat. Itaque delicta non sua natura, sed opibus peccantis aestimata sunt. Sic minimis quibusque offensis maximae indictae multcae, quin linguae lapsus interdum totis locupletum fortunis redimebatur, aut, ut irae magis quam avaritiae servitum videretur, luebatur morte, dum levi cuique culpae praetenditur laesae maiestatis atrox nomen.**[296] Quarum rerum nemo est, opinor, vestrum a me qui exempla exigat, tamquam vobis Burdeti nomen **exciderit**, hominis optimi ob solum verbum quod **inter pocula** temere **exciderat**[297] trucidati crudeliter, legibus libidini principis, veluti obtorto collo servire coactis; non minore Markami gloria, qui iudicum primus quum esset, adempto ob idipsum magistratu restitit, quam **aeterno** illorum **dedecore** iudicum qui restabant, ut metu vel adulatione corrupti **innocentem hominem ipsorum fidei religionique commissum prava legum interpretatione iugularent**.[298] Quin de Thoma Coco loquar, equite civeque vestro, **sed qualem perpaucae civitates habent**, qui omnes apud vos honores et ordines rite consecutus est, **et magnifice gessit**.[299] Qui vestrum est aut tam rerum neglegens omnium ut non cognoverit, aut tam obliviosus ut non meminerit, aut tam durus ut non ingemiscat eius viri damno --- quid damnum dico? ***[cf. English 70/26-27]*** **— calamitati, spoliis, atque ex tantis opibus non egestati modo, sed nuditati quoque,**[300] non aliam ob causam quam quod eum amari contigit ab illis quibus rex infensus erat? Sed quis finis erit si viritim recenseam, quum nemo sit ex hac tanta frequentia, qui non aut suorum periculo sit expertus aut suo, **familias totas in ultimum discrimen adductas**,[301] causa plerumque nulla aut admodum ex sese levi atrocibus subnixa

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[296] *… never asked little],* **but every excuse for raking up money was taken to the utmost. And so crimes were not punished according to their nature, buit rather according to the wealth of the person paying the fine. The greatest penalties were attached to the lightest offenses, and even a mere slip of the tongue was paid for by the entire fortunes of wealthy citizens, or, in order for it to seem that righteous anger rather than avarice was being served, the death penalty was applied, while the horrible term "treason"** (Latin *laesa maiestas*) **was used for any light offense.** *[Whereof, I think, no man looketh that we should remember you of examples ….Burdet …*

[297] (Note word play in the Latin, not in the English): *as if the name of Burdet could* **"slip out"** [**exciderit**] *of our memories – an excellent man, cruelly put to death because of a word he let* **"slip out"** [**exciderat**] *[while]* **in his cups** …

[298] *no less honor to Markham… than to the]* **eternal dishonor** *[of those that, either for fear or flattery,]* **slaughtered an innocent man (who had been entrusted to their faithful and pious judgments) through a perverse interpretation of the laws.** *[What]* **should I say about Thomas** *[Cook …?*

[299] *… alderman and mayor of this noble city]* **a man such as few cites have** *[….]* **who performed magnificent deeds**.

[300] *Who is so hard-hearted that …he pitieth not… what speak we of loss?]* **his calamity, his despoliation, his change from such wealth to – not just poverty, but nakedness!** *[– only for that it happed …*

[301] *…greatly endangered],* **entire families brought in peril of their deaths,** *[either by feigned quarrels …*

nominibus? Quin nullum tam capitale fuit in quod per meram calumniam facile non impingeretur. Nam quum rex praeveniens legitimum regnandi tempus sceptrum vindicaret bello, maximi piaculi loco habebatur in divitem, illi cognatum, affinem, necessarium, amicum, familiarem vel notum fere umquam fuisse aliquem, quem rex aliquando pro hoste habuerat, qui aliis atque aliis temporibus adversariam sibi plus quam dimidiam partem regni sui effecerat. Hoc pacto dum bonis vestris tendebantur insidiae, corpora simul in periculum veniebant. Atque haec quidem pacis tempore gerebantur,[302] quid de his aerumnis dicam quae ex bellicis tumultibus, velut e fonte malorum omnium in vestram rempublicam profluxerunt: quae bella ut semper sunt funesta, ***[cf. English 71/13-15]*** **ita tum demum funestissima quum sunt civilia, nec certe usquam gentium infestius, aut acerbius civilibus armis certatum est, quam illo duce et principe apud nos**,[303] qui ***^[English 71/16-17]*** dum invadit regnum, dum tuetur, dum eicitur, dum redit ac recuperat rursus, dum depulsores suos ulciscitur, tantum Anglici sanguinis exhaustum est, quanto non olim stetit bis subiugata Gallia. ***[cf. English 71/18-23]*** **Ita populus imminutus aut oppressus est, nobilium vero ac procerum quota pars relicta est?**[304]

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[cf. English 71/24-26] **Denique alterius dum pecunia petebatur, alterius formidabatur potentia, neutra pars tuta aut quieta fuit.**[305] Et quem non infestum sibi timebat, cui formidolosus erat etiam frater, cui pepercisset qui germanum sustulit, aut quis amare potuisset eum, si istud potuit ne frater quidem?

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% ***^[English 71/29-31]***

Iam quis hoc ferat, quod nemo tamen ignorat, uxorem Shori tam vile scortum plus apud principem quam omnes regni sui nobiles valuisse, quin ex ipsis quosdam magnis in rebus suis usos

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[302] (An equivalent statement is placed twelve lines later in the English) **And yet these things happened in peace time**

[303] *…ever the well and occasion of much mischief, yet* [wars]… *]* **are the most dealy when they are civil wars, nor are they ever fought out anywhere on earth in a more hostile or bitter manner than they were fought among us, when that man was King and commander.**

[304] *In which inward war among ourselves]* **the people has been so diminished in number and so oppressed, and how big a portion of the nobles and chiefs is left?** *[… so that no time was there…* <NB: corresponding English version is much amplified here>

[305] **And finally, while one man's money was being sought after, another man's power was cause for fear, and neither side was safe or at peace.** *[For whom trusted he that mistrusted his own brother …?*

meretriculae necessario magis quam honesto patrocinio? Quamquam ea satis pudice vixisse fertur, quoad improba libido principis viro eam suo abstulisset, civi nimirum vestro neque inopi, et indolis ac spei bonae. Ceterum hac in re de qua libentius in defuncti reverentiam supersederem dicere, nisi frustra taceretur quod omnes norunt, adeo insatiabili cupiditate flagravit, ut ***[cf. English 72/6]*** **vitae eius pars nulla minus**[306] ferenda videretur. Neque enim ulla fuit umquam neque tam humilis, neque tam potens virgo, matrona, vidua, in quam semel oculum defixisset, quae modo forma, vultu, voce, gestu, denique ulla corporis parte placuisset ei, quam non ille statim nullo Dei metu, nulla retardatus infamia persequeretur, urgeret, opprimeret, irreparabili damno multarum ipsarum, nec minore cum luctu et dolore virorum, parentum, et si quid cuique erat amicorum reliquum, qui quum suapte sint honesti, tam caram habent uxorum castitatem, honestatemque familiae, ut quamvis potius iacturam ferre, quam talem contumeliam queant. At licet his atque id genus aliis miseriis, undique regnum mire premeretur, vos tamen vel in primis earum participes fuistis, quum quod non alibi tam copiose exuberat iniuriarum materia, tum quod eratis ut plurimum proximi.***[cf. English 72/19-20]*** **Maximam enim anni partem haud longe discedebat ab urbe.**[307] Et tamen vos estis hi, quos praecipue fovere iustissimis de causis debuerat, non ideo modo quod ab hac civitate maxime totius regni celebri multum apud exteros omnes inclutae famae accedit principi, sed quod magno cum impendio, periculoque vestro in rebus eius prosperis adversisque omnibus amicissimos animos, eximiam fidem, singularem semper operam praestitistis. Cui tam pio affectui vestro in Eboracensem domum, quum is qui maxime debebat, minime sese gratum gesserit, ***[cf. English 72/30-31]*** **restat nunc saltem qui superis annuentibus faciat diligentius**.[308] Quod ipsum ne nesciretis, ea demum totius huius nostri ad vos negotii causa est**. Quam dum exponimus quaeso ut coepistis attendite**.[309] Non est opus satis scio eadem ut ipse

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306 *… The King's greedy appetite was insatiable]* **and no part of his life was less** *[--tolerable.*

307 *… you were nearest at hand]* **, for, during most of the year, he did not depart very far from the city.** *[And yet ye…*

308 *…there is of that house now]* **still left someone, who, if the heavens favor him, would do it more diligently.** *[Which thing to show you … is our present errand ...*

309 *… this our present errand].* **Please [continue to] attend carefully as you have begun to do, while I explain these matters.** *[It shall not, I wot well, need that I …*

recenseam denuo, quae tam nuper ***[cf. English 73/1]*** **doctor Shauus** exposuit e suggestu vobis, vir ut longe facundior, sic auctor longe certe quam sum ego gravior. Neque enim mihi tantum ipsi arrogo, ut mea **perinde valere verba postulem,** atque eius, qui ipsum Dei **verbum praedicat populo, praesertim tam prudentis**[310], ut melius nemo quid sit dicendum intellegat. Porro tam religiose, ut certum sit, nihil eum contra suasurum quam sentiat, ex eo praesertim loco, quem nemo bonus unquam mentiturus ascendit. Igitur ab hoc tali ac tanto viro didicistis, ***^[English 73/9-10],*** huius administrandi regni ius Richardo Gloucestriae duci potentissimo atque omni virtutum genere florentissimo deberi, **nempe quum patri suo clarissimo duci, cuius sanguine lata lege regnum firmatum est, is nunc supersit unus, qui rite queat succedere,**[311]
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% ***^[English 73/14-15]***
cum ob illegitimas Eduardi nuptias, ***^[English 73/16-17]*** quibus nullam potuit sobolem nisi spuriam gignere,
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% ***^[English 73/18-23]***
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tum aliam ob causam, quam, ut ille significavit potius quam explanavit, ita et ego intactam modo praetereo, adductus pudore ac reverentia protectoris adeo in matrem etiam talem retinentis pietatem, ut gravatim in eam sinistri quicquam ferat etiam cum bono publico dici.
^[English 73/29-74/3]

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[310] <NB: Word play in Latin, not in English: note frequent alternation of initital "**p**" and "**v**">

[311] *…right and title …unto the crown and kingdom]* **because he is the only one now surviving who can duly succeed his most illustrious father, the Duke, by whose bloodline the kingdom has become confirmed by law….**

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Eas ergo res quum et proceres et ***[cf. English 74/6]*** **bona ex parte populus**[312] perpendissent, et simul animadvertissent non bellicas modo virtutes, sed omnes praeterea moderando imperio appositas artes in unum hunc virum ita divinitus collatas esse, ut solus ad regnum natus videri possit, haud ferentes amplius spuria sobole regi sese, nec tam acerba mala diutius inveterascere, magno decrevere consensu supplicare protectori, atque eius obsecrare clementiam ne ipsorum respuat preces, neve in se recuset onus administrandi regni suscipere, quod non e iure magis suo quam reipublicae fecerit commodo. Sed eam rem dubio procul haud libenter admittet. Qui gnarus pro sapientia sua perpendat facile quanto plus curarum quam commodi secum ferat imperium, praesertim ei, qui sic decernat gerere, quemadmodum illum sat scio gesturum si ceperit. Quod ego munus praedico vobis haudquaquam puerilis esse ingenii, idque ipsum certe sensit sapiens ille, qui dixit: Veh regno cuius rex puer est, ***^[English 74/18 = translation of preceding]*** eoque magis et vestrae fortunae gratulandum, et superis habenda est gratia, quorum benignitate provisum est, ut is, quem ipsi regno destinaverunt, non aetatis modo maturae sit, verum admirabilem quoque prudentiam, magno cum rerum usu ac summa domi forisque parta virtute gloria coniunxerit. Qui tametsi tantum onus ut dixi, gravatim sit in se suscepturus, tamen eo ut speramus adduci posse facilius, si vos quoque cives honestissimi, civitatis huius regni longe clarissimae statueritis nostris in hac re postulatis vestras preces adiungere. Quod vos ut faciatis, quamquam ***[cf. English 74/25]*** **pro sapientia vestra** non exiguam spem concepimus, tamen etiam vehementer oramus, **idque eo certe confidentius, quod praeter has nostras preces (quas ipsas quoque pro nostro in vos studio nonnihil habituras momenti credimus)**[313] non toti modo in publicum regno profueritis tali deligendo principe, sed vobis quoque seorsum ipsis egregie commodabitis, ***[cf. English 74/31-33]*** **quorum ille officiis imperium semper acceptum feret**.[314]

^[English 74/33-34].

Haec dux quum

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[312] *Which thing well considered …[*by*] the nobles and]* **the better part of the people** (or alternatively: " a large part of the people"; but cf. English version: "especially of the north parts")

[313] *…nevertheless I heartily pray you so to do]* **and (I say this) all the more confidently , since, beyond these prayers of mine (which, we think, will have no small affect, as showing how eager we are for your welfare)** *[… you shall do great profit to all this realm … and unto yourselves special commodity …*

[314] <NB: the severe abbreviation of the Latin (= 1 line) in contrast with the English (= 3 lines)): *…yourselves…]* **by whose offices he will ever consider himself to have accepted the crown.**

dixisset, exspectavit protinus ***^[English 75/1-2]*** ut manibus pedibusque undique illi applauderetur, utque Richardus una omnium voce rex salutaretur.
Sed contra tantam suam spem[315] quum altum undecumque silentium animadverteret, ***[cf. English 75/4-6]*** **propius insusurrans praefecto:**[316]

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Quid sibi hic habitus vult? inquit. Opinor, inquit ille, non satis exauditam illis orationem tuam. Id quidem, inquit dux, corrigetur facile: statimque aliquanto contentiore voce quam antea eadem aliis verbis, alio rursus ordine repetebat; verum adeo dilucide ornateque, voce, vultu, gestu tam accommodo, ut quisquis aderat, fateretur facile numquam ante audiisse se tam malam causam tam bene peroratam. Ceterum sive admiratione, sive metu attoniti, seu quod alium quisque loquendi ducem sequi, quam ipse praeire malebat, omnes ex aequo tacebant.

% ***^[English 75/16-18]***

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Praefectus igitur ea in re nonnihil et ipse perturbatus, in unum se cum duce, et consciis quibusdam colligens, negavit moris esse quidquam proponi civibus alterius, quam recordatoris voce. **Inde natam fortasse taciturnitatem, ne quid suas consuetudines immutare viderentur.**[317] **Appellant recordatorem Londinenses ibi eum, qui praefecti assessor est eruditus patriis legibus, ne quid in reddendis iudiciis, imperitia peccetur.**[318] Id munus recens inierat **[cf. English 75/24] VVilmansonus** quidam, vir honestus et gravis, quem, quum haud umquam adhuc allocutus populum fuerat, male urebat tam inauspicatum initium. Ceterum iussus dicere, malum sibi metuens, si recusaret, eadem etiam ipse proposuit denuo, sed ita sermonem temperans, ut ducis omnia verbis acciperentur dicta, non suis. Sed nihilo setius durabat idem populi status, ***[cf. English 75/16*** *placed later in Latin]*: non aliter quam sileri concubia nocte solet,[319] obticentis, vultuque adeo immobili, nullo ut signo prorsus ullum animi sui sensum prae se ferrent. At dux **nonnihil offensus quod eius orationem tam adversis auribus animisque excepissent**,[320] conversus ad praefectum: Quid sibi vult, inquit, silentium istud tam contumax?

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[315] *… the people… should have cried, "King Richard!"]* **but contrary to such great expectation,** *[all was hushed …*

[316] *…all was hushed…the Duke]* **leaning closer to the Mayor, whispered** *[…what meaneth…?* <NB English version adds other bystanders to the Mayor>

[317] *…people had not been accustomed there to be spoken unto "but by the Recorder", which the mouth of the city …]* **that their silence perhaps had its origin in this, that they not seem to change their habits.** *[With that, the Recorder …*

[318] *…Recorder,]* **which is the name the Londoners give to a man who assists the Mayor, who is learned in the English laws, so that mistakes are not made in the reading out of judgments.** *[… called Fitzwilliam, a sad man and an honest …*

[319] *But all this nothing no change made in the people …]* **there was silence, as when people go to bed for the night…**

[320] *Whereupon the Duke]* **not a little offended that they had received his speech with such hostile ears and minds,** *[rounded unto the Mayor and said …*

statimque ad turbam respiciens: ***[cf. English 76/2]*** **Viri Londinenses**, inquit, nos ea de re ad vos relaturi venimus, quam in rem neque auxilio admodum vestro neque consilio egebamus. Poteramus enim proceres et reliquus regni populus suffecisse deligendo principi, nisi noster in vos amor suasisset, ne vos ab eius tractatu rei excluderemus, in quam ascitos ac socios esse vestrarum tam valde rerum, ut nullius aeque retulerit. Hunc animum nostrum vos aut parum cernere, aut parvi pendere videmini, quem ne responso quidem dignum censuistis. Quin uno saltem verbo respondeatis, ***[cf. English 76/10]*** **potentissimum Gloucestriae ducem** quem ceteri alioquin omnes proceres, populusque delecturi sunt, vosne in regem ascisci vultis, annon? **Responso namque in utramvis partem dato, discedemus, haud amplius molesti vobis hac de re futuri**.[321] Ad hunc sermonem excitatus aliquantum populus, mussitare inter se, et audiri sonus magis quam verba, qualis ex alveo redditur emigraturis apibus, ***[cf. English 76/15-21:*** *with changed order****]*** quoad ex ultima parte curiae, qua se ministri quidam Nashefeldi, huius consilii participis, conglobaverant a tergo,

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% ***^[English 76/16,18, 19-21]***

repente clamor tollitur, Richarde Rex ingeminantium. Cives retro cervices admirabundi flectere. Sed clamantibus adiungunt sese famuli quidam **nulla Richardi cura, ut in turba fit,** ac pueri **laeti novandis quomodocumque rebus.**[322] **Sed dux tametsi displicebat illud, quod nullum honestum civem in ea parte videbat,** factum **tamen** commode pro se invertens, **indicto rursus silentio,**[323] iucundissimum illum clamorem dicit animi in designandum regem adeoque alacris in unum consentientis, ut ne unus quidem sit auditus, qui contra dixerit, quem tam eximium affectum vestrum nos, cum erit opportunum, sic faciemus, ut audiat, idem ut vobis haud dubie in magnum aliquando bonum vertat. Sed interim vos oramus ut crastina die pariter omnes maiestatem eius adeamus rogaturi, quod vos ei tanto cum consensu detulistis, idem ut

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[321] *…to be your King—or not.]* **Once you give your response one way or another, we will leave, and not trouble you about this matter any more in the future.** *[At these words the people began to whisper …*

[322] *…with some apprentices]* **without it being planned by Richard, as happens in crowds** *[and lads]* **happy with any kind of change, no matter what.**

[323] **But the Duke, though displeased because he saw no respectable citizen in that part of the audience, nevertheless** *[wisely turned it to their purpose]* **and, silence once more being imposed,** *[said it was a goodly cry and a joyful to hear …*

suo consensu habeat ratum. His dictis ***[cf. English 77/1]*** **descendit ipse** ceteri discedunt: pars aperte maesti, multi simulata laetitia, nec deerant ex ipsis ducis comitibus, qui quum premere maestitiam, quam non audebant ostendere, non poterant, vertere in parietem vultus coacti sunt, dum animi dolorem per lacrimas egererent.

Igitur postridie nobiles, civesque magna frequentia ***^[English 77/9-13]*** adeunt protectorem, **qui Londini diversabatur**,[324] **missus intro nuntius ait**[325] proceres omnes, senatum populumque Londinensem pro foribus esse, qui eius expetant exspectentque colloquium.

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Sed is primo dubitat progredi, incertus quid sibi vellet ea turba, quae sic superveniret inopinanti.[326] ***[cf. English 16-20:*** ***<u>amplified</u>].***

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Hanc protectoris cunctationem dux ad se allatam ostentat ceteris, uti scirent quam longe adhuc abesset protector ab huius cogitatione propositi. Ceterum remisso nuntio, magnis obsecrant precibus admitti, afferre ea quae nisi apud ipsum non sunt prolaturi. Prodit ergo tandem, nec adhuc tamen plane se illis credit: verum ex ambulacro superne despiciens accipit et reddit sermonem.

% ***^[English 77/28-29]***

Tacentibus igitur universis, dux **ab equo sublimis**,[327] primum petit uti liceret ipsis quae vellent libere citra ullam eius offensam proloqui,

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[324] *…assembling themselves, resorted unto …the Protector]* **who was lingering in London.**

[325] **A messenger sent within said that** *[… there was a great and honorable company …*

[326] **But he (i.e. the Protector) at first hesitated to come out, uncertain what the intention of the crowd was, that had arrived so unexpectedly.**

[327] *…till he wist what they meant. And thereupon]* **everybody being silent** *[the Duke of Buckingham]* **mounted on his horse as he spoke** *[first made humble petition …*

quamquam enim nihil meditarentur, unde non et illi decus et regno commodum proveniret, tamen quum incertum sit quam in partem ***[cf. English 77/31,32, 78/3,4]*** **illius Amplitudo** esset acceptura, nihil ipsos nisi impetrata venia locuturos. Ad haec protector, ut erat in tali re perquam benignus, atque affabilis, tum cui mirus ardor inerat cognoscendi quid vellent, annuit, atque hortatur, ne dubitent quicquid decrevissent edicere, sibi vero animi in eos sui conscientia persuasum, nihil in se quemquam cogitare ***[cf. English 78/8-9]*** **quod non gratia magis sit quam venia dignum**[328]. Igitur dux ea demum protectoris oratione securus, ausus est rem cum suis causis exponere, tandemque **immensam** eius implorare clementiam, ne regnum **tam diu tot intolerandis malis afflictum neglegeret, proceres, populumque ipsius advolutum pedibus** pro consueta eius benignitate respiceret, procumbenti in se unum patriae subiceret **humeros,** rempublicam **prope dirutam ac proculcatam erigeret, manus sceptro tandem velut temoni navis diu sine perito gubernatore fluitantis apponeret**, **caputque illud venerandum pateretur onerari diademate**, **neque adeo dominationis tempestates horreret, neque delectetur immodesta modestia, ut suae quietis causa, neglecto otio publico, regnum sibi humano iure debitum, ab superis illi destinatum, defugeret**, e quo tanto plus honoris ferret ac minus solicitudinis quanto populo imperaret ipsius amanti et illius imperio subesse cupidissimo. [329] Protector ubi verba ducis accepit, ***[cf. English 78/25]*** **vultu haudquaquam annuente**[330] respondit, quod nec ipse nesciret vera esse quae ille retulisset, se tamen eo fuisse affectu ***[cf. English 78/27]*** **in fratrem**, eo in liberos eius esse, ad haec tantam habere honoris sui rationem, quam tribus etiam coronis anteferret, ut inducere in animum non posset illorum postulatis satisfacere. Nempe exteras gentes, quibus res quo pacto gereretur minus compertum foret**, ex aliorum cupiditate ipsum quoque aestimaturas**, **ita suam famam venturam in periculum,**[331] quasi regnum non iure debitum per iniuriam occuparet.

^[English 78/33- 79/2]

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[328] *…verily trusting… that … none of them anything would intend…]* **that would not be worthy of favor rather than forgiveness**

[329] **(In the Latin, the speech from line 9 to 22 is amplified):** *Then waxed he bold to show him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moving them thereunto, as ye before have heard, and finally to beseech his]***immense clemency** *[that it would like him, of his accustomed goodness…]* **not to neglect a kingdom that had been afflicted so long by so many intolerable evils, and** *[with his eye of pity to behold]* **the nobles and the people who have cast themselves before his feet** *[…and to offer his]* **shoulders in support of his country that was leaning on him alone and to uplift the republic that was practically overturned and trodden underfoot, that he, at last, set his** *[gracious]* **hands on the scepter, as if onto the rudder of a ship that had so long been wandering off-course without a skilled helmsman,** *[by taking upon him the crown and governance of this realm]* **suffering his venerable head to be bear the weight of the diadem, neither to be so fearful of the storms of rule, nor be so delighted by an immodest modesty, as to flee** *[the governance of this realm … according to his right and title lawfully descended unto him]* **and owed to him by human right and destined to him by heaven, and not neglecting, for the sake of his own peace and quiet, the cause of public peace, acquiring** *[so much the more honor and less pain in that never prince reigned upon any people that were so glad …*

[330] *When the Protector heard the proposition],* **hardly even nodding** *… [answered that …*

[331] *…for in all other nations … [which] should peradventure …]* **judge him by the cupidity of others, so that his reputation would be endangered** *[…that it were his … device to depose the prince and take himself the crown.*

Sed tamen se non modo eorum postulatis ignoscere, verum etiam voluntatibus egregie in se propensis habere habiturumque gratias. Ceterum orare vel sua causa, quem in se animum gererent eum totum consignarent principi, cui ipse parere quam regnare mallet, nec tamen operam consiliumque suum, quatenus regi libuerit uti, defuturam numquam reipublicae, quam etiam nonnihil exiguo suae procurationis tempore (quod Deo, non sibi referebat acceptum) sublevasset, vel eo praecipue quod improbos quorundam conatus, qui eam perturbassent antea, quominus iterum vexarent, ipse sua partim industria, sed plurimum divina providentia compressisset. Tum dux, ***^[English 79/13]*** habito paulisper cum suis colloquio,

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% ***^[English 79/14-15]***

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rursus ostendit rem eiusmodi esse quam incoepissent, ut etiam si esset integra, tamen vellent eam magnis de causis aggredi, nunc vero longius progressos quam unde sit regrediendum. Denique patribus populoque certum, non passuros amplius spuriis Eduardi liberis subici sese.[332] Proinde si delatum ultro non aspernetur imperium, unum esse ipsum omnibus omnium votis expetitum principem. Sin omnino definite respondeat se non suscepturum, ***^[English 79/23]*** facile ipsos inventuros quempiam cui respublica curae sit. Haec verba Richardi animum tam valde a regno abhorrentem sola flexere,

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cogitantis si recusaret ipse, nepotem nihilo tamen magis regnaturum. Igitur, Ego ut, inquit, doleo animo obfirmato decretum vobis **regem hunc** non ferre diutius, sic invitos vos **a quoquam regi neque posse** video, **neque fas esse**[333] sentio. Certe quod ad me attinet, quamquam alium neminem esse scio, cui

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[332] The equivalent sentences in the English are in reverse order from the Latin: 1) "*that the realm was appointed that …* " = **denique…certum** ; and 2) "*that they had so far gone that …*" = **rem eiusmodi esse quam incoepissent ….**

[333] *…]* **Richard, thinking that if he refused, his nephew would have the rule anyway,** *[said unto the Lords and commons …the realm…will not suffer …]* **this King** *[to govern them]* **by whom I see that you will not willingly be ruled by just anybody, nor that it is right that you should ..**

regnum haereditate iure debeatur,

% ***^[English 80/1-2]***

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pluris tamen has voluntates vestras, quam omnes leges, quarum vis omnis a vobis pendet, facio; **quorum quoniam tam conspirantem in me consensum perspicio, ne vel parum fortis videar in capessenda republica, vel vestram in me benevolentiam non agnoscere,**[334] en hic in me hodierno die procurationem utriusque regni, Angliae, Galliaeque suscipio. Alterum ut defendam et amplificem, alterum, ut vobis subiciam, atque ***[cf. English 80/12]*** **in potestatem vestram** reducam; **nempe administrationem eorum dumtaxat meam duco, ius vero fructumque ac proprietatem utriusque omnem vestrum, haud dubie publicam.**[335] ***[cf. English 80/15-16]*** **Quem ego animum quo die habere desidero, eo die precor, ut superi mihi non regnum hoc vestrum modo, sed vitam quoque ipsam ut indignam, quae retineatur, eripiant**.[336] Hanc orationem eius alacris excepit clamor Richarde Rex ingeminantium. Proceres cum rege (sic enim ab ea hora vocari coepit) concedunt intro, populus discedit domum varie affectus, multaque super ea re secum disserens. Sed plurimis in ore erat impudens illa simulatio, sic agentium loquentiumque, tamquam protector de eo quod agebatur numquam neque audisset, neque cogitasset antea, quum interim nec ipsi quidem dubitarent neminem esse tam stupidum, qui dubitaret rem omnem de composito geri. Sed alii morem causabantur, et receptam in rebus humanis consuetudinem, qua sic oporteat maximas quasque res legitimis quibusdam perfici caeremoniis.

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% ***^[English 80/26-27]***

Nam et eum qui creatur episcopus bis rogari num velit, bis postquam sancte negare, tertio vix adduci posse, ut dicat nolentem velle, quum interim ut nihil solvat principi, tamen ambitum paene declarant emptae pontificis bullae.

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[334] *… incline to your petition and request]* **and because I see that your consensus is so united toward me, lest I seem not brave enough to take upon myself the realm, or not to acknowledge your good will towards me** *[here we take upon us …*

[335] *…get again and subdue …]* **and bring back under your power** (i.e.France) **believing only the administration of it to be mine. But the right and enjoyment and ownership of both realms** (i.e France and England) **to be all yours, and public property, without any doubt.**

[336] **And I desire to have this intention on that day, I pray, on which, may the heavens take away not only this kingdom of yours but also my life, [if it be deemed] unworthy of being kept in existence** *(cf. English: … the advancement whereof we never ask of God longer to live than we intend to procure…).*

***[cf. English 81/1-2*] Iam eum qui imperatoris personam agit in tragoedia, populus non ignorat forsitan esse cerdonem?**[337] Tamen ***[cf. English 81/2-6]* tantae inscitiae est illic scire quae scias, ut si quis eum vocet qui vere est, non qui falso fingitur, veniat in periculum, ne ab personatis satellitibus malo ioco bene vapulet**, [338] et id quidem merito, qui totam fabulam sit aggressus intempestiva veritate turbare.

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[[339] Sequente die magno cum comitatu venit in **forum, non illud Londinense, sed maius atque augustius, quod est in palatio apud** Occidentale Coenobium, **ubi ab omni parte regni promiscuae aguntur causae.**[340] Ibi quum in ea sede collocasset se, quae regium tribunal, **ob id vocatur, quod iudicia sic in eo foro excerceantur, ac parem obtineant auctoritatem, tamquam ipsius ore regis prolata,**[341] pro contione rursus ostendit ex eo loco potissimum possessionem sese regni capere, unde regis ore populo iura redduntur, quod ideo faciendum censuisset, quum sic sentiret leges exsequi, easque administare, id sit demum regem esse. Deinde proceres, mercatores, artifices, denique omne genus hominum, (sed ea collegia nominatim, quae Britannicis student legibus) oratione quam maxime potuit populari conciliat. Postremo, ne cuiquam invisum eum faceret metus, simul ut benevolentiam pareret insidiosa clementia, **mala dissensionum oratione explicans simul et concordiae bona**, ***[cf. English 81/27]*** [342] ostendit se omnes erga quoscumque inimicitias ex animo delere et deponere, omnes omnium in se offensas condonare publice, cuius rei ut manifestam omnibus fidem faceret, iubet ad se accersiri Foggum, quem diu capitaliter oderat, adducto ex asylo proximo (nam illuc timore eius perfugerat) in populi conspectu ei dat manum. Rem vulgo acceptam ac iactatam laudibus, prudentes pro vana habuere. Inter remigrandum ut

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[337] **And he that plays the role of the Emperor in the tragedy, do not the people know that in fact he is a shoemaker?** <NB: word play in English, not in Latin: *he that playeth the soundan is percase a souter(= a sultan is perhaps a shoemaker*>

[338] <NB paronomasia " playing with repeated word-forms" in Latin: **in that situation, it is only so much ignorance for you to know what you know, that someone** (i.e. you, for example) **who calls out someone for what he really is, and not what he pretends he is, incurs the risk that one of the "phony" courtiers** (cf. English *"tormentors")* **might give him a beating for making a bad joke.**

[339] <NB: starting at 81/12 and ending with the end of the Latin version at 82/7, the Latin was translated directly from Thomas's Latin into English by Rastell, except for two explanatory statements considered unnecessary for English readers>.

[340] *… with a great train, went to …]* **the public meeting-place (Latin "forum") , not the one in London, but the larger and more lordly one, situated in the palace of** *[Westminster]* **where cases of all kinds are heard, originating in any part of the realm.**

[341] *…and there, when he had placed himself in the Court of the King's Bench]* **which is called thus, because judgments are handed down in that court and have an authority equivalent to their being proclaimed by the voice of King himself.**

<NB: word play in English, lacking in Latin: **explaining in his speech the <u>evils of dissensions</u> and the <u>goods of concord</u>**

quemque habuit in via obvium, ita semper illis ad servilem prope adulationem se demisit, admissi conscius, **ne sic quidem securus tamen, aut quibus adblandiebatur, confidens manum a capulo non referre, et circumspectare undique, velut repercussurus.**[343] Quum post ludicram illam electionem regnare coepisset, coronatus est,[344] eaque celebritas magna parte illo ipso apparatu peracta, qui nepoti eius coronando fuerat destinatus].

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HISTORIA REGIS RICHARDI TERTII, FINIS.

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[343] *…a mind that knoweth itself guilty is in a manner dejected to servile flattery]*, **and yet he still did not consider himself to be so secure as not to remove his hand from his sword handle while he was soothing the people he met, nor failing to look around him in all directions, as if ready to strike back if necessary.**

[344] *Note inclusion of dates in English version, omitted in Latin.*