

**Richard Haydocke's *Oneirologia*: A Manuscript Treatise on Sleep and Dreams,
including the 'Arguments' of King James I.**

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I. Introduction.

In early 1605, news began to circulate in England of a strange phenomenon: an Oxford physician who could preach brilliantly while apparently fast asleep. The earliest eyewitness account of this marvel is a short letter to an anonymous recipient, written by one 'W. S.' and dated 4th March (Appendix 1.i).¹ In it, the 'sleeping preacher' – Richard Haydocke (1569/70-ca. 1642) – is described as a man of “small quallety, meanelly witted, ne[i]ther esteemed very

In memoriam Ralph B. Weller (1913-2004). I am grateful to Sarah Howe, Nancy Simpson Younger, Margaret Simon and the late Ralph B. Weller for sharing their work on Haydocke's *Oneirologia* with me, and to Heather Wolfe and the curatorial staff of the Folger Shakespeare Library for their assistance. I received many helpful comments from Raphaële Garrod, Rachel Holmes, Richard Oosterhoff, Will Poole, Tim Stuart-Buttle, Elizabeth Swann, and Rebecca Tomlin. I thank the anonymous peer reviewers for their useful suggestions.

¹ The document (which is probably a contemporary copy of the original letter) presents several problems, since the author, the place from which it was sent and the year of its composition are all lacking. However, given the evidence of Haydocke's sleep-preaching from other sources, we may conclude it was written in 1605. Its reference to the presence of Anne Gunter (on whom see *infra*. n. 44) indicates it was composed in Oxford. It is possible, therefore, that the author was William Sparke of Buckinghamshire, who matriculated at Magdalen Hall 15th April 1603, aged 16, graduating BA at Magdalen College 1607. Foster suggests he may have been the brother of Thomas Sparke, also of Buckinghamshire, who matriculated at New College in 1600, graduated BA in 1604 and MA in 1608. See “Spackman-Stepney”, in *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, ed. Joseph Foster (Oxford, 1891), pp. 1394-1422 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/alumni-oxon/1500-1714/pp1394-1422> [accessed 28 January 2016]. Perhaps the letter records William writing to his “Good Brother” Thomas, whose New College affiliation would explain a particular interest in Haydocke, who was a Fellow of that college.

learned in any faculty but payntyng, by his studye a phisytyon”. His waking speech, the author observes sneeringly, is “slowe and delay[ed]”. Yet by contrast, his nocturnal sermons are superb examples of oratory; their Latin so perfect, their inventiveness and style so sharp, that they exceed the abilities of other Oxford men. The author has already heard six such sermons and offers a full account of the performance. He explains that when Haydocke began to preach, his “chamberfellowe” would awake and call others to the scene, who brought lights and made ready to transcribe the sermon.² Haydocke would open with prayers, then deliver his speech in a carefully ordered fashion. Concluding with a prayer for the King, he would utter several great groans and awake, with no knowledge of what had transpired. “This”, the author relates, “may seeme strange to you, incredible there, with our selues admireable, & that is all we can saye of it.” Later accounts add that Haydocke’s sermons had an anti-Roman, Puritan drift, featured excellent use of metaphor and simile, and displayed ample evidence of the preacher’s competence in Hebrew and Greek, even though when awake he “vnderstands neyther of the languages” (Appendix 1.ii).³

Haydocke is best known today for his translation of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo’s *Trattato dell’arte de la pittura* (1584), published as *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge, carvinge & buildinge* (1598). This was the first treatise on the theory of the visual arts to be published in English.⁴ A prominent emblemist, his work as an engraver and as an

² It was common custom in the early modern Oxford colleges for Fellows to share rooms, hence the reference to Haydocke’s “chamberfellowe”. In this period, junior members of college were usually two to four to a room.

³ Contrary to the observation concerning Haydocke’s deficiency in ancient languages, we may note that a few Greek words appear in *Oneirologia*, while he used both Greek and Hebrew in his memorial brasses, such as the one for Thomas Hopper in the chapel of New College, Oxford. See Karl Josef Hölting, “Richard Haydocke: Translator, Engraver, Physician”, *The Library*, 5th series, 33:1 (1978), 15-32 (27-28). L. G. Wickham Legg was the first modern commentator to note Haydocke’s apparent Puritanism. See his “On a Picture Commemorative of the Gunpowder Plot, Recently Discovered at New College, Oxford”, *Archaeologia*, 84 (1935), 27-39.

⁴ See A. Moffat, “Lomazzo’s Treatises in England in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries”, unpublished MPhil. diss. (University of London, 1975); Hölting, “Richard Haydocke”; Lucy Gent, “Haydocke’s Copy of Lomazzo’s *Trattato*”, *The Library*, 6th series, 1 (1979), 78-81 and *Picture and Poetry 1560-1620: Relations between Literature and the Visual Arts in the English*

author on art have been studied extensively, and his role in the bookish activities of Sir Thomas Bodley and his circle noted.⁵ Yet in modern scholarship his sleep-preaching has been either neglected or lamented as a regrettable piece of charlatanism by an “otherwise cultivated man.”⁶ This is to miss entirely its significance for Haydocke’s contemporaries and the extent to which this strange case exemplifies the maelstrom of religious, political and intellectual intrigue that made up the ‘mental world’ of the early Jacobean Court.⁷ Haydocke’s sleep-preaching not only aroused curiosity in a culture fascinated by wonders and prodigies, but also smacked of supernatural and civil dangers.⁸ His performances – news of which reached as far as Venice – were worryingly close to demonic possession, bewitchment and enthusiasm, while for some they hinted at complicity in Catholic plotting.⁹ Notably, in one of

Renaissance (Leamington Spa, 1981); Alexander Marr, “Pregnant wit: *ingegno* in Renaissance England”, *British Art Studies*, 1 (2015), DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-01/amarr>. My edition of the *Tracte* is forthcoming in the Modern Humanities Research Association’s *Tudor & Stuart Translations* series.

⁵ See e.g. Höltingen, “Richard Haydocke”; Ralph B. Weller, “Some Aspects of the Life of Richard Haydocke, Physician, Engraver, Painter and Translator (1569-?1642)”, *The Hatcher Review*, 2:20 (1985), 456-77; Alexander Marr, “‘Curious and useful buildings’: the Mathematical Model of Sir Clement Edmondson”, *The Bodleian Library Record*, 18:2 (2003), 108-50.

⁶ Moffat, “Lomazzo’s Treatises in England”, 9. For a similar view, see Höltingen, “Richard Haydocke”, 15. The most important accounts to date of Haydocke’s sleep-preaching are Legg, “On a Picture Commemorative”; Weller, “Some Aspects”; Carole Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance: Politics and Desire in Court and Culture* (New York, 2008), 13-18.

⁷ See Linda Levy Peck (ed.), *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge, 1991).

⁸ Haydocke’s case is included in a list of “wonders and remarkable passages” in G. W., *The abridgement of the English history* (London, 1660), 200. On curiosity and wonder, see Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford, 2004); R. J. W. Evans and Alexander Marr (eds.), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Farnham, 2006).

⁹ Nicolo Molin (Venetian Ambassador to England) to the Doge and Senate of Venice, 18th May 1605. *Calendar of State Papers, Venice and Northern Italy, Volume 10 (1603-1607)* (London, 1864), 240-41. In his account, Molin reports that Haydocke claimed his deception was “suggested to him by the Puritans”.

the early published accounts of the case, the historian Arthur Wilson grouped Haydocke with “others, both men and women, inspired with such enthusiasms and fanatic fancies”, explaining that he was summoned to Court by King James I, who interviewed him and exposed him as an imposter.¹⁰

The King, whose recently published *Daemonologie* (1597) had proved his expertise in matters supernatural and the uncovering of fraud, extracted from Haydocke a signed confession.¹¹ In it, Haydocke not only explains miserably the reasons for his deception – an attempt to overcome a speech impediment so that he might become a divine – but refers also to “dangers to the state”, “sinister plot” and “the disturbance of the peaceable estate of the Church or Commonweal”. The nature of these putative dangers would be obscure were it not for the survival of the episode’s most remarkable product: the manuscript treatise *Oneirologia: or A breife discourse of the nature of Dreames* (Folger Shakespeare Library, MS J.a.1 (5)), signed and dated by Haydocke 20th November 1605, just two weeks after the Gunpowder Plot.¹²

Apparently composed on the orders of the King, *Oneirologia* is a learned account in English of the medical nature of sleep and dreams.¹³ For this reason alone it is a significant

¹⁰ Arthur Wilson, *The history of Great Britian, being the life and reign of King James I* (London, 1653), 111. The earliest published notice is a brief account in Richard Baker, *A chronicle of the kings of England* (London, 1643), where the episode is introduced (128) as a “strange fancy [that] possessed the brains ... of one Richard Haidock.” The case appears sporadically, sometimes with embellishments, in publications down to the twentieth century, and seems to have enjoyed considerable popularity in nineteenth-century histories of Jacobean England. See e.g. Isaac Disraeli, *An Inquiry into the Literary and Political Character of James the First* (London, 1816), 91-93.

¹¹ Public Record Office, State Papers 14/13, no. 80, fols. 153-154 (copy of Haydocke’s confession) and 155-56 (Haydocke’s original, signed confession). A full transcription is published in Wickham Legg, “On a Picture Commemorative”.

¹² A digital facsimile of the manuscript is available at: <http://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/s/isn3r2>.

¹³ There is a growing literature on dreams and dreaming in early modern England. See, in addition to Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance*, Reid Barbour, “Liturgy and Dreams in Seventeenth Century England”, *Modern Philology*, 88: 3 (1991), 27-42; Peter Brown, *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1999); Janine Rivière, “‘Visions of the Night’: The Reform of Popular Dream Beliefs in Early Modern England”, *Parergon*, 20 (2003),

document in the history of early modern erudition, reflecting the orthodox physiognomic and psychological explanations of sleep and dreaming expounded in the universities at the time, as well as the wider cultural milieu from which Haydocke drew his metaphors and examples. Yet it is important also as a record of James I's own "Arguments that there can bee noe reasonable discourse in Sleepe", appended by Haydocke to the end of his treatise. Arranged under the headings "Philosophicall", "Medicinall", "Theologicall" and "Ciuill", these arguments are representative generally of the King's intellectual predilections, specifically of his particular interest in demonology, fraud, prophecy and statecraft.¹⁴ They indicate the extent to which Haydocke's case was wrapped up with contemporary religious and political debates, including the nature of royal authority, *mens rea*, and divine revelation. This article presents a full, critical edition of the hitherto-unpublished *Oneirologia*, with an account of the events that led to its composition and an analysis of its contents.¹⁵

II. Richard Haydocke.

Richard Haydocke, who came from a family of minor Hampshire gentry, was educated at Winchester College then New College, Oxford, where he became a probationer Fellow in 1588 and was confirmed as a full Fellow in 1590.¹⁶ Having graduated BA (1592) then MA

109-38; Alec Ryrie, "Sleeping, Waking and Dreaming in Protestant Piety", in Jessica Martin and Alec Ryrie (eds.), *Private and Domestic Devotion in Early Modern Britian* (Aldershot, 2012), 73-92. See also Ann Marie Plane and Leslie Tuttle (eds.), *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions. The Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2013).

¹⁴ See e.g. Jane Rickard, *Authorship and Authority: The Writings of James VI and I* (Manchester, 2007); Ralph Houlbrook (ed.), *James VI and I: Ideas, Authority, and Government* (Aldershot, 2006); Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1997).

¹⁵ For brief notices of *Oneirologia*, see Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance*, 24-26; Carole Levin and Garrett Sullivan with Steven Galbraith and Heather Wolfe, *To Sleep, Perchance to Dream: A Commonplace Book* (Washington, DC, 2009), 51. The most substantial account to date is Sarah Howe, *Literature and the Visual Imagination, 1580-1620*. Unpublished PhD dissertation (University of Cambridge, 2011), 192-205.

¹⁶ For Haydocke's biography, see Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke"; Weller, "Some Aspects"; Sarah Bakewell, 'Haydock, Richard (1569/70–c.1642)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

(1595), on 13th July 1596 he transferred to the Faculty of Medicine in the presence of Martin Culpeper, Warden of New College, and John Lloyd, Dean of Theology.¹⁷ Having published his translation of Lomazzo in 1598, he graduated BM on 14th June 1601 then worked for a time for Sir Thomas Bodley in the development of the new University library.¹⁸ Haydocke subsequently moved to Salisbury, probably in the summer of 1604, where he established himself as a physician (although he continued to spend time in Oxford until at least early 1605).¹⁹ John Aubrey records that Haydocke's patients in Salisbury included Sir Walter Raleigh, who passed through the town on his way to the Tower in 1618.²⁰ That Haydocke may have practiced anatomy is shown by his entry in the *album amicorum* of the Swiss physician Johannes Gheselius, dated 28th October 1630, in which he signs himself "Antomiæ admirator".²¹ Haydocke's son-in-law, the celebrated physician and anatomist Nathaniel

(Oxford, 2004; online edn, Sept 2012) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12746>, accessed 20 January 2016].

¹⁷ New College Archives, 957. The New College statutes permitted two scholars to read medicine at any one time, with the permission of the Warden and Fellows. See Gillian Lewis, "The Faculty of Medicine", in James McConica (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford Volume III: The Collegiate University* (Oxford, 1986), 213-56.

¹⁸ Haydocke's menial work for Bodley (to whom he dedicated his Lomazzo) is mentioned sporadically in George W. Wheeler (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James, First Keeper of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1926).

¹⁹ In a licence dated 8th July 1604, Haydocke was granted leave of absence from New College for one year (September 1604-September 1605) to practice medicine and improve his status in that art. New College Archives, 957. He is listed in the New Sarum Lay Subsidy Rolls for 1604 under "New Street Ward", while in early 1605 he is recorded as "settled and lodged [...] in the house of Mr Blacker", a local lawyer then living in a large house in the West Walk of the Cathedral Close. See Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke", 17.

²⁰ Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke", 17.

²¹ British Library, Add. MS 28633, fol. 94^v, reproduced in Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke", 19.

The full entry reads: "Vita brevis, ars longa[.] Cuius experimentum egregium fecit venerabilis hic senex, Cuius in amicorum album ascribi se desiderat, Richardus Haydocke Anglus[.] Medicinæ studiosus, & Anatomiae admirator, et Promotor indignus. Anno salutis: 1630.

Octobris 28:" (Life is short, art long. This venerable old man provided an outstanding proof of

Highmore, attests to his investigations into the workings of nature, such as his observation of the palingenesis of plants.²² Haydocke was, then, an erudite man of wide-ranging abilities, whose interests extended from the investigation of nature to the practice of the visual arts. Yet apart from the remarkable sequence of events that led to the composition of *Oneirologia*, he seems to have lived a relatively obscure life as a provincial physician until his death, ca. 1642. In 1607 he married Susan Ramsdell, with whom he had several children, all of whom may have predeceased him. Following Susan's death he married, in 1621, Gertrude Thayne, with whom he had a daughter, Elizabeth (who married Highmore in 1640), and a son, Richard. Having settled in Salisbury, he produced several elaborate memorial brasses and engraved title-pages, mainly for Oxford University men.²³ He may well have designed – and perhaps executed – a large allegorical engraving commemorating the Gunpowder Plot, titled *The Papists Powder Treason* (ca. 1612) [Fig. 1].²⁴ This print was reproduced in an amended

this, and the Englishman Richard Haydocke desires to be added to the catalogue of his friends. He was a student of medicine, and an admirer of anatomy, but an unworthy advocate. The 28th of October, in this year of our salvation 1630).

²² Karin Ekholm, "Anatomy, Bloodletting and Emblems: Interpreting the Title-Page of Nathaniel Highmore's *Disquisition* (1651)", *Early Science and Medicine*, 18:1-2 (2013), 87-123 (144, n. 63).

²³ On Haydocke's brasses and engravings see Hölting, "Richard Haydocke" and *idem*, "Early Modern English Emblematic Title-Pages and their Cultural Context", in Werner Busch, Hubertus Fischer and Joachim Möller (eds.), *Entree aus Schrift und Bild: Titelblatt und Frontispiz im England der Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2008), 40-79.

²⁴ This important engraving, one of the earliest English single-sheet prints about the Plot, may be dated with some accuracy, since in it the Princess Elizabeth is labelled 'Palatina' (she was betrothed to the Elector Palatine in 1612 and married him in 1613), while Prince Henry is shown alive (he died in 1613). It survives in two impressions (not one, contra Hind and Jones): Lambeth Palace Library (Prints 027/001) and the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (Bute Granger Collection IV). As per an engraved inscription at its base, the copy in the Huntington Library is a re-print, made and sold by Richard Northcote in 1679, the time of the Popish Plot. See Arthur M. Hind, *Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Part II: The Reign of James I* (Cambridge, 1955), 394-95. The Lambeth Palace impression has been trimmed and thus lacks the Northcote inscription at the base. However, its title, while closer to the upper edge of the image, is the same as the Huntington impression, suggesting it too is one of the 1679 re-prints. See Hölting, "Early Modern English

version as a painting signed ‘IP’, which Haydocke donated to New College in 1630.²⁵ *The Papists Powder Treason* blends political, historical and religious symbolism in Haydocke’s characteristically emblematic mode. Wood attests to his interest in depicting subjects from biblical history, noting he “made a map of the land of Canaan with Hebrew names (engraved)”, while in 1634 Joseph Mede thanked him for sending pictures of the Cherubim. Haydocke’s interpretation of the Book of Seven Seals as a cylinder was later incorporated into the large illustration visualizing the Book of Revelation published in Richard More’s English translation of Mede’s *Clavis Apocalyptica*.²⁶

In his ‘letter to the reader’, More explains that Haydocke visited him while the book was in press, but died soon afterwards. Since *The Key of Revelation* was licensed by Parliament for publication on 18th April 1642 and published in 1643, we may place Haydocke’s death at around this time, aged 72 or 73. Indeed, More’s story of Haydocke’s visit corroborates Anthony Wood’s claim that he had moved from Salisbury to London “a little before the Grand Rebellion broke out ... died and was buried there.”²⁷ However, his burial place is unknown and his will is not extant. Thus, we may only speculate as to the fate of his papers. Did they remain with his wife or were they bequeathed to his son, Richard (assuming he was still alive), or son-in-law Highmore (with whom Haydocke was apparently

Emblematic Title-Pages”; Legg, “On a Picture Commemorative”; Alexandra Walsham, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999), 255; Malcolm Jones, *The Print in Early Modern England: An Historical Oversight* (New Haven and London, 2010), 67.

²⁵ See Legg, “On a Picture Commemorative”, who attributes the painting to John Pecival of Salisbury. Hölting (“Early Modern English Emblematic Title-Pages”, 45, n. 8) argues that the original engraving was professionally executed, possibly by John Payne, thus explaining the appearance of the initials ‘IP’ on the New College painting.

²⁶ Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (London, 1813), 1: 678-79; Hölting, “Emblematic Title-Pages”, 45-46. Michael Murrin, “Revelation and Two Seventeenth-Century Commentators”, in C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich (eds.), *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions* (Manchester, 1984), 125-46. While Murrin does not identify him, Haydocke is clearly the “R. H. of Salisbury” (144, n. 12) whose arguments against Mede’s synchronism were summarised by More in his translation.

²⁷ Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1: 679.

close)?²⁸ It is unclear whether *Oνειροlogia*, which only surfaced in the twentieth century, was among them, or whether it had already left Haydocke's possession by the time he died.

III. The Sleeping Preacher.

The sequence of events that led to the composition of *Oνειροlogia* are relatively clear. As the letter by W. S. quoted above shows, some time in the early spring of 1605 Haydocke had begun to preach in his sleep in his bedchamber at New College. Having attracted considerable local attention, by early March news of this feat had spread to London, perhaps due to the circulation there of W. S.'s original letter, or copies thereof.²⁹ By the second week of April 1605 his activities had reached the ear of the King, as the courtier Edmund Lassells explained in a letter to Gilbert Talbot, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, noting also that Haydocke bookended his sermons by praying "very zealously and orderly for the King, the Queen and the Prince" (Appendix 1.ii).³⁰ The King's curiosity was sufficiently piqued that he ordered Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset (then Chancellor of the University of Oxford), to send an envoy to Oxford to enquire about Haydocke. Sackville's report, sent to Robert Cecil sometime in mid-April, stated that Haydocke had "gone from Oxford a good while since", being "settled and lodged in ... the Close at Salisbury." He mentions also his return to the King of a loaned transcript of one of Haydocke's sermons (corroborating W. S.'s statement

²⁸ See Ekholm, "Anatomy". Höltgen ("Richard Haydocke", 29-30) notes that among the Highmore papers in the British Library are manuscripts that once belonged to Haydocke's brother, Anthony (MS Sloane 539), and to his son from his first marriage, William (d. 1635) (MS Sloane 578, inherited by William from fellow New College student Edras Boothe, d. 1628). That both seem to have predeceased Richard Haydocke lends weight to the notion that Highmore may have inherited his papers.

²⁹ As Wilson put it, "The fame of this Sleeping Preacher flies abroad with a light wing, which coming to the King's knowledge, he commanded him to Court". Wilson, *History of Great Britian*, 111. On the circulation of news in Jacobean England, see e.g. David Coast, *News and Rumour in Jacobean England: Information, Court Politics, and Diplomacy, 1618-25* (Manchester, 2014).

³⁰ Lassells's letter strays little from that of W. S. Indeed, the wording is so similar that we may surmise he had read a copy of the earlier account.

that transcripts were made as Haydocke's preached), adding that he had enclosed two more such documents, given to him by a "Mr Hussie".³¹

Haydocke was swiftly summoned to Court, the rough date of his departure being indicated by a letter he carried with him, written by the Dean of Salisbury Cathedral, John Gordon, and a prebendary, Thomas Hyde.³² The letter, addressed to Robert Cecil, is dated 13th April 1605 and explains that both men had witnessed Haydocke's nocturnal preaching themselves three days previously. They had tested Haydocke's sleeping state by moving a candle close to his face, to which he had not reacted. Gordon and Hyde attest to the high quality of the sermon, concluding that if Haydocke could speak so well waking as sleeping, he would be worthy "to be preferred to the place of a good preacher." Notably, they take pains to stress the orthodoxy of the sermon's content and the preacher's evident faithfulness to his monarch.³³

It is not surprising that Gordon and Hyde should have presumed upon Cecil's interest in the tone and content of Haydocke's sermons, but their emphasis on the preacher's

³¹ Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, to Robert Cecil. Public Record Office, State Papers 14/13, no. 79 (fol. 152^r). See also M. A. E. Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, James I. 1603-10* (London, 1857), 212. The letter is undated but must have been written shortly before Haydocke travelled from Salisbury to London, at the King's command, in mid-April. The man who gave Sackville the transcripts was probably James Hussee (or Hussey), formerly of New College, Principal of Magdalen Hall 1602-5. Sackville refers to him in the letter both as 'Mr' and 'Dr' Hussie: the latter an appropriate title, since James Hussey graduated DCL in 1601. See Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*. In his confession to the King, Haydocke notes that out of "fond vanitie" he "shewed some coppies of the speeches which came to my hands with some of myne acquaintances." See Legg, "A Picture Commemorative", 38. No transcripts of Haydocke's sermons have as yet come to light.

³² It has been suggested that Gordon, described as "an ambitious courtier of unstable loyalties", may have worked as an agent for Cecil. See Alexander Gordon, 'Gordon, John (1544-1619)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004; online edn, Oct 2008) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11061>, accessed 28 March 2016]. See also Ralph B. Weller, *The Strange Case of John Gordon, Double-agent and Dean of Salisbury* (Salisbury, 1997).

³³ John Gordon and Thomas Hyde to Viscount Cranborne, from Sarum, 13th April 1605. Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, vol. 110, no. 79. A transcription of the letter is published in Legg, "A Picture Commemorative", 33-34.

orthodoxy may relate to confusion between Dr Richard Haydocke, physician, and Dr Richard Hadock (sometimes spelt Haydocke), a recusant divine who published, in 1604, a translation of Bellarmine's *Dichiarazione più copiosa della dottrina cristiana* (1598). This, combined with the fact that Haydocke had recently published a translation of an Italian treatise on the visual arts and, when in Oxford, had been associated with the recusants Thomas Allen and William Gent, may have led those in Court circles to suspect him of recusancy and sedition.³⁴ That Cecil was suspicious is confirmed by a letter he received in early May, when Haydocke was being interviewed at Court, sent by Hyde and three other prebendaries of Salisbury. Having received orders from Cecil that Haydocke's room was to be sealed up (presumably when he left Salisbury for London), they had returned and "opened twoe of his trunkes and a chest of his mans [i.e. servant], and perused all the bookes & papers that we could find by any meanes in the chamber, & founde no paper of any matters of divinitye but this little note here inclosed. We heare that he spake of the same text about half a yeare ago, not far from Sarum."³⁵

Hyde may have been anxious that he and Gordon had not acted more swiftly in bringing Haydocke to Cecil's attention, since they conclude the letter that accompanied the physician rather sheepishly, professing that they had intended "to hear [Haydocke] more amply, and then to bring him to the King's Majesty, as he [Haydocke] can witness himself", but that as soon as they discovered the Privy Council had summoned him they thought it "expedient to make Your Lordship [Cecil] privy to these premises for a beginning of an information of the matter".³⁶ Haydocke presumably arrived at Court around the fourth week of April. He was confined, according to Roland Whyte, the Court postmaster and a

³⁴ On the confusion between Haydocke and Hadock, see Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 1: 679. For Haydocke's relationship with Gent and Allen see Michael Foster, "Thomas Allen (1540-1632), Gloucester Hall and the Survival of Catholicism in Post-Reformation Oxford", *Oxoniensa*, 46 (1981), 99-129; "Thomas Allen, Gloucester Hall and the Bodleian Library", *Downside Review*, 100: 339 (1982), 116-37. We should note also the King's observation, in his 'arguments', that Haydocke's sermons touched on "dangerous poynts". See *infra*. xxx.

³⁵ Thomas Hyde and others Prebendaries of Salisbury, to Viscount Cranborne, from Sarum, 3rd May 1605. Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, vol. 110, no. 130.

³⁶ Legg, "A Picture Commemorative", 34.

correspondent of the Earl of Shrewsbury, without “books or place to study”, circumstances which Haydocke affirms in *Oneirologia*.³⁷ This suggests that Haydocke was detained in a place of some discomfort, perhaps in the Gatehouse of the Old Palace of Westminster, which was customarily used to house prisoners during the early stages of Privy Council investigations.³⁸ Whyte recounts also that while imprisoned, Haydocke (whose civility impressed him) preached nocturnal sermons “twice or thrice a week”. The first sermon was attended by the King, the second by the “Dean of the Chapel” (presumably either James Montagu, Dean of the Chapel Royal, or Giles Thomson, Dean of Windsor) and Sir Thomas Chaloner. They were followed by Lord Cranborne (i.e. Cecil), who “caused a bed to be put up in his drawing chamber at Court”, and by Lords Pembroke, Chandos, Danvers, Mar and others.³⁹

By the end of April, and after repeated interrogations by the King and his councillors, Haydocke confessed, his deception allegedly exposed by James’s subtlety and sagacity. Writing to Robert Cecil (who kept a close eye on the proceedings) on 29th April 1605, Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester, explained that the King “desires that Mr Hadoke should satisfye him in writing” as to the reasons for his imposture and its continuance for so long a time.⁴⁰ The same day, Edmund Lassells sent the Earl of Shrewsbury a long account of the

³⁷ Rowland Whyte to Gilbert Taylor, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, at Court, 27th April 1605. Lambeth Palace Library, MS Talbot 3202, fol. 10^{r-v} (10^f). Someone – perhaps Taylor himself – took a keen interest in the reports sent by Whyte and Edmund Lassells (see *infra*. n. 42), since the sections of their letters concerning Haydocke have been underlined or bracketed in the margins.

³⁸ There is no record of Haydocke’s imprisonment, as the Gatehouse records for the relevant year have not survived. On imprisonment and writing in Early Modern England see William H. Sherman and William J. Shiels (eds.), *Prison Writings in Early Modern England*, special issue of *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 72: 2 (2009).

³⁹ Rowland Whyte to Gilbert Taylor, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, at Court, 27th April 1605. Lambeth Palace Library, MS Talbot 3202, fol. 10^{r-v} (10^f).

⁴⁰ Edward Somerset, 4th Earl of Worcester, to Robert Cecil, at Court, 29th April 1605. Hatfield House, Cecil papers, vol. 110, no. 113. For Worcester’s activities as an interrogator and for his involvement in the suppression of recusancy, see Pauline Croft, ‘Somerset, Edward, fourth earl of Worcester (c.1550–1628)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26005>, accessed 20 January 2016].

case's conclusion, confirming that Haydocke had sent his confession to the King on 28th April. This, presumably, is the signed and endorsed confession that survives in the State Papers.

Lassells's account, which agrees both with Haydocke's confession and with *Oneirologia*'s 'letter to the reader', explains the cause of the imposture in detail. Prohibited from studying divinity by his speech impediment – a combination of stuttering and slowness in speaking – Haydocke took to the study of medicine.⁴¹ Remembering that when at Winchester his schoolmates had often told him “how he vsed to speak in his sleep, and that he did make verses, and speak Lattin with much more quicknes of invention, and readier utterance, then at any time els”, he thought he would practice speaking at night time.⁴² He began by discoursing on medicine, and, having found that his speech impediment was ameliorated, moved on to divinity. While intended only as a private practice, his nocturnal sermons were overheard by his chamber-fellows, who believed he was speaking in his sleep “as he used to do”. Puffed up with pride by reports in college that he had “made an excellent sermon in his sleep”, he began his deception, preaching in Latin at Oxford and in English in the countryside for a full year and a half. Upon being brought to Court he thought at once that he should confess to the King, but having earned a reputation for honesty among “learned and judicial men” and presuming too much upon his own cunning, he persisted in the fraud. Once exposed, he proclaimed the innocence of his motives, accepted the King's gracious pardon, and promised to desist from any further sleep-preaching.⁴³

IV. The Composition of *Oneirologia*.

⁴¹ On speech impediments in early modern England see e.g. Carla Mazzio, *The Inarticulate Renaissance: Language Trouble in an Age of Eloquence* (Philadelphia, 2009).

⁴² Edmund Lassells to Gilbert Taylor, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury, at Court, 29th April 1605. Lambeth Palace Library, MS Talbot 3202, fols. 13^r-14^r (13^v).

⁴³ Some later accounts claim that the King ordered Haydocke to preach at St Paul's, to demonstrate that he could perform as well waking as sleeping (see Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance*, 18), but I have found no evidence to corroborate this.

Lassells concludes his account by noting that the King had pardoned Haydocke and sent him “back to Oxford”. From there, Haydocke presumably went home to Salisbury and to his nascent medical practice. Indeed, writing to Cecil on 7th October 1605, James crowed that “a great dreaming divine hath closed his propheticall mouth and taken up his clyster spout again.”⁴⁴ When, then, and under what circumstances, was *Oneirologia* written? In the address “To the Kings most Sacred Maiesty” that prefaces his treatise, Haydocke refers to James’s “late sharp sentence”, so we may be sure it was begun some time after the physician’s confession at the end of April and finished at the latest by 20th November 1605, when he signed *Oneirologia*’s ‘letter to the reader’. It may seem reasonable to assume, therefore, that Haydocke composed the treatise at his leisure upon his return to Salisbury.

Yet the text suggest otherwise, for in his ‘address to the King’ Haydocke claims that he had composed “this poore mite, of my broken and distracted meditations of the nature of Dreames ... in the absence of bookes, conference and other helps”, that is from memory, and in circumstances identical to those in which he was kept during his interrogation at Court. If we take Haydocke at his word (the near-disastrous consequences of his deceitful sleep-preaching suggest he would not have risked trickery again), it seems he wrote the bulk of *Oneirologia* while still detained at His Majesty’s pleasure, presumably adding the ‘letter to the reader’ after he had been released.

However, this may not be all that he added to the treatise. As Sarah Howe has observed, Haydocke drew several of the examples in his text from Zachary Jones’s translation of the first book of Pierre le Loyer’s *Quatre livre des spectres* (1586): *A treatise of specters or strange sights, visions and apparitions* (1605).⁴⁵ Dedicated to King James, the book

⁴⁴ James I to Robert Cecil, 7th(?) October 1605, from Royston. See G. P. V. Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James VI and I* (Berkeley, 1984), 266. Elsewhere in the letter, James jokingly suggests that Haydocke and Anne Gunter (whose ‘bewitching’ had also recently been unmasked) should marry. On the coincidental but telling connection between the cases of Haydocke and Gunter, see Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance*, 14-16; James A. Sharpe, *The Bewitching of Anne Gunter: A Horrible and True Story of Football, Witchcraft, Murder and the King of England* (London: Profile, 2000)

⁴⁵ See Howe, “Literature and the Visual Arts”, 194.

appeared in the spring of 1605, just a few months before Haydocke completed *Oneirologia*.⁴⁶ Haydocke did not acknowledge his debt to Jones, presumably because to bolster his own claims to inventiveness, though he did quote or cite certain ancient authorities and some more recent, continental authors such as Vives and Fernel.

This brings us to the broader matter of the sources for *Oneirologia*, and how Haydocke handled them. At its core, *Oneirologia* is a treatise built upon the edifice of the better-known medical and psychological writings of antiquity, especially the works of Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen. Haydocke would doubtless have encountered all three during his Oxford education, although the precise content of medical lectures in Oxford in the later sixteenth century is unclear.⁴⁷ Certainly, Oxford's libraries, including the new Bodleian Library and the library of New College, were well stocked with precisely the material Haydocke required to write *Oneirologia*. As Gillian Lewis explains: "It is clear beyond doubt that copies existed in Oxford of most of the medical classics in recent scholarly editions, of contemporary works in anatomy, botany and *materia medica*, of books on the diagnosis and treatment of disease as well as textbooks, epitomes and vernacular manuals of health."⁴⁸

Haydocke clearly availed himself of these resources, supplementing whatever books he may have owned.⁴⁹ However, while he sometimes names the authors and titles on which

⁴⁶ See Franklin B. Williams Jr., "Spenser, Shakespeare, and Zachary Jones", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 19 (1985), 205-12 (209).

⁴⁷ Lewis, "Faculty of Medicine", 228. We should note here the other, informal means by which Haydocke's education was likely supplemented, for example through his friendship with the highly influential Aristotelian scholar John Case, who provided a 'letter to the author' praising Haydocke in the latter's *Tracte*. See Charles B. Schmitt, *John Case and Aristotelianism in Renaissance England* (Kingston, ON, 1983). On the scientific milieu of Oxford in the period, see e.g. Mordechai Feingold, *The Mathematicians' Apprenticeship: Science, Universities and Society in England, 1560-1640* (Cambridge, 1984).

⁴⁸ Lewis, "Faculty of Medicine", 240.

⁴⁹ Haydocke used the Bodleian as a reader seven times from November 1602 to October 1603. See Alexander Marr, "Learned Benefaction: Science, Civility and Donations of Books and Instruments to the Bodleian Library before 1605", in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*

he has drawn, identifying his sources precisely is complicated by the many and diverse editions of Aristotle, Hippocrates and Galen published in the Renaissance. Comments on sleep and dreams are scattered throughout the writings of these authors, whose works had become increasingly available in printed, humanist editions with commentaries over the course of the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ The key works (all of which Haydocke cites) are Galen's *De insomniis* (sometimes called *De dignotione ex insomniis*) and *De motu musculorum*; Book Four (*Liber de somniis*; *De insomniis*) of the *Regimen*, attributed in Haydocke's day to Hippocrates; and Aristotle's comments on the nature of sleep and dreams in the *Parva naturalia* (*De somno et vigilia*; *De insomniis*).⁵¹

The first, Latin edition of Galen's *De motu musculorum*, translated by Leonicensus, was published in London in 1522, with numerous editions appearing throughout the remainder of the century. His *De insomniis* appeared in a bi-lingual Greek and Latin edition in 1547, and in a variety of Latin translations, both separately and as parts of the *Opera*, from the 1490s on. Both works appeared in various formats in the numerous epitomes of Galen's works published throughout the sixteenth century, and in books of commonplaces, both medical and otherwise. The same is true of Hippocrates's writings (which were not

(Leiden, 2013), 27-50 (36). That he had his own library is evident from his donation of several books to the Bodleian Library in 1601. See Hölzgen, "Richard Haydocke", 17-18.

⁵⁰ See Nancy G. Siraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror: Girolamo Cardano and Renaissance Medicine* (Princeton, NJ, 1997), 181.

⁵¹ For an excellent summary of the works in question and their reception in the Renaissance, see Karl H. Dannenfeldt, "Sleep: Theory and Practice in the Late Renaissance", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 41 (1986), 415-41. For Galen, see e.g. Steven M. Oberhelman, "Galen, *On Diagnosis from Dreams*", *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 36 (1981), 416-24; for Aristotle, H. Wijsenbeek-Wijler, *Aristotle's Concept of Soul, Sleep and Dreams* (Amsterdam, 1978); David Gallop, *Aristotle on Sleep and Dreams* (Peterborough, 1990); Philip J. van der Eijk (ed. and trans). *Aristoteles. De Insomniis. De divinatione per somnum* (Berlin, 1994). Galen's authorship of *De insomniis* has sometimes been disputed. See e.g. Philip J. van der Eijk and Maithe Hulskamp, "Stages in the Reception of Aristotle's Works on Sleep and Dreams in Hellenistic and Imperial Philosophical and Medical Thought," in *Les Parva naturalia d'Aristote: Fortune antique et médiévale*, ed. Christophe Grellard and Pierre-Marie Morel (Paris, 2010), 47-75 (68).

infrequently published with Galen's), the early modern bibliography of which has yet to be comprehensively charted.⁵²

Despite this profusion, we may tentatively identify some of the books Haydocke used. He seems to have consulted a work containing the Leonicens translation of *De motu musculorum* (published in no less than twelve editions of the *Opera* in the sixteenth century), such as the 1571 Basle *Epitome* of Galen's writings. Rather unhelpfully, he seems not to have used the popular translation of *De insomniis* by Gadaldinus, published in the 1561-2 Basle edition of the *Opera*, which Kühn used for his now-standard edition.⁵³ Haydocke's one reference to Galen's *De locus affectis* probably derived not from a Galenic epitome or the *Opera*, but from André du Laurens's *Opera anatomica* (1593), where the pertinent passage appears in conjunction with a quote from Nemesius, in precisely the format (including Greek text) that Haydocke used in *Oneirologia*.

This should alert us to the possibility that Haydocke may have encountered the Hippocratic and Galenic corpora in printed form chiefly through digests and commentaries. Indeed, for all his pretensions to wide learning, both the sources Haydocke used and the way he deployed them are highly redolent of commonplacing. He drew on at least one popular printed commonplace book, Peter Martyr's *Loci Communes*, which contains a wide-ranging account of sleep and dreams, including the medical and philosophical opinions of various ancient and Patristic authors. Haydocke cites this only once in his text (on the connection between sleep and sin, 54^f), but – especially given his suppression of Jones's translation of Le

⁵² See Richard J. Durling, "A Chronological Census of Renaissance Editions and Translations of Galen", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24: 3/4 (1961), 230-305; Vivian Nutton, "Hippocrates in the Renaissance", in Gerhard Baader and Rolf Winau (eds.), *Die hippokratischen Epidemien. Theorie – Praxis – Tradition* (Stuttgart, 1989), 420-39; Vivien Nutton, "Greek Science in the Sixteenth-century Renaissance", in J. V. Field and Frank A. J. L. James (eds.), *Renaissance and Revolution: Humanists, Scholars, Craftsmen and Natural Philosophers in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1993), 15-28; Magdalena Koźluk (ed.), *Editing Galen and Hippocrates in the Renaissance: An Exhibition of Sixteenth-century Editions in the Library of Edward Worth (1678-1733)* (Dublin, 2007).

⁵³ *De insomniis* appeared in six other Latin translations in the sixteenth century. See Durling, "A Chronological Census", 286.

Loyer – he may well have used it without acknowledgment elsewhere. Likewise, it is quite possible that his quotations of Galen and Hippocrates derived from printed collections of medical commonplaces; for example, François Valleriola’s popular *Loci medicinae communes* (first published 1562), in which Haydocke could have found a number of the quotes that he used.

It is highly likely that Haydocke kept his own commonplace book, both for his medical and wider reading, the latter of which clearly included the non-medical, classical authors he cites, such as Virgil, Horace and Cicero. The process of excerpting, storing and then recalling key passages of texts helped to lodge them in the memory, perhaps giving credence to Haydocke’s claim that he composed *Oneirologia* “in the absence of bookes”.⁵⁴ Imperfect recollection of these commonplaces might explain the occasional spelling errors in his Latin quotations, although we might equally attribute this to hasty and incorrect copying from printed book into manuscript commonplace book. Regardless, the commonplace-like feel of *Oneirologia* reflects the kinds of scholarly practices into which Haydocke was doubtless inducted at Oxford, while undercutting somewhat his boast about the difficulty of his subject. Given his own experiences as a stutterer and pseudo-sleep-talker, Haydocke may have taken a special interest in the nature of sleep and dreams, but the material he used and the way he presented it would have been familiar to many members of the republic of letters around the turn of the century.

This familiarity seems not to have dissuaded Haydocke from seeking a wider audience for his treatise than its dedicatee – the King – alone. His inclusion of a ‘letter to the reader’ signals an intention to publish. Indeed, in his ‘address to the King’ he asks James to “stamp [*Oneirologia*] with your princely approbation”: surely a request for a licence to publish. We may attribute this in part to Haydocke’s desire publicly to remove himself from suspicion, as well as to counter the accusation (apparently made) that he “continue[d] ye vse of speakinge still” (49^v). He may also, however, have identified a gap in the market. While certain aspects of Haydocke’s subject could be found in works of biblical exegesis and demonology, prior to

⁵⁴ On commonplacing, see e.g. Ann Blair, “Humanist Methods in Natural Philosophy: The Commonplace Book”, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53 (1992): 541-51. For a useful summary of recent work, see Victoria E. Burke, “Recent Studies in Commonplace Books”, *English Literary Studies*, 43:1 (2012), 153-77.

the publication of Jones's translation of Le Loyer the key vernacular works on sleep and dreams were Thomas Hill's short *Treatise of the interpretation of dreams* (1567) and Thomas Nashe's *The terrors of the night* (1594).⁵⁵ Hill's treatise, republished several times up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, is a work in the Macrobian tradition quite different to Haydocke's physiological-cum-psychological treatment of sleep and dreams. Nashe, who dismisses Artemidorus (along with Synesius and Cardano) with the withering claim that "euery weatherwise old wife could write better", is largely unconcerned with the physiology or psychology of dreaming, although he makes occasional reference to the humoural causes of dreams.⁵⁶ Rather, his little treatise is a freely associative narration of various types of dream.⁵⁷ Perhaps Haydocke thought that his combination of Latin learning and, uniquely, his relation of the King's very own arguments would prove profitable, given the limited competition.⁵⁸

Yet Haydocke's inclusion of James's arguments may have caused his publishing plans to unravel. In his 'address to the King' Haydocke begs forgiveness for his "vnperfect relation

⁵⁵ See e.g. Gervase Babington, *Certain plaine, briefe, and comfortable notes upon every chapter of Genesis* (London, 1592); Reginal Scot, *The discoverie of witchcraft* (London, 1584). Dreams were touched upon occasionally in vernacular medical works, e.g. Levinus Lemnius, *The touchstone of complexions* (London, 1576), and in printed commonplace books, e.g. Peter Martyr, *The common places* (London, 1583). A book called *The Phisiognymie of dreames* was entered into the Stationers' Register in 1591 and again in 1612, but there is no such title in ESTC. See Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640*, 5 vols. (London, 1875-77), 2: 273, 3: 219.

⁵⁶ Thomas Nashe, *The terrors of the night* (London, 1594), Biii^v.

⁵⁷ See Per Siverfors, "'All this tractate is but a dream': The Ethics of Dream Narration in Thomas Nashe's *The Terrors of the Night*", in Georgia Brown (ed.), *Thomas Nashe* (Farnham, 2011), 361-74.

⁵⁸ It is perhaps worth noting that in 1607 – shortly after the Haydocke affair – Thomas Tomkis's academic drama *Lingua* was published. This allegorical competition between language ('Lingua') and the Five Senses features a character, 'Somnus', under whose spell Lingua talks in her sleep, confessing her treacherous plot to disable the Senses with drugged wine. The parallel with Haydocke's case and treatise is notable, although there is no firm evidence to support a connection with the play, the composition and performance dates of which are disputed. See S. P. Cerasano, 'Tomkis, Thomas (b. c.1580, d. in or after 1615)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27519>, accessed 17 March 2016].

of your *Maiesties* inuincible arguments”. Indeed, it seems that his report of these ‘arguments’ resulted in the work’s censure, as an undated petition from the physician to Robert Cecil makes plain:

“To the Right-Honourable the Earl of Salisbury.

Right Honourable, may you be pleased soe far to contineue your favours to your suppli[c]ant, as to protect him from His Majesty’s displeasure as concerning such slippes, as haue improuidently escaped his pen in that treatise, which he comended into Your Honour’s hands, by your comaundment, neuer presuming that any thing \therein/ should stand, saue what was by your wisdom ratified: whoe attendeth (as a longe time he hath) to add, diminish, or alter what shalbe judged most requisite, for plenary satisfaction to ye world; it being ye thing he most desireth; hoping withall, that your Honour considering what hindrance his meane estate sustaineth, in this time of absence from his place of maintenance, you will haue him in compassionate remembrance: So shall he (as he is otherwise bound) pray for Your Honour’s long life & happiness.

Your Honour’s humble suppli[c]ant,

Richard Haydocke.”⁵⁹

Several aspects of this petition help us to comprehend the circumstances of *Oneirologia*’s composition. First, Haydocke states clearly that the treatise was submitted to the King via Cecil and at the latter’s instruction. Most probably, James himself requested this additional, written exposition of Haydocke’s fraud, but it may be that Cecil (whom Haydocke casts as his protector) suggested a learned treatise might ameliorate James’s indisposition towards his errant subject. Second, Haydocke submitted the petition (and therefore the treatise) in a “time of absence from his place of maintenance”, that is away from Salisbury, so we may presume he wrote *Oneirologia* while still detained in London. Third, it seems that when Haydocke

⁵⁹ Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, Petition no. 1264. The petition is in Haydocke’s hand: compare his entry in the album amicorum of Gheselius, *supra*, n. 21. There is no record that Haydocke petitioned the King directly. See R. W. Hoyle (ed.), *Heard before the King: Registers of Petitions to King James I, 1603-1616* (Kew, 2006). We may note that in the petition to Cecil Haydocke deploys agnominatio, a verbal device singled out by the King in his ‘arguments’. See *infra*. n. 202.

submitted the treatise he had been in detention for a substantial stretch, given his claim that he had “for a long time” stood ready to revise the treatise as required.

Evidently, the King had read a version of *Oneirologia* but had been displeased by Haydocke’s record of his ‘arguments’ as to why there can be no reasonable discourse in sleep. Quite what caused this displeasure is unclear. It may be that Haydocke’s “slipps” were simply inaccuracies in reporting the King’s words, but perhaps – given how prosaic his arguments and style appear next to Haydocke’s writing – James felt shown up by his subject. For a monarch who prided himself on his rhetorical skill, the comparison could well have ruffled feathers.⁶⁰ More fundamentally, it is possible that James was angered by the very inclusion of his ‘arguments’, since impersonating the monarch was a treasonable offence at the time.⁶¹

It is unclear whether the manuscript of *Oneirologia* now in the Folger is the version submitted to the King, a copy made for Haydocke’s records or for some other purpose, or indeed whether it is different version revised in light of the King’s criticisms and Cecil’s comments, following Haydocke’s supplication. It is highly unlikely that either the King or Cecil would have had time to attend to Haydocke and his treatise in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that Haydocke had remained in custody for a period of time following his confession in late April, had drafted *Oneirologia* and submitted it to the King and Cecil before being released, some time before James’s letter to Cecil of late October. Haydocke may well have feared that the dramatic events of the Gunpowder Plot and the hysteria it generated about deception, scheming and sedition of all kinds, would have renewed suspicion of him and his sleep-preaching, still fresh in the Court’s and public’s memory. This would explain his decision to revisit and seek to publish *Oneirologia*, perhaps with the addition of new matter, including paratext. In support of this interpretation we may cite Haydocke’s association with the engraving and painting, *The Papists Powder Treason*, which at the very least suggests he identified personally with the

⁶⁰ For James, literary style and rhetoric, see e.g. Curtis Perry, *The Making of Jacobean Culture: James I and the Renegotiation of Elizabethan Literary Practice* (Cambridge, 1997); Markku Peltonen, *Rhetoric, Politics and Popularity in Pre-Revolutionary England* (Cambridge, 2012).

⁶¹ See e.g. T. H. Howard-Hill (ed.), *Middleton’s “Vulgar Pasquin”: Essays on A Game at Chesse* (Cranbury, NJ, 1995), *passim*.

events of 5th November. The depiction in that image of the King, Queen, Princes Henry and Charles, and Princess Elizabeth kneeling and giving thanks to God for their preservation, echoes the conclusion of *Oneirologia*'s 'address to the King':

“hee *which* keepeinge Israell doth neither slumber nor sleepe, preserue your *Maiestie* with your whole Royall progeny both wakeinge and sleepeinge, vntill you shall succesiuely sleepe with your happy Progenitors, to wake for euer in the kingdome of heauen.”

V. The Manuscript

Oneirologia is a fair-copy manuscript of 23 leaves. Now separately bound as Folger MS J.a.1 (5), it was formerly part of a miscellany chiefly comprising dramatic and poetical works, ranging in date from 1567 to 1620 and written in at least sixteen hands on differently watermarked paper.⁶² The miscellany was acquired by the Folger Shakespeare Library from Maggs Bros. in 1933, who had purchased it in 1930 at the Sotheby's sale of items from the library of the Marquess of Cholmondley. The 'Cholmondley Library' book plate of the miscellany's leather binding dates from the nineteenth century and is probably that of the second Marquess, George Horatio (1792-1870). Its earlier provenance is unknown.

The majority of items in the miscellany are dramatic works intended for school, university and Court audiences. In addition to plays and other entertainments, the collection includes: neo-Latin poetry and epigrams by a variety of authors; Thomas White's funeral oration for Edmund Campion; Raleigh's *Notes on the Navy* and *Discourse* on the marriage of Prince Henry; Haydocke's *Oneirologia*; and Andrew Willet's *Reasons...to induce...this Kingdome to graunt unto the King...a large subsidie*. This last item, which immediately followed *Oneirologia* in the miscellany's original collation, is in the same hand as *Oneirologia* but written on differently watermarked paper. Next to the title, it has been

⁶² "Folger Manuscript J.a.1", in Suzanne Gossett and Thomas L. Berger, *Jacobean Academic Plays. Malone Society Collections, vol. 14* (Oxford, 1988), 1-14, where *Oneirologia* is listed as item 6. That article expands upon and corrects R. H. Bowers, "Some Folger Academic Drama Manuscripts", *Studies in Bibliography (Papers of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia)*, 12 (1959), 117-30.

inscribed in what may be a different, seventeenth-century hand: “Anno 1617.⁶³ Per Dtorem Willett./”. We may note that the subject of this manuscript is consistent with Haydocke’s ongoing interest in the King, attested to also by *The Papists Powder Treason*. It seems likely that these two manuscripts entered the miscellany together, despite being dated twelve years apart. While it is unclear how and why they came to be bound together with the other manuscripts, they are connected to them by way of their Jacobean provenance and learned subject matter. The entire collection may, at some point, have been in Haydocke’s possession.

Oneirologia is written in a neat italic, which both Weller and Höltgen have identified as Haydocke’s own.⁶⁴ We may attribute to Haydocke with certainty three manuscripts: his confession to the King, his petition to Cecil, and his entry in the album amicorum of Gheselius.⁶⁵ All three are in italic and bear his signature, which takes a slightly different form in each [Fig. 2]. These hands and signatures are comparable to those of *Oneirologia*, which is especially similar to the ‘confession’. It is, therefore, tempting to identify the hand of *Oneirologia* as Haydocke’s. However, certain discrepancies between *Oneirologia* and these other documents should give us pause: there are several differences in spelling, in letter forms, and in contractions.⁶⁶ Thus, while it remains likely that Haydocke produced the Folger manuscript, we must not rule out the possibility that it may be a scribal copy.

The manuscript contains very few corrections or crossings out, suggesting it is a fair copy made from another document, perhaps Haydocke’s draft. The scribe, whoever he was,

⁶³ This hand annotated the miscellany elsewhere. See Gossett and Berger, ‘Folger Manuscript J.a.1’, 13 and, for the watermarks, 10.

⁶⁴ Gossett and Berger, ‘Folger Manuscript J.a.1’, 6, n. 2.

⁶⁵ See *supra*. n. 21. Additionally, we may attribute to Haydocke with some confidence certain of the annotations in his copy of Lomazzo’s *Trattato*: British Library, 561*.a.1(1). See e.g. the annotations pp. 179-80, locating stanzas in the English translation of Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, and the annotation (providing a reference to Alberti’s *De pictura*) in the same hand on p. 34. As Haydocke tells us, he used Sir John Harington’s translation of Ariosto in the preparation of his own translation of Lomazzo. See *infra*. n. 72. See also Gent, “Haydocke’s Copy of Lomazzo.”

⁶⁶ Compare, for example, the form of ampersands and the contraction of ‘Majesty’ in *Oneirologia* and the ‘confession’.

occasionally inserted a missing word or letter, but otherwise it has the look of a presentation manuscript. He used both margins for citations and, in chapters 5 and 6, short annotations identifying the locations of ‘arguments’. Intermittently, he identified passages in the main body of the text to which the marginalia relate by means of a ‘x’ mark.

Limited evidence suggest that *Oneirologia* might have circulated, albeit not widely, after Haydocke’s death. Anthony Wood, who wrote the first biography of Haydocke, may have been aware of its existence. In the 1670s and 80s Wood corresponded with John Aubrey in an attempt to track down information about Haydocke and his son-in-law, Nathaniel Highmore. Aubrey enlisted the assistance of his friend, Richard Highmore (Nathaniel’s younger brother), who wrote to Wood:

“I received both your letters and I heartily beg your pardon for not returning you an answer as soon as I might. The reason of it is because I had not had an opportunity of speaking with my sister [Elizabeth, Haydocke’s daughter], the doctor’s wife, and concerning the particulars you desire to be informed of, the place and time of her father’s death. Since I have spoken with her, she giving a very lame account, indeed as much as nothing. But she tells me she will send to one whom she thinks can rightly inform us of it...*There is no other book* but that you mention of Lomatius, which was ever written or translated by Mr Hadack [*sic.*] that ever I heard of.”⁶⁷

We cannot be certain that Wood, who seems to have been searching for writings by Haydocke other than the *Tracte*, knew of *Oneirologia*’s existence, but concrete evidence of its circulation beyond Haydocke and his immediate family is provided by the only other witness to the text: a manuscript copy of parts of the treatise now in the British Library. The manuscript (MS Lansdowne 489, no. 12) is part of a miscellany that may have belonged to one Charles Cheyney (as he signs himself, fol. 2^r), datable to the late 1630s and early 1640s. Cheyney’s identity is uncertain, though he may be Charles Cheyne, first Viscount Newhaven

⁶⁷ Richard Highmore to Anthony Wood, from Caundle, 2nd October 1689. Bodleian Library, MS Wood F. 45, fol. 203. Emphasis mine.

(1625-1698), who matriculated from Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1640.⁶⁸ The miscellany comprises documents predominately in three secretary hands, including parliamentary material (fols. 10^r-39^r), extracts of poetry and prose (fols. 111^r-128^r), the partial copy of *Oneirologia* (128^v-131^v), and extracts from a draft of Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici* (first published 1642), dated 1639.⁶⁹

The Lansdowne manuscript omits entirely the paratextual matter of Folger MS J.a.1 (5), opening with a title that deviates somewhat from that version, translating 'Oneirologia' into Greek: "Haydock's tract of sleep; ὄνειρολογία". There follows a list of *Oneirologia*'s contents, consistent with MS J.a.1 (5), and an abbreviated version of the Folger manuscript's chapters 1-3. This summary breaks off suddenly, midway in chapter 3, with the words "Imagination, of some *thing* to be done" (fol. 56^v of the Folger manuscript). Chapters 4-6 are omitted, despite being listed in the contents. In the Lansdowne manuscript, marginalia has been added that does not appear in the Folger version, but in most other respects the former is consistent with the latter. The Lansdowne manuscript's occasional deviations – the omission or different spelling of certain words, for example – is consistent with a copy that may, given its abundant contractions, have been copied hastily. Whether the Lansdowne manuscript derived from the one in the Folger or from a third – presumably lost – manuscript it is impossible to say. However, its appearance in a miscellany that includes also a copy of a draft of *Religio Medici* raises the intriguing possibility that *Oneirologia* may have circulated in Sir Thomas Browne's circle around the time of Haydocke's death.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ See John Broad, 'Cheyne, Charles, first Viscount Newhaven (1625–1698)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008)

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5257>, accessed 28 March 2016]. That he was indeed the owner of the manuscript is supported by a fragmentary reference (fol. 10^r) to "Sir John Cheyne Speaker", presumably Sir John Cheyne (d. 1414), who, like Charles Cheyne, was of Buckinghamshire stock.

⁶⁹ Items 6 to 12 (the partial copy of *Oneirologia*) of the miscellany are in the same hand. See *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1819), 2: 135-36.

⁷⁰ On Browne, see e.g. Reid Barbour and Claire Preston (eds.), *Sir Thomas Browne: The World Proposed* (Oxford, 2008); Reid Barbour, *Sir Thomas Browne: A Life* (Oxford, 2013) (for dreams, 452-

VI. Summary and Commentary.

Oneirologia is a perfect example of what Stuart Clark has called the “epistemology of sleep”. As he has shown, for certain early modern authors “thinking with dreams” entailed engaging – often critically – the relationship between sensory data, certainty and truth, focused in large measure on the status of the images in which dreams were assumed to consist.⁷¹ Haydocke clearly delighted in this visual nature of his subject, perhaps owing to his own experience as a practising artist. While his treatise suffers in places from the turgid repetitiveness of the weaker kind of commonplace learning, it sparkles when he deploys optical metaphors and similes: devices comparable, perhaps, to those praised by Gordon and Hyde in their account of Haydocke’s sermons.⁷² While we should be cautious in claiming too much originality for this aspect of *Oneirologia*, in Haydocke’s hands a familiar part of the sixteenth century scholastic and medical curriculum is made witty and accessible in the vernacular.

Elsewhere, Haydocke is rather more conventional. In his ‘address to the King’, for instance, he deploys standard (perhaps expected) motifs associated with James’s self-image and public iconography. Drawing an implicit comparison between James and Solomon, Haydocke praises the King’s wisdom (particularly in the finding out of difficult things), offering up his treatise into the “gazophylatium” (treasurehouse) of the King’s vast knowledge (48^r).⁷³ He deploys also an extended medical metaphor whereby his own presumptuous trickery is cast as a tumour, the King’s puncturing and forgiveness of his

5). I have not discovered a connection between Nathaniel Highmore and the Browne circle in the early 1640s, but this should not be ruled out as a possible conduit for *Oneirologia*.

⁷¹ See Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, chapter 9.

⁷² Haydocke was abreast of recent developments in English literature. In his *Tracte*, he advised painters to feed their imaginations by reading Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser, while he used Harington’s translation of Ariosto for Lomazzo’s quotations of that Italian poet. See Richard Haydocke, *A tracte containing the artes of curious paintinge, carvinge & buildinge* (Oxford, 1598), II:84.

⁷³ For James as Solomon see e.g. James Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge, 2000), chapter 5.

puffery as a doctor's cure, invoking scrofula (the "King's Evil", curable only by a divinely ordained monarch) along the way. His 'letter to the reader' (essentially a public repetition of his signed confession) is likewise replete with standard apologies for deficiency, though rendered rather more piquant by his allusion to "diuers sinister censures" of his fraudulence. Fraud was, of course, very much in the public consciousness in the autumn of 1605. Indeed, we may note that the most notorious of the Gunpowder Plotters, Guido Fawkes, is punningly named "Guy Faux" in the engraving *The Papists Powder Treason*. Haydocke, by way of contrast, signs himself an "vnfained affector" (50^r) in *Oneirologia*, in which he is evidently anxious to show he had no "combination, plot, or purpose with any" and to distance himself from accusations of treason and enthusiasm (49^r).⁷⁴

Thus, Haydocke's chief ambition is not simply to disavow the claim that he could speak rationally in his sleep, but, in line with the King, to prove such a thing impossible. To this end he is concerned with natural causes, such that he purposefully distances himself from 'supernatural' dreams, focusing instead upon the nature and powers of the tripartite soul.⁷⁵ Presumably it is for this reason that he called his treatise *Oneirologia*, to distinguish it from the tradition of dream interpretation associated with Macrobius's *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* and Artemidorus's *Oneirocritica*, both of which were popular in England around the time he was writing.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Haydocke's 'letter to the reader' is similar to his signed confession, in which he asserts that he "neuer had any sinister plott purpose or drift to ye disturbance of ye peacable estate of ye Church or common weale." Public Record Office, State Papers 14/13, no. 80, fol. 155^r. On treason, and popular confusion about its definition, see e.g. Rebecca Lemon, *Reason by Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca, NY, 2007).

⁷⁵ At the very end of *Oneirologia*, Haydocke shies away from treating such dreams as are "instilled from God or suggested by the Devil", since these "appertain more properly to Divinity [and] I dare not presume to undergo so high a task" (63^r).

⁷⁶ Haydocke may also have called the treatise *Oneirologia* in a punning allusion to his feigned ability to speak in his sleep. For the alternative traditions, see Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William H. Stahl (New York, 1962); Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1992), 177, n. 18; Daniel E. Harris-McCoy (ed. and trans.), *Artemidorus's Oneirocritica* (Oxford, 2012). The first English translation of Artemidorus appeared just after Haydocke completed *Oneirologia: The Judgement or Exposition of Dreames* (London, 1606), probably written by Robert

At the heart of Haydocke’s account is a question concerning volition: are any acts in sleep governed by the will and, if so, may they be said to be rational? Since speech in sleep has been observed – and seen to be intelligible – Haydocke must account both for the motion of the tongue and for the mental processes that result in speech during the sleeping state. These are familiar topics in both physiology and the ‘science of the soul’.⁷⁷ Indeed, Haydocke’s treatise is in certain respects a conventional one, reflecting medical knowledge current in the English universities at the time, in particular the reception of writings about sleep and dreams by ancient, Patristic, medieval and Renaissance writers.⁷⁸ While he rejects, in Chapter 5, the view that rational speech is possible in sleep, his account is, as we have seen, grounded upon the authority of Hippocrates, Aristotle and Galen.⁷⁹

‘Sleep and vigil’ and ‘affectations of the mind’ are two of the Galenic ‘non-naturals’ and were thus well-established topics in Renaissance medicine. Moreover, the considerable attention Galen and Hippocrates devoted to diagnosis from dreams rendered this an important part of the medical curriculum and of practical training for physicians. In the *Liber de somniis*, Hippocrates claims that when the body sleeps the soul does not, but is instead active

Wood. See Peter Holland, “‘The Interpretation of Dreams’ in the Renaissance”, in Peter Brown (ed.), *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1999), 125-46. Haydocke was likely familiar with Aristotle’s skeptical comments on predictive dreams in *De divinatione per somnum*.

⁷⁷ On which see e.g. Ruth E. Harvey, *The Inward Wits: Psychological Theory in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1975); Katherine Park, “The Organic Soul”, in Charles B. Schmitt, Quentin Skinner, Eckhard Kessler and Jill Kraye (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), 464-84; Fernando Vidal, *The Sciences of the Soul: The Early Modern Origins of Psychology* (Chicago, 2011).

⁷⁸ For dream theory in antiquity see e.g. William V. Harris, *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 2009); Steven M. Oberhelman (ed.), *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (Farnham, 2013); for Patristics and the middle ages see e.g. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*; for the Renaissance see e.g. Dannenfeldt, “Sleep: Theory and Practice”.

⁷⁹ See Lewis, “The Faculty of Medicine”. Notably, Haydocke does not refer to Avicenna anywhere in his text, although his brief mention of the “Arabian distribution of the faculties of the soul into several seats” (56^v) is presumably a reference to this tradition.

and aware.⁸⁰ This situated sleep and dreams within the wider domain of the study of the soul, the chief authority on which was Aristotle. Yet Aristotle's interest in this subject pertained not only to faculty psychology, but also to physiology and the nature of motion. We find this, for instance, in his influential account of sleep as a symptom of digestion.

Haydocke's account of sleep and dreams broadly follows these authors and themes. Beginning with a conventional account of man, the microcosm, as a combination of celestial and elementary natures, he offers a brief sketch of the tripartite soul and of the outward and inward wits, along with a basic outline of the nature of cognition (51^{r-v}).⁸¹ The active operation of both sets of senses is, he explains, "called Vigilancie, as their rest is termed Sleepe" (51^v). Since the vigour of the senses gradually decays they have need of rest but, being of a "most free and liberall nature", must be forcibly restrained. Their subjugation is achieved in the time of "concoction" (i.e. digestion, 51^v), when hot and moist vapours ascend through the arteries to the brain, where they are cooled and resolved into a dewy substance that suppresses the senses until their natural heat and vigour has returned, and man awakes. This is a straightforward Aristotelian account of sleep, in which physical processes act upon the mind through the agency of 'spirits', but one in which – following Galen – the brain has supplanted the heart as the seat of the soul.⁸² Yet how, Haydocke asks, is the "immateriall and

⁸⁰ Hippocrates did not, as Julius Caesar Scaliger noted in his important commentary on the *Liber de somniis*, provide a definition of dreams, nor did he offer a physiological account of them. See Kristine Louise Haugen, "Aristotle My Beloved: Poetry, Diagnosis and the Dreams of Julius Caesar Scaliger", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 60:3 (2007), 819-51 (828); Dannenfeldt, "Sleep: Theory and Practice", 417.

⁸¹ While these are standard themes in Renaissance medicine and natural philosophy, we may note their particular significance in Hippocrates's *Regimen*. See Jacques Jouanna, "L'Interprétation des rêves et la théorie micro-macrocosmique dans le traité hippocratique *Du régime: sémiotique et mimesis*", in Klaus-Dietrich Fischer, Diethard Nickel and Paul Potter (eds.), *Text and Tradition: Studies in Ancient Medicine and Its Transmission Presented to Jutta Kollesch* (Leiden, 1998), 161-74.

⁸² Dannenfeldt, "Sleep: Theory and Practice", esp. 418, 422, 439. See also Thomas Cogan's very similar explanation of the causes of sleep: "by vapours and fumes rising up from the stomach to the head, where through coldness of the brain, they being congealed, do stop the conduits and ways of the senses, and so procure sleep." Thomas Cogan, *The haven of health* (1584), 237, quoted in Levin and Sullivan, with Galbraith and Wolfe, *To Sleep, Perchance to Dream*, 18. On medical 'spirits' see the seminal essay by D. P. Walker, "Medical Spirits in Philosophy and Theology from Ficino to Newton",

immortal soule” (i.e. the rational or intellective soul) employed during sleep? Since it can neither leave the body (which would result in death) nor govern the senses (which have been forcibly restrained), he explains that it works on the fantasy, finding there “certaine broken and incoherent shapes and formes of thinges” (52^r). The soul’s action upon these confused shapes constitutes dreaming, the effects whereof remain briefly in the memory, and these are called dreams. Here, citing Pietro d’Abano as his source, Haydocke quotes Aristotle’s definition of a dream in *De somno et vigilia*: “A dreame is a phantasie wrought by ye motion of shapes in sleepe” (52^{r-v}).⁸³

Haydocke proceeds to explain how the fantasy works when we sleep, focusing especially on the visible and mobile aspects of dreams, both of which were standard aspects of ‘questions’ in scholastic writings on the subject.⁸⁴ He is especially alert when treating the visible aspect of dreams, deploying numerous optical metaphors throughout his text.⁸⁵ This derives in part from the nature of his subject, in part from his special interests in the visual arts. The latter may explain his particularly fulsome definition of the word ‘fantasy’: a term which underwent considerable semantic inflation in the Renaissance, especially in artistic theory.⁸⁶ ‘Fantasy’, Haydocke explains, means “to appeare to the eie, to giue a resemblance,

in *Arts du spectacle et histoire des idées. Recueil offert en hommage à Jean Jacquot* (Tours, 1984), 293-97.

⁸³ On Pietro d’Abano see Luigi Olivieri, *Pietro d’Abano e il pensiero neolatino: filosofia, scienza e ricerca dell’Aristotele greco tra i secoli XIII e XIV* (Padua, 1988); Jean-Patrice Boudet, Franck Collard and Nicolas Weill-Parot (eds.), *Médecine, astrologie et magie entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance: autour de Pietro d’Abano* (Florence, 2013). For Pietro’s writings on dreams see Walter Clyde Curry, *Chaucer and the Medieval Sciences* (Oxford, 1960), 207-09, 213-14; Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, 61.

⁸⁴ On the quaestio tradition see e.g. Brian Lawn, *The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic “Quaestio Disputata” with Special Emphasis on Its Use in the Teaching of Medicine and Science* (Leiden and Boston, 1993).

⁸⁵ On the optics of early modern dreaming, see e.g. Mary Baine Campbell, “The Inner Eye: Early Modern Dreaming and Disembodied Sight”, in Plane and Tuttle (eds.), *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions*, 33-48.

⁸⁶ On the word ‘fantasy’ see e.g. Jean-Louis Labarrière, ‘Phantasia, φαντασία’, in Barbara Cassin (ed.), *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon* (Princeton, NJ, 2014), 773. On the

shadowe, or shewe of a thinge, whether really present, or but supposititiously suggested by way of delusion, as in those Spectra of the former and yet incredulous world” (52^v).⁸⁷

Intriguingly, Haydocke elaborates upon this theme by offering as an example of *spectra* those illusions “such as ye ingenious Bacon by ye Mathematicall situation of his concaue Opticke glasses projected into the aire, [which] are therefore called Phantasticall bodyes, as set in opposition to ye true” (52^v).⁸⁸ It is tempting to attribute this reference to Haydocke’s close friendship with the recusant mathematician and astrologer Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall in Oxford, who provided him with his first copy of Lomazzo’s *Trattato*.⁸⁹ Allen owned some important Bacon manuscripts as well as, according to John Aubrey, “a great many mathematical instruments and glasses in his chamber, which did also confirm the ignorant in their opinion [that he was a ‘conjurer’].”⁹⁰

Given the potential for confusion and suspicion about the origin and nature of illusions of all kinds, Haydocke is careful to emphasize that the images and forms with which he is concerned in *Oneirologia* are not supernatural, but rather a “midle nattere” between body and spirit, “not spirituall, but spiritall”.⁹¹ Deploying a conventional simile in which the

inflation of *fantasia* in Renaissance artistic theory, see e.g. Martin Kemp, “From ‘*mimesis*’ to ‘*fantasia*’: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts”, *Viator*, 8 (1977), 347-98; David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, NJ, 1981).

⁸⁷ See also Nashe: “the diuell can transforme himselfe into an angell of light”. Nashe, *Terrors of the night*, B2^f.

⁸⁸ See also Nashe: “The glasses of our sight (in the night) are like the prospectiue glasses one Hostus made in Rome, which represented the images of things farre greater than they were”. Nashe, *Terrors of the night*, [Fiv^v].

⁸⁹ Howe (“Literature and the Visual Imagination”, 198) notes that Haydocke would have found in Jones’s translation of Le Loyer an account of such optical tricks.

⁹⁰ John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, quoted in Foster, “Thomas Allen”, 99. See also Alexander Marr, “Understanding Automata in the Late Renaissance”, *Journal de la Renaissance*, 2 (2004), 205-21.

⁹¹ His phrasing at this point is very close to Le Loyer, *Treatise of Specters*, B4r. Haydocke was familiar with these issues also through Lomazzo’s *Trattato*, of which chapter 5 in the fifth book (“On the Manner of Seeing in Particular”) contains an *excursus* on spirits, their comprehension, and their position in between body and soul. Haydocke, *Tracte*, IV: 193. On vision and the discernment of

imagination is likened to a mirror, he describes dreams as “the abstracted forme of a true body taken in ye lookeinge=glasse of the Imagination” (52^v).⁹² Haydocke refers to the imagination only occasionally in *Oneirologia*, as a combination of active force and receptive faculty (e.g. stirring up the sensitive spirits in the muscles; receiving *species* from the appetite (56^r)). He explains that the imagination is variable, according to each man’s nature or balance of humours. Thus, it may be confused, strong, or irrational (54^r, 56^r, 56^v); it will “retaine such phantasies as iump nearest with his Originall humour” (54^v); and it produces the “imaginations” which we call dreams (57^v).⁹³

Haydocke’s general characterization of these imaginings as like the fragmented, splintered reflections found in a broken glass may owe something to his translation of Lomazzo, book four of which (“Of Light”) includes chapters devoted to reflected and refracted light.⁹⁴ Equally, however, he was likely familiar with scholastic writings on the soul that used optical metaphors to describe how the agent intellect ‘illuminates’ *phantasmata* to

spirits, see e.g. Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*; Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber (eds.), *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture* (Leiden, 2008).

⁹² See e.g. Rayna Kalas, *Frame, Glass, Verse: The Technology of Poetic Invention in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, 2007).

⁹³ His account reflects the early modern inheritance of classical and medieval ideas about the imagination, on which see e.g. Murray W. Bundy, *The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Mediaeval Thought* (Urbana, 1927); Maria Fattori and Maria Bianchi (eds.), *Phantasia-Imaginatio* (Rome, 1988).

⁹⁴ Haydocke, *Tracte*, IV: 150. Reflection, refraction and the workings of the eye are all fundamental features of Lomazzo’s *Trattato*, addressed at length in book five (“On Perspective”). Howe (“Literature and the Visual Imagination”, 196), who first noted these connections and to whose work I am indebted here, notes that the association of dreams with reflections goes back to Plato’s discussion of *phantasmata* in *The Sophist*. On the popularity of mirror-imagery in the English Renaissance, see Herbert Graves, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1982). For theories of vision in the period see e.g. John Shannon Hendrix and Charles H. Carman (eds.), *Renaissance Theories of Vision* (Farnham, 2010).

create *species intelligibiles*.⁹⁵ Either way, Haydocke's sensitivity to light effects perhaps informed his choice of an elegant simile to emphasize the mobile nature of images in dreams, described as like "when a stone is cast into ye water, from *which* ariseth presenty a circle, *which* instantly beegetteth an other, and yt a third, and soe more successiuey, vntill it come to the banke, and soe vanisheth" (53^r).⁹⁶

The 'motions' of sleep are diverse and produce different kinds of dream, Haydocke explains (53^r).⁹⁷ This diversity is reducible into three kinds: divine (which he has expressly excluded from his treatise), natural and animal.⁹⁸ In Chapters 2 and 3 Haydocke provides a succinct account of the latter two kinds of dream. Following Galen and Hippocrates, in Chapter 2 he treats the 'natural dream' as a symptom, useful to the physician in the diagnosis of disease, since the nature of the dream may indicate not only an imbalance in the humours, but also the patient's temperament. Here, he reintroduces an optical metaphor to explain his point: "as our eie lookinge through a coloured glasse iudgeth all thinges of ye same coloure ... each Imagination will longest

⁹⁵ See e.g. Conimbricenses, *In tres libros De anima* (Coimbra, 1592), 3:2 "Quae sunt intellectus agentis munia", art.1: "De illustratione phantasmatum" (424). I am grateful to Raphaële Garrod for this reference.

⁹⁶ Haydocke may have taken this aquatic simile from Jones's translation of Le Loyer, who describes a sudden fright as like "when one casteth a stone into the water, he shall see the water for a while bubble up". Le Loyer, *Treatise of specters*, B3v. This may itself derive from Nashe, who describes how fearful sights are "nothing els but a bubling scum or froath of the fancie." Nashe, *Terrors of the night*, Ciii^v. However, see also Aristotle, *De Insomniis*, 461a7-10.

⁹⁷ Haydocke notes that it is difficult to determine to which of the Aristotelian categories of motion they should be assigned, but that this is not "much matteriall" to his point. He suggests they should be located principally "in Generation and Corruption" (53^r).

⁹⁸ Haydocke derived this tripartite division (which was common by the time he was writing) from Galen, whom he cites in the margin. It is present also in Pietro d'Abano, whom he cites elsewhere in *Oneirologia*. See *infra*. n. 148. See also Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, 61, noting that the tripartite division is connected to Augustine's hierarchy of vision; A. H. M. Kessels, "Ancient Systems of Dream-Classification", *Mnemosyne*, 22 (1969), 389-424. As per the final paragraph of the discourse, it seems Haydocke ascribed equally to the common early-modern four-part division of dreams into natural, animal, divine and demonic.

retaine such phantasies as iump neerest with his Originall humour” (54^f).⁹⁹ This passage derives ultimately from Galen’s *De insomniis*, but is again redolent of Lomazzo, who, in his third book (“Of Colours”), discusses extensively the relationship between colours, the humours and the passions of the mind (albeit travelling in the opposite direction to their causal relationship to dreams in *Oneirologia*).¹⁰⁰ One wonders also whether Haydocke might have been familiar with recent writings in English that treat the imagination in similar terms. For example, Thomas Wright, in *The passions of the mind in general* (1604), observed that the imagination can put “green spectacles before the eyes of our wit, to make it see nothing but green”, the understanding thus being coloured by emotion.¹⁰¹ Likewise, in *The Art of English Poesy* (1589) George Puttenham explained that fantasy is like a glass, in which “there be many tempers and manner of makings, as the perspectives do acknowledge, for some be false glasses and show things otherwise than they be indeed, and others right as they be indeed, neither fairer nor

⁹⁹ For the possibly Pyrrhonist associations of this passage, see Howe, “Literature and the Visual Imagination”, 205. Lomazzo’s *Trattato*, however, displays none of this scepticism. While he notes that painters should be careful in the disposition of their colours so that they “make no disorder or confusion in the eye of the beholder” (112), he equates light’s capacity to ‘discover’ colour in things with formal reasoning, writing that light “signifies a quality proceeding from the sun or the fire, which so discovers colours, that they may be seen, and this (as the Peripatetics say) is the cause of formal reason, whereby coloured things are seen, whose shapes and images pass to the fantasy and especially enlighten the eyes, in which the image is formed, which first passes to the common sense, afterwards to the fantasy, and last of all to the understanding.” Haydocke, *Tracte*, IV: 139.

¹⁰⁰ See Galen, *De insomniis*, quoted in Siaraisi, *The Clock and the Mirror*, 181. Levinus Lemnius makes similar comments in his *Occulta naturae miracula* (1559). See Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*, 309. For Lomazzo, the qualities of certain colours correlate to those of the humours (for example the ‘heaviness’ of black equates to melancholy) and as such “being apprehended by the eye, do breed in the mind” those self-same qualities, which cause “diverse effects in the beholders” (Haydocke, *Tracte*, IV: 112). Lomazzo also equates mixed and muddled colours with the fantastical, in a manner similar to Haydocke’s explanation of dreams as disordered, mingled images: “In a word all mixed colours, differing each from other, produce earnest desire, variety, and *fantasticalness*” (Haydocke, *Tracte*, III: 112).

¹⁰¹ Thomas Wright, *The passions of the mind in general* (London, 1604), 51.

fouler, nor greater nor smaller. There be again of these glasses that show things exceeding fair and comely, others that show figures very monstrous and ill-favored.”¹⁰²

The remainder of Chapter 2 reveals the extent to which Haydocke approached dreams and their theory through the eyes of an artisan, familiar with the material challenges inherent in craft and with the repertoire of pictorial motifs popular in turn-of-the-century England. He contrasts things fashioned by God, which are “true, real and substantiall”, with those made by the soul of man, which “maketh only accidentall images, formes, and shapes” (54^f). While God, the “first Architect”, invents freely without reference to any pre-existing “Idæa or patterne”, the soul – reliant as it is on sensory data that are received by the commonsense, stored in the memory and recombined in the fantasy – always refers to “foreseene thinges, euen in her best wakeing worke”. Yet in sleep, the creations of the soul (i.e. dreams) are:

“in such shapeless shape, and anticke disguised forme, as it oft terrifieth and affrighteth euen our sleepeing sense. Hee [i.e. God] without matter præcedent, either Chaos or Elements: Shee, though with prepared matter, yet such a confused Chaos, as doth often as much hinder as further her worke. [W]ith whome nowe it fareth as with an artisan, whoe althoughe hee can commaunde his matter, subdueinge it vnder what forme hee please: yet is sometimes ouermatched thereby, and faine to followe it, or for want of fitt stufte, to leaue his intended worke vnfinished. For “Ex quolibet ligno non fit Mercurius”: neither are pure, cleere, and coherent intellectuall formes fashioned out of ye feculent vapours of ye Chaos of distempered humours” (53^v-54^f).

It is striking that Haydocke describes the images we see in dreams as “anticke disguised forme” and that elsewhere he refers to ‘animal’ dreams as “wilde anticke hystories ” (58^v): a clear reference to the bizarre, part-human, part-animal ‘monsters’ found in *grotesche* decoration, known (and popular) in England as ‘antick work’.¹⁰³ Notably, such inventions – associated explicitly in the period’s artistic theory with *fantasia* – appear repeatedly in

¹⁰² George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, eds. Frank Whigham and Wayne A. Rebhorn (Ithaca, 2007), 110. I am grateful to Suparna Roychoudhury for bringing this reference to my attention.

¹⁰³ See e.g. Philippa Glanville, “The Crafts and Decorative Arts”, in Boris Ford (ed.), *The Cambridge Cultural History, vol. 3, Sixteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1989), 268-300.

Lomazzo's *Trattato*, not only in the expected references to Raphael's Vatican *Stanze* decoration, but also, in Book Six, in his discussion of Hieronymus Bosch's hybrid grotesques.¹⁰⁴ In the early modern period, these monstrosities were regularly associated with nightmares, which Walter S. Gibson has argued probably derived from Horace's lines in the *Ars Poetica*: "turpiter atrum / Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè (That a beautiful woman above may foully end below in a loathsome fish)."¹⁰⁵ It should come as no surprise that these lines are quoted by Lomazzo in the *Trattato* as an introduction to the subject of decorum, and that Haydocke quotes them in *Oneirologia*'s preface to his account of the pathology of the imagination (58^v).

More fundamentally, though, Haydocke equated the soul's struggle – and ultimate failure – to control and comprehend the bizarre images that arise in sleep with the artist's attempt to subjugate and fashion rationally his material. Quoting a popular proverb – "ex quolibet ligno non fit Mercurius (Not every block of wood is fit to become (a statue of) Mercury)" – he states unambiguously that such "distempered" (another painterly term) material may never give rise to "pure, cleere, and coherent intellectuall formes" (54^r). Introducing a well-worn commonplace, he associates this aspect of sleep and dreams with sin, since defatigation and illness both resulted from the fall (53^v-54^r). He then proceeds to conclude the chapter by noting a crucial distinction between 'natural' and 'animal' dreams. In the former, humoural vapours "stirre ye Phantasie" to produce irrational forms and images. In the latter, the fantasy works upon "late imprinted formes and Ideas of the matters last thought of" (i.e. our most recent, waking experience). This explains why animal dreams are "formall,

¹⁰⁴ Haydocke did not publish this book in his *Tracte*, but listed its chapters in the table of contents. Such grotesques are discussed also in two texts with which Haydocke was certainly familiar, having donated them to the Bodleian Library in 1601: Giorgio Vasari's *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (1568) and Gabriele Paleotti's *De imaginibus sacris, et prophanis* (1594). See Höltgen, "Richard Haydocke", 17-18. On hybrid creatures and *fantasia* see Claudia Swan, "Counterfeit Chimeras: Early Modern Theories of the Imagination and the Work of Art", in Alina Payne (ed.), *Vision and Its Instruments: Art, Science and Technology in Early Modern Europe* (University Park, 2015), 216-37.

¹⁰⁵ See e.g. Walter S. Gibson, "Bosch's Dreams: A Response to the Art of Bosch in the Sixteenth Century", *The Art Bulletin*, 74 (1992), 205-18; Howe, "Literature and the Visual Imagination", 200.

rationall and cohærent” (if necessarily sometimes jumbled and strange), whereas natural dreams are merely material indicators of illness, “as smoake is of fier” (55^r).¹⁰⁶

Animal or ‘sensible’ dreams, Haydocke explains in Chapter 3, arise not from the body but from the mind. Since the mind governs actions, it must surely be the case that the body rests when the mind rests (55^v). This would render speech in sleep impossible, since neither the local motion of the tongue nor the understanding required to produce intelligible words are possible if the soul is bound fast. However, since some bodily motion, such as breathing, is necessary in sleep, and since phenomena such as sleep-walking are routinely observed, an explanation must be found.¹⁰⁷ Haydocke turns to Galen’s tripartite division of action as natural (e.g. digestion), voluntary (e.g. walking and talking) and mixed (e.g. excretion). ‘Voluntary’ action, with which he is principally concerned, is further complicated in that it arises from a “double Will”: one which is elective (accompanying wakefulness), the other instinctual (accompanying sleep) (55^v-56^r). Drawing on Galen, Aristotle and others, Haydocke offers several explanations for apparently ‘voluntary’ action in sleep: strong spirits lurking in the muscles that are freed when no longer restrained by reason; that sleep chiefly affects the commonsense and not the marrow of the backbone (the root of the body’s “motiue sinewes”); or that such motion arises from a strong “appetitiue imagination” of something to be done (56^{r-v}). All these can explain the *noctambulus*, or sleep-walker. But why, he asks, do men seldom walk and talk at the same time when asleep? Both are matters of the ‘animal spirits’, only the efficient cause differs: walking derives from the irrational imagination and is common to beasts, talking (of which animals are not capable) derives from reason. This brings Haydocke to the crux of his matter. If the efficient cause of speech in sleep is reason,

¹⁰⁶ See also Nashe: “one may aswel by the smoke that comes out of a kitchin gesse what meat is there a broach, as by paraphrasing on smokie dreames præominate on future euent.” Nashe, *Terrors of the night*, Eiii^v-[Eiv^r]. For this passage in the wider context of the experience of nightmares in early modern England, see Janine Rivière, “Demons of Desire or Symptoms of Disease? Medical Theories and Popular Experiences of The Nightmare in Premodern England”, in Plane and Tuttle (eds.), *Dreams, Dreamers, and Visions*, 49-71 (58).

¹⁰⁷ Haydocke offers a number of anecdotes about sleepwalkers, some of them derived from Galen’s writings, but dismisses such “domesticall examples” as a waste of his “stinted paper” (56^v).

what, in this process, is the role of the “vnderstandinge”, the faculty which directs the tongue (57^r)?

Haydocke begins Chapter 4 with the traditional notion that sleep causes a temporary exchange of powers amongst the mind’s internal faculties. He proceeds to deploy a commonplace metaphor in which the mind is likened to an army encampment, the five senses to scouts captained by the faculty of commonsense. When this captain is restrained by sleep, he explains, fantasy is placed in full command of the camp, setting “many friuolous formes of battailes, haueinge some resemblance with those it either sawe plotted formerly by the Captaine, or hearde related by him, from ye spies [i.e. the senses], to haue binne vsed in forraine parts. Whence wee vnderstande that ye Phantasie must bee free, or els there can bee noe dreame” (57^r). The traces of our waking thoughts, then, become dreams; their form and content are recognisable, no mater how absurd they have become. This, Haydocke acknowledges, points to the activity of reason in our sleeping state (58^v). Yet since reason is the immortal, most powerful part of the soul, how can it be that in sleep it does not hold sway? The answer should, he suggests, derive from the distinction already drawn between natural and animal dreams. The former should arise simply from the humours, with some modest assistance from the ‘animal faculties’ (i.e. the mind), which renders them intelligible. The latter should derive from the mind, in combination with a “sweet milde and gentle” mist arising from the humours, sufficient to bind the commonsense but not to inhibit completely the ‘understanding’. Yet man’s post-lapsarian state has confused matters, Haydocke explains. Since Adam’s fall, “natures simple faculties are shuffled and mixed together, this animall dreame taketh part with many staines of ye corrupt humours” (58^v). With the waters muddied and reason compromised, even those animal dreams that *seem* intelligible are no truer than the natural dreams caused by illness. Thus, just as certain poems may be better handled by some than by others but remain fictions, so in dreams “there can bee neyther perfect order, nor certaine truthe” (58^v).¹⁰⁸

At this juncture, Haydocke trains his guns on those authorities who, while admitting to the compromised status of dreams, nevertheless attribute to the understanding an equal power in sleep as when waking. In Chapter 5 he offers succinct objections to the frequently

¹⁰⁸ On the deceptiveness of dreams, see e.g. Clark, *Vanities of the Eye*; Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance*, 44-45.

rehearsed arguments of Hippocrates (in *Regimen IV*) and Galen (in *De motu musculorum*) that the soul and body are active even in sleep, along with the Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives's observation (in *De anima et vita*, first printed 1538) that at night the soul seeks out and finds explanations for things that in the day-time we overlook.

Haydocke begins by citing the very opening section of Hippocrates's *Regimen IV*, which reads in translation:

“But when the body is at rest, the soul, being set in motion and awake, administers her own household, and of herself performs all the acts of the body. For the body when asleep has no perception; but the soul when awake has cognizance of all things – sees what is visible, hears what is audible, walks, touches, feels pain, ponders. In a word, all the functions of body and of soul are performed by the soul during sleep.”¹⁰⁹

Haydocke acknowledges that the soul is at work, comparing her, when in sleep, to a bright sun that draws up moisture but who “shineth as bright about ye clouds, as beefore” (59^v). Moreover, bodily actions are possible in sleep even though they are imperfect. Indeed, Haydocke notes that Hippocrates does not claim perfection for such actions, since from their imperfection the physician may diagnose disease.

Turning to Vives, Haydocke focuses upon the humanist's distinction of a mid-state between waking and sleeping called *dormitatio*, found also in the writings of Jean Fernel, both authors deriving the notion from Aristotle's *De insomniis*. There is a physiological explanation for such a state, Haydocke explains, whereby the vapours do not fully oppress the powers of the imagination (59^v). Yet whatever visions might thereby be produced, he complains, cannot properly be called dreams, just as the drowsiness of *dormitatio* is not true sleep. Thus, whatever sensible experiences are had in such a state are properly part of waking thoughts. Notably, given his own experience as a stutterer, Haydocke emphasises Vives's comments on the beneficial effects of night-time's “still and silent repose”, which “maketh some speak eloquently, which wakeinge or in the daye time, were of a slowe and heauy tounge” (59^v).

¹⁰⁹ Hippocrates, *Regimen IV: Dreams (Liber de somniis; De insomniis)*, LXXXVI. LCL 150: 420-21.

Haydocke proceeds to accuse Galen of weak logic in his assertion that because in sleep the understanding is operational and the tongue moves, therefore words spoken should be intelligible. Such an argument is, he says (in the language of scholasticism), “a Bene diuisis ad male Composita”, since the conclusion does not follow from the premise. Rehearsing his arguments from chapters 2 and 3, Haydocke reiterates simply that the tongue may speak in sleep, but incongruously, and that when we sleep either our ‘bodily’ sense is compromised (in which case our reason is imperfect) or we sleep so deeply that all the faculties of the soul are stopped up, and then we do not dream.

Haydocke concludes the chapter by returning to speech impediments, offering a humoural explanation – affirmed by the authority of Hippocrates – that stammering is caused by a superfluity of moisture, which both impedes the memory and burdens the tongue. The natural heat of sleep, he explains, burns up this moisture and frees the tongue, which is why a stammer may be overcome when the sufferer first awakes. Thus, he concludes, it is true to say “‘Aurora Musis amica’: The morneinge is fittest for Scholars” (60^v).

In the final chapter of his treatise, Haydocke presents the King’s arguments as to why there can be no reasonable discourse in sleep. By 1605, James had already established a reputation as a learned author on varied topics, from biblical exegesis to demonology, poetry to statecraft. His twelve ‘arguments’ in *Oneirologia* – six “Philosophical”, two “Medicall”, two “Theological” and two “Ciuill” – are entirely consistent with these interests. They are also underwhelming, especially since they come after Haydocke’s far more thorough explanation in the preceding chapters. It would be prolix to rehearse here the King’s arguments, which are, if anything, more commonplace than Haydocke’s own, but a few points are worthy of note. First, James draws attention to the literary quality of Haydocke’s sermons, namely his fondness for agnomination, whereby he seemed “to twinge every word by the ear, to see whether there be any life in it or no” (61^v).¹¹⁰ This, he argues, proves that Haydocke must hear his own words, which (according to his previous arguments about the stoppage of the senses in sleep) demonstrates consciousness. Second, while Haydocke shied away from anything pertaining to divinity, James offers two ‘theological’ reasons. One is banal: that prophecy occurred in the era of the Old Testament, but holy men never “spake

¹¹⁰ For examples in Haydocke’s petition to Cecil, see *supra*. n. 59.

theire dreames whilst they slept”, rather they related and interpreted them when awake.¹¹¹

The other, that “Miracles reached noe farther then Christ and his Apostles”, was a commonplace of reformed religion, emphasized especially by Calvin and reiterated by James in his *Daemonologie* (1597): “all we that are Christians, ought assuredly to know that since the coming of Christ in the Flesh, and establishing of his Church by the Apostles, all miracles, visions, prophecies, & appearances of Angels or good spirits are ceased.”¹¹²

Finally, and perhaps most interestingly, James presents a pair of ‘civil’ (i.e. political) arguments. One concerns the reputational damage that would have redounded to him had he believed Haydocke’s imposture: “disgrace ... through ye whole Christian world” (62^v). Given his international reputation for wisdom, this could not be risked, and explains why he was cautiously “slow of belief” in Haydocke’s case.¹¹³ More broadly, this concern for reputation and the theatrical projection of kingly authority chimes with James’s reflections, in *Basilikon Doron*, on the maintenance of princely power.¹¹⁴

The other argument expresses anxiety about enthusiasm, the spread of heresy and sedition.¹¹⁵ Even if Haydocke were indeed a divinely-supported prodigy, James begins, what

¹¹¹ For James’s dismissal of the prophetic power of dreams (which he considered to be simply a medical condition) see Levin, *Dreaming the English Renaissance*, 12-13

¹¹² James I, *Daemonologie* (1597), III: 2, in *James VI and I, Selected Writings*, ed. N. Rhodes, J. Richards, and J. Marshall (Aldershot, 2003), 188. This view chimes with Reginald Scot’s comments in the *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*: “if we expect revelations in our dreams, now, when Christ is come, we shall deceive our selves: for in him are fulfilled all dreames and prophesies.” Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), quoted in Holland, “The Interpretation of Dreams”, 130. See also D. P. Walker, “The Cessation of Miracles”, in Ingrid Merkel and Allen G. Debus (eds.), *Hermetism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in Early Modern Europe* (Washington, D.C., 1988), 110-24; Peter Harrison, “Miracles, Early Modern Science and Rational Religion”, *Church History*, 75: 3 (2006), 493-511.

¹¹³ For James’s international reputation see e.g. Astrid Silma, *A King Translated: The Writings of King James VI & I and their Interpretation in the Low Countries, 1593-1603* (Farnham, 2012).

¹¹⁴ See David Lowenstein, *Treacherous Faith: The Specter of Heresy in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Oxford, 2013), 183.

¹¹⁵ See e.g. Lowenstein, *Treacherous Faith*, esp. chapter 5: ‘The Specter of Heretics in Late Elizabethan and Jacobean Writing’.

would stop other “ill disposed instruments of ye Deuill” from seeking to “counterfeit” (i.e. imitate) his ability, spreading false religion and “Machiauillian plots” (62^v)? The slippage here between dissembling, demonic inspiration and political cunning is notable, as is his use of the increasingly popular neologism ‘Machiavellian’ to denote cynical plotting.¹¹⁶ Most striking, however, is the manner in which James turns this argument back towards one of the chief preoccupations of *Oneirologia*: the operations of the mind. “For whoe”, he asks, “but a Tyrant (ye very name wherof our Soule detesteth) could animaduert and punnish vnthought words? Especially since ye World (as you see) were like to yeeld noe lesse assent thereto then to Diuine Oracles” (62^v). Since the words of such machiavels could be deemed “unthought”, consequently they could be considered unintentional, thus failing the basic test for *mens rea* (a guilty mind) and evading punishment.¹¹⁷

The terror Haydocke must have experienced during his encounter with the King (which could very well have resulted in capital punishment) is palpable in the meek capitulation of his brief conclusion, which follows immediately upon the King’s political arguments. Offering himself as the “first suppresser” of the potential dissent James foresaw – to “kill [the] cockatrice in ye shell” (63^r) before it devoured him and others – Haydocke ends with obedience expressed through the ‘rhetoric of conformity’.¹¹⁸ This conclusion to *Oneirologia* emphasises the extent to which Haydocke’s encounter with James and his subsequent composition of the treatise were a prolonged negotiation of authority. In the treatise, Haydocke contested the authority of ancient and modern writers that men may talk coherently in their sleep, in support of the King’s authoritative pronouncement that such a thing is impossible. As he keenly stressed, the King’s arguments were drawn “ab autoritate Rationis (from the authority of reason)” not “a Ratione Autoritatis (by reason of authority) (60^v).” Finally, echoing his appeal for ecclesiastical pardon in his ‘confession’, Haydocke

¹¹⁶ Rickard suggests that James and his poetic circle may have been familiar with Machiavelli’s *Il principe* by the end of the sixteenth century. See Rickard, *Authorship and Authority*, 53.

¹¹⁷ See Eugene J. Chesney, “The Concept of *Mens Rea* in the Criminal Law”, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 29:5 (1939), 627-44.

¹¹⁸ On which see e.g. Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King’s Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603-1625* (Stanford, 1998).

deferred to theological authority.¹¹⁹ Divinity (the subject of the third branch of his tripartite division of dreams) is, he suggests, too high a task for a mere physician. Better to stick to what you know and to submit to God's directions, so that "neyther willfully nor vnawares wee giue offence whatsoever" (63^r).

VII. *Oneirologia*.

Note on Conventions

The text of *Oneirologia* presented below is a semi-diplomatic transcription. Editorial interventions have been kept to a minimum and are placed in square brackets. Expansions are indicated by italics, superscript has been silently lowered, and I have silently re-connected those parts of words separated in the manuscript by a line break. I have silently placed Latin text (except book titles) in quotation marks, to distinguish it from the rest of the text.

Haydocke's marginalia have been set as such, so far as possible according to their location in the manuscript. Haydocke inconsistently indicates – with an 'x' – those passages in the main text to which his marginalia refer. These marks have been retained, and footnotes relating to the marginalia have been inserted after them. Where an 'x' does not appear, the footnote has been inserted following a keyword to which the marginalium refers. All footnotes pertaining to Haydocke's marginalia are preceded by an *M*.

In the footnotes, I have provided translations of those Latin passages that Haydocke does not translate and which are not available in the Loeb Classical Library (LCL). Unless otherwise indicated, all citations of classical texts are from LCL. All citations of the Bible are from the Geneva Bible.¹²⁰ Additional citations are, where

¹¹⁹ In his 'confession', Haydocke humbly craves "pardon of ye Reverend Bishops and goveneres of ye Church", for his vain "censure of some of ye scriptures". Public Record Office, State Papers 14/13, no. 80, fol. 155^r.

¹²⁰ Haydocke's quotation of Ecclesiastes 5.3 (57^r) indicates that this is the text he used.

possible, from books published prior to the composition of *Oneirologia*. Although Haydocke did not use the Basle edition, for his citations of Galen I have indicated the relevant section of the standard, Kühn edition.¹²¹

[47^r]

ONEIROLOGIA:

or

A breife discourse of the nature of

Dreames:

Discoveringe howe farre the reasonable

Soule exerciseth her operations in the

time of Sleepe: And prooueing that in Sleepe there

can bee noe reasonable and Methodicall

speech.

By

Richard Haydocke.

Ανὴρ Ουαρ¹²²

Spes est Vigilantis Somnium.¹²³

[47^v] [Blank]

[48^r]

To the Kings most Sacred Maiesty./

Most gratiouse Soueraigne, as there is a woe to the lande when the ^xkinge¹²⁴ is a childe, whether in ^xyeeresⁱⁱ¹²⁵ or vnderstandinge or both: Soe is there an incomparable blessinge,

¹²¹ Karl Gottlob Kühn (ed.), *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, 20 vols. (Cambridge, 2011).

¹²² “Man. Dream.” Haydocke clearly found the paronomasia of the Greek appealing.

¹²³ “Hope is the dream of the waking.” A popular phrase, often associated with the law. See e.g. Francis Bacon, “Formularies and Elegancies” (BL MS Harl. 7017), in James Spedding, Robert L. Ellis and Douglas D. Heath (eds.), *The Works of Francis Bacon. Volume 7: Literary and Professional Works 2* (Cambridge, 2011), 230.

when hee is the sonne of such Nobles, as are by Syracidesⁱⁱⁱ¹²⁶ commended to succeedinge ages for examples of Wisedome and pietye. Such a one was Kinge Salomon, whose excellent wisdom appeared in noe one thinge more gloriously, then in that renowned ^xiudgment^{iv127} of the true and naturall mother of the liueinge Childe. Out of *which* selfe experiment hee might well write prouerbially, as hee did: The glory of God is to conceale a thinge secret; but the Kings honor is to search out a thinge.^{v128} Whose vndoubted sonne your *Grace* is, because you treade the footsteps of his profounde heauenly learneinge and wisdom: appeareinge most manifestly in your late sharpe sentence, that those sonnes of the Muses might not rightly challenge drowsy Morpheus for their right Father. *Which* I may therefore boldly remember without assentation, beecause it pleased God to make mee the foile of your so vnspeakable glory. Hard and difficult thinges are fitt subiects for Kings.

“Nec Rex intersit nisi dignus Vindice nodus.”^{v129}

And heere I must recognize that there was then in mee such a nodositie or vnrelenting humour of presumption towards your *Grace* contracted, as could by noe hand but a Kings bee disipated and disolued. This was “*morbus Cacoethes, morbus mali moris*”, *which* I may truly call “*morbus Regius*”, the Kinges Euill.¹³⁰ whereunto was due that

¹²⁴ *M*: Ecclesiastes 10.16: “Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning.”

¹²⁵ *M*: Presumably 1 Corinthians 1.14: “I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius.”

¹²⁶ *M*: See e.g. Ecclesiasticus 39.1: “But he that giveth his mind to the law of the most High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies.” ‘Syracides’: literally ‘Son of Sirac’, i.e. Ben-Sirach, the Hebrew name for Ecclesiasticus.

¹²⁷ *M*: 1 Kings 3.16-28. See also Peter Martyr, *Loci Communes* (see *infra*. n. 157), 25.

¹²⁸ *M*: In fact Proverbs 25.2: “It is the glory of God to conceal a thing: but the honour of kings is to search out a matter.”

¹²⁹ “Let not the king intervene unless the connection is worthy of the claimant.” An adaptation of Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 191-92. LCL 194: 450-51.

¹³⁰ *Morbus cacoethes*: a tumorous growth in its early stages. *Morbus mali moris*: dangerous (possibly fatal) illness. Both phrases were standard in the lexicon of early modern medicine.

“Charisma sanationis”,¹³¹ which soe graciously and reddily was then conferred; and that in ye place approued by the Poet. [48^r]

“Regius est vero signatus nomine morbus
Molliter hic quoniam celsa curatus in Aula.”¹³²

The maladie beeinge cured (only such a fearr remaineing as may by a seconde gracious touch bee donne awaye) it remaineth that with the tenth Leper¹³³ I returne to shewe my selfe in prostrate thankfullnes by offeringe vpp into your rich Gazophylatium¹³⁴ of all true knowledge, this poore mite, of my broken and distracted meditations of the nature of Dreames, redeemed from the necessity of my my sole=supportinge profession, in the absence of bookes, conference and other helps; thereby sheweinge vnto all my true dislike of mine owne errour: craueinge humble pardon for my vnperfect relation of your *Maiesties* inuincible arguments. Which notwithstandinge if it shall please your highnes to stampe with your princely approbation, I doubt not but it shall passe as a full satisfaction to all others, and free mee from many hard and heauy censures in future ages.

Euen soe hee which keepeinge Israell doth neither slumber nor sleepe, preserue your *Maiestie* with your whole Royall progeny both wakeinge and sleepeinge, vntill you shall succesiuely sleepe with your happy Progenitors, to wake for euer in the kingdome of heauen.

¹³¹ William Tooker, DD of New College and royal chaplain, published a treatise on the historical evidence for the ability of the sovereign to cure ‘King’s Evil’ by his or her touch: *Charisma sive Donum Sanationis* (London, 1597). King’s Evil had been the subject of a medical disputation presented to Elizabeth I during her visit to Oxford in 1592. See Lewis, “Faculty of Medicine”, 227. For James’s scepticism of Catholic aspects of the curing ceremony and his attempts to ‘Protestantize’ it, see Stephen Brogan, *The Royal Touch in Early Modern England: Politics, Medicine and Sin* (London, 2015).

¹³² “The disease is indicated by the accurate use of the word ‘royal’, since it is cured gently in a lofty court.” Quintus Serenus Sammonicus, *Liber medicinalis* (also known as *De medicina praecepta saluberrima; De re medica*), chapter 57: “Regio morbo pellendo.” See e.g. Quintus Serenus Sammonicus, *De re medica* (Zurich, 1581), 237.

¹³³ See Luke 17. 12-19.

¹³⁴ *Gazophylatium*: a cabinet of rarities or treasures, sometimes spelled “gazophylacium”.

Your Maiesties most loiall prostrate
and bounden subiect and seruant

Richard Haydocke./

[49^r]

To the Curteouse Reader.

Reader, more curteouse, I hope, then thou hast binne an hearer, thou canst not but remember (*which* I would thou couldst forgett) yt it pleased god to permitt mee to bee the vnhappy occasion of such an offence, as may, I trust, rather moue commiseration, then farther aggrauation in the harts of all such as shall bee trulye informed in the nature and qualitye thereof: which I perceiue fewe haue yet attained vnto, saue such as by word of mouth, I haue had opportunitye to instruct: therefore haue diuers sinister censures binne collected and bruted, some concerninge the action past, and some certaine sequells thereof. It is generally knowne, that I acknowledged to his *Maiestie* ye truthe: but what yt was in particular fewe vnderstande. *Which* for auoydinge farther errors I haue nowe thought good to notifiye vnto all: remembringe with St Augustine, yt an humble acknowledgment of an error or offence, is better then proud innocencie.¹³⁵ The summe of *which* acknolwedgment was; that I had perfect knowledge of what I spake: that it was voluntary and wakeinge, vppon some præmeditation, though often but small, but neuer beforehand penninge any thinge I euer vttered. That I had vsed this custome from a childe, for the betteringe of my naturall defects of vtterance and inuention, beeginninge it in Rhetoricke, continuinge it in Philosophie and Physick, and in the end, vppon an inclination to the Ministry, (if I might finde sufficiencie) concluded in Diuinitie. That I was led alonge in this error vppon the Commendation of others, whoe hearinge mee, attributed more to those night discourses, then to my day=studded exercises, and therefore, would needs impute it to sleepe, *which* vainely I winked at when in my wisdom I should haue disclaimed it. That I neuer acquainted any with this concealment: and therefore could haue noe combination, plot, or purpose *with* any. That I neuer proposed to my selfe any other end therein, then

¹³⁵ While Haydocke does not explicitly cite Augustine on dreams, he would have been familiar with Augustine's view on the subject through Peter Martyr's *Loci Communes* (see *infra*. n. 157).

that *which* Antisthenes answered to one that asked him what benefite hee had by Philosophie: “vt me, inquit, alloqui possem.” That I might talke to, or with, my selfe.¹³⁶ [49^v]

Nowe yt all this is true and yt this is all the truthe, the searcher of all harts knoweth: *with whome* as I haue allready made mine inward peace by vnfained compunction: as also with his gracious *Maiestie*¹³⁷ (whose Christian wisdom in seekeinge after the truthe, learneinge in descreeinge it, clemencie in remittinge my iuste prouocation of his princely displeasure, shall neuer dye) soe desire I to reconcile ye world to mee againe, by manifestinge ye simple truthe: *Which* although it were but an Errour, yet was it of that strange condition, yt none can more wonder at mee \for the same/ then I doe at my selfe, none can more condemne mee, then I doe my selfe.

The sequells of ye action are first reports; yt I continue ye vse of speakeinge still: *which* by all meanes I disclaime and denye: Then a perswasion of some, that this acknolwedgment was not ingenuouse, voluntarye, free, and intire: wherein what wronge is donne to so sacred a *Maiestie* as my selfe best knowe (haueinge tasted ye fruits of his right Christian and gracious disposition) soe am I in conscience bound, to iustifie to the World, settinge aside all priuate respects whatsoever: withall desireinge men to bee soe charitably affected to mee, as to iudge I would not binde two sinnes together, coueringe an errour of iudgment *with* a desperate impietie of conscience: whereof if I would haue made shipwrack, I needed neuer to haue beene driuen to this exigent.

To the end therefore it may appeare that I arrogate noe such naturall facultye to my selfe (as was misconceiued by mine owne fault) much less any supernaturall instinct (*which* I neuer did nor dare *presume* to thinke) I haue written this breife treatise of the nature of Dreames. [T]herein sheweinge out of the groundes of nature, howe farre the soule exerciseth her operations in time of sleepe: *which* if it seeme difficult and obscure to the Ordinary Reader, it is not so much my fault as the matters, *which* can hardly bee explained, but to ye learned and intelligent, especially in fewe words, *which* is my desire: Whereby my meaneinge is not to strengthen any such possibilitie: but rather [50^f] by answeringe all seeminge Authorities, to yt purpose, vtterly to disauowe ye same. For ye

¹³⁶ See e.g. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of eminent philosophers*, 6.1. LCL 185: 8-9.

¹³⁷ Haydocke refers here to his written confession to James, for which see *supra*. n. 11.

plainer euidence thereof, I haue allso presumed to add his *Maiesties* most forcible Arguments to yt purpose: all grounded vppon the foundation of Hyppocrates, Galen, Aristotle, and ye Scriptures: though looseinge much of their princlye life and grace from my rude penn and weake memorye (for *which* I allso craue humble pardon) But “*ex vngue Leonem*”:¹³⁸ by this tast you may haue some gesse.

Thus haueinge searched mine owne wound *with* ye sharpe wine of selfe reprehension, my hope nowe is, that thou wilt powre in ye gentle oyle of charitable reconciliation, remembringe, that as “*Humanum est errare, labi, decipi*”,¹³⁹ soe likewise, “*humanum est humanis casibus in gemiscere*.”¹⁴⁰ “*Hodiè mihi, cras tibi*”:¹⁴¹ my foot slipt to daye, it may bee thy lott to fall to morrowe. Wherefore as in the season of ye yeere, one swallowe makes not the springe: soe in noe ill seasoned life let one folly make a perpetuall winter of thy loue. For although in Logicke one absurditye beeinge graunted a thousand will followe, yet in Diuinitye one sparke of true charitye will couer a multitude of sinnes.

Thus not doubtinge of thy charitable concurrence *with* so excellent and gracious a Patterne, hopeinge allsoe, by Gods assistance, to yeeld future Christian satisfaction for this vnhappy error, my petition shall bee, that hee, who hath stayed mee from anye desperate downfall, will finally support thee in all thy wayes. Nouember 20. 1605.

¹³⁸ “From the lion’s claw.” A commonplace, that from a fragment one may know the whole. See e.g. Lancelot Andrewes, *XCVI Sermons* (London, 1629), 19: “you may judge, *ex vngue leonem*, a wise man by his words and deeds.”

¹³⁹ “It is human to err, to slip, to be deceived.” A commonplace. See e.g. Oliver Ormerod, *The picture of a papist* (London, 1606), 57: “The Heathen did not privilege any man from erring, as appeareth by these their common speeches: *Humanum est errare, labi, decipi*.”

¹⁴⁰ “It is human to groan at human mishaps.” A commonplace. See e.g. Robert Wakeman, *The poore-mans preacher* (London, 1607), 49: “I knew him to be a man, one of mine owne nature and condition; *humanum est humanis casibus ingemiscere*.” Haydocke may be quoting John Caius, *De ephemera Britannica*. See John Venn and E. S. Roberts (eds.), *The Works of John Caius: Second Founder of Gonville and Caius College and Master of the College 1559-1573* (Cambridge, 1912), 67.

¹⁴¹ “Today me, tomorrow you.” A commonplace, especially popular in *memento mori* imagery and asociated with Ecclesiasticus 38.22: “*Heri mihi, hodie tibi*.” See e.g. George Abbot, *A sermon preached at Westminster* (London, 1608), 23.

The vnfained affector of thy former
kinde affection

Richard Haydocke./

[50^v]

The Contents of the Whole./

The præface containeing a summe of the Whole. *Chapter 1.*

Of Naturall dreames and their Originall: *Chapter 2.*

Of the second sort of Dreams called Animall: *Chapter 3.*

What operations the Vnderstanding hath in time
of Sleepe. *Chapter 4.*

Certaine authorities, *which* seeme to attribute as great
power to the Vnderstanding in sleepe, as wakeinge,
answered. *Chapter 5.*

His *Maiesties* Arguments that there can bee noe reasonable
discourse in Sleepe. *Chapter 6.*

[51^r]

Oneirologia.

or.

A breife discourse of the nature of Dreames:

Chapter 1.

Man, ye compleat microcosmicall modell of all Gods workes, is approoued to consist of a twofould nature; ye one Elementary, the other Celestiall. That¹⁴² ariseth from the exact temper of the fowre Elementary qualities, *which*, accordinge to Natures iudicious limitation, produceth an erect stature, adorned with a right gracious and eie=pleaseinge shape, discovering it selfe in such an harmonieall correspondencie of symmetricall parts, organieall without, and officieall within: that (Momus himselfe beinge arbiter) noethinge

¹⁴² I.e. the body.

can thereto bee added, noethinge thence detracted, as hath beene more fully deliuered in a fitter place.¹⁴³ This¹⁴⁴ as a most royall and rich guest, trained and brought out of a farre countrey, heauen it selfe, to inhabite this faire built pallace of the body for a season, is indued *with* such an accomplished essence from the Almightye, her onely Founder and infuser, yt by her owne power (in my powerlese penn especially) shee can bee none otherwise expressed then by her inseperable qualities and effects, *which* shee partly discouereth in the interior and inferior economie and dispensation of ye faculties [,] naturall in the Liver, vitall in the Harte, and both Animall and Intellectuall in the Braine, by ye ministry of the generall sinewes for motion: and ye fiue exteriour senses her diligent scouts and trusty intelligencers from abroad, for sense: *which* is either outward, [51^v] performed by those fiue, or inward dependinge vppon the information brought in by them, first to the Common=sense *which* indifferently receiuinge in all Indiuiduall shapes and formes, presently distinguisheth them each *from* [the] other, compares them, and sleightly for a season retaines them: *which* action hatcheth Concept,¹⁴⁵ the often reuoluinge them breedeth Meditation: the firme and longe retaineinge, and deepe imprintinge them produceth Memory. Whence afterwards ye resumeing them (euen in ye absence of ye obiect) causeth the Phantasie; *which* apprehends them sometimes simply as they were instamped, and sometimes as they are mixed and confounded: from *which* ye vnderstandinge at the last beholdinge them, drawes either probable consequences, or demonstrable conclusions. The seruiceable action of all *which* is called Vigilancie, as their rest is tearmed Sleepe.

Nowe these beeing not of an iron and marble constitution, must needs admitt some feriation¹⁴⁶ or ease, whiles they may repaire their decayed vigour: but beeing of a most free and liberall nature, they would of themselues neuer giue ouer this their imployment; except they were sometimes forcibly tied and bound from ye same: and so must consequently decaye and waste: *which* bindeinge is called Sleepe, performed in

¹⁴³ Haydocke may refer here to his translation of Lomazzo, the first book of which treats of the proportions of the human body.

¹⁴⁴ I.e. the soul.

¹⁴⁵ I.e. 'conception'.

¹⁴⁶ *feriation*: holiday, cessation of work.

the time of concoction,¹⁴⁷ by meanes of certaine hott and moist vapours, ascendinge vpp by ye iugular veines and arteries, *which* meetinge with the cold temper of the braine, are there condensate and conuerted into a cold deauwie substance: and soe fallinge againe vppon the [52^v] Originall of ye sinews, hold them still fast bound, from all outward functions, vntill the naturall heat hath consumed the matter of stoppage: *which* causeth an interchangable returne vnto the former habit of Wakeninge, ordeined for Ciuill affaires.

In *which* time of rest howe ye immateriall and immortal soule imployeth herselfe, whether shee rest, or what action shee exerciseth, cometh worthily into our present consideration. And first whether shee remaine still in the body, or els expatiate and walke abroad: and then whether into heauen, or into the wide world: Quæres meerly friuolouse. Except shee remaine at home in the body, that must assuredly bee left liuelesse, and soe should awake noe more, vntill it were rowsed by the sounde of ye last trumpe: *which* wee experiencinge to bee otherwise affirme it to reside still in ye bodye, and will rather examine howe shee spends ye time there. Idle shee cannot bee being a pure and meere Act: Gouverne the Body shee cannot, beeinge depriued of ye ministeriall helpe of ye senses nowe fast bounde. Shee worketh then vppon the Phantasie, where shee findes certaine broken and incoherent shapes and formes of thinges, *which* beeinge there imprinted imperfectly & confusedly, breed likewise a trouble[d] and distempered action called Dreaminge: The fruit wherof remaineinge (though abruptly) in ye Memorye, and recorded when wee awake, are Dreames: whose nature if I should indeuour to define, I might peradventure seeme to dreame of ye Limitation of an indefinite nature: yet insoemuch as Infinitum it selfe escapes not Aristotles definition, giue mee leaue to referr you to an ancient writer, whoe conenteth mee at this time.
^x“Somnium^{vi148} est phantasma factum a motu [52^v] simulachrorum Dormientis.” A dreame is a phantasie wrought by ye motion of shapes in sleepe.

The generall part of *which* definition is a Phantasie, yet not each, nor at all times: for there arise diuers images in mens mindes wakeinge, *which* are moued by ye presence

¹⁴⁷ I.e. digestion. Aristotle, *De somno et vigilia*, 456b19-20.

¹⁴⁸ *M*: See e.g. Pietro d'Abano, *Conciliator controversiarum* (Venice, 1565), 213.4.E.

of ye externe¹⁴⁹ obiect, or impression left in the Memorye. [W]hereas these are meere broken reflections of shapes in sleepe, when the outward senses are barred from ye apprehension of all sensible thinges.

As touchinge ye nature of Phantasie wee may yeeld ourselues some satisfaction from ye notation of ye name, whose theame and originall is φαντάζομαι, appareo:.i.[e.] to appeare to the eie, to giue a resemblance, shadowe, or shewe of a thinge, whether really present, or but supposititiously¹⁵⁰ suggested by way of delusion, as in those Spectra of the former and yet incredulous world, amongst men giuen ouer to strange illusions of the Deuill: appearinge vnto them vnder many and monstrouse shapes: beeinge soe true a Proteus & Vertumnus, yt hee can transforme himselfe into an Angell of Light. These Spectra, Ghosts, and night apparitions, as ^xboddillesse^{vii151} as those *which* Æneas was like to haue swinged in hell, had hee not binne forewarned by Sybilla; or such as ye ingenious Bacon by ye Mathematicall situation of his concaue Opticke glasses projected into the aire, are therefore called Phantasticall bodyes, as set in opposition to ye true. But to our purpose none other is heere meant, then the abstracted forme of a true body taken in ye lookeinge=glasse of the Imagination. A meere immateriall thinge [53^r] whether substance or accident scarce yet determined, a midle nature beetwixt a body and a spirit, not spirituall, but spiritall, as ye acutest Philosophers haue affirmed.¹⁵²

Now as a dreame consisteth of a Phantasie, soe is this composed of images and shapes produced by motion, *without which* there can bee noe dreame. Beecause if ye things appearinge were continually firme and fixed, there would bee as much coherance and reason in Dreames as in our wakeninge meditations: wheras wee finde it farre otherwise, insoemuch as it falleth out in our dreames, as when a stone is cast into ye water, from *which* ariseth presenty a circle, *which* instantly begetteth an other, and yt a third, and soe more successiuelly, vntill it come to the banke, and soe vanisheth: soe in sleepe doth one image and forme tread vpon the heele of an other, and ye latter still

¹⁴⁹ I.e. external.

¹⁵⁰ I.e. superstitiously.

¹⁵¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6.294. LCL 63: 552-53.

¹⁵² ‘Spiritall’ refers here to the medical spirits, for which see *supra.*, n. 82.

supplant ye former, till all ye matter of it and sleepe bee spent, and wee awaked. [W]hat kinde of motion this is, and to *which* of the sixe it ought to bee referred, is neyther easie to bee resolved, nor yet much matteriall to this pointe; howbeeit if it may challenge interest in anye, it must bee principally in Generation and Corruption.

But because ye occasions of these motions in sleepe are diuers, therefore hath learned Antiquitye obserued a diuersitye of Dreames, reduceinge them vnto three kindes. ^xFor^{viii153} eyther they proceede from ye prædominant humor in ye constitution and complexion, denotinge the excesse distemperature or disease, and then they are called Naturall Dreames: or from ye daylye affaires about *which* wee haue beene last busied and imployed, and these are Animall: or els they are instilled and infused into the minde supernaturally and these are Diuine. Of each wherof in their proper Order, but principally of ye seconde./

[53^v]

Of Naturall Dreames & their Originall./

Chapter 2./

The Naturall dreame discouereth first ye Complexion then the disease. [W]*hich* need not seeme strange vnto anye whoe is perswaded, yt ye soule followeth ye temperature of ye body: *which* Galen in a booke to yt purpose sufficiently proueth and daylye experience confirmeth.¹⁵⁴ If then the Soule in her wakeinge vigour, bee swayed to such and such passions from ye bodyes predominant qualitie, as of choler vnto anger: of Bloud, vnto mildnes: of Fleame to dulnes, and of Melancholly to sadnes, what should hinder ye disaffections of Dreames in Sleepe?

Those *which* call man ye lesser world, allowe him the 4 Elements the matter whereof all bodilye thinges were first made. The first Architect of ye great world was God, whoe haueinge created Man ye worlds modell, placed in him a sparke of his power, euen the diuine Soule, *which* is soe farre forth ye Image of her Creator, yt shee is able by that heauenly instinct to create images and formes, of all corporeall natures. Betweene

¹⁵³ *M.*: “Some dreams emerge from the condition of the body, others from the things that we do.”

Galen, *De dignotione ex insomniis* (Kühn, *Opera*, 6: 833).

¹⁵⁴ Galen, *Quod animi mores corporis temperamenta sequuntur* (Kühn, *Opera*, 4: 779).

which notwithstandinge three manifest differences (besides infinite others) are to be noted. First yt God created true, reall and substantiall thinges: whereas the Soule maketh only accidentall images, formes, and shapes. Hee without Idæa or patterne: shee with reference to ye foreseene thinges, euen in her best wakeing worke: but in sleepe in such shapeless shape, and anticke¹⁵⁵ disguised forme, as it oft terrifieth and affrighteth euen our sleeping sense. Hee without matter præcedent, either Chaos or Elements: Shee, though with prepared matter, yet such a confused Chaos, as doth often as much hinder as further her worke. [W]ith whome nowe it fareth as with an artisan, whoe althoughe hee can commaunde his matter, subdueinge it vnder what forme hee please: yet is sometimes ouermatched [54^r] thereby, and faine to followe it, or for want of fitt stuffe, to leaue his intended worke vnfinished. For “Ex quolibet ligno non fit Mercurius”:¹⁵⁶ neither are pure, cleere, and coherent intellectuall formes fashioned out of ye feculent vapours of ye Chaos of distempered humours.

For were it possible for yt exact æquipage of humours to be founde, which noe doubt with Adams fall transgressed their appoynted limitts: this naturall dreame (discoueringe only ye distemperature and disease) should there cease. For sicknes followed sinne. Yet whether ^xAdam^{ix157} in his integritie should haue binne subiect to ye other kinde of dreames, is hard to iudge: except wee may probably collect yt hee should haue had noe vse of sleepe, and soe consequently not of dreames. Insoemuch as sleepe was graunted as a remedye against defatigatione by laboure; and laboure and sweat of browes, was part of ye reward for sinne. As for yt sleepe which Adam was in, when God tooke ye woman out of his side, it seemeth to be extraordinary and compulsiue: for ye Text sayeth: [“]And God caused an heauy sleepe to fall vppon ye Man.[”]¹⁵⁸ The

¹⁵⁵ *anticke*: grotesque. See *supra*. n. 105.

¹⁵⁶ “Mercury cannot be made out of just any wood.” A commonplace. See e.g. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1447: “Ne e quouis ligno Mercurius fiat.” The form Haydocke uses appears in e.g. Jean Riolan, *Universae medicinae compendia* (Basle, 1601 [first ed. Paris, 1598]), 158.

¹⁵⁷ Peter Martyr, *Loci Communes*, chapter 5: “De Insomniis.” See e.g. Peter Martyr, *Loci Communes* (London, 1576), 22.

¹⁵⁸ Genesis 2.21: “Therefore the Lord God caused an heavy sleep to fall upon the man, and he slept: and he took one of his ribs, and closed up the flesh in stead thereof.”

certaintye whereof beecause humane reason can conceiue of but as in a Dreame, therefore will I passe by it proceedinge to yt, *which* our senses are iudges of, though but imperfectly: and shewinge yt out of learned antiquitye, *which* each mans priuate experience may farther informe him of. As first, yt hee *which* hath often a confused imagination of Red Colours or bloud is of a sanguine constitution: Hee yt hath apprehension of waters, riuers, snowe &c, is Flegmaticke: Hee yt is troubled with apparitions of fier and flameinge ensignes is cholericke: and hee that hath fearfull visions of darkness, tortures, &c, is Melancholy.

The reason wherof may bee imputed to the proper vapour of each humour, affectinge, or rather infectinge the braine and Animall spirits there ingendered *with* a subtile qualitye answerable to the species [54^v] receiued in by ye exterior sense, or at the least corruptinge or deludeinge the Phantasie allready informed *with* some Idæas tendinge to such purpose: as our eie lookinge through a coloured glasse iudgeth all thinges of ye same coloure: for each Imagination will longest retaine such phantasies as iump nearest *with* his Originall humour.

Nowe for ye iudgement of Diseases and their criticall euent from ye obseruation of Dreames, ye renowned Hyppocrates in ye very entrance of his booke de *Insomniis*: warranteth vs yt whoesoe will giue dilligent heede to such thinges as fall out in dreames, shall finde them to bee of great consequence to all purposes. And Galen in his booke affirmeth, yt from dreames wee may draw profittable coniectures of ye disposition of bodyes.¹⁵⁹

Such dreames then as the minde offereth by night in sleepe concerninge ye præcedent actions of ye daye, recordinge them in ye same substance, method, and order as they were donne, signifie health, because the minde perseuereth in ye actions and determinations of ye daye &c. The contrary argue distemperature, and so much ye greater, by howe much they are more repugnant.

Galen maketh mention of one whoe dreaminge yt his thigh was turned into a stone when hee waked found it strooke *with* a dead palsie.¹⁶⁰ Some beeinge neare their criticall day, *which* was to end by sweat, dreamed they were swimminge in hot baths. In

¹⁵⁹ Galen, *De dignotione ex insomniis* (Kühn, *Opera*, 6: 834)

¹⁶⁰ Galen, *De dignotione ex insomniis* (Kühn, *Opera*, 6: 834-35).

the Incubus or Night=mare ye vitall and Animall spirits are soe oppressed with ye multitude of grosse vapours, yt men thinke themselues ouerlaine by some hagge, or oppressed with some ponderous burthen. [55^r] By *which* examples it is euident, yt ye actions of ye minde close prisoned in ye bodye in time of Sleepe (it selfe neuer sleepinge) are distorted and misled, by similitude of ye cheife swayeinge humours, nowe beecome exorbitant, by inequality of temper.

Where a carefull difference is to bee put bewteene this first naturall kinde of Dreame, and the second: insoemuch as these vapours stirre ye Phantasie, to make and forme images answerable to their owne nature, without ye helpe of preinhærent formes in the Phantasie: whereas in ye other ye Phantasie workes only vppon the late imprinted formes and Ideas of the matters last thought of, or earnestly intreated of, the senses beeing nowe kindly bounde by a temperate and milde ascendinge vapour. And this is ye cause, why they are formall, rationall and cohærent: when these are onely materially significatiue, from ye Elementary part of ye man, beeing forerunners of a subsequent disease, as smoake is of fier./

Of the seconde sorte of Dreames
called Animall or Sensible.

Chapter 3.

The seconde sorte haue their originall from ye minde, as caused from some vehement disturbance befallinge ye same, and is by some defined, to bee only a recounteinge of such things as passed the day beefore, either through ye sense or ye vnderstandinge; as daylye experience teacheth us. And this I meane chiefly to stande vppon, as beeing most common. For ye better vnderstandinge wherof, it will bee behoouefull to cast an eye backe to ye parts and facultyes of the myde, in ye ¹⁶¹ Chapter breifly branched [55^v] out. Where wee must obserue, yt notwithstandinge Sleepe chaineth vpp all ye animall faculties for ye time, restraineinge them from their vsuall actions, yet many wakeinge actions are performed in ye time of Sleepe, and those sometimes surpassinge those of wakeinge men.

¹⁶¹ I.e. first.

Nowe because these actions are of two sorts (both of them voluntary) the one appertaineinge to locall motion, and ye other to sense and vnderstandinge: I will first beeginne *with* motion, *which* dependinge immediately vppon ye direction of ye will together *with* ye intention of ye mynde, must necessarily rest when it resteth. For if whiles wee wake noe limme mooueth but at ye Wills commaunde, then much lesse should any bee able to stirre, when yt is vnder ye commaunde of Sleepe. The immediate instrument of Motion is ye Muscle, *which* consistinge of many seuerall parts borroweth his principall helpe from ye sinewes: whose Originall beeinge deriued from ye braine, receiueh also his motiue facultye from ye same: whose power beeinge nowe intercepted by Sleepe, must needs defraude the sinewe his dependant of his vsuall sustentation.

Which notwithstandinge may seeme to bee otherwise in ye action of breathinge accompanijng Sleepe. At *which* time ye Muscles of the brest and belly mooue for dilatation and contraction. Wherunto Galens reply is reddy. For actions are either simply naturall, as Concoction, Distribution &c, or meerly voluntary, as speech, walkeinge &c, or mixt, as ye excretion of vrine, and the like: wherof Nemesius^{x162} speaketh aptly, “Animæ opus cum Naturæ munere coniunctum esse”.¹⁶³ And Galen.^{xi164} “Erant qui vrinæ et fecum deiectionem totam ab electione pendere putant, vt etiam qui hoc opus omnino naturale admittunt vtriusque sane particeps est utraque [56^r] actio.”¹⁶⁵ It is then naturall in respect of ye end and necessity: animall in regard of ye Muscle ye instrument. Or if wee had rather haue it voluntary, there is a double Will: one κατὰ

¹⁶² *M*: Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*, chapter 28. See e.g. Nemesius, *De natura hominis* (Antwerp, 1565), 90.

¹⁶³ “The task of the soul (is) to be united with the requirement of nature.”

¹⁶⁴ *M*: Galen, *De locis affectis*, 6.4 (Kühn, *Opera*, 8: 404). This and the preceding quote from Nemesius appear together in precisely this format (including the Greek text) in André du Laurens, *Opera anatomica* (Lyons, 1593), 565, suggesting that this may well have been Haydocke’s source.

¹⁶⁵ “There are some who think that the voiding of urine and faeces is entirely dependent upon choice, including even those who accept that it is an entirely natural deed. Each action of course participates in the other.”

προαίρεσιν, from Election: an other καθ' ὄρμην, from instinct. That accompanieth wakefullnes, this Sleepe.

This doubt beeing freed a greater ariseth. i.[e.] howe ye other meere Organicall parts, as ye hands, feete, tounge, &c, should mooue in time of Sleepe, *which* in dayly, or rather nightly, experience is obserued, as in ye Noctambulis, wherewith ancient writers abounde. I dare affect noe worthier an instance then Galen himselfe, whoe writeth thus of himselfe.^{xiii166} “Sedentes quidam dormiunt, deambulantes nonnulli; id quod mihi olim contigit, qui fermè stadium integrum dormiendo peregi.”¹⁶⁷ Some ascribe the reason hereof to ye propper abilitie of nature: affirmeinge yt Sleepe is ye bonde of ye senses only, not of ye Motion, accordinge to *Aristotles* Definition, callinge Sleepe “*Quietem primi sensorij.*”¹⁶⁸ Which answeare will not quitt the Controuersie, in yt ye Commonsense is bounde beecause the braine is repleat and stopped, whence as well the motiue as sensitie spirits proceede. Some rather thinke it beecause some small portion of ye spirits lurkeinge yet in the Muscles is stirred by a stronge imagination much like vnto that of beasts, beecause it hath not ye check of reason: whence they often attempt many thinges, *which* wakeinge they durst not: as to clime to ye topp of houses, to runne ouer narrowe bridges, &c, *which* they therefore doe resolutely, beecause theire inward sense beeing bounde by the mist of caliginous vapours, fears noe colours. They perceiue not, beecause ye obiect of sense is remooued, but ye obiect of motion, namely the appetite, *which* represents ye species to ye imagination, is present.

Some would rather haue it, yt ye Common=sense in Sleep is most [56^v] affected, beecause it lodgeth in ye foremost ventricles of ye braine, where ye sleepey vapours haue theire cheifest power, and not in the marrowe of ye backbone, whence allmost all ye motiue sinewes as from a roote are deriued. *Which* reason admitteth iust exception: beecause it taketh part of her grounde from ye Arabian distribution of ye faculties of ye Soule into seuerall seats, disclaimed by a full consent of late writers

¹⁶⁶ *M*: Galen, *De motu musculorum*, 2.4 (Kühn, *Opera*, 4: 435). See e.g. Galen, *Epitome* (Basle, 1571): columns 99-100.

¹⁶⁷ “Certain men sleep while sitting, and some while walking. This has on occasion happened to me, for I have covered almost a whole furlong whilst sleeping.”

¹⁶⁸ “A seizure of the primary sense organ.” Aristotle, *De somno et vigilia*, 458a29, trans. Beare.

accordinge to Galens doctrine. And heere I thinke I doe noe wronge in rangeinge corporeall motion amongst Dreames, because I take it to bee a true effect of a dreame, acted vppon a stronge appetitiue imagination of some thinge to bee donne. Whence a Wood=man beeinge seene to rise out of his bed, bend his bowe, take his arrowe, goe abroad, shoote, returne againe into his bedd, ye next daye missed his arrowe, and beeinge demaunded by his Chamber=fellowe, what hee dreamed of in ye night, answered yt hee seemed to shoote a deere, in such a place: whereuppon beeinge willed to seeke his arrowe there founde it. With *which* like domesticall examples, I had rather the tounge of ye vulgar in their ordinarye talke should abounde, then my stinted paper swell.

Nowe if you aske mee why men seldom walke and talke together: it is because ye Walker hath (as I take it) some suddaine, stronge, and irrationall imagination, *which* instigateth him, when the talker hath a rationall conceit of some answere to bee made, or question to bee demaunded. The matter of both is one, ye animall spirit, only ye Efficient differeth: walkeinge proceedinge from an irrationall imagination agreeable to beasts: Talkinge from a tract of reason. And yt men may talke in sleepe the authoritye of Galen (beeside continuall experience) is euident.^{xiii169} “Non *enim* sensus permitus expertes sunt dormientes, sed difficulter sentientes, ac proinde actiones quæ in illis fiunt non sunt omnes naturales, sed ex ijs multæ animales existunt [57^r] cum inmirum varie transferant membra, nec non dormientes loquantur.”¹⁷⁰ It is then questionlesse yt men may talke in sleepe, but whether cohærently, iudiciously and methodically shall bee discussed in the next Chapter, when ye operations of ye vnderstandinge (whose direction ye tounge followeth) in time of sleepe shall bee sifted.

What operations ye Vnderstandinge
hath in time of Sleepe.

¹⁶⁹ *M: Galen, De motu musculorum, 2: 4 (Kühn, Opera, 4: 439).*

¹⁷⁰ “For when they are asleep men do not totally lack their senses, but rather they sense things with difficulty, and accordingly the actions which occur in their case do not all spring from nature, but many of them originate in the soul, since of course they reposition their limbs in various ways, and also talk while asleep.”

Chapter 4.

When ye drowsye vapours haue seized vppon the Commonsense, fouldinge it vpp in ye peacable bands of sweet repose, then doth ye Phantasie keepeinge Centinell beare ye whole commaunde of reasons Campe, whiles ye Captaine Sense sleepeth, and ye fiue scouts are excluded. In *which* time it casts many weake and headless proiects, setts many friuolous formes of battailes, haueinge some resemblance with those it either sawe plotted formerly by the Captaine, or hearde related by him, from ye spies, to haue binne vsed in forraine parts. Whence wee vnderstande that ye Phantasie must bee free, or els there can bee noe dreame; and beeing soe, it can performe noe better action then a dreame: *which* hath more or lesse resemblance of ye truthe, by howemuch it proceedeth from a later and deeper impression of matters seene, donne, spoken, or vnderstood ye daye before: as ye Orator in his Somnio Scipionis [*sic.*] elegantly noteth. “Fit *enim* ferè vt cogitationes sermonesque nostri pariant aliquid in somno tale, quale de Homero scribit Ennius, de quo videlicet sæpissime vigilans solebat cogitare, et loqui.”¹⁷¹ Whence Claudian hath, “Omnia quæ sensu voluuntur vota diurno

Tempore nocturno reddit amica quies.”¹⁷² [57^f] And

Seneca in his *Octauia*

“Quæcumque mentis agitat infestus vigor;

Ea per quietem sacer et arcanus refert

Veloxque sensus.—”¹⁷³

Whereunto Salomon speaketh.^{xiv174} [“]As a dreame cometh by ye multitude of business[”] &c.

¹⁷¹ Cicero, *De re publica*, 6.10. LCL 213: 262-63.

¹⁷² A common misquotation of Claudian, *Panegyricus de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Augusti*. LCL 136: 70.

¹⁷³ “Our sacred, secret and swift-moving sense brings back to us in sleep whatever the disquieting activity of our mind frets over.” Pseudo-Seneca, *Octavia*, 743-45.

¹⁷⁴ *M*: In fact Ecclesiastes 5.3: “For as a dream cometh by the multitude of business, so the voice of a fool is in the multitude of words.”

Such a dreame was yt of Hippocrates, whoe beeinge sent for by ye Abderites to cure Democritus of a supposed madnes (whoe excelled in wisdom, and was then writeinge of ye causes of madnes) beefore his iorney seriously considered *with* himselfe what course was to bee taken, what simples to bee prepared, and haueinge euer a stronge perswasion yt they were deceiued in him, had in ye end this Dreame.¹⁷⁵ Hee seemed to see Æsculapius at ye Gates of Abderis, reachinge for his hande vnto him, *which* hee beeinge reddy to apprehend, intreatinge him to accompany and assist him in his iorney and cure, receiued answere that nowe there was noe need of his helpe: but poynted to a beautifull Woman called Veritye whoe should conduct him through the cyttie, and bringe him to his lodgeinge: *Which* when shee had donne shee tooke her leaue, sayeing shee would meet him to morrowe *with* Democritus. [B]ut nowe referred him ouer to an other bould=countenan[c]ed Dame, called Opinion, whoe dwelt *with* ye Abderites. Hee awaked, and gaue this interpretation to his Dreame. That Democritus needed noe Physition, that ye truthe that Democritus was well, remained *with* Democritus: but ye Opinion yt hee was sicke, dwelt *with* ye Abderites. [W]hich dreame though it may seeme to haue referred to ye supernaturall braunch, yet beecause it dependeth vppon his præcedent sollicitous minde often (in likelyhoode) inuocateinge Æsculapius, and consideringe howe apt ye multitude is to bee swayed by sinister opinion, and yt ye truthe euer remaineth *with* contemplatiue wise men, such imaginations might arise in his minde sleepeinge. This one example [58^r] (offendinge, I feare, in length) may suffice for infinite others, as that of Pilates wife,^{xv176} whoe had, noe doubt, cast many doubts of Christs innocencie.

If then it fare thus, yt our daylye actions yeeld vsuall fewell to our night dreames, and ye rather, when they bee seriously pondered, and late ruminated, then should euery wise man, by Virgills aduise, passe not night without dreames, whoe amongst other parts of a prudent man giueth this

¹⁷⁵ The dream is related in Hippocrates's letter to Democritus, no. 15. See Hippocrates, *Pseudepigraphic Writings*, ed. and trans. Wesley D. Smith (Leiden, 1990), 68-69.

¹⁷⁶ *M*: Matthew 27.19: "Also when he was set down upon the judgment seat, his wife sent to him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream by reason of him."

“Nec prius in dulcem declinat lumina somnum

Omnia quam longi repetiuerit acta diei.”¹⁷⁷ Accordinge to yt of Pythagoras and Plato, “qui quò in somnis certiora videamus, præparatos quodam cultu atque victu proficisci ad dormiendum iubent.”¹⁷⁸ Howbeit it doth not hence necessarily followe, yt a wise man must allwayes dreame. For none dreame continually, and historyes mention some neuer to bee molested *with dreames*.¹⁷⁹ [S]ome wherof answeringe yt they neuer dreame, will not bee perswaded that others doe, thinkeinge rather yt out of a pleasant conceit, they frame these fictions to recreate themselues and others; whome wee may as well iudge to faine this their vacuitye of phantasies, as they impose vpon others a fiction thereof: who heerin are surely iniurious to others, howesoever in obseruation of themselues may bee their excuse. For of night apparitions some are soe deeply imprinted in Memory, that wakeinge wee easily recall them, others soe superficially yt wee can hardly remember them, and some soe weakly yt they altogether escape ye Memoryes reach. Besides there may happen such an incrassation¹⁸⁰ of vapours and spirits, yt wee dreame not at all: *within compasse* of one of these maye those imaginities, yet phantasticall braines come.

But heere it may bee quæstioned, whether this kinde of Dreame (beeinge soe vsuall) beelongs only to ye facultie of ye inward sense, or participate also *with ye vnderstandinge*. If wee should saye ye first, wee should putt noe difference betweene ye dreames of men, and of beasts, [58^v] whereas wee finde noe humane dreame soe absurde but sauoureth of some sparkes of reason, but beastes wakeinge are vnreasonable, therefore much more sleepinge. Reason then must haue her part therein: *which beeinge soe, herselfe beeinge immortall and impatible*,¹⁸¹ why should

¹⁷⁷ “Nor does he close his eyes in sweet sleep before he has again reflected upon all the deeds of the long day.” ‘De institutione viri boni’ (*Appendix Vergiliana*), 14-15. See also Jodocus Badius (Ascensius), *Commentary on Cicero “Cato Maior de Senectute”* (e.g. Cicero, *Officiorum* (Venice, 1554), 189).

¹⁷⁸ Cicero, *De divinatione*, 2.119. LCL 154: 504-05.

¹⁷⁹ See also Aristotle, *De insomniis*, 462b1.

¹⁸⁰ *incrassation*: thickening, condensation.

¹⁸¹ *impatible*: incapable of suffering.

not her power swaye all ye other facultyes to her bent, and make these dreames as absolute as our wakeinge imaginations, shee haueinge in Sleepe the ministry of phantasies as well as wakeinge? This is answered vppon the distinction of Naturall and Animall dreames. For those should arise meerey from ye humours, yet *with* some commerce *with* ye animall faculties, otherwise there could bee noe iudgment of ye naturall effectes. These in their simple nature should proceed only from ye præinhærent formes in ye phantasie, receiueinge only an instrumentall or materiall helpe from ye naturall vapours, *without* any coinquination¹⁸² of ill qualities, only a sweet milde and gentle ascendeinge mist, beeing sufficient to close vpp ye commonsense. But since by Adams fall natures simple faculties are shuffled and mixed together, this animall dreame taketh part *with* many staines of ye corrupt humours, *which* nowe hinder her freedome: of *which* wee may nowe saye out of ye Poet

“———— turpiter atrum

Desinit in piscem mulier formosa supernè.”¹⁸³ As therefore a stone cast into a still and standinge water causeth vniforme and æquidistant circles to arise, *which* in a moouable runninge streame would bee distracted, and broken: so in an exat temped bodye are founde more coherent dreames, whereas in ye contrary habit nought but wilde anticke hystories are adumbrated. Whence ye morninge dreames begotten of ye milde vapours of ye second concoction, are most sincere & pure: insoemuch yt some haue esteemed them ye truer; whereof there is noe great reason. They may bee the more intire and aptly composed, as of poeticall fictions some may bee more artificially handled then others, and yet none of them true. Soe that in Dreames there can bee neyther perfect order, nor certaine truthe./

[59^r]

Certaine authorities of Hippocrates,
Galen, and others *which* seeme to attribute
As great power to ye Vnderstandinge
in Sleepe as wakeinge, answered.

Chapter 5.

¹⁸² *coinquination*: complete pollution, defilement.

¹⁸³ Horace, *Ars poetica*, 3-5. LCL 195: 450-51.

Notwithstandinge all yt *which* hath binne sayed of ye distracted & imperfect actions of ye Vnderstandinge in ye time of sleepe, yet it may bee obiected out of Hippocrates,^{xvi184} yt ye soule performeth all her actions in sleepe as absolutely as wakeinge: whose words are these: “Quum corpus quiescit, anima in motu est, et corporis partes perreptans, domum suam gubernat, et omnes corporis actiones ipsa perficit: Nam corpus dormiens non sentit, ipsa vero vigilans cognoscit, ac visibilia videt, et audibilia audit, vadit, tangit, tristatur animaduertit in summa, quæcunque corporis aut animæ munia, ea omnia anima ipsa in somno obit.”¹⁸⁵

Vnto this may bee added ye authoritie of L: Viues,^{xvii186} “Nec in homine mens dormit multo minus quam animus in mutis. Quiete *enim* compositi multa et inquirunt, et scrutantur, et colligunt, et solutiones illis quæstionum occurrunt, quæ vigilantes fallebant.”¹⁸⁷

And Galen^{xviii188} by waye of conclusion hath. “Temeraria sententia est quæ asserit dormientium animas quiescere.”¹⁸⁹ Vppon *which* grounds it may bee probably argued thus. If in sleepe ye Soule may inwardly discourse, and ye tounge (as is shewed)

¹⁸⁴ *M*: Hippocrates, *Regimen IV: Dreams (Liber de somniis; De insomniis)*, LXXXVI. LCL 150: 420-21. See e.g. Hippocrates, *Opera* (Basle, 1558), 190.

¹⁸⁵ “When the body is at rest, the soul is in motion, and, as it creeps through all parts of the body, it rules its own abode, and actually performs all the actions of the body. For when the body is asleep it has no sensation, but the soul, being awake, learns, and sees visible things, and hears audible things, it goes, touches, is saddened and observes, in brief, in sleep the soul performs all the tasks of the body or the soul.”

¹⁸⁶ *M*: Juan Luis Vives, *De anima et vita*, 2:14: ‘De somnio’. See e.g. Juan Luis Vives, *Opera*, 2 vols. (Basle, 1555), 2: 538.

¹⁸⁷ “Nor in the case of man do the rational faculties sleep much less than the mind does in the case of those who are mute. For, when they are in a state of sleep, they ask and investigate many questions, and draw conclusions, and solutions occur to them of those problems, which escaped them when they were awake.”

¹⁸⁸ *M*: Galen, *De motu musculorum*, 2:7. See e.g. Galen, *Opera* (Basle, 1549), 1207.

¹⁸⁹ “The opinion which declares that the souls of men who are asleep are in a state of rest is an ill-considered one.”

mooue, why may it not by speech vtter ye Contemplations præconceiued, insoemuch as ye tounge in man followeth ye mandate of reason, whence proceedeth ye commodulation of ye articulate voice, denyed beastes, notwithstandinge their naturall instruments, for ye only want of reason? Nowe besides Galens forealleged authoritye, yt men may talke in sleepe, ^xViues^{xix}¹⁹⁰ addeth farther. “Et qui vigiles sunt indiserti, ijs nox et quies facundiam largitur.” The benefite of ye night, and quiet repose maketh some speak eloquently, *which* wakeinge or in the daye time, were of a slowe and heauy tounge. [59^v]

To ye words of Hippocrates^{xx} wee may answere, yt hee in yt booke intendinge to giue a reason of ye naturall dreames, and their vse in Physicke, must needs allowe ye soule an operation; for ye bodye of it selfe were senselesse without ye soule, *which* nowe in Sleepe is like the sunne,¹⁹¹ whoe by his vertue draweth vpp exhalations and grosse vapours, *which* hide and obscure his owne brightnes: soe doth ye Soule by her faculties drawe vpp such mists into the braine as stopp her owne free operations. The sunne shineth as bright aboue ye clouds, as beefore: and ye Soule beehinde ye sleepy mists, hath her intire freedome of intellectuall action: and as for ye bodylye actions, it indeede exerciseth them in time of sleepe, but imperfectly, as is shewed, and ye words saye not, yt they are perfect: for from their imperfection hee gathereth the disease.

Vnto Viues, whoe goeth farther, attributeinge sharpnes of discussinge and reasoninge, I answere out of his owne distiction, where hee seemeth to putt a midde disposition betweene wakeinge and sleepeinge, *which* hee calleth Dormitatio or Slumbringe, wherein ^xFernelius^{xxi}¹⁹² agreeth, both of them groundeinge vppon Aristotle: sayeinge ^xthus.^{xxii}¹⁹³ If one sleepe but perfunctorily and sleightly, soe yt abundance of vapours oppresse not ye imaginatiue power, then though many visions thwart his conciet, yet may those bee noe more called dreames, then yt disposition *which*

¹⁹⁰ *M*: See *supra*. n. 188.

¹⁹¹ See also Aristotle’s use of the sun as a metaphor for the bodily processes that cause sleep, *De somno et vigilia*, 457b30-458a1.

¹⁹² *M*: Presumably a reference to Jean Fernel, *Medicina* (Lyon, 1564), 264 (*De Functionibus et Humoribus liber sextus*).

¹⁹³ *M*: Presumably Aristotle, *De somno et vigilia*, chapter 3 and *De insomniis*, 462a15-30.

insensibly or very little differeth from wakinge may bee accounted Sleepe: soe yt here is rather a quiet stillnes, and vacuitie of outward objects, then a bindinge of ye Senses, *which* is true sleepe: but in this case they saye men heare the croweing od Cockes, and barkeinge of dogges, *which* must needs argue sense.¹⁹⁴ Againe his words are, “quiete compositi”, not “somno ligati”: in ye still and silent repose of ye night, when ye braine is kindly heated, & ye grosse vapours consumed. “Vigilantis”, yt is, “in tempore vigiliarum”, in ye day time, when men are broadewakeinge, their senses detained & distracted with varietye of objects./ [60^r] As for Galens words:^{xxiii} it were indeede a rash opinion to thinke yt ye Soule, *which* is Actus purus, a pure and simple Act, should stand still and rest: and as rash a iudgment were it to thinke that therefore in sleepe it should performe absolute, free, and organicall actions.

To ye Argument:^{xxiv} yt beecause ye Vnderstandinge conceiueth and argueth, & ye tounge moueth, therefore ye tounge may speake vnderstandingly, I answer: it is an Argument “a Bene diuisis ad male Composita”¹⁹⁵: ye tounge speaketh indeede, but either incongruously, accordinge to ye confused matter of ye dreame, or if cohærently, either out of ye bare memorye of thinges foreknowne, and deeply imprinted, a stronge imagination stirring them vpp: or els vppon quæstions demaunded, at *which* time men doe not perfectly sleepe. Beesides there is a double discourse of ye minde, ye one sensible, dependinge vppon ye bodilye senses, *within* our knowledge and reason, & this in perfect sleepe is euer imperfect. The other is abstracted and separated from all helpe of ye sense, as in ye Soule separated from ye bodye; or when both phantasie, memorye, and all ye inward senses are stopped by ye abundance of moysture in deepe and heauy sleepe: at *which* time wee haue noe dreames; and then can the tounge haue noe motion.

Finally^{xxv} it stands with good reason yt in ye night vppon rest some men should haue better freedome of spee\c/h then in ye daye time: and those are only such as haue this impediment from superfluitie of rheumaticke moysture, whether originall or accidentall: it extendeth not to ye tounge, or such as haue some instrumentall impediment. The naturall heat in sleepe spendeth and consumeth all superfluous moysture, part whereof burdened ye Muscles of ye tongue, and soe giueth ye same

¹⁹⁴ See Aristotle, *De insomniis*, 462a25.

¹⁹⁵ “Well divided but poorly put together.” I.e., a logical fallacy.

liberty of motion. *Which* is confirmed by *Hippocrates* whoe sayeth. “Balbi longo alui profluio maxime corripuntur.”¹⁹⁶ [60^v] A continuall fluxe accompanieth Stammerers.

An other vsuall cause of slowe speech is a bad memory, *which* ariseth commonly from a moyst and could distemperature of ye braine. This by ye resolution of humours in sleepe is disburdened, and *withall* warmed, whence ye memorye is bettered, and ye speech ammended.

The euidence heerof many may and doe experience in themselues; and in this case I suppose it may trulye bee sayed: “Aurora Muis amica”: The morneinge is fittest for Scholars.

These authorities then haue noe strength to confirme any absolute or reasonable speech or discourse in sleepe. Whence I doe confidently conclude, there can bee noe such facultye.

Which conclusion, beesides all this by mee alleaged, standeth firme and unshaken by his Maiestyes most learned & acute arguments. A veiwe whereof by his gracious permission, I present vnto thee: *which* though they loose much of their roiall grace and life, passinge through my deficient penn, and delected and distracted spirits, yet “Ex planta Herculem”.¹⁹⁷

These Arguments were all drawne “ab autoritate Rationis”, not “a Ratione Autoritatis”:¹⁹⁸ and were Philosophicall, Medicinall, Theologicall, & Ciuile.

[61^r]

His *Maiesties* arguments that there
can bee noe reasonable dicourse
in Sleepe.

Chapter 6.

¹⁹⁶ Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*, 6: XXXII. LCL 150 186-87. See e.g. Roderigo a Fonseca, *In septem aphorismorum Hippocratis libros commentaria* (Venice, 1595), 197.

¹⁹⁷ “From the foot of Hercules.” Presumably a reference to the origin myth of the foot as a standard unit of measurement, implying both that Haydocke has taken his cue from the King and that he should be measured against him.

¹⁹⁸ “From the authority of reason”, not “by reason of authority”.

Philosophicall

There^{xxvi} is noe naturall effect nowe, *which* hath not binne in former times and ages discovered: but amongst all ye records of all=obseruante antiquitie there is noe such instance registered: Therefore it is not likely that in ye dotage of ye world it should bee reuealed. &c.

Sleepe^{xxvii} is a bindeing of ye Originall of ye Senses, whence all ye senitiue and intellectuall operations are hindred. Nowe this bindeinge must bee either of all, or but some of ye senses: soe that either ye eye beeinge open ye eare should bee shutt, or this free, and yt bounde &c. If they bee all æqually bounde, then must their actions cease absolutely, and ye inward facultyes bee imperfect, whence arise dreames.¹⁹⁹ Nowe this stoppage beeinge in the fountaine, all ye riuers of ye fiue senses must necessarily bee stopped alike.²⁰⁰ Wherefore in sleepe there can bee noe function of one or more senses, whiles ye others rest.

From^{xxviii} an imperfect and deficient cause proceede noe absolute & intire effect: but such are ye causes of dreames.²⁰¹ therefore from them cannot arise reasonable discourse. But your exercises seeme to shewe more then an ordinary wakinge=witt, in regard of ye method and other scholasticall poyntes you followe, but especially certaine rhetoricall figures, as Agnominations,²⁰² whence may be argued againe.

¹⁹⁹ James refers here to the standard Aristotelian division of the soul into ‘sensitive’ and ‘intellective’ parts, and to the notion that the proper functioning of the senses are a prerequisite of rational thought. See e.g. Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford, 2010), 37-46.

²⁰⁰ See Aristotle, *De somno et vigilia*, 455a32-b2.

²⁰¹ Presumably a reference to Aristotelian causation, in which an imperfect or incomplete material cause cannot produce a perfect form.

²⁰² *Agnominations*: a kind of word-play, paronomasia; allusion of one word to another. See e.g. J. Smith, *The mysterie of rhetoric unvail'd*. 105: “Agnomination is a pleasant sound of words, or a

[61^v]

The^{xxix} eare is delighted *with* harmony: but of all other figures none is more delectable then ye “similiter candens” [*sic.*], and Agnomination, most frequent with you, wherein you seeme to twinge euery word by ye eare, to see whether there bee any life in it or noe: Nowe except you heard this your selfe, you could not soemuch and so often affect the same. Therefore you must needs heare your selfe, and soe consequently wake, & haue knowledge of yt you speake: and ye rather, because you doe this sometimes in Latine, and sometimes in English, *which* argueth Election.

In^{xxx} Election ye Will beareth ye cheife stroake: But you haue vsed in ye Vniuersitie to discourse in Latine, and in ye country in English; *which* must needs growe from Electiue purpose of ye Will, *which* in sleepe worketh not.²⁰³ All *which* you haue donne often and copiously: Whence may bee argued againe.

“In^{xxxi} multiloquio est peccatum”: Hee that speaketh much shall assuredly speake somewhat from ye purpose.²⁰⁴

“*Atque opere in magno fas est obrepere somnum*”.²⁰⁵ and peradventure to runne *within* danger of iust reprehension: but in all *your* discourses; you speake *with* such aduized warines (and that sometimes in dangerous poynts) yt wee haue seldome heard

small change of names; or it is a present touch of the same letter, syllable, or word with a different meaning” (OED).

²⁰³ That the will, an aspect of the intellective soul, governs man’s ability to make choices (‘elections’). This is the position of Aquinas, for whom the will or ‘intellectual appetite’ encompasses the ability to choose. See e.g. James, *Passion and Action*, 61.

²⁰⁴ Possibly an allusion to Proverbs 10.19, which reads in the Vulgate, “In multiloquio peccatum non deerit qui autem moderatur labia sua prudentissimus est.”

²⁰⁵ “And in a great undertaking it is right that sleep should steal over us.” See Aldus Manutius’s letter to the reader in Plato, *Opera* (Venice, 1513), quoted also in John Foxe, *Actes and Monumentes* (London, 1563), 1827. See also Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 360. LCL 194: 480-81.

any, with their best waking deliberation speake with soe little exception, if wee had purposed to take aduantage.

Medicinall.

It^{xxxii} fareth with our vnderstandinge in Sleepe, as in violent diseases, *which* if they bee hott, as Feuers, Phrensies &c, breede [62^r] rageinge actions and raileinge speeches: if colde, as Caros,²⁰⁶ Apoplexia &c, either heauy and dull, or none at all. Therefore heere can bee noe exact and resonable discourses.

If^{xxxiii} you neither knowe whiles you speake, nor remember yt you haue spoken, then not only your Common=sense is bounde, but euen your Phantasie and memory: *Which* whensoever it falleth out, then haue wee noe dreames: and soe must these discourses bee infused supernaturally, *which* before you denied: acknowledginge them to bee meerly naturall.

Theologicall.

Oracles^{xxxiv} ceased at Christs comeinge: Miracles reached noe farther then Christ and his *Apostles*, for ye confirmation of Christs doctrine: *which* beeinge longe since ratified needeth noe stronger proofes, especially in ye same kinde. But this discoursinge is prooued to bee beeyond ye limits of Nature: therefore (if it bee true) it must be *supernaturall*: and then either from God, whereof there is noe warrant, or from ye Deuill, and soe must bee a damnable illusion.

God^{xxxv} spake unto ye Prophets and holy men in former ages by dreames: yet wee read not that any of them spake their dreames whilst they slept: but alwayes related them afterwards wakinge, and then either gaue or sought ye interpretation. Wherefore these these [*sic.*] can bee noe reuelations.

[62^v]

Ciuile

²⁰⁶ *Caros* [κάρως]: torpor or lethargy.

If^{xxxvi} this should bee true in you (as there are great and pregnant probabilities (though not such as can conuict our iudgment)[]) and that god should still support and stay you from any sinister intendment; yet such a grounde beeinge graunted and confirmed by your example, what dangerous sequelles might follow thereon in other ill disposed instruments of ye Deuill, whoe might dissemble and counterfeit the like abilitye, and soe publish what hæresies in religion, and Machiauellian plotts in ye Common=wealth they pleased? And that without controwlement. For whoe but a Tyrant (ye very name wherof our Soule detesteth) could animaduert²⁰⁷ and punnish vnthought words? Especially since ye World (as you see) were like to yeeld noe lesse assent thereto then to Diuine Oracles.

Nowe^{xxxvii} as concerneinge our selfe, if wee should yeeld full assent heerunto, and ye matter hereafter prouue otherwise then is conceiued, what disgrace would redounde to us through ye whole Christian world? Assuredly such, as neyther you, nor all our loueing subiects could euer redeeme by their best endeouours. Wherefore if vppon all these reasons wee bee slowe of beeelife, wee haue true iudgment for our warrant./

[Conclusion]

By all *which* proofes, I hope it shall euer heerafter remaine immoouable, that there can bee noe such power [63^r] and facultye in sleepe, as may any further trouble ye minde of any: And as for yt *which* is past, as my selfe haue binne ye unaduized, and vnfortunate occasion, soe desire I to bee ye first suppresser thereof (especially beeinge not guilty to my selfe of any malicious intent) iudgeinge it better to kill this Cockatrice in ye shell, then to nourish it vpp till it had diouored my selfe and many others; whose errorrs of what degree soeuer, my Soule must haue binne answerable for. It is for hæretickes to stand vppon their credits then the truth. But I haue learned yt ye obedience of Chists true Church ought to respect neither credit, nor riches, nor life it selfe, in respect of giueinge ye least offence to any of Chists litle ones.

²⁰⁷ *animadvert*: to criticise, censure, or blame.

It yet remaineth, yt I should proceede to ye third branch of my first proposed diuision of Dreames, namely such as are supernaturally instilled from God, or suggested by ye Deuill. But because these appertaine more properly to Diuinitye, I dare not præsume to vndergoe soe highe a taske. Only heere desireinge God soe to direct all our cogitations both wakeinge and sleepeinge, that neyther willfully nor vnawares wee giue offence whatsoeuer.

Finis.

Appendix: Accounts of Haydocke's Sleep-preaching.

1.i. 'W. S.' to an unnamed recipient, 4th March [1605]. British Library, MS Harley 169, fol. 208^{r-v}.

208^r

Good Brother I have receaved *your* letter, & must excuse my father, *William Sparke*, wrote wrote [*sic.* who wrote?] to me to knowe ye truthe of a Reporte of ~~one~~ one Haddock fellowe of Newe Colledge a phesytyon, who hathe ordenary used sleepeinge in the nyght \to/ preachyng, I haue sent it him heare & because I Imagine it wilbe gratefull²⁰⁸ to you, I send you his lettere open, I pray you when you have red it seall it in another paper, & either give it him heare in London or send it to my father to be conuayed. Tell Mr Andrew I byd you bothe hartely farewell March 4th.

By *your*: W. S-:

We haue a ~~gen~~ gentlewoman moste strangely awitched heare, for tellinge many things moste truly & admirably I thinke theare hathe not beene the like hard of, her name is *miss Anne Guntor*.

²⁰⁸ I.e. of interest.

Concerninge Mr Haddocke, I dare say you have not hard so muche as we know true, the strangeness of all & that *which* takethe away all shewe of collusion is, that a man of small quallety, meanely witted, ne[*i*]ther esteemed very learned in any faculty but payntyng, by his studye a phisytyon should so farre Exceed him selfe sleepynge in the practys of deuynty, as that yt exceedethe all proportyon of comparyson, his ordenary speeche (nay when it hathe beene for his publycke credyte) is slowe and delay[ed], but in these fyts so quicke & sharpe as that he Exceedethe moste men of this place, sixe of his sermones I haue seene, moste of *which* are, for the inuentyon, disposytyon, mattore and lattin, as perfecte as euere I sawe or hard, with us in lattine styll, in Englyshe abroad, The laste weeke before he wente farthe he preached five tymes, & teached it is sayd two howeres at the leste, & all so well as I knowe not the beste amonge vs could doe it wakyng, muche lesse him selfe, the mannore of it is this when he begynes his prayour, his chamborfellowe awakes with his noyes[,] calls companyes, whom the comone customers of his make redy [to] attend him. His chambere is soone full, as well of colegeors as strangers, wh[o] bringe store of lyght[.] fyve or syxe sette them selues to noate, & so take his sermon from his mouthe, beinge delyuered without stope or stay, his method is, aftere his prayare, to propose his texte then to deuyde it in parts, all *which* in ther place he \most/ Exactly handlethe, lastly he concludethe with a prayare for the kyng & agreable with the times, then hauinge bene lyke a dead speakynge man, in a great but cold sweat aftere 2 or 3 veamente groanes he wakethe, without knowledge of any thinge that hathe passed, yea of the place it selfe he handled & althings else, this may seeme strange to you, incredible there, with our selues admireable, & that is all we cane saye of it. We beleue it as true as any thinge you knowe.

[In a different hand:] This Haddock was discovered by King James at Salisburie to be a meere counterfeit.

208^v

A letter reportinge unto Hadokes preaching[.]

1.ii. Edmund Lassells to Gilbert Taylor, 7th Earl of Shrewsbury. 11th April 1605, from Greenwich. Lambeth Palace Library, MS Talbot 3202, fol. 7^r-9^v (8^v).

[...] I do\u0026 not but your Lordship hath hard of the man att Oxford that preacheth in his sleepe, it is very trew and he maketh very excellent and leardned sermons by the report of those that have very good iudgement. [A]nd when he is awake, is but a dull fellow, and known to be no great scoller, in these sermons that he maketh in his sleepe he will speak exceeding good Hebrew and greeke, and when he is awake vnderstands neyther of the languages. [H]e professeth phisick, and his name is Haddek[.] [A]ll the fellows and scollars of the Colleague come as dewn to hear him preach in his slepe, as the doe to any other sermon, and when he wakes he knows nothing what he sayd, but woundreth to se so many about him. ~~de~~ [H]e doth alwayes both before the sermon and after, pray very zealously and orderly, ~~both~~ for the King the Queene and the prince, and proceeds then to his text, as other preachers doe. [It] hath beene told the King by tow or thre that have hard him. [A]nd the King thinks it a very strang thing, and is determined to send for him[.]

ⁱ [RM] *Ecclesiastes* 10.16.

ⁱⁱ [RM] *Corinthians* 1.14.

ⁱⁱⁱ [RM] *Ecclesiasticus*. 39.

^{iv} [RM] 1. Kings. 3.

^v [RM] *Prouerbs* 25.1.

^{vi} [RM] Petrus Padubanensis.

^{vii} [LM] frustra ferro diuerberet vmbras.

^{viii} [RM] Somnia alia ex corporis dispositione: alia ex ijs quæ agimus emergunt. Galen de *Insomniis*./

^{ix} [RM] Peter Martyr, *Loci Communes*, Chapter 5.

^x [LM] τῶ φυσικῶ τό ψυχικόν

^{xi} [LM] *Caput* 4, *liber* 6, de *Lociis affectis*

^{xii} [RM] *De motu musculorum* 2.

^{xiii} [LM] *De motu musculorum Liber* 2

^{xiv} [LM] *Ecclesiastes*: 5.2.

^{xv} [LM] *Mathew* 27.19.

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- xvi [RM] Liber de *Insomniis* initio.
xvii [RM] De Anima. *Capitolo* de Somnio
xviii [RM] De motu *Musculorum* 2
xix [RM] Loco citato.
xx [LM] The answer to Hippocrates
xxi [LM] ^x De funct: nat:
xxii [LM] ^x De *Insomniis*
xxiii [RM] Answer to Galen.
xxiv [RM] Answer to ye Argument
xxv [RM] Answer to Viues. 2
xxvi [RM] Reason. j.
xxvii [RM] Reason. 2.
xxviii [RM] Reason. 3.
xxix [LM] Reason. 4.
xxx [LM] Reason. 5.
xxxi [LM] Reason. 6.
xxxii [LM] Reason. j.
xxxiii [RM] Reason. 2.
xxxiv [RM] Reason. j.
xxxv [RM] Reason. 2.
xxxvi [LM] Reason. j.
xxxvii [LM] Reason. 2.