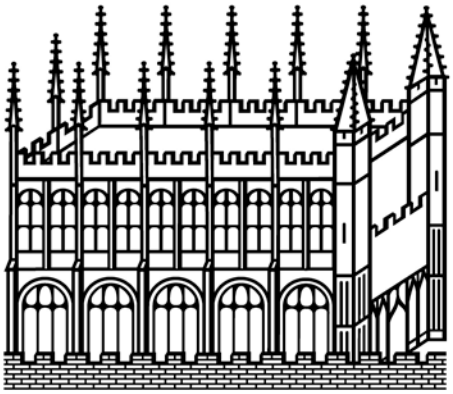

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CLAUDIA AND PUDENS.

CLAUDIA AND PUDENS.

AN ATTEMPT TO SHOW THAT

CLAUDIA,

MENTIONED IN ST. PAUL'S SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY, WAS A

BRITISH PRINCESS.

BY

JOHN WILLIAMS, A.M. OXON.

ARCHDEACON OF CARDIGAN,

F.R.S.E. ETC.

LLANDOVERY,

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM REES; LONDON, LONGMAN AND CO.

MDCCCXLVIII.

TO

VICTORIA ADELAIDE MARY LOUISA,

THE PRINCESS ROYAL OF ENGLAND,

IS INSCRIBED THIS

Essay,

WITH AN INTENTION OF SHOWING

THAT

EARLY IN THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE

CHRISTIAN ERA,

THERE LIVED

A ROYAL PRINCESS OF THE BRITISH RACE,

WHO COULD VIE

WITH THE HIGHBORN MAIDENS

OF

Rome and Athens,

IN BEAUTY OF PERSON AND ELEGANCE OF MIND,

AND WHO MERITED

BY HER CHRISTIAN GRACES OF

FAITH AND OBEDIENCE

THE COMMENDATION OF THE GREAT

APOSTLE OF THE GENTILES, AND THE

FRIENDSHIP OF TIMOTHEUS,

HIS SON IN THE FAITH,

AND DISCIPLE.

PREFACE.

HAVING submitted the following Essay to several critical friends, and invited them to favour me with their observations, I have to thank many of them for their suggestions, but have not been induced to take any new ground, or bring forward any additional arguments. They all agree that my line of argument will have far more opposition to encounter from the long-cherished prejudices of the English people respecting the social and intellectual state of our British Ancestors, than from any failure in the moral demonstration.

I might be tempted to enlarge upon this topic, had I not already, in a "Life of Julius Cæsar," now ready for the Press, examined the whole question as affecting the Celtic Races of Illyricum, Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Great Britain, with whose history our own is deeply implicated.

One friend wished me to enter minutely into the question of the Chronology of Martial's Life, and to show, which he thought might easily be done, that Fynes Clinton has made a serious mistake on that point; but I have declined the question, as my argument is not incompatible with the great Chronologer's arrangement of events.

Another friend, who did not seem pleased with the "Dubni" of the inscription, when compared with the "Duni" of the Historian, was perfectly satisfied upon being informed, that the word in the original language had an additional letter, as is still evident in the "Down" and "Downe" of Ireland and Scotland, and that Cæsar himself testified to the existence of the additional letter by writing not "Dunorix," but "Dumnorix," especially when I showed him Roman Medals, inscribed neither "Dunorix," nor "Dumno-rix," but "Dubnorix."

I was also informed on good authority, that all the writers employed in writing the Lives of the British Saints have not gone over to Rome.

Should this Essay contain a true statement of the relation between the Western Celts and their Roman Masters, it will be necessary to open anew the investigation of the "Origines" of the mighty British nation.

It is a people "sui generis," formed by a wonderful and gradual intermixture of Races and blood, which render it a well-digested amalgamation between the lively Celt and the sluggish Dutchman.

Llandovery, 15 *January*, 1848.

CLAUDIA AND PUDENS.

Hume, the well known Historian, in preparing the ground for one of his most insidious attacks upon the Christian revelation, lays it down as an axiom, that the evidence in support of any fact, whether occurring in the course of real events, or supposed to have been the result of miraculous intervention, must necessarily grow weaker as time advances, and finally be regarded as entitled to little weight when examined by judicious criticism.

It will be part of my object on the present occasion to refute this supposed maxim, and to show, in opposition to its truth, that the lapse of time, instead of weakening the evidence of any such fact, has rather in most known cases tended to confirm it, by bringing to light proofs in its support, which time and time alone could have produced.

For example, since the death of the author of this unfounded theory, what numerous confirmations have been elicited by modern investigation of the existence of Egyptian kings, but dimly viewed in his time, in the records of Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Manetho, and other ancient writers, but now clearly seen and distinctly read in the lasting monuments of the Egyptian Hieroglyphics.

If we refer to the obscure traces and confused notices still extant in the surviving Histories of Greece and Rome, respecting the dynasties of the Assyrian and Medo-Persian Monarchs; we find that Oriental Scholars are daily throwing new light on these dark periods and personages, by the evidence of inscriptions still existing on the everlasting rocks and ruined buildings of Media, Persia, and Babylonia; inscriptions concerning which Hume in his day knew nothing. Even had he been cognizant of their existence, they would have been to him dumb and unmeaning witnesses; for the key to their characters and interpretations had not then been discovered by the learned.

Even the Wilds of Arabia, should we give credence to the assertions of a very ingenious and learned writer of our own day, teem with the unperished remains of monuments of the Patriarchal Age, and calculated to illustrate in no slight degree the Scripture History of Job, of Moses, and of Joseph. As time has advanced, so also have the testimonies to the truths of the Greek Historians, who spoke of the events of their own day, proportionably increased; and it has been affirmed, not without sufficient authority, that even if we had not received from antiquity the authentic Histories of Thucydides and Xenophon, a very probable History of the Peloponnesian war might be re-constructed from the Greek inscriptions commemorative of that war, still existing on coins and marbles, and which researches comparatively modern have brought to light.

Nay, in our own day, investigations judiciously conducted under the superintendence of the very meritorious Mr. Fellows, amidst the wilds of the once civilized, but now desolate Lycia, have been brought to bear as powerful illustrations upon the wildest mythological legends of the Homeric Poems, and of the Ante-Homeric Age.

Believers in the Modern Geological Theories, in which to a certain extent I profess my own belief, may confidently look forwards to still more striking proofs of the traditions and vague statements of ancient authors. The original Orchomenus of the Minyans of Bœotia is on ancient authorities believed still to subsist in a submerged state below the waves of the Lake Copais; and were the ancient tunnels opened, through which the superfluous waters of the Lake were drained into the Ægean Sea, the ancient Cadmean city might still be discovered below the alluvial soil, which the rivers of Phocis and Bœotia have accumulated in its bosom. Should this take place, we might discover a city more accessible to the investigation of man than is Herculaneum, and of far greater importance in a historical and antiquarian point of view than the obscure Pompeii of the Campanian shore.

The same powers of nature which, about two centuries before the Christian Era, in one sad night swallowed up bodily, with all its inhabitants, with all its contents, upon the Southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, the city of Ægeum, one of the most flourishing members of the great Achæan confederacy, may reverse their then exerted influence, and reveal to modern eyes that noble city with all its precious treasures, its houses, its inscribed marbles and coins; nay, perhaps its libraries and other public records. Advancing into a still more remote futurity, the Geologist, under the guidance of his theories, may be allowed to anticipate, with something like a certainty, should our present creation last long enough to meet his theories, that the time will come, when the African Syrtes, with their vast catacombs, in which are inhumed the innumerable ships of Egypt, of Tyre, and Sidon, of Crete, Lycia, and Rhodes, of Cyrene, of Athens, Syracuse, Carthage, and Rome, will be accessible to the researches of man, and enable the scientific observer at

some remote period to read in the works of Art imbedded in the sandstone quarries, and salt deposits, on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean, the records of these once mighty cities, with far more distinctness than he now reads in organic remains the past history of our irrational predecessors on the surface of the globe.

But throwing aside these dreamy speculations into a possible, if not probable future, although the tendency of such speculations is to prove that the past history of civilized man is far more likely to be confirmed than have the testimony of its truth weakened by the lapse of time; I now proceed to throw a glance upon the past, and to show that a Claudia, mentioned by St. Paul, was also the Claudia of the Roman Poet Martial, and that both may be identified with a daughter of a British King.

In the second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, chapter four, verse twenty-one, the following notice is found,—"Eubulus greeteth thee, and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, and all the brethren." These words were written, according to the common chronology, in A.D. 67, a short time before the Apostle's death.

Possibly, Martial in two Epigrams may refer to the same Claudia and Pudens, for both the Apostle and the Poet wrote in the same place, and concerning two persons of the same name, residing at Rome. *Possibly* I say, because as the locality is undisputed, no argument deducible from considerations of time can be brought to contradict this possible supposition.

On the question of time, it will be sufficient to take the commonly received chronology respecting Martial's age, and the period of his Roman life; this for our purpose will be sufficiently established from the following notice in Lempriere's Dictionary, under the name of the Epigrammatist.

"Martial, a native of Bilbilis in Spain, came to Rome about the twentieth year of his age. After he had passed thirty-five years in the capital of the World, he retired to his native country. He died about the year one hundred and four of the Christian Era, in the seventy-fifth year of his age."[1]

According to this statement, undoubtedly true in its main points, although I would not vouch for its minute accuracy, nor does my argument need such accuracy, Martial was born A.D. 29, went to reside at Rome A.D. 49, left it for Spain A.D. 86, and died after a provincial life of eighteen years' longer existence.

It is therefore possible that the first Epigram to which I have alluded might have been written by Martial in the year 67, eighteen years after his arrival in Rome; being the same year in which the Apostle is generally supposed to have written the second Epistle to Timothy. And a broad margin of two or three years, on either side, may be allowed without interfering with the argument.

Martial's first Epigram on the subject, is the thirteenth of his fourth book, and may be thus literally translated.

"O Rufus, my friend Pudens, marries the foreigner Claudia,
O Hymen, be propitious with thy nuptial torch.
So harmoniously mingles the rare cinnamon with its native nard,
So harmoniously blends Massic wine with Attic honey,

[1] We know from Martial's own writings that he lived thirty-five years at Rome. Lib. xii. Ep. 21. That he was fifty-seven at least before he left that city.—Lib. x. Ep. 24. Fynes Clinton thinks that he can fix this year of his life to A.D. 99; and his final departure for Spain to A.D. 100. This would make him twenty-three years old, when he first visited Rome, A.D. 65; old enough undoubtedly to write his first Epigram upon Claudia and Pudens. Clinton makes A.D. 65 the last year also of St. Paul's life, when accordingly his second Epistle to Timothy, must have been written.

The Elm-tree is not better matched with the tender vine,
Nor do Myrtles better love the sea-lashed shore.
May gentle concord ever dwell in their nuptial couch,
And Venus be ever propitious to the well matched pair;
May she still love him although old, and in her husband's eyes
May she although old appear still young."[1]

It has been objected that as his fourth book is addressed to Domitian the Emperor, the Epigram could not have been written before A.D. 83, the period of Domitian's accession to the Empire. But we know from Martial himself, how popular his Epigrams were long before the publication of that book, and how great a demand was for them, and what a number of editions he must consequently have sent forth.[2]

[1] "Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit Peregrina Pudenti,
Macte esto Tædis, o Hymenæe tuis;
Tam bene rara suo miscentur Cinnama Nardo,
Massico Theseis tam bene vina Cadis,
Nec melius teneris junguntur vitibus ulmi,
Nec plus Lotos aquas littora Myrtus amat;
Candida perpetuo reside, concordia, lecto,
Tamque pari semper sit Venus æqua jugo;
Diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito,
Tunc quoque quum fuerit, non videatur anus."

[2] I transcribe a few Epigrams, which must have been written long before Domitian's accession to the throne, and which nevertheless occur in books much later than the fourth.

Lib. xi. Epig. 39.

"Cunarum fueras motor, Charideme, meorum,
Et pueri custos assiduusque comes,
Jam mihi nigrescunt tonsâ sudaria barbâ,
Et queritur labris puncta puella meis.
Sed Tibi non crevi—Te noster villicus horret
Te dispensator, Te domes ipsa timet.
* * * *
Desine, non possum libertum ferre Catonem,
Esse virum jam me dicet amica Tibi."

It would be, therefore, worse than idle to suppose that he had written only three books of Epigrams up to the accession of Domitian, and that the other nine books were written during the three remaining years at Rome, and during his provincial obscurity. In fact, the first nine books bear evident marks of being published, not according to the order of their composition, nor even of their first appearance before the public, but of careful "redaction" at much later periods.

The second Epigram was written after a considerable interval, the length of which we cannot however precisely determine. When it was written, the Bride Claudia of the first Epigram, was the happy mother of three, or as some commentators explain the passage, of six children; but we have no means of determining their age. It is the fifty-

This was evidently written by the Poet on entering into life, and describes his resolution to shake off the trammels of his Pædagogue,—"jam nunc custode remoto."

Lib. xi. Epig. 35.

"Sæpius ad palmam Prasinus post fata Neronis,
Pervenit, et victor præmia plura refert.
I nunc, Livor edax, dic Te cessisse Neroni,
Vicit nimirum non Nero sed Prasinus,

The "Prasina factio," in the Chariot Races of the Circus, was the favourite of the Emperor Nero; it was also commonly victorious under his patronage. The partizans of the other colours ascribed these victories to the Emperor's favour, not to any real superiority. But Nero died, the Prasini were nevertheless still victorious. This Epigram must consequently have been written soon after Nero's death, probably in Galba's reign. Nero slew himself, A.D. 69.

Lib. vi. Epig. 32.

Quum dubitaret adhuc belli civilis Enyo,
Forsitan et posset vincere mollis Otho,
Damnavit multo staturum sanguine Martem,
Et fodit certâ pectora nuda manu.
Sit Cato, dum vivit, sane vel Cæsare major,
Dum moritur nunquid major Othone fuit?

This was evidently written upon the death of Otho. He killed himself A.D. 70; many others might be quoted to prove the same point, but these are amply sufficient for my purpose."

fourth Epigram of the eleventh book, and may be thus rendered.

"Concerning Claudia Rufina."

"Seeing Claudia Rufina has sprung from the azure Britons,
How comes she to have the feelings of a Latian maid?
What grace and beauty! With the daughters of Italy she may pass
As a Roman, with those of Attica, as an Athenian Matron.
Thanks to the Gods, she has borne many children to her holy husband,
And still young, hopes to see sons and daughters-in-law;
So may the Gods grant that in her one husband,
And her three children, she may always find her happiness."[1]

I am aware that, legally speaking, there is no existing evidence sufficient to enforce a penalty, or to acquire a lost inheritance, by which it might be proved that the Claudia "peregrina" of the first Epigram was the Claudia "Edita Britannis" of the second; but investigations like the present require not legal, but moral proofs; and when we consider that all the ancient commentators agree without a dissent, that the two Claudias of Martial refer to the same person; and the extreme improbability, that there were two Claudias, one a "foreigner," whose marriage with a Roman Pudens he had celebrated in verse, and the other a British maid, also married to a Roman, and that the Poet has left no mark of difference between the two foreigners, married to the two

1 "Claudia cæruleis quum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, quàm Latiæ pectora Plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ! Romanam credere Matres
Italidum possunt, Atthides esse suam.
Di bene quod sancto peperit fœcunda marito
Quod sperat generos quodque Puella nurus,
Sic placeat Superis ut conjuge gaudeat uno,
Et semper natis gaudeat ipsa tribus."

Romans; I think that we have all the evidence necessary for identifying the Claudia of the first with the Claudia of the second Epigram.

It was in accordance with this same doctrine of probabilities, that the very "coryphæi" of the Ecclesiastical Historians of the British Church, since the Reformation, have come to the conclusion that the Claudia of St. Paul, and the Claudia of Martial, was one and the same individual. On this point, Godwin and Parker, Usher and Stillingfleet, are unanimous. And they might, as Usher has partially done, have brought forward, from the records of the primitive Church, strong subsidiary evidence in confirmation of the truth of their conclusions. Stillingfleet took one step in advance, and argued with great probability that the Claudia of St. Paul, might have been the daughter of Caractacus, the British Prince, who was carried captive to Rome, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, and after having been led in triumph, released from his chains, and treated honourably by that Emperor.

To show the bearing of the facts stated by Tacitus, and other ancient writers upon this point, it will be necessary to give a short account of the relations, subsisting between Rome and Britain, at this interesting period.

In the years A.D. 55 and 54, the Romans under the great Julius had twice invaded the shores of Britain. And although the preparations for the year "54" had been on the most gigantic scale; and the troops which then were transported across the channel were superior in numbers, in equipment, and even in cavalry far stronger than the force which under the same leader decided on the plains of Pharsalia the fate of the Roman world, it could not penetrate further into the Island than Kingston-upon-Thames, and Verulam, never apparently entered into any ground except

what is now occupied by the counties of Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, Essex, and perhaps a part of Buckingham, and Hertford. Consequently, the greatest captain of Rome carried off no lasting trophies from our shore, so that even a Roman political opponent could be made to say, "Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

These invasions were followed by a long inaction on the part of the Romans, as far as these islands were concerned; this interval of relative repose presents us with no salient points of history, but is described by a co-temporary writer (Strabo) as a period, during which a regular commerce was carried on between the British Isles and the romanized provinces of Gaul; a commerce, which during the course of a century must have exerted a humanizing influence on the less civilized party.

In the year A.D. 43, Claudius sent A. Plautius, an experienced soldier, with a force which must have amounted to fifty thousand men to commence the conquest of Britain. Plautius met with great success, comparatively speaking, and was soon enabled to promise his Master an easy victory, and a certain triumph, should he visit the Island in person. Claudius came, vanquished the resisting enemies of Rome, pardoned the suppliants, and rewarded with increase of territory those British chiefs, who were base enough to become Roman instruments, in reducing their native land under a a foreign domination.

Horsley, an excellent authority, supposes Plautius to have left the Island, and to have been succeeded by Ostorius Scapula, in the year A.D. "50." In the year "52," Ostorius defeated and captured the British chief Caractacus, and sent him prisoner to Rome. He himself died soon after this event. For the next eight years, the Roman Arms made no progress in Britain, and met with repeated defeats. In

the year A.D. "61," Suetonius Paulinus was appointed Pro-Prætor of Britain. Under his government occurred the rebellion of Boadicea, and the almost general massacre of the Roman residents, and of their romanized allies. In the year 63, Suetonius was recalled, and succeeded by several governors, who made but little impression on the still independent tribes of Britons. A.D. 79, Julius Agricola received the command, and in eight campaigns, so well known to us from the partial pen of his son-in-law Tacitus, achieved what was called the conquest of the island. But we learn from the same Tacitus, that his recall was immediately followed by a total loss of all the preceding conquests. His expressive words, in the second chapter of the first Book of his Histories are, while enumerating the stirring events which he was going to describe, "Illyricum[1] disturbed, the Gauls wavering, Britain thoroughly conquered, and immediately lost."

From this event until late in the reign of Trajan, the history of Britain receives no light from Roman Authors.

With these chronological data before us, it will not be difficult to assign to its own place in time every fact which Roman or Greek writers have made known to us as taking place in Britain during this period; the first to which I shall allude, is contained in the following passage from Tacitus.[2]

"The first Consular President of Britain was Aulus Plautius; the second, Ostorius Scapula; both excellent generals, and the nearest part of Britain was gradually reduced into the form of a Province. In this part also, a colony of veterans was planted. A few (quædam) states were given to

[1] Illiricum turbatum, Galliæ nutantes, Britannia perdomita et *statim amissa*.

[2] Vit. Agric. cap. 14.

King Cogidunus, whom even I remember as a most faithful ally to the Romans. This appointment was made according to an established principle among the Roman people, of making even kings the instruments of slavery."

Here we have two important facts recorded; first that after a series of campaigns commenced under Plautius, and terminated by Ostorius, a settlement took place, according to which a British chief became a client king of the Emperor Claudius; this termination of hostilities for a time, and the consequent arrangements for the security of the country gained, cannot be assigned to any other event than the conquest and capture of Caractacus. The war against this chief lasted nine years, was commenced by Plautius, and terminated by Ostorius, A. D. 52. The second is that this client king continued to exercise his power, and show his fidelity to Rome, to a period even within the memory[1] of Tacitus. Now Tacitus is supposed to have been born about the end of the reign of Claudius. This Emperor died A.D. 56; if we, therefore, commence the legal memory of Tacitus in his twentieth year, we find that as late as the year A.D. 76, there lived a Roman client king in Britain, a faithful ally, and who must consequently have been in constant communication with the Roman governors, during those very disastrous campaigns, which they had to make between the years 52 and 79. What then more probable than that this client king should, with the states assigned to him, have received the honourable name of his imperial patron, and have been

[1] Tacitus was Prætor A.D. 88. The legal age fixed by Augustus for that office was thirty; if Tacitus received it as soon as he was legally eligible, which is very likely, for he was favoured by the Flavian family, he must have been born A. D. 58. Pliny the Younger was Prætor A. D. 90, in his twenty-ninth year, "because Cæsar had remitted a year in his favour."—See Clinton, A.D. 90, Fasti Romani.

called Claudius? and that the Claudia of St. Paul, A.D. 67, and the British Claudia of Martial was the daughter of this romanized Briton Claudius.

The next step in the enquiry, is to fix the geographical position of the "some states given to Cogidunus." As the term "proxima pars Britanniæ" refers evidently to the whole settlement made by Ostorius; and as the colony of veterans was Camalodunum in Essex; we should look for the client states on the South Western shore; Bishop Stillingfleet was convinced from the evidence before him, that they were partly at least in Sussex and Surrey, although he does not fix the boundary, nor would that have been an easy task.

Could the capital of his kingdom be identified with any ancient Roman city in Britain, a great point would be secured. We find that the geographer Ptolemy, in his description of Britain, occupies the ground of the two countries of Surrey and Sussex with a people whom he names "Regni," and the itineraries place "Regnum" a town on the same ground.

It is true, that neither before nor after the time of Ptolemy is there to be traced any vestige of a British tribe, called "Regni," and the absence of any such notice is a remarkable fact. Julius Cæsar, who was certainly in Surrey, and must have come in contact with the "Regni," had they borne that name in his time, makes no mention of them. The only tribes mentioned by him, are the Cantii, the Trinobantes, the Segontiaci, the Cenimagni, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and Cassii. Tacitus, in his various notices of the tribes, with which the generals of Claudius and his successors either fought or negotiated, mentions no "Regni," although if they existed they must have been in the very centre of active operations.

This silence on the part of two such authors, and the necessity of discovering so important a people as the Regni,

among the tribes mentioned by them, have led to various conjectures on the part of Geographical Antiquarians. Horsley, by far the highest authority of his class on British localities, conjectured that under the name Cenimagni lurks the real name Iceni-Regni. But no manuscript, either of the Latin original, or of the Greek translation of the commentaries, favours this new reading. Bertram, the self-styled editor of the supposed work of Richard, the Monk of Cirencester, and who under Richard's name imposed his own most diligent lucubrations upon the learned Dr. Stukely, thus attempts to meet the omission, "Next to the Cantii (westward) are the Bibroci, who by others are called "Rhemi."

This very clever writer, knowing that there was no place for the Regni among the tribes mentioned by Cæsar, and knowing also that Cæsar had stated that many Belgic tribes of Gaul had emigrated to Britain, where they still retained their original names, quietly assumed that the Regni of Ptolemy were the Belgic Rhemi of Cæsar, who retaining their original denomination, had also taken the new name of Bibroci.[1]

It is clear therefore that no British tribe in this locality originally were called "Regni," but must have received this name at a later period. This period must have existed somewhere between the age of Cæsar and that of Ptolemy.

Ptolemy, whose acme was about the year A.D. 120, must for his notices of Britain have depended upon Roman authorities, and have adopted the usual Roman names for British

[1] While I am convinced that the greatest portion of the materials ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, by Bertram, are the result of his own diligent reading, I nevertheless firmly believe that he was in possession of a "Roman Itinerarium," from which he drew much original information, although he was not honest enough to give the public a genuine copy of it.

cities and tribes. Now, what is more probable than that the Romans should have called the territories of their client king the Regnum Cogiduni, and his subjects the "Cives Regni," or that the name should finally have been confined to the capital of Cogidunus.[1] According to this supposition, we can satisfactorily account for the late appearance of the terms "Regnum," and "Regni," in British Geography, and for the transmission of the name to the times of Trajan, and Hadrian; seeing the longest interval which could have possibly existed between the death of Cogidunus, and the accession of Trajan to the Empire A. D. 99, could not have been more than twenty-three years.

Where then was Regnum? On this point all antiquaries for the last century have been unanimous, and agree that it could be at no other spot, except the modern Chichester, the county-town of Sussex. As this is the case, we have in the modern name a new link for connecting Regnum with Cogidunus. This British chief must have assumed the name of his chief place for his title, after a very common practice of his nation not only in Britain, but on the Continent, not only in ancient, but in mediæval and modern times. The word "dun," Latin "dunum," whether used as a prefix, or an affix, enters into the composition of more Celtic appellations of places than any other word, and undoubtedly always indicated, what it still indicates among the Celts of our own day, a stronghold, a fastness, or fortress.

Cogidunum was probably, therefore, the true Celtic name of that city to which the Romans gave the pure Latin name of Regnum, and from which king Cogidunus borrowed his

[1] On the same principle according to which Englishmen term Wales, the Principality, and the inhabitants of the Northern counties, call Durham the Bishopric, on account of their separate jurisdictions.

territorial title. The Welsh word "côg," identical with the Latin "cavus," "hollow," assumes in colloquial language the form of "coi," or "ceu," pronounced kī, and is to be found as a constituent part of innumerable local names in Wales. After Cogidunus, and perhaps his successor or successors had fulfilled their intended purpose, what Rome had given would naturally be resumed by Rome, the Regnum would be suppressed, and the city occupied by Roman Arms. Of the latter fact there can be no doubt, as Chichester was a Roman fortress, and until a very late period could show its Roman walls and gates, and the well known form of a Roman Camp. With this change of its destiny from a British "Dun" to a Roman station, the name would also be changed, and Cogidunum would become Cogi-castra. This in its Welsh form would be Caer-gei, in Saxon Chichester. The Saxon Chronicles would refer the name to a Saxon chief, called Cissa, but the affix Chester, proves that the name was older than the Saxon period.

Thus far, our guide has been rather probability than certainty; but an inscription discovered and described more than a hundred and twenty years ago, will go far to convert the previous possibilities and probabilities into something like certainties. Here I transcribe from Horsley's "Britannia Romana,"

"An account of a Roman Inscription found at Chichester by Roger Gale, Esqr.

This inscription, as curious as any that has yet been discovered in Britain, was found the beginning of last April, (1723) at Chichester, in digging a cellar under the corner-stone of St. Martin's Lane, on the north side, as it comes into North Street. It lay about four foot under ground, with the face upwards, by which it had the misfortune to receive a great deal of damage from the picks of the labourers, as they en-

deavoured to raise it. For beside the defacing of several letters what was here disinterred of the stone was broken into four pieces, the other part still wanting is in all probability buried under the next house, and will not be brought to light till that happens to be rebuilt. The inscription is cut upon a grey Sussex marble, the length of which was six Roman feet, as may be conjectured, by measuring it from the middle of the word "Templum" to that end of it which is entire, and is not altogether three foot English from the point mentioned. The breadth of it is two and three quarters of the same feet. The letters are beautifully and exactly drawn; those in the two first lines being three inches long, and the rest two and a quarter."

Mr. Gale then mentions that he accompanied Dr. Stukeley in the following September to Chichester, where they took every means of procuring as accurate a copy as possible of the whole inscripton. Mr. Gale then proceeds to examine the whole in detail, and finally concludes that it may be read as follows,—

"NEPTUNO ET MINERVÆ[1]
TEMPLUM
PRO SALUTE DOMUS DIVINÆ
EX AUCTORITATE TIB. CLAUDII,
COGIDUNI REGIS LEGATI AUGUSTI IN BRITANNIA
COLLEGIUM FABRORUM ET QUI IN EO
A SACRIS SUNT DE SUO DEDICAVERUNT DONANTE AREAM
PUDENTE PUDENTINI FILIO."

[1] The inscription on the stone is this,—

EPTUNO † ET † MINERVÆ
TEMPLUM
O † SALUTE DOMVS DIVINÆ
AUCTORITATE TIB. CLAUD.
GIDUBNI R. † LEG. AUG † N † BRIT †
GIUM FABRORUM † ⊐ QUI IN EO
D † S † D † DONANTE AREAM
ENTE PUDENTINI FILIO.

Dr. Stukeley says, "To this judicious elucidation of the inscription I have nothing to add, but that it seems probable to me, that Pudens mentioned therein to have given the ground was that Aulus Pudens who married the famous British lady, Claudia Rufina, celebrated for her wit, beauty, and eloquence. There is room enough in the stone to suppose that the letter A at least, as his prænomen, was in that part which is lost." The Dr. then proceeds to examine the question whether the Claudia of this inscription was a daughter of Caractacus or not. He decides in the negative, and adds,—"Times and circumstances combine sufficiently to make her the daughter of Cogidunus."

In this inscription, brought to light after having been buried for centuries beneath the ruins of the ancient Regnum, we find a confirmation of our previous probabilities. We find that a British king, whom we can identify with the Cogidunus of Tacitus, had also a Roman name, Tib. Claudius, and was an imperial legate in Britain, facts which can be true respecting no other British chief, but that Cogidunus who was made a client king about the year A. D. 52, and who lived late into the reign of Vespasian, after whose accession no client king would have been termed a Claudius,

It will be seen that the Co supposed to be a part of Cogidubni or Cogiduni, must be looked for on what remains of the marble slab as yet unfound; and also the Pud of Pudente; respecting the latter, it may easily be supplied from the existing *Pudentini;* for perfect satisfaction respecting the former, nothing but the exhumation of the remaining fragment will suffice. I wrote to the present Bishop of Chichester, upon the subject, who promised to look into it, but I heard nothing more from him.

The disinterred portion is now at Goodwood, the Duke of Richmond's seat near Chichester, but is in a much more mutilated state than when examined by Gale and Stukeley. "It was happy," "says the latter, we took such great care in examining the letters; for since it has been in the possession of the Duke of Richmond, I heard, a workman, who pretended to set the fragments together, has defaced it.—Horsley's Brit. Romana, page 332.

but a Flavius,[1] according to the unvarying custom among the western allies of Rome, of adding to their own the *Gens* name of the chief Magistrate, by whose patronage they were admitted to the rights and the privileges of Roman citizens. A British king of course had no other patron than a Roman Emperor, and with the year 68 terminated the race of Imperial Claudii, and was soon after replaced by the Flavian Family. Tiberius Claudius Cogidunus must therefore have acquired his name previous to the accession of Vespasian.

Living under the authority of this romanized Briton, or at least holding land in his very capital, or in its immediate vicinity, we find a Pudens, the son of Pudentinus, giving a site for a temple and its adjacent square, which a college of Roman artificers built and dedicated at their own expense to Neptune and Minerva. How can we account for this, ex-

[1] All doubt respecting the close connection between some parties at Chichester and the Claudian Family, was removed by the discovery of another slab in the immediate vicinity of the former. This took place after the publication of Horsley's Britannia Romana, and is thus described in Gough's Camden.—Vol. iv. p. 277.

Another Inscription was found in a cellar, in East Street, at the corner of St. Martin's Lane, and very near *the spot where the other was found.* The stone was of the same *Sussex Marble, the letters of the same cut and size,* and very beautiful. He reads it,—

Neroni
Claudio Divi Claudii
Aug. F. Germanici Cæsaris
Nepoti. Tib. Cæsar
Aug. Pronepoti. divi Aug.
Abnepoti. Cæsari Aug. Germ.
† † † iv. Imp. v. co. iv.
Vot. s. c. M.

Here occur some doubtful letters. The dedicator's name is wanting, which is of no great consequence.

Dr. Stukeley justly remarks, that Imperator Quinto must be regarded as an error, or a wilful exaggeration; the Consul Quarto is sufficient for fixing the period. This the Doctor assigns to the year A. U. 515 or 516, i. e. A.D. 62 or 63. Fynes Clinton assigns the fourth Consulship of Nero to the year A.D. 60; any of these dates will equally suit my argument.

cept upon the supposition that there must have been a very close connexion between this Pudens and the chief, that this connexion was close enough, and its influence so well known, as to induce a body of Roman builders to expatriate themselves for a time, and to visit the capital of the barbarian chief? If the Pudens of St. Paul was the Pudens of Martial, and since the Pudens of Martial had married a British maiden, also called Claudia, it seems to me something more than probable that the Pudens of the inscription was also the same identical person. If so, every difficulty is cleared up. The son-in-law of Cogidunus would naturally wish to ingraft Roman habits, and introduce the Roman arts among the kindred and people of his previously romanized wife. Workmen would be brought from Rome to adorn the principal city with public buildings, and probably surround it with walls. These Romans at the close of their contract would naturally return home; but before departing they rear a temple to Neptune and Minerva; to Neptune, probably for the purpose of obtaining a safe voyage; to Minerva, as their own patroness, and receive the site as a free gift from their fellow-citizen Pudens. If the romanized[1] chief had a daughter, she would certainly in Roman language be called Claudia. He

[1] To obviate all objections advanced against my statements, respecting the mode in which Foreigners were usually engrafted upon the Roman state, I add this note.—Panvinius, who more than three hundred years ago wrote a treatise, "De antiquis nominibus," has, page 60, the following passage. "Those, however who for the first time were made Romans used, like the emancipated slaves, to adopt the "Nomen" and "Prænomen" of those persons by whose kindness or aid they had become citizens; but they still retained their own ancient name as a "Cognomen." Cæsar, in his first book of the Gallic War, proves this, when he writes thus,—"It appeared best to send M. Valerius Procillus, the son of C. Valerius Caburus, whose father had been made a Roman citizen by C. Valerius Flaccus." And Cicero, in a letter to Acilius, gives us the same information. "I have long been intimate with Demetrius. My Dolabella at my request past a law, according to which he is now a Roman citizen, and named P. Cornelius," (the No-

was a king for at least thirty years, and might have reigned longer. A daughter of his born A.D. 52, when "the certain states" were assigned to him, would be in her fifteenth year, A.D. 67. but he might have children of various ages at that period, who might have been born before the confirmation of his power by Rome. His daughter, whatever might have been her age at the time, would, if not sent there previously, be naturally removed to Rome, either for security, or as an hostage, during the terrible insurrection under Boadicea, A.D. 61. Suetonius, on his return from Mona, found the veteran colony destroyed, the ninth legion annihilated; but London, thronged with merchants and their goods, was still safe. Yet the Roman general could not protect it, but fell back upon Surrey; and it was at this crisis, and for the ser-

men and Prænomen of Dolabella.) Cicero also thus writes in his speech against Verres. "Quintus Lutatius Diodorus was made a Roman citizen, by Sylla, at the request of Quintus Catulus." Again he speaks of a Dio, "who being made a citizen through the instrumentality of Q. Metellus, was called Q. Cæcilius Dio." The Gens name of Catulus and Metellus, were Lutatia, and Cæcilia; when, under the Emperors, the rights of Roman citizens were given to client kings, those who became such would necessarily adopt the nomen and prænomen of their patron Emperor. Thus the "Cogidunus Rex" of Tacitus, the "Fidissimus Socius," would necessarily become the "Tib. Claudius Cogidunus" of a romanized inscription.

The same Panvinius, when treating "De nominibus mulierum," clearly proves, that during the later years of the republic, and the first century of the Empire, no Roman lady was known by any other legal name, than that of the "Gens"—name of her race; for example, that every female of the "Gens Julia," was necessarily a Julia; that if there were two daughters, the elder would be Julia Major, the younger would be Julia Minor; that if the female offshoots were more numerous, they would be called "Prima, Secundilla, Tertia, or Tertulla, &c." Hence, it is clear that nothing could have more astonished a contemporary of Cato, whose "Gens" name was "Porcia" than that a Porcius" should have two daughters, one called Julia, the other Marcia.

Yet Addison, learned in ancient medals as he was, was guilty of this gross mistake. Nor, as far as I have been able to ascertain, was there sufficient practical sholarship in Britain at the time to censure this error. Even Dennis was not sharp-sighted enough to discern it.

vices then performed, that Cogidunus earned the name of "fidissimus socius," which he retained to the last. Had he joined in the insurrection, and assailed Suetonius in the rear, the Roman Empire in Britain would probably for the time have been destroyed. But if his services to the Romans were thus distinguished, the Britons, who regarded Caractacus and Boadicea as national heroes, would hold him and his in horror and detestation. Hence his unflinching fidelity to the Romans, and the nurture of his daughter in the language, habits, and manners of Greece and Rome.

It is a curious fact, and very illustrative of the divorce that has been established, during the last century, between certain branches of knowledge, that none of the illustrators of our ecclesiastical history, with whom I am acquainted, even allude to this Chichester Inscription. The question has been examined by the Reverend J. Hughes, in a well written book patronized by the late Bishop Burgess. It has been also examined by the Reverend J. Thackeray, whose two volumes on the ecclesiastical state of Great Britain, under the Roman Emperors, was published about two years ago, under the patronage of the present Bishop of Llandaff; by the Reverend Mr. Rees, in his very valuable work on the Welsh Saints; and most particularly by the Author of Fragment 607, in the fourth volume of Taylor's edition of Calmet's Dictionary, published 1841;[1] and yet all these writers have overlooked this famous inscription, although

[1] The same ignorance is shown in rather an ambitious work, (whose Author died at an early age) called Stone-henge, or the Romans in Britain, in which Claudia and Pudens are introduced as the principal characters. Nor would it be right to exclude from the same list the name of a much greater authority, that of Dr. Burton, who classes the fable of Claudia, the British Christian Princess, with the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, the supposed founder of Glastonbury Abbey.—See Dr. Burton's Lectures. Eccles. Hist. Edit. 3, page 215.

neither the Philosophical Transactions, where Gale's account first appeared, nor Horsley's Britannia Romana, are very rare books.

The question was left where Usher and Stillingfleet left it, grounded on some plausible, although no certain grounds. Some light I hope like the truth has been thrown upon it in the present paper, and we may be allowed to regard the Claudia of St. Paul, and the Claudia of Martial, as Claudia the daughter of a British chief, the capital of whose dominions was the modern Chichester,—the ancient Regnum.

But before the English public can be brought cordially to accept such a conclusion, it must be taught to reject the impressions which it has imbibed, respecting the ancient inhabitants of Britain. It must not believe assertions, however respectable the author may be, which state that the ancient Britons bore the same relation to the Romans, as the Australians, New Zealanders, and Red Indians bear to modern Englishmen. It must first learn that the Romans and all the tribes of Ancient Italy, with the exception of the Greeks and Tuscans, were a race cognate with the inhabitants of Illyricum, Pannonia, Gaul, Spain, and of the British Islands, so that when the walls of separation, reared by political or religious causes, were thrown down, the various individuals of this common race were easily moulded into one form, and coalesced into one community. I intend, in a second paper, to be submitted to the Council of the Society, to examine this question more minutely, and to show the close connexion of race among all the tribes above mentioned. In the mean time, the following passages, quoted from Tacitus, may serve to show, that although it is not either a probable, or even, morally speaking, a possible fact, that a British Howard or Percy should choose a young savage of the New Zealand or Australian race, to be the honoured mother of the future

Patricians of his family, there does not exist the same difficulty in imagining that a Roman Senator should have chosen a British maiden to be the partner of his life, and the mother of his Roman descendants.

The first passage is contained in chapter 24, Book xi, of the Annals. It purports to report the speech of the Emperor Claudius to the Senate, when he proposed that all the honours of the state should, without exception, be thrown open to the transalpine Gauls.

"My ancestors, of whom Clausus, by birth a Sabine, was the first Roman Progenitor, and who was at the same time made a Roman citizen, and enrolled among the Patricians, incite me to administer the government on similar principles, and to transplant into this city all that is elsewhere illustrious. For I am aware, that the Julii being Albans, the Coruncani being Camerini, and the Portii Tusculans, and to omit ancient precedents, that other families from Etruria, Lucania, and the whole of Italy were admitted into the Senate; finally that the city itself, with its rights and privileges, was extended to the Alps, so that not only individuals, but whole districts and nations, coalesced into our name. Then, at last, we had real peace at home, and were formidable abroad, when the nations between the Po and the Alps were received as citizens; and when our legions scattered as it was truly alleged over the face of the world, and inadequately recruited from our own resources, were allowed to be invigorated by the stoutest warriors of our Provinces. Has the state any reason to regret, that the Balbi from Spain; other illustrious families from Gallia Narbonensis, were admitted into the Senate? Their descendants are still among us, nor do they yield to ourselves in patriotism. What proved the ruin of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, superior as they were in arms, except the fact that they

treated the vanquished as aliens, and consequently to be excluded from equal rights and privileges. But our founder, Romulus, was so wise a statesman, that he vanquished many tribes in the morning, and made them his fellow-citizens in the evening of the same day. Strangers have reigned over us. To entrust high offices to the sons of Freedmen is not, as many ignorantly suppose, a practice of late introduction, but supported by frequent precedents among our ancestors. But some will object, We have fought against the Senones. The Volsci and Æqui never, forsooth, met us in battle array. But we were taken by the Gauls; true, but we also have given hostages to the Tuscans, and passed under the Samnite yoke. Yet, should we review all our wars, the Gallic war was much the shortest in duration. Since the conquest, the peace on their part has been continuous and faithfully observed. Let them, intimately connected as they are with us in manners, in arts, and by intermarriages, rather bring over to us their gold and power, than keep it separate among themselves." The law was passed, and the grand-children of the Gallic chiefs, who had for ten years resisted Julius Cæsar with so much gallantry and perseverance, were admitted into the Roman Senate. Tacitus adds, "The Ædui first acquired the senatorial right in Rome; this distinction was allowed to them on account of their ancient alliance, and because they alone of all the Gauls claim to be brothers of the Roman people."

To prove that the rights and privileges bestowed upon the Gauls by this law of Claudius were not nominal, but real and practical, we have only to refer to another speech recorded by Tacitus.

When the death of Nero, the last Emperor within whose veins flowed the Julian blood, had sent the Roman world in wild chase for a new master, under whose name and power

they might rest in peace, the Gauls of that day, partly tempted, and partly forced by their German neighbours, began to dream of an "Imperium Galliarum," and commenced a movement productive of ruin and misery to themselves. Then appeared upon the stage the noblest chiefs of their race, men rich in long pedigrees, and broad lands, anxious to have an Empire of their own. As their great patrons were the Julian Family, we read that almost every individual chieftain mentioned bore the name of Julius. These were Julius Vindex, the first who adventured to disturb the insane domination of Nero, Julius Sacrovir, Julius Sabinus, so well known for his wife's fidelity, and his long cave-life,—Julius Tutor, Julius Auspex, Julius Briganticus, and others. All these are represented to have been the indigenous chiefs of Gaul, although bearing these Roman "nomina" and "cognomina."

After the insane attempt of the Gauls had ended in utter failure, Petilius Cerealis, Vespasian's legate, called the chiefs of the Lingones and Treviri, the leading offenders, into his presence, and is reported to have addressed them in the following terms. And if we have not the "ipsissima verba" of Cerealis, we may be certain that we have what is not less valuable, the sentiments of Tacitus, thus recorded. "I am not a practised speaker, and it is in arms that I have asserted the superiority of the Roman people. But as words have the greatest influence over you, and advantages and disadvantages are estimated not according to their own nature, but by the declamation of your factious leaders, I have determined to say a few words which, defeated as you have been, it will be more useful for you to hear than for me to speak. Your own territory, and the rest of Gaul, were entered by the Roman generals from no ambitious views, but because your ancestors, reduced by their own discord to the

verge of destruction, invoked their aid. The Germans, who had been called in to give their assistance, had reduced both their allies and enemies to the same state of slavery. All know how often we fought against the Cimbri and Teutones, with what toils and results our German wars have been attended. Nor do we occupy the banks of the Rhine, for the protection of Italy; but that no new Ariovistus may become the master of Gaul. Do you believe that Civilis and his Batavi, and the other nations north of the Rhine, have kindlier feeling towards you than their fathers and grandfathers entertained for your ancestors? The same causes will always incite the Germans to enter Gaul, the same lust and avarice, the same desire of emigration, that they may exchange their desolate marshes, for this most fertile of soils, and become your masters; in the meantime independence and other plausible watchwords are fallaciously held forth, but the truth is, no one ever coveted domination for himself, or the subjection of others, without using the very same specious terms.

Until the Gauls became part of the Roman world, they were incessantly harassed by wars and tyrannical victors; we, although so often provoked, have exacted from you only the means of preserving the peace.—Peace cannot be secured without an armed force; an armed force must receive pay; that pay cannot be procured except by taxation; this taxation is consequently your only grievance. You have everything else in common with us. *You for the most part are the commanders of our legions, you yourselves govern these and other provinces. Between you and us there is no separation, no exclusion.* * * Henceforwards love and cherish that peace and that city, in which you the vanquished, and we the victors enjoy equal rights. Let the knowledge you possess respecting both your wars and peace with us warn you, not to prefer contumacy and ruin to obedience and security."

This speech was delivered only five and twenty years after Claudius had passed the law, by which the Gauls were incorporated on equal terms with the Quirites themselves into the Roman community. Claudius, acting upon the principles developed in his speech, and emulous as he himself stated of the founder of Rome, made Cogidunus a Roman citizen, and his own legate in the administration of the states committed to his care.

Nor can it be objected, that the Britons were less willing than the Gauls to unite themselves, on the same terms, with their Roman conquerors. They were confessedly of the same race as their continental neighbours, their religion was the same, their manners similar, and even between their languages, according to Tacitus, there was but a trifling difference. The same author, whose authority in this respect from his connection with Agricola, whose knowledge of the Britons from a continued residence, as Governor during eight years, was complete, ought to be supreme, and not to be set aside by any thing adduced by Dion Cassius, Herodian, or other Greek Rhetoricians.

In the twenty-first chapter of the life of Agricola, we have the following incontrovertible testimony, to the facility with which Britons adopted the civilization of Rome, not to be the less valued for the sneering tone which commonly marks the most profound observations of Tacitus.

"The following winter was spent in carrying into execution most salutary measures; for in order that a people scattered in hamlets and unpolished, and on that account the more prone to war, might, by enjoyments, acquire peaceful and gentle habits, he advised individuals, he aided communities, to build with care, Temples, Forums, and private houses. He praised those willing to adopt his measures, he rebuked the reluctant; and thus a desire of distinction

acted instead of compulsion. He took care that the sons of the chiefs should be taught the liberal arts, and was inclined to prefer the natural talents of the Britons to the studious pursuits of the Gauls. So that those who a short time before would not learn the Roman language, became eager to be Roman orators. Hence also sprung a desire to dress like us, and even 'the toga' was generally adopted; and by degrees they became fond of our luxurious vices of Baths, of Porticoes, and of elegant banquets. And they in their want of experience called that 'civilization,' which in reality was only an instrument of Slavery."

The charge which Julius Cæsar brings against all the Britons of a promiscuous and incestuous intercourse of fathers and brothers, with the wives of the common families, ought to be noticed, as it is not likely that a nation thus educated could worthily furnish a wife for a Roman Senator. But besides that, the silence of Tacitus respecting any such practice, and his frequent records of the extreme attachment of the Britons to their individual wives and children, are of themselves a sufficient answer to the charge. I have no hesitation in saying that the law of inheritance to the landed property among the ancient Britons, and which Cæsar failed perfectly to comprehend, led the great Captain into this error.

The inheritance of a sept or tribe, was called the "Gwely," the "Lectus," or bed of that tribe. "Gwely cenedl," lectus gentis, as may be seen in Owen's Dictionary. Now supposing such a family inheritance was to fall into the hands of one chief, and he was to leave six sons. The inheritance would, according to law, be divided between the six. This division continued undisturbed until the last survivor of the six died. Then a new distribution of the whole inheritance might be enforced by law, according to which all the children of the six brothers would be entitled to an equal share,

whether they were many or few. A confused and ill understood account of this customary law, and the name by which the common inheritance was called, was in all probablity the original cause of Cæsar's mistake. As the religion of the Gauls was the same as that of the Britons, the two nations could not have differed so essentially on such an important point, nor has any such charge been brought against the Britons and their Druids of this serious nature, except such as has been founded on this statement of Cæsar. I prefer this explanation to the supposition that the invader chose to libel gratuitously the nation, which, without any sufficient cause he had assailed, not with impunity, nor yet with his usual success.

But there is another question connected with Claudia, which requires investigation. There can be no doubt that the Claudia of St. Paul was a Christian; have we any grounds for supposing that the Claudia of Martial, and the daughter of the British Chief Cogidunus, was also a Christian? Proofs positive we have none; but a number of facts, which render it highly probable that she was so.

In the first place, the Epigrams themselves seem to testify, that there was something in the character of the persons whose nuptials, and subsequent connubial happiness, Martial has celebrated, capable of restraining his Muse, usually licentious on such subjects. He seems compelled to reverence those feelings of soberness, piety, and chastity, which he might respect, but did not practice.

The very Epithet "Sanctus," which he applies to Pudens in the second Epigram, is rarely applied by good authors to individuals, except distinguished for their religious rank, or great purity of conduct; it seems to be a mere Latin translation of the Greek "Ἅγιος," the favorite denomination of a Christian in the first ages, and that Martial gave him that

Epithet, by which as a member of the Christian community, Pudens would himself wish to be distinguished. Again, when we call to mind how loose the nuptial bond had become among the great families of Rome, and how common it was even for the noblest Matrons to become successively the wives of fresh husbands, without waiting for death to dissolve the preceding contract; it would seem to me that Martial thought, that the nuptial bond of Pudens and Claudia was confirmed by the doctrines of a creed, according to which death alone could dissolve the sacred tie.

But without insisting strongly on this argument, we may be able to infer, that the Claudia of Martial was connected with a circle at Rome, the members of which were imbued with Christian, rather than Roman principles.

The Rufus, to whom Martial sent his first Epigram, was at the time, evidently, not at Rome. He was absent owing to some cause or other, and yet, from the very terms of the Epigram, he must have well known the Claudia, "The stranger," to whom Martial referred. Pudens was the friend of Martial, but it was his marriage with the foreigner that was a subject of interesting news to Rufus. Hence, Martial's metaphors upon the propriety and equality of the match, which he would have hardly done, had not Rufus been already persuaded, that the foreign Claudia was in every respect worthy of her husband's alliance.

The Epithet "Rufina," the second name of our Claudia, would naturally lead us to suspect that this name would be given her, because she had been adopted, or *quasi* adopted, into a gens, distinguished by the Cognomen Rufus.

In the thirty-second chapter, book thirteenth of the Annals of Tacitus, we find the following passage, which may serve to guide us in this enquiry. "Pomponia Græcina, an illustrious lady, the wife of Plautius, who, on his return from

Britain, had entered Rome with the honours of an ovation, was accused of being tainted with a foreign superstition, and the truth or falsehood of the charge was left to her husband's decision. He investigated, according to the ancient form, in the presence of her own blood-relations, this charge, affecting the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. This Pomponia lived to a great age, but in continued melancholy. For after the death of Julia, the daughter of Drusus, she lived for forty years, without throwing aside her mourning dress, or her heart-felt grief."

This trial took place in the year A. D. 57, fourteen years after the death of Julia. Pomponia must have therefore lived until the year A. D. 82 or 83. Her Cognomen Græcina is a very rare one; we find it ascribed to Julius, the father of Agricola, and to an associate of Sertorius: I can find no other trace of the name. It does not occur in the "Fasti," and was probably a merely personal designation, as it certainly was of the father of Agricola, on account of his learning, and Greek studies; it perished with him, nor was it transmitted to his family. For a similar example, we need not travel beyond her own family, since the well known Pomponius of the Augustan age, from his love of Grecian studies, and a long residence at Athens, received the cognomen of Atticus, by which he is still known to this day; we may, therefore, safely infer that our Pomponia was also thus called from her attachment to Greek studies, and pursuits. That her real cognomen was Rufus, is very possible, as we find from the following observations of Pitiscus, under the name Rufus. "Rufus was also a cognomen of the Pomponii. Among them was L. Pomponius Rufus, who might have been the grand-father of the Quintus Pomponius Rufus, of whom there exists a record, in a bronze tablet, bearing the following inscription." Here Pitiscus copies an inscription

testifying, that in the reign of Domitian a Pomponius Rufus bore a high military command in Dalmatia." He adds, "From this Quintus Pomponius was descended C. Pomponius Rufus, mentioned in an ancient inscription, still extant at Rome, as being colleague in the Consulship with Cn. Pompeius Ferox." Here then we have certain proofs, that the Pomponii Rufi were for many generations a distinguished family at Rome, a member of which might well be called by Tacitus, "Insignis femina," and that one of the family did in the reign of Domitian actually bear a high military command in Dalmatia.[1]

If, therefore, our British Claudia was a Rufina, under whose protection would her father naturally have placed her, but in the family of Pomponia, possibly a Rufa, the wife of that Aulus Plautius, who had been so long governor of Britain, and with whom he must have served so many campaigns, and owing to whose friendship he had been received, not only into close alliance with Rome, but also admitted as a full citizen, and as a friend, and client king. Should this supposition be true, then all difficulties vanish. Claudia the British Princess, received into the family of the Christian Matron Pomponia, might naturally herself become a Chris-

[1] The Inscription states that Domitian, then Consul for the sixteenth time, gave privileges of a certain kind to the soldiers, who after serving for twenty-five years and more, were then serving in Dalmatia, under a Quintus Pomponius Rufus.

According to Fynes Clinton, the sixteenth consulship of Domitian occurred in the year A.D. 92. The Pomponius Rufus here mentioned was then high up in the "decursus honorum," and might have been the "Young Rufus," Martial's friend, to whom the first Epigram, concerning the marriage of Pudens and Claudia, was sent.

N. B. A judicious friend advised me not to advance this argument respecting the origin of the term "Rufina," but to allow it to be supposed that our Claudia was like the other Gauls, Britons, and Germans of the day, rather red-haired, and consequently so called. But I could not follow his advice, because I think there is some weight in my historic argument.

tian, without any supposed necessity of her being a Christian before she left Britain, or that her British kindred were previously Christians.

One objection here meets us. If Pomponia was a Christian, and on this point all the commentators on this passage, both Continental and British, are unanimous, and that the description of the "foreign superstition," of which she was accused can apply only to Christianity, how comes it, that she is not mentioned with the other Christians of St. Paul's Epistles? Perhaps, this objection can be met if we refer to the trial and its result. In the domestic circle, and pressed by all the common charities of social life, her faith may have failed, and she, by throwing upon the domestic altar a few grains of incense in honour of her paternal Gods, may have avoided the scandal, which her confession of the truth would have necessarily brought upon *two* noble families at least.

This would have saved her from the public disgrace, but could not have saved herself from the reproaches of her own conscience, and her after life spent in solitude, in grief, and continued gloom, was, perhaps, the only expiation which she could offer for her infirm conformity to the practices of the dominant religion. Hence we account for the silence of the Apostle, respecting a name, which could not be recorded among Christians, without painful reminiscences, or perhaps danger to its owner.

In addition to the proofs hitherto adduced, drawn from classical sources; we have also a confirmation of the truth of the propositions, which I have endeavoured to substantiate, based partly upon the traditions of the early church, as preserved by the Church of Rome, and partly upon British documents.

And here, perhaps, should be introduced some remarks not very popular among the Protestants of our day, but which, n evertheless, seem to be true.

Among those who pride themselves on being called Christians, according to the Bible, and the Bible alone, there has practically prevailed a wish to make a sad disruption, between the Bible History itself, and the historical traditions, which connect that history with the actual events which immediately succeeded its inspired termination.

In proof of this, I can bring no more striking example than the fact that it remained for me to embody, in one Essay, the details of my present subject.

It was not so of old; and the writings of Origen, of Clemens Alexandrinus, of Jerome, of Augustine, of Chrysostom, and of many others, remain to show, how compatible with a pure faith, and the practice of all the Christian virtues, is the most profound knowledge of the history of mankind at all recorded periods.

In the Anglican Church, we can quote the names of Usher, and Stillingfleet, as worthy of being ranked under the same category as the above mentioned Fathers.

The great body of modern Christians, to whom I have above alluded, seem to look upon every testimony recorded, concerning the Acts and existence of the Apostles, of Apostolical men and their successors, which is not to be found in the New Testament, with sceptical eye, and to regard all such extraneous testimony as altogether corrupt, and overlaid by the monstrous and discordant legends of the church of Rome, and consequently rendered worthless.

That the truth has in various instances been so corrupted, and overlaid, no man can deny; but it may also be confidently affirmed, that a series of facts of vital importance to the history of Christianity, may clearly be traced in the still extant church documents, which no legend can overlay, no tradition so corrupt, as to prevent the truth from being seen. Had this school, accepting all the facts recorded respecting

the church, and its first Christians, in the New Testament as certain and unimpeachable, called upon its pupils, critically to examine the great mass of traditionary records still extant, and to separate the probable from the improbable, facts from their distorted representations, and later additions, it would have acted judiciously, and left an ample field to the investigator of Church antiquities, a field in which many a precious jewel still lies buried, and which might be brought to light with advantage, in confirming and elucidating the truth. Such investigations have nothing in common with the doctrinal truth, but are intimately connected with the historical record of the Christian religion.

It should never be forgotten, that between the crucifixion of our Saviour, and the accession of Constantine to the throne of the Cæsars, only two hundred and forty years had elapsed; that during those years, no revolution took place capable of destroying the Christian traditions, respecting the fate and the leading characteristics of their great leaders; that the Christians of that age, whatever destruction might have befallen authentic documents, were as capable as we are of impressing all such events upon the memory of their children, and that such traditions, at the accession of Constantine, concerning their martyrs and confessors, were as fresh as are to this day the memories of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, in the Anglican; of Knox, and his Co-Reformers, in the Scottish Church.

In our controversies with Romanists, we must not, therefore, throw aside as worthless such well established traditions, but examine them fearlessly yet critically, sift the chaff from the wheat, the superinduced legend from its foundation in fact, and thus reconstruct for the Protestant believer, a probable history of the first centuries of Christianity; in short, perform for our own, far more important

ecclesiastical history, the office which Niebuhr has so successfully done for early Rome.

If this be not done, we shall certainly in our disputes with Romanism be worsted in a most important field of controversy; and if worsted on this ground, the time will come when the denial of such important facts, as may hereafter be authentically proved, will recoil upon our own heads, shake the faith of our most judicious followers in the soundness of our system, and induce them to regard us as predetermined sceptics, anxious for no other evidence than may serve to confirm us in our own preconceived opinions, however slight their foundation on facts may be, however contrary to probable testimony they may be proved to be.

From these ancient traditions, I now proceed to quote certain passages, which appear to confirm my line of argument, and to show that the Christianity of the British Claudia and her circle, was not an inert fact, but fruitful in blessings to her native land, and to her brethren according to the flesh. All these are to be found in Usher's "Primordia Ecclesiæ Britannicæ." The first quotation I make, is from a letter of Pius,[1] who was elected Bishop of Rome, A.D. 142; his words are "Those Presbyters, who having been educated by the Apostles reached even our times, with whom we shared the word of faith, having been summoned by their Lord, are kept in their eternal resting places. * * Saint Timotheus and Marcus, after a good fight, passed from

[1] The letters of Pius, which I have quoted in the body of the Essay, are by many judicious critics regarded as forgeries, but as forgeries of very ancient date. I myself will give no opinion on the subject, but have no hesitation in stating that forgeries of this character have their historical value, because they testify to the belief, that certain persons, whose names are introduced into the forged document, were supposed in the forger's age to have borne the same relation to each other, which the Author of the forged document decribes; a real counterfeit being a true imitation of a missing other, is, historically speaking, as valuable as the genuine coin.

this world." Previous to quoting this passage, Usher remarks, "Here we must note, that in addition to the Timotheus, to whom the two Epistles of St. Paul were written, there is also mentioned by writers another Timotheus, also a disciple of St. Paul, whose life is said to have been prolonged to the reign of Antoninus Pius, and to the Pontificate of the first Pius."

Soon after, the Archbishop thus writes. "In an ancient Martyrology of the Roman Church, which Ado has prefixed to his own, the day (Natalis) of Novatus, the brother of Timotheus, a Presbyter, both of whom were taught by the Apostles, is said to be kept at Rome on the 19th of June." The same is to be found in the Martyrologies of Beda, Usuard, Ado, and Notker; under the same day Usuard adds, "that the sacred virgins of Christ, Potentiana and Pudentiana, were the sisters of these brothers;" and I find the same facts recorded, not only in the legend of Jacobus Jannesis, and the Catalogue of the Saints, by Petrus Esquilinus, and the Chronicle of Antoninus, but also in the New Roman Martyrology. * * The words of Petrus Esquilinus are these. "Novatus, a disciple, was sprung from a very illustrious family of the city of Rome, being the son of Pudens, a disciple of St. Paul, and being the brother of Timotheus; their sisters were Potentiana and Praxedes." The words of the Roman Martyrology are these. "On the 19th of June, the 'depositio,' at Rome of Saint Novatus, son of the blessed Pudens, a Senator, and the brother of Saint Timotheus, the Presbyter, and of the holy virgins of Christ, Pudentiana and Praxedes, all of whom were instructed in the faith by the Apostles."

The Archbishop quotes also another passage from Petrus[1]

[1] Page 31.

Esquilinus in these words. "Lucius, a blessed confessor, a king of Britain, was baptized by Timotheus, a disciple of St. Paul." Another from Johannes Nauclerus, who thus writes. "I find in the legend of Saint Timotheus 'Apostoli,' that he went into Britain, and there converted Lucius, the king of that nation, with all the island to the faith in Christ."

In these bare notices of facts, notices which were registered long before the inferences to be drawn from them could have been even imagined; we find that there was a living tradition, that Pudens had two sons of a holy and Christian character, that their very names partook of the same nature, that one was called Timotheus, and the other Novatus, that they had been instructed by the Apostles themselves. Now, what more unlikely that in these primitive times any other than a recorder of truth should have affixed such names to the sons of an illustrious Roman Senator? What more probable, if the previous line of argument is true, than that one of the children of the Christian Pudens and Claudia, should have received the name of Timotheus, to whom they sent their brotherly salutation, by the hands of Saint Paul? What more probable than that the other should receive the name of Novatus, the "Renewed," the Regenerate? Or again what difficulty have we in conceiving that one of the sons of Pudens and the British Claudia, should have regarded the country of the British mother, as the vineyard in which he was to be an active workman? Pope Pius speaks of them as persons whom he had known, and with whom he had partaken in the word of faith. This accords with chronology. Pius was made bishop of Rome, A. D. 142. Had Timotheus been born in the year A. D. 67, when Pudens and Claudia were mentioned by Saint Paul, Timotheus would only have been seventy-five years of age at that period. But Pius speaks of them as persons, whom his memory treasured as

furnishing precious reminiscences, rather than as persons, whose society he had lately enjoyed. It is very probable, therefore, that the brothers should have passed to their rest, some twenty or thirty years before the date of his letter. Probably therefore they passed from this life about the year A. D. 120, some fifty years after their parents were mentioned by St. Paul.

But there was another Christian convert, connected with this holy band at Rome, whose name has been preserved by St. Paul, and that is Aristobulus, to whose household the Apostle in writing to the Romans[1] sent his salutations. This Epistle was probably[2] written, either at the end of the year A. D. 57, or the beginning of 58. Archbishop Usher and the Bible Chronology extend the date to the year 60. Dr. Hales confines it to the end of 58 or the beginning of 59; and Rosen Muller, to the end of the year 58. The average of these numbers, will furnish us with the date 59, which is sufficiently accurate for our purpose. It will be observed that the Apostle's salutations were sent to the household of Aristobulus. He himself was therefore probably absent, and this absence was known to the Apostle. Eight years later, when the Epistle to Timothy was written, he must have still been absent; for he is not mentioned among the other Christians then resident in Rome, and known to Timothy. But in the Eubulus, who is joined with Claudia and Pudens, we seem to recognise the representative of his household. It would be difficult to imagine, that in the very

[1] Epistle to the Romans, chapter 16, verse 10.

[2] Horne's Introduction to volume iv, page 353. In this Essay, I rest nothing on the absolute chronology of events, but merely on their succession to each other. Should Mr. Fynes Clinton succeed in making clear all that is at present obscure in the chronology of the separate books of the New Testament, it will be a great advantage to the Ecclesiastical student, but will not interfere with my argument.

narrow circle of Christian converts, then resident, or having their fixed residence at Rome, there could be two leaders, one called Aristobulus, the other Eubulus, without being connected with each other. We know how fond the Greeks were of alluding to the father's name, in imposing one on the son. E. G. "Socrates the son of Sophroniscus," "Nicias the son of Niceratus," "Themistocles the son of Neocles," and many others; it is therefore easy to conceive that Aristobulus and Eubulus bear some such relation to each other. Should we not infer this, we must conclude that the Aristobulus of 59 had perished with all his household, and that a new leader of the name of Eubulus had taken his place. But there remain numerous traditions, to show, that Aristobulus lived long after 59, and was an active preacher of the Gospel; one is sufficient for my present purpose. It is taken from an ancient Greek Martyrology, quoted by Archbishop Usher. "Aristobulus[1] was one of the seventy disciples, and a follower of St. Paul the Apostle, along with whom he preached the Gospel to the whole world, and ministered to him. He was chosen by St. Paul to be the Missionary Bishop to the country of the Britons, a savage and very cruel race. By these he was often beaten, often dragged as a criminal through their market places, yet he persuaded many of them to come to Christ. In consequence of which he was martyred; but not before he had established churches, and ordained Presbyters and Deacons in the island."

But before I proceed further with this part of the argument, it will be convenient to appeal to the traditions of the ancient British Church, which have been preserved in the "Triads and the Pedigrees of the Welsh Saints," works of

[1] Usher, Ec. Brit. Primordia, page 10.

undoubted antiquity, and springing from sources uncontaminated by either mediæval monkery, or by the strong imaginations of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In the eighteenth Triad, we find this notice. "Of the three holy families of the Isle of Britain,[1] the first was the family of Brân the Blessed, the son of Lear the Stammerer. For this Brân first introduced the faith of Christ into this island from Rome, where he had been imprisoned through the treachery of Aregwedd Foeddawg, the daughter of Avarwy, the son of Lud."

And in the thirty-fifth Triad, the following stronger statement. "The three distinguished kings of the Island of Britain. Brân the Blessed, the son of Lear the Stammerer, who first brought into the nation of the Cymry the faith of Christ from Rome, where he was seven years as a hostage for his son Caradoc, whom the Romans had taken prisoner, after he had been betrayed through the allurements, deceit, and treachery of Aregwedd Foeddawg."

In the Silurian Pedigrees of the Saints, we read that Brân was accompanied, in his return from Rome, by two persons,[2] "Illid and Cyndav, men of Israel;" and by another called "Arwystli Hên," or the aged Arwystli, a man of Italy. The name "Arwystli" certainly became a holy name among the Britons. It occurs much later among the list of British Saints, and even a portion of North Wales still bears his name. In composing these British Traditions, we must not expect, except they were copied from the Roman Writers, a suspicious sameness of details. Tacitus has left on record, that Caractacus was captured with his wife, daughter, brothers, and through the treachery of a Bri-

[1] Myvyrian Archaiology, page 61.

[2] Not yet seen by me, but the substance may be seen in Rees's Welsh Saints, an admirable work and trust-worthy in all its assertions.

tish Queen, whom he calls Cartis-mandua. The British Tradition adds to these captives, his father; and I do not see any contradiction in this statement. I might here indulge in a long digression to show that the Britons in critical times, like their cognate tribes on the Continent, used to elect their war-chief not according to his birth, but according to his fitness for military command; that in such emergencies, the father himself, the civil ruler, might be set aside, and the military authority be vested in the son. Under such circumstances, the active energetic leader would naturally be regarded by foreign enemies as the only legitimate ruler, and be so described.

The only objection to this supposition rests upon the testimony of Dion Cassius, (a worthless authority on such a point,) who says, that Caractacus was one of the three sons of Cunobelinus, the chief of the Trinobantes. But Tacitus represents Caractacus as a Silurian chief, whose dominions were, geographically speaking, far removed from the Trinobantes. Dion Cassius records that one of the sons of Cunobelinus was a traitor, another Togodumnus slain early in the struggle against the invaders, and that Caractacus was the sole surviving son. But Tacitus writes that brothers of the same Caractacus were captured along with him; and thus utterly destroys the authority of Dion.

These active warriors, together with Caractacus himself, would for state-reasons be detained at Rome, while the less warlike and peaceable members of the family might be sent back to Britain, to proclaim to their countrymen the generosity and clemency of the conquerors. In short, it is difficult to account for the invention, so to speak, of a father of the great Briton, the hero of his native land, except upon the supposition that he really existed, and was sent back by the conquerors. It must also be remarked, that the British

Tradition records that Brân, and his retinue, were sent back after a captivity of seven years. If the capture of Caractacus took place as some chronologers affirm in the year A. D. 51, the return would take place in the year 58; if according to others in 52, the return would be in the year 59. According to the British Tradition, Brân was accompanied in his return by Arwystli Hên, whom the Silurian Pedigree of Saints describes as being "The Chaplain or Confessor of Brân.

In applying these facts to our present argument, I prefer, for many reasons, to adduce the following passage from the works of a late writer,[1] rather than to advance my own inferences. "In our humble judgment, the resemblance between the British name Arwystli and the Greek Aristobulus, deserves more consideration than it has hitherto received. It is certain that the formation of his name is according to the analogy of the British language. It is certain also that the Apostle does not salute Aristobulus himself personally and directly, but those related to him.

The expression employed by the Apostle implies further, that Aristobulus was not at Rome, when this Epistle was composed, or when it was expected to reach Rome; and if, as is customary, we date this Epistle A. D. 58 or 59, it reduces within narrow limits the question, whether Aristobulus accompanied Brân to Britain. If Brân were sent to Rome A. D. 52, and kept there seven years, we are brought to A. D. 59, for the time of his release. It was very late in 58, or early in 59, when St. Paul sent off his Epistle to the Romans. It appears by the breaks in the last chapter, that he laid it aside, and resumed it several times, and that he re-

[1] The author of the Fragment, 609, in Taylor's edition of Calmet's Dictionary, volume iv, page 265, eighth edition.

tained it to the moment of his (or its) departure from Corinth, where it was written. If then St. Paul had, at this time, intelligence of the intention of Aristobulus to quit Rome for Britain, or of his having actually done so very lately, his mode of expression is accounted for correctly and completely. It would be truly interesting, could we state this matter circumstantially, to find that Aristobulus quitted Rome in A. D. 58, leaving part of his family behind him; that part of the family of Caractacus, remaining at Rome, were joined by St. Paul on his first arrival in that city A.D. 60, and that they are mentioned by him when writing to Timothy, during his second residence at Rome.

It appears by the Dictionary,[1] article second, Aristobulus, that the Greeks say this preacher "was sent to England," where he laboured very much, made many converts, and at last died. As it is impossible that the Greeks should have known any thing about the British Triads, or that, on the other hand, the writer of the triads should have known any thing about the Greeks, these witnesses appear to be not only very distant, but perfectly distinct and independent; their combined testimony is therefore the more striking. And it may now be asserted, with the utmost appearance of truth, that whoever were employed in introducing Christianty into

[1] On referring to the piece in the English translation of Calmet, the word is not England but Britain. I have not the original Calmet, but if the word here is "Angliam," Calmet was probably quoting from a Fragment, published in the name of Heleca, bishop of Saragossa; the passage as quoted by Usher page 9, runs thus:—"The Britons celebrate the memory of many martyrs, especially of Aristobulus, one of the seventy-two disciples, * * who visited Rome, along with Peter. Thence, after leaving 'his household,' (domesticis suis) he was sent as bishop 'in Angliam,' where he fell a martyr in the second year of Nero, the most cruel of Emperors."

If "in Angliam" was a slip of the pen, it shows how easily a writer unconsciously writes down the familiar modern instead of the real name, a mistake nevertheless which is fatal to the authority of him who writes it.

Britain, Aristobulus was one of the earliest missionaries, and under the royal protection of the Silurian Princes."

It will be seen that the writer of these very acute observations, knew nothing of the Claudia, the daughter of Cogidunus, and that with all preceding ecclesiastical writers he regarded the Claudia of St. Paul as a daughter of Caractacus. But if my argument is good, we have a much more interesting series of circumstances. Aristobulus must have been well known to all the leading Christians at Rome, to Brân and his Christian associates, the representatives of the still independent Britons, as well as to Claudia and Pudens, the representatives of the romanized Britons. In their common Christianity, each party would forget their provincial feuds. These Christian converts, in that age, would see in their brethren according to the faith, neither Greek nor Barbarian, neither bond nor free, but one holy community. Consequently Aristobulus, nominated by St. Paul, would set out on his mission, not only with the Apostolical commission, but with strong recommendations from Claudia and Pudens to the king of the Regni, from Pomponia to the Roman believers in Britain, and all these confirmed and supported by the presence and friendship of the Christianized Prince of the Silures; never apparently did a mission set out under better auspices, and never perhaps, as the result proved, was a mission more successful. Nothing now remains but that a summary be given of the line of arguments.

We know, on certain evidence, that in the year A. D. 67, there were at Rome two Christians, named Claudia and Pudens. That a Roman, illustrious by birth and position, married a Claudia, a "stranger" or "foreigner," who was also a British maiden; that an inscription was found in the year 1723, at Chichester, testifying that the supreme ruler of that place was a Tib. Claud. Cogidunus; that a Roman, by

name "Pudens, the son of Pudentinus, was a Land-holder under this ruler;" that it is impossible to account for such facts, without supposing a very close connexion between this British chief and his Roman subject; that the supposition that the Claudia of Martial, a British maiden, married to a Roman Pudens, was a daughter of this British chief, would clear all difficulties; that there was a British chief to whom, about the year A. D. 52, some states, either in or closely adjacent to the Roman Province, were given to be held by him in subjection to the Roman Authority; that these states occupied, partly at least, the ground covered by the counties of Surrey and Sussex; that the capital of these states was "Regnum," the modern Chichester; that it is very probable that the Emperor Claudius, in accordance with his known practice and principles, gave also his own name to this British chief, called by Tacitus, Cogidunus; that after the termination of the Claudian dynasty, it was impossible that any British chief adopted into the Roman community could have received the names, "Tib. Claudius;" that during the same period there lived at Rome a Pomponia, a matron of high family, the wife of Aulus Plautius, who was the Roman governor of Britain, from the year A. D. 43 until the year 52; that this lady was accused of being a votary of a foreign superstition; that this foreign superstition was supposed by all the commentators of Tacitus, both British and Continental, to be the Christian religion; that a flourishing branch of the Gens Pomponia, bore in that age the Cognomen of Rufus; that the Christianity of Pomponia being once allowed, taken in connexion with the fact that she was the wife of A. Plautius, renders it highly probable that the daughter of Ti. Claudius Cogidunus, the friend of A. Plautius, if she went to Rome, would be placed under the protection of this Pomponia, would be educated like a Roman

lady, and be thus made an eligible match for a Roman Senator; and that when fully adopted into the social system of Rome, she should take the Cognomen Rufina, in honour of the Cognomen of her patroness; and that, as her patroness was a Christian, she also, from the privileges annexed to her location in such a family, would herself become a Christian; that the British Claudia, married to the Roman Pudens, had a family, three sons and daughters certainly, perhaps six according to some commentators; that there are traditions in the Roman Church, that a Timotheus, a Presbyter, a holy man and a Saint, was a son of Pudens, the Roman Senator; that he was an important instrument in converting the Britons to the faith in Christ; that intimately connected with the narrow circle of Christians then living at Rome, was an Aristobulus, to whom the Christian Claudia and Pudens of St. Paul must have been well known; that the traditions of the Greek Church of the very earliest period record, that this Aristobulus was a successful preacher of Christianity in Britain; that there are British traditions that the return of the family of Caractacus into Britain was rendered famous by the fact that it brought with it into our island a band of Christian missionaries, of which an Aristobulus was a leader; that we may suppose that, upon Christian principles, the Christianized families of both Cogidunus and Caractacus should have forgotten, in their common faith, their provincial animosities, and have united in sending to their common countrymen the word of life, the Gospel of love and peace.[1]

[1] It must be allowed that in the British Traditions, there is no mention made of our Claudia and Pudens, although the Linus with whom they are associated is supposed to be represented by the "Llin" of the Welsh Hagiography, described as a son of Caractacus.

But we ought not to wonder at this; the father of Claudia must have been regarded by the Britons of the day as a traitor to his native country. No honour

I willingly allow that the facts above stated, and the inferences thence deduced, do not amount to a mathematical demonstration, and that there are minds so consituted that upon them they will make no impression. But allowing this, I do believe, that the great body of readers of history, unable to account for such extraordinary coincidences, and prepared coolly to examine the question, and to decide without prejudice, will agree with me that the evidences adduced carry with them so much moral weight, that it is far easier to believe than to disbelieve the conclusions at which I have arrived.

In the meantime it may be truly said, that since Usher and Stillingfleet wrote, strong proofs have been discovered in corroboration of their theory—the stones at Chichester—the Welsh Traditions unknown to them; and should the other fragment of the first stone at Chichester be dug up, I have no doubt, that the certainty of the question will be put beyond the reach of honest discussion; at least I am convinced that more than half the number of facts, which are generally held as historically true, do not rest upon such strong evidence.

nationally speaking, could therefore be given to him in the records of the ancient Britons. This might be wrong, but still very natural. The Rome-residing disciples of St. Paul, the favoured Claudia of the Roman invaders of Britain, and the more patriotic family of Brân and Caractacus, might have combined in sending forth an united mission into Britain. But we ought not to wonder, if the British Christians of the succeeding generations should wilfully forget the services of the romanized Claudia and her friends, and trace their conversion to the family of their great leader, the patriot Caractacus.

Some of my zealous countrymen will have it, that "Claudia Rufina" was merely a Roman mis-nomer, for the mere British words "Gwladys Ruffydd," of which the English would be "Princess strong in the faith." This is of course nonsense. Yet "Gwladys" was a favourite prænomen among our ladies, and Queen Victoria herself is lineally descended from "Gwladys Ddu," "Claudia the Brunette," the sole surviving child of Llewelyn the Great, who by her marriage transferred to the house of Mortimer, her legal right to the Principality of Wales.

COROLLARY.

If so powerful and influential a body of Christians as is described above, exerted themselves in converting the ancient Britons to the true faith, we might naturally expect that their exertions were not without adequate success; and on appealing to history, we find that such was the fact. Gildas, our most ancient Christian authority on this point, writes, that "in the last portion of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar," as we know, "the sun of Christianity beamed upon these islands."

Now it is rather hard to believe that before the invasion of Claudius, which took place according to the commonly received chronology A. D. 43, while according to the same chronology, the crucifixion of our Saviour occurred A. D. 33, the inhabitants of our islands received the true faith.

On the other hand, it is also hard to believe, that Gildas should have erred on this subject; for if we can trust a national tradition on any point, it deserves serious consideration, when it records so important a fact; a fact which would be treasured in the memory of the first recipients of the truth, as their birth day, as the era of their transition from darkness into light, from the errors of Paganism to the truth of the Christian revelation.

But our difficulties on this question will disappear, if we remember that Claudius was known to all the provinces, as a Tiberius, equally with the immediate successor of Augustus. He on all his own coins and inscriptions, was "Tiberius Claudius Nero," and it is only in later history, that the

one was called "Tiberius," the other "Claudius;" we may therefore safely infer that the "Tiberius" of Gildas was he, whom we call "Claudius."

Gildas proceeds to mention, that the faith, although lukewarmly received by the great body of native Britons, was preserved among some in its purity, among others not so purely, until the nine years' persecution of the Tyrant Dioclesian. Now, Dioclesian was elected Emperor A. D. 294, and ceased to reign A. D. 302. In the year 314, only twelve years after the cessation of the great persecution, we know that the British Church was completely organized, and in that year sent three bishops to attend the Council of Arles, the first assembled by civil authority, to decide certain questions regarding a then prevailing heresy. I copy from Thackeray's first volume, the subscription of the British bishops at this council.

"Eborius Episcopus de civitate Eboracensi Provinciæ Britanniæ Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi provinciæ suprascriptæ, Adelfius, Episcopus de civitate coloniâ Londinensium," (more probably "colonia legionensium, or colonia legion, ii. i. e. Caerleon upon Usk.") It would be

[1] The following inscription, (see Horseley, Brit. Rom. Pri.) shows that to the romanized Britons of the day, he must have been known as a Tiberius Claudius Cæsar. As it was written in his fifth consulship, it must commemorate the victories of his Lieutenants in Britain, ascribed of course to himself. He visited Britain in his third consulship, according to Fynes Clinton, A. D. 43, where he remained only sixteen days. His fifth consulship was, according to the same authority, A. D. 51.

Tib. Claudio Cæsar.
Augusto
Pontifici Max. † † † †
Cos. V. Imp. xvi. P. P.
Senatus Popul. Q. R. quod
Reges Brittaniæ absque
Ulla jactura domuerit
Gentesque barbaras
Primus iudicio subegerit.

easy to prove that these three British bishops were the "Episcopi Primi" of Britain, afterwards represented by the Archbishops of York, Canterbury, and Caer-Leon. We know how the Primacy was transferred, despite of Pope Gregory's orders, from London to Canterbury, and how the Romanist Archbishop of Canterbury, backed by the Norman power, suppressed by violence the Archbishopric of Caer-Leon.

The British Church, thus organized, flourished during the next century, and with the exception of the heresy of Pelagius, her own child, was spotless in the eyes of the Christian World. His heresy was suppressed by the aid of the sister Church of Gaul, which sent forth Germanus to counteract it; and Constantius, who about the year A. D. 500, wrote the life of Germanus, would from his silence lead us to infer that the good work of Germanus did in his day still remain perfect.

This British Church sent forth her missionaries into Ireland, and conveyed into that most interesting island, both the faith of Christ, and the learning of ancient Rome. The Irish Church, the members of which were less hostile to the Saxon invaders, than were the Christian Britons of our island, sent back into Great Britain the true faith, and converted the great body of the Northern Angles, and no small portion of South Britain to Christianty. Nay, more; her missionaries past to the Continent, and christianized a very considerable portion of its inhabitants.

These facts are not practically known; a few individuals may be cognizant of them, but as realities they are unknown to the Anglican public. The Anglican Church with a conduct which to me seems suicidal still clings to St. Augustine, who arrived in England A. D. 596, as the great founder of its Christianty. But I will say no more upon this sore,

very sore subject. I content myself, with concluding my observations with this very striking quotation, from the life of Wilfred,[1] Archbishop of York, whom the romanizing tractarians describe as one of their great heroes.

"The Matter if deeply examined does put on a most serious aspect, much more serious than many Church historians seem to be aware of. It is not too much to say that through the influence of the Scottish Church, and of the Celtic civilization, of which Ireland was the centre, Christendom approached to the very verge of a tremendous schism, almost reaching in extent to the unhappy sacrilege of the sixteenth century. Ireland, Scotland, the northern, perhaps also the midland Shires of England, Bavaria, Belgium, all France to the north of the Loire, with portions of Germany, were impregnated with the spirit of the Scottish Church, traversed by Celtic missionaries, peopled with Celtic monasteries, and accustomed to send their young men to be educated in Irish Colleges. In fact Ireland was a great centre of ecclesiastical civilization, and its temper was vehemently opposed to that of Rome. In many ways, we may trace the Celtic spirit growing and pushing forwards, and disclosing itself more and more, getting consistency through an increasing consciousness of its own strength, until a schism seemed actually threatening. It pleased God of his mercy to interpose; the Roman mission of St. Gregory to the Saxons appears in this point of view an inspiration."

It may be added, that since this Paper was commenced, every contributor to this work of the Lives of the Saints, has apostatized from the Anglican to the Roman Church.

[1] In the Tractarian Lives of the Saints, vol. iii. page 24.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE FOREGOING DISSERTATION.

A.D.

43 Britain invaded by the Romans under Claudius.

52 Cogidunus made a client king.

57 Pomponia Græcina tried by her husband.

58 or 59 } The return of the family of Caractacus into Britain.

— In the same year, the absence of Aristobulus from Rome when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans.

61 The insurrection of Boadicea. Martial certainly at Rome before this year: according to the history of his life, he visited Rome for the first time A. D. 49.

67 St. Paul wrote his second Epistle to Timothy, when Claudia and Pudens were mentioned, according to the common authorities.—Fynes Clinton places the death of St. Paul A. D. 65.

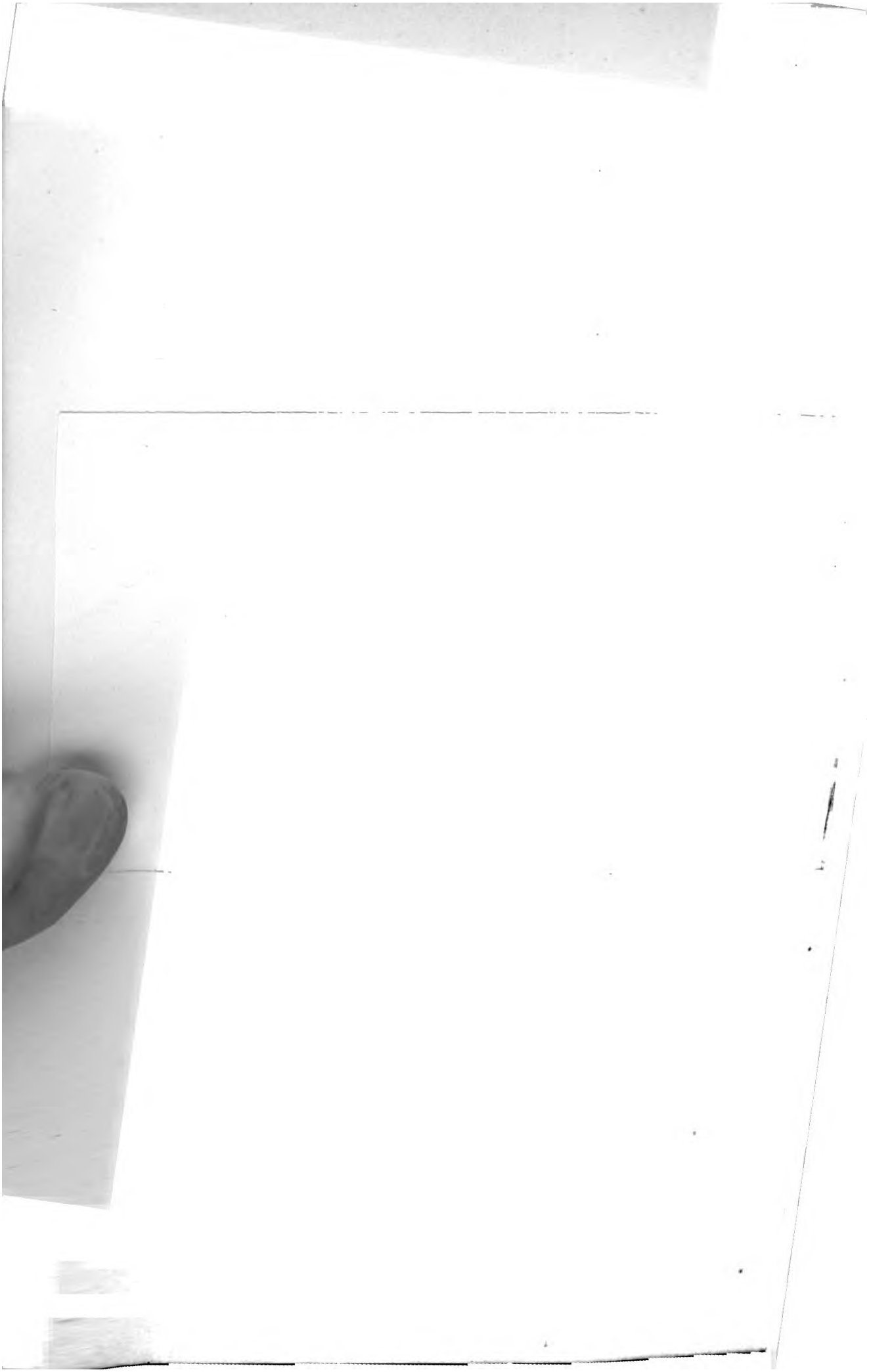
76 Cogidunus must have continued to reign to this period.

83 Pomponia Græcina died.

86 Britain was lost to the Romans, nor was it recovered until late in the time of Trajan. Every thing mentioned in the dissertation must have taken place between A. D. 43 and 86.

The Chronology of this period is very confused, if we examine it particularly, but generally the great outlines are distinct. It is to be hoped, that Fynes Clinton will have rendered what is obscure distinct, what is confused clear. His work has been announced as the next production of the Clarendon Press.

WILLIAM REES, PRINTER, LLANDOVERY.

ERRATA.

Page 7—for Ægeum, read Helice.
Page 10—for "Nor do Myrtles better love the Sea lashed shore" read
" Nor does the Lotus better love the lake, nor the Myrtle the shore."
Ditto—third line, from the bottom, for " Domes" read " Domus."
Page 15—last line, for " Illiricum" read " Illyricum."
Page 41—last line but one, for " other" read " original"
Page 44—line 16, for " Rosen Muller" read " Rosenmuller"
Page 52—third line from the bottom, for " Llin" read " Cy-Llin."