

Tasciovanus of Verulam¹

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I.

AFTER reading the *Agricola* of Tacitus one is driven to the conclusion that the educated Roman of the early Empire was a singularly incurious being. The Britons and Caledonians who figure in that over-rated work are so many properties on a stage set to illustrate the solid worth of the author's hero—and father-in-law.

Of the origin and history of the tribes whom Agricola defeated or conciliated the historian has nothing to say. "What race of men originally inhabited Britain, whether natives or immigrants, is a question which has been little studied, as is natural when barbarians are concerned."² Tacitus obviously made no attempt to study it. He contented himself with a few inferences, some obvious enough such as the connection between the Gauls and the Britons of the opposite coast, others entirely conjectural—e.g., the theory that the red hair and tall stature of the Caledonians showed their German origin—when Britons in the service of Rome or his father-in-law's staff officers might have given him some really valuable information. Agricola himself must have acquired a really good knowledge of the country in which he served with credit for at least eight years, during most of which he commanded the Imperial Forces in the island; yet his experience is represented in his son-in-law's eulogy by a general outline of the stages of the Roman conquest, by the names of four British tribes³—the Caledonians are merely inhabitants of Caledonia—of three British notables and eight localities, not all of

¹ I wish to express my thanks to those who have helped me in the preparation of this paper, notably to Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, at whose suggestion it was written, Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, Dr. Ifor Williams, Dr. R. Flower, the late Mr. G. C. Brooke, Deputy Keeper, the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum and Mr. J. Allen of the same Department, to whose advice I am much indebted.

² Tacitus, *Agricola*, xi.

³ BORESTI, BRIGANTES, ORDOVICES, SILURES. The Brigantes are seemingly confused with the ICENI in a speech which Tacitus puts into the mouth of the Caledonian Calgacus: "a woman could lead the Brigantes" etc. Possibly the ICENI were an offshoot of the Brigantes.

which have been identified.⁴ Such subjects, no doubt, bored most Romans to extinction and were therefore taboo to a historian whose love of epigram and insinuation demanded an alert and appreciative audience. And Agricola may have bored his son-in-law.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that no reference to Tasciovanus, founder of Verulam and father of the great Cunobelin (Cymbeline) who was chief king of the Britons for at least a generation, can be found in any surviving classical text. To English historians he was, until recently, known only from his coins and it was a long time before antiquaries recognized that the legend TASCIA or TASCIO borne by his coins was the name of a ruler. Camden considered that TASCIA betokened a "Tribute Penye" and was derived from the Latin *Taxatio*. Wise, in his Catalogue of ancient coins preserved in the Bodleian,⁵ which was published in 1750, saw the improbability that a coinage should have been struck purely for purposes of taxation or tribute and explained the legend TASC by attributing coins bearing it to the Tascodunitari, a tribe of S.E. Gaul. These pieces had presumably reached Britain in the course of trade with the continent. In 1763 the learned Dr. Pettingal communicated a paper to the Society of Antiquaries on the word TASCIA found upon coins of Cunobelin, and sought to derive it from a word TAG meaning prince or general (cf. the Greek *Tagos*, etc.), and applied to provincial rulers who paid tribute to the Romans and originated the word TASCIA "Task" whence our "Tax" is derived! Pegge, in his "Essay on the coins of Cunobelin," which was published in 1766, decided that the word TASCIA found on these coins preserved the name of TASCIO

⁴ BOADICEA, CALGACUS, COGIDUMNUS. The localities are BODOTRIA and CLOTA, obviously points at the heads of the Firths of FORTH and CLYDE respectively, MONA (Anglesea), the ORCADES Islands (ORKNEYS), THYLE (possibly Fair Island, possibly one of the Southern Shetlands, the estuary of the TANAUS (? TYNEMOUTH) and MONS GRAUPIUS and PORTUS TRUCCULENSIS, neither of which has been certainly identified.

⁵ The Rev. Francis Wise's *Nummorum Antiquorum Scriniis Bodleianis Reconditorum Catalogus*, published in 1750, contains a Plate (No. xvi.) of British coins including examples of those of Tasciovanus. The TASCODUNITARI on whom he fathered these pieces are mentioned in Pliny, iii, c. 4.

“ a provincial artist entertained in the service of . . . Cunobelin.”

It was not until 1844 that Mr. Birch communicated a paper to the Numismatic Society⁶ on “ Certain Coins of Cunobelin,” which bore both that ruler’s name and the name erroneously read till then as TASCE, TASCIOVANIT, etc. Arguing from the contemporary coinage of Augustus Cæsar, Birch proved that TASCE and TASCIOVANIT should be read TASC.F. and TASCIOVANI.F., the E. and T being merely worn forms of the letter F, which was the Latin abbreviation of “ Filius,” i.e., son. His view is now accepted by every numismatist and historian and is confirmed by archæological evidence. The reader will find an account of the controversies aroused by the coins bearing the legends TASC. and the like in Evans’s great work *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, and its Supplement.⁷

Before attempting to reconstruct the history of King Tasciovanus I will first deal with his name. The legends on his coins and on those of his sons Cunobelin and Epaticcus give a variety of forms, abbreviations such as TAS., TASC., TASCI., TASCIO., TASCIA., TAXCI.; the fuller forms TASCIOV., TASCIAVA., TASCIOVA.; and the complete or almost complete name found on coins of Cunobelin, where TASCIOVANI F. (son of TASCIOVANUS), TASCIOVANI F. (son of TASCIOVANIUS) and TASCIOVANTIS, i.e., (son) of TASCIOVANS occur. The II found on some coins in the second syllable of the name may be a mistake on the part of an inexperienced engraver, but it may possibly be derived from the Greek “ Eta ” (long continental E), for we know from Cæsar and from epigraphic evidence that those Gauls who could read and write were familiar with the Greek alphabet which had been introduced by the Greek

⁶ *Numismatic Chronicle*, vii, p. 78.

⁷ Sir John Evans’ *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, pp. 220-276, and its *Supplement*, 1890, pp. 533-550. See also the former, c. 1 *passim* for theories as to the meaning of TASC., TASCIA, etc.

colonists of Marseilles.⁸ The relative accuracy of these different Latinized renderings of the British name must be decided by philologists. I need only say here first that the variability in the spelling of its third syllable, between TASCIOV and TASCIAV- suggests that the syllable was unaccented and that the Britons of the first Century B.C. were as uncertain in their pronunciation of unaccented short vowels as the English are inclined to be to-day owing perhaps to climatic, perhaps to Celtic influences; secondly that an early mediæval Welsh form of the name TEUHANT, *i.e.*, TEHUANT and Geoffrey of Monmouth's TENUANTIUS *recte* TEHUANTIUS seem to indicate that TASCIOVANS, genitive TASCIOVANTIS, is nearest to the British form of the name. How exactly the consonants represented by SC or less commonly by X were pronounced it is hard to say. The meaning of the name is conjectural, but it may be noted that its first syllables have early Celtic parallels in Taximagulus, a Kentish kinglet mentioned by Cæsar⁹ in his Tasgetius King of the Carnutes,¹⁰ and in TASCONUS and TASCILLA, potters' names found on the so-called Samian ware of Gaul, while the termination VANUS occurs in ADIETVANUS, a name found on Gaulish coins.

So much for the name. Now for his history in so far as it can be reconstructed from his coins. In the first place the great variety of the devices of these pieces, of which Evans has described over thirty which were certainly struck by his orders (besides others which are almost certainly his), indicates that he had a long reign, as does the relatively large number discovered. He can hardly have been the direct successor of Cassivellaunus, the powerful king whom Cæsar encountered and defeated in 54 B.C. How long Cassivellaunus survived his defeat we do not know. It unquestionably broke up the league of tribes which had

⁸ Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 14. "Cum in reliquis fere rebus publicis privatisque rationibus Graecis litteris utuntur." The epigraphic evidence may be found in the records of learned societies, *e.g.*, the *Revue Celtique*. A typical example is the Nimes inscription given by Rhys and Morris in *The Welsh People*, c. 1, p. 22, which runs, (transliterated into Latin capitals) SEGOMAROS OUIILLONEOS TOOUTIOUS NAMAUSATIS EIOROU BELESAMI SOSIN NEMETON. This seems to mean "Segomarus ? son of VILLONOS (have we here the original of 'VILLON' ?) magistrate of Nimes made this shrine for Belisama."

⁹ *De Bello Gallico*, v. 22.

¹⁰ *De Bello Gallico*, v. 25.

appointed him to the chief command against the Roman invader in spite of his conquests and aggressions.¹¹ But there is no reason to believe that he failed to retain the loyalty of his own people, the Belgic Catuvellauni of Hertfordshire and the Chilterns, who, if their name has been rightly interpreted as "Battle-kindlers" or "Battle-wielders," i.e., "war-lords," lived up to it in his time and under his successors.¹² No coins bearing the name of Cassivellaunus have been discovered, but there are excellent reasons for ascribing the type which formed a majority of the Whaddon Chase hoard and has been found here and there between the Thame and the Lea to his mint. A most important paper by Mr. G. C. Brooke, Deputy Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, which was recently published in *Antiquity*,¹³ shows that this coinage "terminates in a type with a simplified form of the obverse design which is identical with that of the earliest coinage of Tasciovanus . . . and the district which marks the centre of distribution of the Whaddon Chase type, the Verulam-Braughing area, is the most prolific site of Tasciovanus's coins."¹⁴ The identification of Tasciovanus and Cassivellaunus attempted before Birch had shown that Tasciovanus was the father of Cunobelin cannot be accepted. The gap in time between the king who resisted the legions in 54 B.C., and the death of Cunobelin in 42 A.D., or 43 A.D., is too great. But it is quite possible that the two rulers were of the same family,¹⁵ practically certain that they belonged to the same Belgic tribe, and quite certain that the kingdom of Tasciovanus had its centre in the area directly ruled by Cassivellaunus. Coins of another king named ANDOCO¹⁶ have been

¹¹ *De Bello Gallico*, v. 18-22.

¹² Sir John Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 2nd ed., pp. 284-286. See also Holder, *Alt. Celtisches Sprachschatz*, vol. i. p. 863.

¹³ *The Distribution of Gaulish and British Coins in Britain*, G. C. Brooke in *Antiquity*, vii. No. 27 (Sept., 1933), pp. 268-289.

¹⁴ *Antiquity*, vii. No. 27, p. 278. Note the distribution of the coins attributed to Cassivellaunus and those of Tasciovanus on maps vi and x respectively.

¹⁵ Tacitus, *Annales*, xii, c. 34, represents the Catuvellaunian King Caratacus as boasting that his ancestors (*majores*) had repulsed Julius Caesar. This would suggest that his own grandfather Tasciovanus was a son or grandson of Cassivellaunus against whom Caesar warred.

¹⁶ For ANDOCO—see *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, pp. 216-220, and its *Supplement*, 1890, pp. 532-533. Also G. C. Brooke's paper in *Antiquity*, vii, No. 27 (cf. note 12), p. 285. Map x shows where his coins have been found. The name of a deity called ANTOCUS has been found at Housesteads on Hadrian's Wall, but this may be an imported military god (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vii, 656).

found in what we may call CATUVELLAUNIA. They are not numerous and Mr. Brooke (*loc. cit.*) infers that his reign was brief. He may bridge a gap of a few years between the death of Cassivellaunus and the accession of Tasciovanus. The coins of Tasciovanus have been found in the area which Cassivellaunus ruled or dominated in the highest period of his fortune, viz., Herts, Bucks, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, and parts of Beds, Cambridgeshire, Essex, and Hunts. Six have been found in North Kent between the rivers Darent and Medway, a "strip of country which seems to be devoid of coins of the Commius family,"¹⁷ who were rivals of the Catuvellauni. Only four other coins of Tasciovanus have been discovered south of the Thames, which seems to have been the political frontier of his kingdom for the greater part of his reign although in his later years he may have seized the part of North Kent to which reference has been made.¹⁸

The chief mint of Tasciovanus was at his city and capital of Verulamium, as numerous coins bearing the letters VER or VIR—another example perhaps of British uncertainty over unaccented short vowels—clearly indicate. Some bear the legend VERLAMIO which, perhaps, represents the original Celtic name better than the Latinized form with which we are most acquainted. That he and not Cassivellaunus founded the Hertfordshire city is proved by the archæological evidence admirably summed up by Dr. and Mrs. Wheeler.¹⁹ This shows that a predecessor of Tasciovanus held the important Belgic *oppidum* at Wheathampstead, which may well have been the fortress stormed by the Roman troops in 54 B.C. and described by Cæsar in terms that suggest that it was the chief stronghold of Cassivellaunus.²⁰ "Verulamium emerges as a later foundation, established or developed by Tasciovanus in

¹⁷ G. C. Brooke in *Antiquity*, vii, No. 27, p. 285, Map x.

¹⁸ G. C. Brooke in *Antiquity*, vii, No. 27, pp. 286-287. Dubnovellaunus's coins come from Kent, nearly all from east of the Medway. His Kentish coinage imitates that struck by Tasciovanus in the earlier part of his reign; his Essex coinage "was the predecessor of the coinage of Cunobelin" (*loc. cit.*). He may have been the ruler of the part of Kent which Tasciovanus is thought to have seized.

¹⁹ Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler in *Antiquity*, vii, No. 25, p. 30 *et seq.* See also *St. A. & H.A. & A. Society Transactions*, 1932, pp. 172-176 and 1933, pp. 15-20.

²⁰ *De Bello Gallico*, v, 21.

the last quarter of the first century B.C. as an open city . . . at the Western end of the Lea-Ver frontier."²¹

A few coins of Tasciovanus bear what appear to be the names of other mints. They have been described by Evans,²² who notes that one such specimen has been found in Italy. In addition to abbreviations of the name Tasciovanus some of these bear the legends RICON and RICONI and also RICOIN, probably a mistake for RICONI. The attempts first made nearly a century ago to identify RICON- with Uriconium, the modern Wroxeter, are based on no valid arguments whatever. The U(W) of Uriconium is an essential part of its name, as its modern form and the Wrekin testify. No coins of Tasciovanus have been found anywhere near Wroxeter; even if Cunobelin was accepted as an overlord by the non-Belgic tribes of the Severn basin there is no reason to suppose that Tasciovanus was ever as powerful as his son, and there is no archaeological evidence for an extension of Belgic occupation so far west as Shropshire. RICON- was, therefore, in all probability situated in the East of England north of the Thames. It is possible, as Dr. Wheeler has suggested in *Antiquity*,²³ that it was an engraver's abbreviation for the name of Cassivellaunus's *oppidum*, and one is tempted to compare it with the Gallic place name Rigomagus (?=King's field). Another name SEGO- (? SEGONTIUM), which occurs on a few coins of King Tasciovanus, is more interesting for several reasons. Cæsar in his account of his second invasion of Britain²⁴ mentions the surrender, among other tribes, of the Segontiaci and it is possible that Tasciovanus struck coins in their *oppidum* when the tribe had entered or had been forced back by him into the Catuvellaunian kingdom. Its site is conjectural, but it was probably near enough to the Roman army for its occupants to desert their ally or overlord when they saw that he was beaten and feared for their villages and livestock. We may either place the Segontiaci in Berk-

²¹ Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler in *Antiquity*, vii, No. 25, p. 31.

²² *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864, pp. 267, 276 and its *Supplement*, 1890, pp. 539-542. Figures in both.

²³ Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler in *Antiquity* vii, No. 25, pp. 33, 34.

²⁴ *De Bello Gallico*, v, 21. The other tribes were the Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi and Cenimagni who may perhaps be the later Iceni.

shire, in which case they were possibly a native British tribe who became clients of the more civilized Belgic Atrebates,²⁵ or else north of the Thames, the boundary of "Catuvellaunia,"²⁶ perhaps somewhere in South Oxfordshire and/or Bucks. In the latter case they had been conquered by Cassivellaunus and broke away when the opportunity came. The fact that scarcely any of the few SEGO coins yet discovered have been found south of the Thames or, according to Mr. G. C. Brooke's map (*loc. cit.*), east of the Lea is in favour of the second hypothesis, though the evidence does not go very far. For the first alternative it can be argued that the tribe were southern allies of Cassivellaunus, like the Kentish kinglets who attacked the Roman base even when Cæsar crossed the Thames and was ravaging Herts; that they were only brought into the kingdom of Tasciovanus towards the end of his reign, and that Henry of Huntingdon's identification of Silchester with the "Cair Segeint" of the appendix to the scrap-book known as Nennius's *Historia Brittonum*,²⁷ and the discovery in Silchester of an inscription DEO HER(culi) SAEGON(tio ?)²⁸ support the view that Segontium lay in Berkshire, though it was not necessarily Silchester.

The last two arguments, however, are not helpful. Silchester was known as CALLEVA ATREBATUM

²⁵ *De Bello Gallico*, ii, 4. "They (the Suessiones) say that within living memory they had a king called Divitiacus, the most powerful ruler in all Gaul, who won dominion over great tracts of that region and even of Britain." This would put the first mass invasion of Britain by Belgic tribes somewhere between 100 B.C. and 75 B.C. though there may have been earlier settlements on a small scale. The coin evidence suggests that Belgæ may have settled in South Hampshire before the arrival of Commius. *Antiquity*, vii, 27, pp. 272-274, Map iv.

²⁶ *De Bello Gallico* v, 10. (Cassivellaunus) "whose territories are separated from the coastal states by the river called TAMESIS."

²⁷ In the Nennian *Historia Brittonum* the catalogue of the twenty-eight "civitates" of Britain follows the 66th chapter of the *Historia* and precedes the *Mirabilia*. In the Irish version (*cf. Lebor Bretnach*, by A. G. van Hamel, 1932) it is inserted, more logically, in the second chapter. Zimmer (*Nennius Vindictus*, pp. 108 ff.) regarded it on philological grounds as having been composed between the middle of the 6th century A.D., and the end of the 8th century. Henry of Huntingdon in the second edition of his *Historiae Anglorum* i, 3, wrote "Kair Segent, quae fuit super Tamesin non longe a Redinge, et vocatur Silcestre" (circa 1135 A.D.).

²⁸ The inscription was found in 1744 A.D. and though lost is well attested. It read DEO HER(culi) SAEGON(tio ?) T. Tammon(ius) SAENI TAMMON(i fil.) VITALIS OB HONO(rem); i.e. T. Tammonius Vitalis son of Saenius Tammonius makes a dedication to the God Hercules Saegon(tius) on account of some honour conferred upon him. *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vii, 6.

in Roman times²⁹; the "Cair Segeint" of the Nennian list of British cities is the Roman Segontium, very close to Carnarvon; there is no archæological evidence to support the theory that Silchester was settled before the arrival of the Atrebates from Belgic Gaul, and so there is no reason to believe that the town had an alternative name (Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes *in litt.*). The dedication to the Segontian Hercules was carved to the order of a resident in Roman times whose patronymic Tammonius suggests a non-British origin. The deity whom he thanked may have been a foreigner, too. Still the probable proximity of the Segontiaci to the Thames valley rather favours the belief that this "Hercules" was their tribal god, but this does not prove that he was particularly associated with Calleva. He may, incidentally, have been a derivative of the Gaulish war-god Segomo, who was equated with Mars in Roman Gaul and whose cult seems to have reached Ireland, where an Ogam inscription containing words reading "NETA SEGAMONAS" = "of the champion of Segomo" has been discovered.³⁰

I hope to revert to the question why Henry made this identification on another occasion. Meantime, one thing is certain about the SEGO-coins, viz., that they date from the last years of the reign of Tasciovanus since "they have a new and intelligible reverse type which is imitated by Epaticcus and Cunobelin" instead of the "elaborate but meaningless degeneration of the original Greek type" which is found on the early coinage of the king.³¹ Other names on coins which are believed to be his, *e.g.*, those wrongly read by Evans as RVFI and RVL, and also the name DIAS, seem to be no more than inaccurate copies of Roman models by local moneyers. "RVI and RVII," writes Mr. J. Allen, ". . . seem to be connected with RVIIS which occurs . . . in the middle of another type, and with VIIR on the reverse of a type which has VER on the obverse. If the latter is VERULAMIUM the former can hardly be. . . I should . . . regard it

²⁹ In the Antonine Itineraries; *Iter Britanniarum*, No. vii.

³⁰ Sir John Rhys (*Celtic Britain*, p. 306) draws a parallel between the first syllable of SEGONT—and the German "Sieg," *i.e.* Victory, and its congeners. Cf. the name of the alleged Gaulish conqueror of part of Germany, SEGOVESUS = " ? Victory-wise."

³¹ Mr. J. Allen of the Department of Coins and Medals, the British Museum, has kindly assisted me here. The subsequent quotations are from his letters.

as a copy of the title III VIR (Triumvir) from a Roman coin . . . or, perhaps, even a moneyer's name like RVFVS."³¹ DIAS appears to be merely an error for the DIVVS (Divus) of contemporary coins of Augustus.

It remains to attempt to fix an approximate date and duration for the reign of Tasciovanus. The data from which useful inferences can be drawn fall into three classes, archæological evidence, numismatic evidence and such facts of the history of that time as furnish a basis for rational conjecture. I propose to take these data in turn beginning with the evidence provided by the coins.

The Numismatic evidence, as previously noted, points to a long reign, much longer than that of ANDOCO- and little if at all shorter than that of Cunobelin. While his earlier coins furnish no indication of date, a silver piece, figured by Evans,³² imitates a coin of Augustus struck not earlier than 12 B.C. nor later than 10 B.C. It is impossible to say how long coins bearing this design, a laureate beardless head to the right on the obverse and a bull butting to the left on the reverse, may have taken to reach Britain. But the evidence of this piece shows that Tasciovanus was striking coins somewhere in his kingdom after 12 B.C. and may have been striking them several years earlier.

The Archæological evidence reviewed by Dr. and Mrs. Wheeler indicates that the establishment of the King's capital and mint at Verulamium, where so many types of coin were struck, cannot have been earlier than 10 B.C. if as early. And the royal mint at Verulamium was active, that is clear, for many years.³³ It is also clear that the political conditions in Catuvellaunia when Verulamium was founded differed vastly from what they had been when Cassivellaunus or, more probably, his predecessor constructed the Wheathampstead *oppidum*. The Wheathampstead site is that of a "fenced city" commanding the ford where the road to Camulodunum

³² *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, Pl. vi, 5, pp. 223, 241-242.

³³ I understand from Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler that this is his considered opinion after a most thorough study of the problem of the date of the founding of Verulamium, and that he will give his reasons for assigning later dates to the reign of Tasciovanus than Sir John Evans's estimate of 30 B.C.-5 A.D. in his work on Verulamium which will be published by the Society of Antiquaries in the course of 1935. See also *Antiquity* (Dr. Wheeler) vi, 22, p. 147 and the St. A. & H. A. & A. Society's *Transactions*, 1933, p. 20.

crosses the Lea and situated close to and very possibly at the extremity of a great valley dyke which formed a frontier between Lea and Ver.³⁴ Belgic Verulamium is an open town founded when Wheathampstead had lost its military importance. The people who founded the older city had enemies close at hand, Trinobantes whom Cæsar called "almost the strongest community" in S.E. Britain, and very possibly Iceni to their north. The ruler of Verulamium had no need to fortify his capital, a sure sign that the Beech Bottom Dyke had ceased to be a frontier and that the boundary had moved a long way north and east. It is likely enough that it had been carried north before Cæsar encountered Cassivellaunus; it is certain that the Catuvellauni had conquered the Trinobantes and killed their king very shortly before Cæsar's second invasion of Britain. But after Cæsar's success Catuvellaunia had to be built up again and there is no reason whatever to suppose that its rebuilding was rapid. To begin with, the Belgæ, brave as they were and better organized than the earlier British tribes, were not Romans; indeed, they were probably on a lower military level than the Teuton mercenaries whom Vortigern rashly hired, whose chiefs had the chance of learning serious warfare in Gaul, Germany and the Low Countries fighting for or against Romans, Franks and other partially Romanized Teutons, and Huns.³⁵ And a new military factor had appeared in Britain in the shape of Commius the Atrebate and the fugitives who had preceded or followed him to a country where he ran no risk of "meeting a Roman face to face" again.³⁶ He probably first sought refuge together with his diehards among the

³⁴ Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler in *Antiquity*, vii, 25, pp. 29-35 and vi, 22, pp. 136-137.

³⁵ All manner of "barbarian" tribes who lay outside the Roman Empire provided auxiliary troops in the later 4th and 5th centuries. The *Notitia Dignitatum* shows that Saxons, Attacotti and Scots (Irish) were thus engaged early in the latter century. The campaigns of Attila in Germany and in Gaul must have furnished many "Hengists and Horsas" of the time with military experience of a more useful character than ordinary tribal brawls. If 451 A.D. is the date of the Jutish settlement as "foederati" in Kent, it is useful to remember that it is also the date of the gigantic battle between Attila and Aetius in what was once the country of the Catuvellauni, whose name survives in Chalons.

³⁶ *De Bello Gallico*, viii, 48—"Ne in conspectum veniat cujusquam Romani." Frontinus, *Strategemata*, ii, 13, describes the ingenious ruse by which "in Britanniam fugeret."

Belgic tribes settled south of the Thames, and soon became their leader.³⁷ His military and political ability which the Romans fully recognized—their attempts to assassinate him when he rebelled and Cæsar's use of him as intermediary in the peace negotiations with Cassivellaunus show how much they valued his friendship and feared his enmity—gave him a kingdom. Calleva Atrebatum seems to have been founded by him, and the fact that his sons ruled most of the country south of the Thames from Hampshire to the Isle of Thanet indicates that he was able to hold his own against the Catuvellauni. Cassivellaunus, indeed, cannot have been well disposed to him; he was a rival; he might have rebelled against the Romans but before his rebellion he had served them in a campaign which had inflicted great injuries on Catuvellaunia and he was a dangerous obstacle to any attempt at expansion south of the Thames.

How long Commius and his sons after him held the Catuvellauni in check we do not know. The flight of Tincommius, son of Commius, and of one Dubnovellaunus to the Romans is commemorated in the inscription known as the Monumentum Ancyranum in which Augustus in the last year of his life (13 A.D.—14 A.D.) recorded the events of his long reign. The discovery of several coins of Tasciovanus between Darenth and Medway (see p. 148) may indicate a successful lodgement in North Kent but it is impossible to say with certainty who was his opponent, the Commian Eppillus or Dubnovellaunus, both of whom seem to have ruled North Kent and struck coins there. It is quite certain that Dubnovellaunus ruled at Camulodunum and that he was driven out by Cunobelin, son of Tasciovanus, probably in his father's lifetime, but it does not seem established that he ruled both in Kent and in Essex simultaneously nor is it certain that he was a Trinobant. His connection with Kent rather suggests that he came of the stock of those Belgic invaders of the first wave who established themselves in the Stour and Medway valleys and held the *oppidum* at Bigberry, that he was expelled by Eppillus, son of Commius, the chief of the second wave

³⁷ For the distribution of the coins of Commius and his sons in Britain see *Antiquity*, vii, 27, Map ix.

of invaders, and that he was then called in by the Trinobantes, who by that time were in sore straits, to defend what was left of their land against Tasciovanus and his son.³⁸ Another son of Tasciovanus, Epaticcus, seems to have ruled some part of the upper Thames valley, but the incomplete evidence which his few known coins supply rather suggests that he was an under-king to his brother Cunobelin after their father's death.³⁹

All this numismatic evidence does not give us much direct assistance in establishing an approximate date for the reign of Tasciovanus, but it is of value in that it shows us who were his chief rivals in the Trinobant country and south of the Thames. Studied in conjunction with the archæological evidence and with what Cæsar has recorded of Commius and Cassivellaunus it gives the impression that long years of warfare and intrigue must have passed before Tasciovanus could have dared to set up his mint and headquarters in an open town. These wars and political intrigues must have occupied the later years of Cassivellaunus, the reign of Andoco- and the earlier years of Tasciovanus. By 10 B.C., a possible date for the founding of Verulamium, he was in no danger from the Trinobantes, now confined to the vicinity of Camulodunum, from the Iceni who had been pushed a long way back to the north, or from the Dobuni of the Upper Thames and the Cotswolds. In the south the division of the kingdom won by Commius among his three sons had to some extent weakened the rival Atrebatian power and the Thames was a good frontier and, no doubt, an increasingly valuable link for the trade with Roman Gaul through which Catuvellaunia grew richer and more civilized. Tasciovanus's apparent seizure of the Darent-Medway area may have been provoked by an attempt to interfere with that trade by the Commians on the southern bank, who saw with concern the growing prosperity of Verulamium.

But there is other evidence available which may assist historians to frame a more definite chronology of the

³⁸ In Caesar's time four kinglets of Kent, which had been occupied by invading Belgæ of the first invasion, are described as obeying the summons of Cassivellaunus and attacking the Roman base (*De Bello Gallico*, v, 22). The historical and archæological evidence suggests that these chiefs were Belgæ, not native Britons.

³⁹ For the evidence see *Antiquity*, vii, 27, p. 286 and Map xi.

development of Catuvellaunia after Cæsar's departure. I would therefore humbly and tentatively suggest the following interpretation of the movements of Augustus in Gaul and of his designs on Britain which Dio Cassius has recorded. Before attempting it I will briefly explain the premises on which I base my argument. First it is most unlikely that the vigorous Cassivellaunus who had built up a great prestige in S.E. Britain was a youth or an old man. It is reasonable to assume that he was in the prime of life, *i.e.*, between 30 and 40 years of age in 55 B.C., and that he may have reigned for another twenty years. Secondly, the longer an early Celtic (or Teutonic) king reigned and the larger his family the greater the probability that his death would be followed by a civil war among his sons and near kinsmen, of brothers against brothers, of uncles against nephews. Irish history is full of such family feuds; they enliven the chronicles of the Franks; Gildas deplures the jealousies that left one survivor of the house of Aurelius and inspired Constantine of Damnonia to kill his nephews and Maelgwn to drive his uncle from the throne. These brawls promised advantage to ambitious native or foreign neighbours. Augustus, we learn from Dio, proposed to invade Britain in 34 B.C.⁴⁰ in emulation of his adoptive father. But his "pietas" was always subordinated to a sound political instinct and it is, therefore, reasonable to assume that events in Britain had followed a course which promised to assist a Roman invasion. May not the death of Cassivellaunus and the resultant civil war among his would-be heirs have encouraged him to intervene? A serious revolt in Dalmatia compelled him to lead the legions in an opposite direction. Then came revolt among the Morini on the Channel⁴¹ in 30 B.C. and 29 B.C., and in 27 B.C. Augustus was again in Gaul making ready for an attack on Britain. Commius or his sons may have been instigating the troublesome outbreak among the Morini, but it is also possible that Andoco- had died and that the usual trouble over the succession had arisen of which the Commian family or the subject native tribes would try to take advantage. But when Augustus had received the reports of his

⁴⁰ Dio Cassius, xlix, 38,2.

⁴¹ Dio Cassius, li, 20,5 and 21,6.

governors in Gaul he found that the state of the province was unsatisfactory, and at the same time envoys came from the Britons with whom he negotiated. The negotiations which probably arose out of the failure of the Catuvellauni and other tribes to pay the contribution imposed by Julius Cæsar and possibly, too, from British intrigues in Northern Gaul, went slowly, but Augustus occupied his time with a thorough and effective re-organization of the administration of Gaul. Next year he had to threaten the Britons whose envoys seem to have returned,⁴² but there was no war and, though Dio Cassius does not tell us on what terms agreement was finally reached, it is possible and indeed probable that the Catuvellaunian and Atrebatian rulers accepted the imposition of Customs duties on British goods imported into Gaul and on Roman or Gaulish exports to Britain in return for the abandonment of the Roman claim to tribute. It is likely that Tasciovanus took part in this agreement which was eventually to make Verulamium a flourishing trading city. Such a success would increase the prestige of a young king who had to make a reputation among his own tribesmen and among his allies. Strabo makes it abundantly clear that thereafter the Britons were no longer regarded as dangerous, that trade between them and the Empire flourished and that the Romanization of the southern part of Britain made great strides.⁴³

I will conclude this part of my study with a tentative chronology of the Catuvellaunian kings to Cunobelin.

- ? 80—75 B.C. First Belgic invasions of Britain.
- 55 B.C. Cæsar's first invasion of Britain.
- 54 B.C. Cassivellaunus, then aet. 35, conquers the Trinobantes and annexes their state to Catuvellaunia. In the same year he is defeated by Cæsar, his *oppidum* at Wheat-hampstead taken, his allies desert him, his subjects rebel and Cæsar re-establishes the Trinobantian state and imposes tribute on him.

⁴² Dio Cassius, liii, 22.5 and 25.2.

⁴³ Strabo, ii, 5.8 and iv, 5.3.

- have returned ⁴² but there was no war and though Dio
- 52 B.C. Revolt throughout Gaul. ? Cassivellaunus ceases to pay tribute to Rome.
- 51 B.C. or 50 B.C. Commius flees to Britain and becomes king of the Atrebates. Second Belgic invasion.
- ? 50 B.C.—34 B.C. Cassivellaunus regains part of his former realm and dies circ. 34 B.C.
- 34 B.C. Disputed succession. Augustus contemplates invasion. Andoco eventually succeeds Cassivellaunus.
- 27 B.C. ? Disturbances in Britain after the death of Andoco-. Augustus in Gaul threatens invasion. British envoys open negotiations.
- 26 B.C. Augustus again threatens invasion.
- ? 25—24 B.C. Tasciovanus, who has succeeded Andoco-, and other British rulers reach agreement with the Romans.
- ? 24 B.C.—10 B.C. Tasciovanus consolidates his realm and defeats the Icenii and Trinobantes, annexing much territory.
- ? 10 B.C. Tasciovanus founds Verulamium.
- ? A.D. 5 Conquest of the Trinobantes completed by Cunobelin, son of Tasciovanus. Dubnovellaunus expelled.
- ? A.D. 10—A.D. 12 Death of Tasciovanus. He is succeeded without incident by Cunobelin who transfers the capital to Camulodunum.

Fresh coin-finds, further archæological discoveries, may compel the abandonment of the more conjectural elements in the foregoing chronological scheme. It is very possible that it over-estimates the importance in Roman eyes of the Catuvellaunian kingdom before Cunobelin and that Augustus was thinking more of Commius than of Cassivellaunus or Tasciovanus when he contemplated invasion. But the general conclusions drawn by archæologists and numismatists leave no doubt as to the importance in British history of the Belgæ and of Tasciovanus in particular. The Belgic

invasion brought great changes to Britain; it led to the increase of valley settlement and to the consequent clearing of the woodlands, to the foundation of real towns such as Calleva and Verulamium in a country which had only known hill citadels, and politically it furthered the growth of larger units in place of a confusion of small tribes. The reign of Tasciovanus illustrates these tendencies and also marks the development of those cultural and commercial relations with the Roman Empire which, under his son for whose power he had prepared the way, made Britain in Strabo's oft-quoted words "almost a home-land for the Romans." Many analogies may be drawn between the Belgic invaders and the "Anglo-Saxons," and it is to be noted that the Belgæ had a mixture of German blood. I may add that there are some historical grounds for believing that they were almost as much disliked by the original inhabitants whom they subjected or drove out as were their Teutonic successors.⁴⁴ One of the "Triads of Arthur and his Warriors" speaks of the "three invasions" that came into the island of Britain and never left it, the invasion of the Saxons, that of the painted Gaels (Picts and Scots) and that of "the Coranyeit who came in the time of Llud the son of Beli." It is just possible that this tradition is an echo not of the invasion of the Romans in the days of Cunobelin's sons but of the Belgic invasions which "Beli," god, king, ancestor or eponym personifies. But the Roman invasion brought elements of the old population and Belgic chiefs, now exiled from their lands, into alliance. Caratacus, grandson of Tasciovanus, finds his firmest supporters among the Silures and Ordovices of Wales; and I hope to be able to show in the second part of this paper that Belgic ancestry was claimed and prized by the fighting chiefs of the Britons in the Age of Legend and Confusion that followed the departure of the Eagles.

II.

Classical historians ignored Tasciovanus; their modern successors would have known no more of him

⁴⁴ See *Arch. Journ.* 87 (C. F. C. Hawkes and G. C. Dunning), pp. 314-316 and pp. 319, 320, for a most interesting review of the evidence.

but for the discoveries of the numismatists and their confirmation by archæological exploration.

But the Welsh genealogists preserved a tradition of the Belgic King. It is not generally realized by English historians that Tasciovanus appears in his proper context as father of Cunobelin in that interesting manuscript usually known as the "Harleian Genealogies" and technically as MS. Harl. 3859, an early twelfth-century document which is immediately preceded by the oldest known text of the "Annales Cambriæ." In their present form both the Annals and the Genealogies appear to be transcripts of older documents which were composed or at all events completed in the latter half of the tenth century. The genealogies are "inconveniently constructed."⁴⁵ They run backwards. A genealogy of our present King drawn up in this way would run:—

George
son of Edward
son of Victoria
daughter of Edward
son of George
son of Frederick, etc.

They contain no dates and they give no indication of the status of the persons mentioned in them.⁴⁶ In some of the more ancient pedigrees it is doubtful whether they represent descent within a ruling family or the succession of rulers drawn from the same family. There is evidence of inaccurate copying, and in the case of Genealogy No. xvi., which contains the name of Tasciovanus in its later form, of prodigious carelessness or stupidity. But when all is said the Genealogies, like the "Annales Cambriæ," are of great philological value since they preserve a number of Welsh names in old forms and their historical importance is at least as great, and probably greater than that of the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

They certainly go further back in several instances. Two ruling houses are taken back to Beli the Great who is not Cunobelin, who may just possibly be the

⁴⁵ *Y Cymmrodor* XXI (E. Williams Nicholson), p. 63.

⁴⁶ Save in a few cases where "Guletic," i.e. King, is added to a name.

Beli whom some MSS. of Geoffrey of Monmouth and some Welsh legends describe as the father of Cassivelaunus,⁴⁷ but who probably stands for a vague personification of the Belgic invaders of S.E. Britain, one of whose deities was, no doubt, Belinus. It would be more than rash to accept every entry in these particular pedigrees or tables of succession as accurate. But certain rules of succession among the Celtic speaking peoples of these islands⁴⁸ appear to have made the preservation of accurate pedigrees not only conducive to family pride but also essential to the preservation of men's rights to property and leadership. In the case of Genealogy xvi. it is not necessary to discuss the accuracy of every step. The essential is that it shows that the Welsh ruling-class and in particular "the men of the North," *i.e.*, the great families of Cumbria-Strathclyde and their branches which established themselves in Wales, preserved a genuine tradition of the relationship between Tasciovanus and Cunobelin, which we moderns have only learnt from coins, and to which no classical author known to us makes any reference.

Genealogy xvi. begins⁴⁹ quaintly with an incomplete list of Roman Emperors. And such a list, in which some misguided scribe has added "mus" after the name of the Emperor Decius, in which figure Antony and Cleopatra with some little-known Christian Saints, while every third name is misspelt and Claudians and Flavians, Antonines and military usurpers and best of all Constans Cæsar, last of the Roman list and Teuhant, *i.e.*, Tasciovanus, are connected by the word "map" (son). These absurdities were explained by Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson in 1908.⁵⁰ He showed that the Roman list, with a few notes showing the relations of these Emperors with the Church, had been written on the margin of a double Dionysian paschal cycle starting with the Nativity. The copyist, who had some smatterings of Roman history—hence, perhaps, the ridiculous

⁴⁷ Some MSS. give "Heli." Three British kings, the last of whom died in Strathclyde circ. 720 A.D., bore the name Beli which is a later form of Belinus.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hogan, *The Irish Law of Kingship*, Proc. R. Ir. Acad., xl., Sect. C, No. 3 (1932).

⁴⁹ *i.e.* when reversed.

⁵⁰ *Y Cymmrodor XXI* (E. Williams Nicholson), pp. 90-94.

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 preservation of accurate pedigrees not only conducive
mus after Decius—found a British genealogy going
 back to Teuhant in close proximity to the list of Cæsars
 and knowing nothing of Teuhant (for he was not neces-
 sarily a Welshman) he tacked the founder of Verula-
 mium on to the Cæsar who visited Britain to repel the
 Northern invaders in 343 A.D. One hopes that his
 stupidity or carelessness earned him a drastic penance
 from his ecclesiastical superiors.

The Welsh genealogy begins (reversing the MS.
 order) with Teuhant who is followed by Cinbeli or
 Cinbelin⁵¹ and Caratauc, i.e., Caratacus. Philologically
 "Teuhant" in the opinion of all the authorities whom
 I have consulted is unquestionably derived from Tascio-
 vant; it is intended to represent a word pronounced like
 Teh-want and Geoffrey of Monmouth's Tenuantius⁵² is
 obviously a copyist's error for Tehuantius. After these
 three historical names come the following twelve, which
 I have numbered for the reader's convenience, viz.,
 4. Guidgen; 5. Louhen; 6. Cinis Scaplaut; 7. Decion;
 8. Catel; 9. Catleu; 10. Leta-(?n, ?m); 11. Sergua(n);
 12. Caurta(m); 13. Caten; 14. Neithon; 15. (R)un.⁵³
 Here the pedigree ends. Now, allowing three lives to a
 century and assuming that Cunobelin died in 42 A.D.
 and that his son Caratacus, who was betrayed to the
 Romans in 50 A.D., survived in honourable exile to 76
 A.D., we get a date of *circa* 441 A.D. for Neithon and
 475 A.D. for Run. At first sight the pedigree appears
 to end in the air; but when we find in Genealogy x that
 the grandfather of Coyl Hen (Coel),⁵⁴ ancestor of many
 princes of the Strathclyde-Cumbrian Britons, was called
 Teuhant, and remember that according to the admittedly
 much later Jesus College MS. 20 Cunedda, ancestor of

⁵¹ Cinbeli which appears twice in the Genealogies (Nos. vii and xvi) suggests that this form held its own for a time. The modern Welsh form is Cynfelyn (pron. -velyn). Dr. Ifor Williams informs me (*in litt.*) that Rhys's derivation of the modern Tegfan from "Teuhant" and the view that Tecmant, father of Coel, is "a mere doublet" of Teuhant (cf. *Y Cymmrodor* XXI, E. Williams Nicholson, p. 87) may not be correct. Tegfan appears to be derived from Taco-mandos: teco-s, cf. teg.W = "fine," as Cadfan is derived from Catu-mandos.

⁵² Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Brittonum*, iii. 20 and iv. 3, 11.

⁵³ The initial letters are omitted in the MS. through neglect of the rubricator to supply them. *Y Cymmrodor* IX (E. Phillimore), p. 151.

⁵⁴ Coel "the Old" whom Geoffrey and Henry of Huntingdon made into a ruler of Colchester and father of Helena, wife of Constantius Caesar and mother of Constantine the Great, who was in fact of humble and non-British origin.

the Kings of North Wales, married Coel's daughter Wawl, its preservation as far as Run may well be explained by a desire to link the famous kings of Gwynedd,⁵⁵ whose descendants still lived when the genealogies were compiled, with an equally ancient house.

Particular names ran in old families then as now and there is no reason to disbelieve the possibility of marriage between one of Coel's ancestors and the daughter of a chief who at all events claimed descent from Tasciovanus, Cunobelin and Caratacus. We hear of no son of Caratacus among the Roman prisoners, though his wife and a daughter were taken by Ostorius.⁵⁶ But early Celtic rulers were often polygamous; even the nominally Christian Arthur is credited by one tradition with three wives and three mistresses; and if Caratacus had a son he may well have sent the boy for safety to the independent tribes of the north.

The names after Caratacus present some interesting features; his presumed grandson has a Latin nickname, for scaplaut=*scapulatus*, Low Latin (and possibly second-century camp Latin) for "broad-shouldered." The next two names, Decianus and Catellus, are obviously Latin and suggest that the family had entered Roman service, perhaps in the auxiliary troops, when the Romans were attempting to conquer the lowlands of Scotland. Catleu looks Celtic, but the eleventh name in the pedigree is surely a corruption of Servandus. Then come Celtic names to the end. Neithon is Pictish and is alleged to mean "baptized"; Run seems to appear once in the puzzling Pictish king-lists and the last of the descendants of Coroticus of Alclyde whose name is recorded in the Harleian Genealogies (No V) bears the same name. There is also a Run among the descendants of the northerner Cunedda; he is a king, the tall son of the redoubtable Maelgwn, whom Gildas rebuked from afar.

In passing through a stage of partial Romanization and then reverting to British and Pictish names in the

⁵⁵ e.g. Maelgwn, Cadwallon and Cadwalader, from the last of whom Owen and his father Howell Dda claimed descent through the female line. cf. *Harl. Gen.*, No. i.

⁵⁶ Tacitus, *Annales*, xii, 35, 36, refers to the brother, wife and daughter of Caratacus as prisoners but mentions no son.

fourth and fifth centuries of our era the genealogies of these alleged descendants of Tasciovanus like those of the forbears of Coel and Cunedda seem to present an accurate picture of the history of the chief families of the North. A tradition of Belgic royal origin fails to prevent them from "romanizing" when the legions seem likely to conquer Caledonia or at least hold their own along Hadrian's Wall. Then comes the Roman collapse of the last half of the fourth century and at last the Roman evacuation. The family of Cunedda, most Romanized of all,⁵⁷ marches south against the Irish invaders, the rest remain behind, intermarrying with Picts and Scots, warring with one another and their neighbours and reverting fast to semi-barbaric tribal conditions.⁵⁸

Whether any detailed tradition of Tasciovanus and his reign survived among the "Men of the North" we do not know. He may have been no more than a name, the founder, they thought, of a line with which their ruling houses had intermarried. There is no evidence that any Romano-British scholar sat down under the Empire to describe his compatriots' pre-Roman past, or that there was any market in Rome for "Barbarian stories." Geoffrey of Monmouth is always suspect even in his rare moments of credibility; so far it has proved almost impossible to sift any grains of history from the propagandist chaff which he called "Historia Britonum." Of his Tenuantius he tells us that he was son of Lud, founder of Kaerlud, which "*per corruptionem nominis*" became Kaerlondon (!!); also that he was Duke of Cornwall, which is false, and nephew of Cassivellaunus, which may be true; and that he had a brother called Androgeus.⁵⁹ Any idea that this name is a tortured version of ANDOCUMBORIOS—a

⁵⁷ The three names preceding Cunedda are certainly Roman and are the equivalents of Aeternus, Paternus who is called "of the red tunic," which suggests that he held high official rank, and Tacitus. Of Cunedda's sons Rumaun, Dunaut and Eniaun are certainly Romanus, Donatus and Ennianus. Abloyc might be Apulicius and Etern is Aeternus.

⁵⁸ Strathclyde does not seem to have been unified until the reign of Rhydderch (? 575 A.D.-600 A.D.), and by that time the Britons owing to their continual quarrels had allowed the Angles to establish themselves firmly in the North. Cf. the story of the murder of Urbgen (Urien) while warring with the Angles by his cousin Morcant in Nennius's *Hist. Brit.*, c. 63.

⁵⁹ Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Brittonum*, iii, 20 and iv, 1-11 *passim*.

Belgic name⁶⁰ which may have been that of the ANDOCO- of the coins—must be abandoned. Geoffrey took the name from Bede,⁶¹ who applied it to Mandubracius whom Cæsar⁶² restored to his kingdom among the Trinobantes in order to bring pressure to bear on Cassivellaunus. Bede got it from the Androgorius of Orosius, whose distortion of Suetonius's "Adminius son of . . . Cynobellinus"⁶³ into "Minocynobellinus son of the king of the Britons"⁶⁴ shows that he or his copyists were like Voltaire's *Habakkuk* "capable of anything." Of the reign of Tenuantius Geoffrey wrote that he governed his kingdom diligently, was fond of war and imposed justice vigorously. We might all have risked that much. But if Tasciovanus himself became at last "the shadow of a great name" the proud tradition of the greatness of the Belgic kingdom was persistent enough to give the British dynasts of Wales and the North the names of Teuhant and Beli, of Cadwallon and Cynfelyn.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ *De Bello Gallico*, ii, 3, mentions an Andocumborius (or according to some MSS. Antebrogius) as a chief of the Belgic Remi.

⁶¹ Bede's *Hist. Eccles.*, i, 2.

⁶² *De Bello Gallico*, vi, 20, 22.

⁶³ *De Vita Caesarum*, Caligula, 44.

⁶⁴ Orosius, vii, 5. His ANDROGORIUS appears in vi, 9.

⁶⁵ A Cinbell occurs in *Harl. Gen.*, No. vii, among the descendants of Ceretic (Coroticus) of Alclyde (*Harl. Gen.*, No. v). Several Cynfelyns are celebrated by the Welsh bards but their identification is conjectural.

AUTHORITIES

The following is a list of the chief authorities quoted in the body of this paper and in the notes attached thereto:—

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