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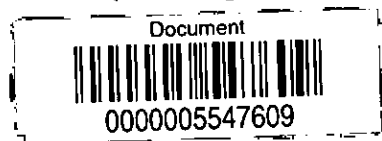


INDEX
OF THE
STYLES AND TITLES
OF
SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

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A SIMPLE list of the styles and titles used by the earliest as well as the mediæval and later sovereigns of our island empire is of great use to the historian, and at the request of the Council of the Index Society I have revised my collections, the greater portion of which were originally printed in the *Athenæum*, Nos. 2528, pp. 497-499, 8 April, and 2530, pp. 566, 567, 22 April, 1876.

The books which I have used in my researches into this interesting subject are such as are easily available to every ordinary student of history, and will be found in every library of antiquarian worth or pretension. They comprise the celebrated 'Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici,' by J. M. Kemble, published in 1839, for the English Historical Society; B. Thorpe's 'Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici,' 1865; some of the Master of the Rolls' Series of Chronicles and Memorials; the four parts, forming a complete series of Facsimiles of Ancient Charters, published in 1873-1879, for the Trustees of



the British Museum; my own 'Fasti Monastici Aevi Saxonici,' and several other kindred works. In order not to encroach too much upon space, I have avoided giving references except in the more important instances.

All the sovereigns of England, from the commencement of the seventh century, when the heptanomy of England was in its full vigour, down to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, appear to have employed the word *rex* or *regina*, as the case may be, without exception. And as we may take this for granted, or if necessary prove it without difficulty, by the most cursory examination of the most common collections of royal acts and documents running in the royal name, I have omitted to give any special attention to the use of this specific title, in its simple and uncombined form, by any particular sovereign.

There are, however, a number of words, derived from native or imported sources, which have been employed by these sovereigns from time to time in their royal styles and diplomatic titles, to signify the extent of their power and the nature of their supreme domination over the people or peoples subject to their rule. Many of these terms are of a very interesting kind, and it is to these that I would call the attention of my readers.

I do not propose to investigate the intricacies of the synonymous phrases adjoined to the title, which, starting with the simple form *gratia Dei*, gradually branched out into luxurious circumlocutions and periphrastic expressions in the Saxon period, such as, for example, "disponente domino," "gratia gratuita dei patris concedente," "domino concedente," "divina dispensationis gratia," "ejus [dei] melliflua gratia largiente," "ejus præclara gratia concedente," "favente dei omnipotentis clementia," "regnante domino," "Christo largiente," "dei dono," "Christi annuente elementia," "divina dispensatione," "patientia divina," "divina dispensante gratia," "domino donante," "divino suffragio," "divina inspirante gratia," "deo prædestinante," "dei prædestinatione," "deo cuncta pie disponente in cujus manu sunt omnia jura regnorum absque ulla antecedente merito," "cælica fulcimente clementia," "gratia

gratuita dei patris concedente," "almi regnantis gratia," "divina dispensante pietate," "ipso piissimo praeordinante deo," "mei non meriti sed dei gratia largiente," "omnipotentissimo deo concedente," "deo omnipotente donante et concedente," "favente omnipotentis dei clementia," "altithroni cuncta creantis ac gubernantis concedente clementia," "divina mihi arridente gratia," "disponente clementia creantis," "Dei omnipotentis nutu," "divina largiente clementia," "deificae voluntatis permissione," etc.

For all such expressions, although for a time they obtained an employment with the diplomatic writers of the Norman period, were rapidly reduced again to the simple form, from which they had started. And we find, for instance, the sole form *dei gratia* upon the seals and in the genuine charters of the two Williams and Henry the First; one charter, however, of a doubtful origin, of this latter sovereign, contains the phrase, "providente divina clementia" (*Journ. of Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1873, vol. xxix. p. 250).

Confining, therefore, our attention to the words or expressions signifying rule or government, we are immediately struck with their variety and their import. For convenience, we will examine them in order of alphabetical arrangement. The first part comprises styles used previously to the advent of the Normans. The second part embraces the period between A.D. 1066 and the present year. It will be easily seen that some particular phrases have been frequently employed, while others have been found to occur once or twice only throughout the space of about 450 years which is illustrated by extant *diplomata* and official documents issued under the immediate surveillance of the chief ruler of our island. For convenience of reference, I have grouped the expressions which are found combined with *basileus*, *imperator*, *monarchus*, and *rex*, under the separate headings of *basileus*, etc., in alphabetical subordination. K. refers to Kemble's *Codex*. The italic word in the sentence is that which is arranged in alphabet.

PART I. A.D. 604-1066.

Beatus agonista totius Britanniae—used by Eadwi, in 956.

Angulcynineg—used in reference to Eadgar, in 969; in reference to Eaduecard after 972, and in 977; in reference to Aethelred, between 978-992.

Apice totius albionis sublimatus—used by Aethelstan, in 933; by Eadgar, in 961.

Archons—used by Eadwig, in 956 (*bis*); by Eadgar, 964, 968.

Basileon—used by Eadwig, in 956; and by Cnut, in 1021-1023.

BASILEUS.

The lexicographers of Middle Age Latin explain this term to be equivalent to Imperator (see lower down). *Basileus*—'Glos. Ælfrici Saxonicum,' *Basileus*, kyning, i. Rex. Hanc porro *Basilei* appellationem videntur sibi prae ceteris arrogasse veteres Angliae reges.—Du Cange, 'Glossarium,' s.v. *Basileus*.

Basileus—used by Coenuuella of Wessex, in 670, with subscription "Ego Coenuualla basilleos Westsaxonum," etc.; in the phrase "*basileus Anglorum simul et imperator regum et nationum infra fines Britanniae commorantium*," by Aethelstan in 930 (934 ?); and again in 931, "*basyleos Anglorum caeterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium*"; used by Aethelstan, in 931; by Aethelstan, in the phrase "*Basileos Anglorum et aequae totius Britanniae orbis deicolarumque fylos atque curagulus eorum*," in 935; by Eadmund, in 940, 946; by Eadred, in 948, 955; "*basileus Anglorum hujusque insulae barbarorum*," used by Eadred, in 955; by Eadwig, in 956, 959, 960; by Eadgar, in 959, 960, 962, 963, 964, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976; 978; by Aethelred, in 979, 980, 982, 983, 984, 985, 988, 993, 994, 996, 998, 999, 1002, 1004, 1007, 1008, 1012; by Cnut, in 1022, 1023, 1031, 1032; by Eadward, in 1043, 1044, 1046, 1055, 1060.

Basileus omnis Britanniae regimen adeptus—used by Cnut, in 1033.

Compos regni Anglorum basileus . . . paterno solio sublimatus—used by Eadmund, in 941.

Basileus Anglorum et aequae totius Bryttanniae orbis curagulus—used by Aethelstan, in 935, 937, 939.

Basileus native jureque dedicatus—used by Aethelred, in 983.

- Rite dicatus *basileus*—used by Aethelred, in 986.
Basileus egregius—used by Eadwig, in 956.
 Egregius Angul-Saxonum *basileus* cæterarumque plebium hinc inde
 habitantium—used by Eadwig, in 956.
Basileus egregius—used by Aethelred, in 972.
 Non solum Angul-Saxonum *basileus* verumetiam totius Albionis insulae
 . . . sceptro fungens—used by Eadwig, in 956.
Basileus, regni fastigio humili praesidens animo—used by Eadgar, in
 961.
Basileus . . . et gubernator—used by Aethelstan, in 939.
Basileus Anglorum . . . gubernator et rector—used by Eadred, in
 945, 948; by Eadwig, in 956; by Eadgar, in 961; by Ead-
 weard, in 1050.
Basileus Anglorum et imperator regum gentium—used by Eadgar, in
 966 (K. dxiv.)
Basileus . . . imperator et dominus—used by Eadgar, in 964.
Basileus Anglorum, et rex atque imperator regum et nationum infra
 fines Britaniae commorantium—used by Eadgar, in 967.
Basileus industrius—used by Aethelstan, in 938; by Aelfred, in 939;
 by Eadmund, 940, 942; by Eadgar, 961; by Aethelred, in
 983, 987, 988, 1015; by Eadweard, in 1046.
Basileus tocius Anglorum gentis, cæterarumque nationum in circuitu
 degentium primatum gerens—used by Aethelred, in 983.
Basileus . . . regens atque gubernans—used by Cnut, in 1024.
Basileus Albionis monarchus—used by Eadwig, in 956 (?).
Basileus (see Rex et Basileus).
Basileus Anglorum . . . tocius regni fastigium tenens—used by Aethel-
 red, in 995.
 Regiae dignitatis solio subthronizatus *basileus*—used by Aethelred, in
 981.

Brytenwalda (see Cyning).

CINCG.

- Cinc*—applied to Aethelbryght, to Eadmund, and to Eadred, in 965
 and 993.
Cincg—used by Aethilbald, between 743 and 745; applied to Ead-
 mund, between 965 and 993.
Cing—used by Eadgar, in 966; by Cnut, between 1013 and 1020,
 1035.
Cingc—used by Aelfred of Wessex, between 880 and 885.

- Cinig*—used by Eadweard of Wessex, between 901 and 909.
- Cining*—used by Eadgar, in 963 and 975; applied to Cnut, *circ.* 1020.
- Cining*—used by Aethelred, in 1006.
- Cynig*—applied to Eadgar, in 962; used by Aethelred, *circ.* 984.
- Cyneg*—used by Cnut, in 1032.
- Cyng*—applied to Eadred, in 946 and 955; used by Cnut, in 1032, 1033; by Eadweard.
- Cyngc*—used by Eadweard; by Cnut.
- Cyning*—used by Beornulf, in 825; by Berhtulf, *circ.* 840; by Eadweard of Wessex, between 901 and 909; by Aethelstan, in 934; by Eadred, in 955; by Eadgar, in 970, 973 and 975.
- Cyningc*—used by Eadweard, in 1065.
- Ongol-Saxna *cyning* and brytenwalda calles thyses iglandæs—used by Aethelstan, in 934.
- Kining*—used by Cnut, in 1023.
- King*—used by Aethelred of Wessex, between 867 and 871; by Aelfred, between 871 and 878; by Aethelstan (K. ccclix, ccclx), in 939; by Harold, in 1038; *passim* by Eadweard.
- Kingc*—used by Eadweard, between 1061 and 1065.
- Kyng*—used by Cnut, 1020 and 1023; by Eadweard.
- Kyngc*—used by Eadweard, between 1044 and 1065.
- Kyning*—referred to Eadweard, between 901 and 909; used by Aethelred, *circ.* 1000; and by Eadweard, in 1062:

Coregulus (*see* Gubernator).

Curagulus, i.e. curam gerens, sollicitus, curiosus (*see* Basileus and Rex).

Dominus—used by Eadgar, in 963 (*see* Basileus).

Fretus, etc. (*see* Regalis).

Fylos=φύλος for φύλαξ (*see* Basileus) or φίλος.

Gubernacula regens—used by Aethelflaed of Mercia, between 915 and 922.

Gubernator—used by Cnut, in 1018.

Gubernator sceptri hujus insulac—used by Aethelred, in 1014; by Cnut, in 1033.

Gentis *gubernator* Angligenae totiusque insulae coregulus, etc.—used by Aethelred, in 1002.

Gubernator et rector—used by Eadred, in 955; by Eadwig, in 956; by Eadgar, in 959, 960, 961, 962, 964, 967 [977 and 978].
Gubernator (*see* *Rex and Rector*).

Ierarchia (*see* *Rex*).

IMPERATOR.

Used by Cnut, in 1018 (K. dccxxvii), in the phrase, “Imperator Knut . . . regiminis Anglici in Anglia potitus”; used in the phrase “Rector et imperator,” by Coenwulf of Mercia, in 798 (*see* below, under *Rector*); in conjunction with Basileus, q.v., by Aethelstan, in 930 (934?) (K. ccclix*); “Eadwi rex, Angulsacxna et Northanhumbroꝝ imperator, paganorum gubernator Breotonumque propugnator,” in 956 (K. ccccli); “Basileus, imperator et dominus,” used by Eadgar, in 964; by Aethelred, in the phrase “totius Albionis . . . imperator,” in 995 (Chron. Mon. de Abingdon, i. 388).

Anglorum basileus, omniumque insularum oceani quae Britanniam circumjacent cunctarumque nationum quae infra eam includuntur *imperator et dominus*—used by Eadgar, in 964 (K. dxiv).

Basileus Anglorum, et rex atque *imperator* regum et nationum infra fines Britanniae commorantium—used by Eadgar, in 967 (K. dxxxvi).

Rex . . . gubernator . . . propugnator . . . ac *imperator*—used by Aethelred, in 1013.

Anglo-Saxoniae atque Northhymbrensis gubernator monarchiae, paganorum propugnator, ac Breotonum cacterarumque provinciarum *imperator*—used by Aethelred, in 1013.

Paganorum *imperator*—used by Eadred, in 949 (K. cccexxvi) (*see* *Rex*).

Imperator regum—in the phrase “Basileus Anglorum et imperator regum gentium”—used by Eadgar, in 964 (K. dxiv).

Famosus totius Brittannicae insulae *imperator*—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Totius Albionis *imperator* augustus—used by Eadgar, in 970.

Oswaldus totius Britanniae *imperator* ordinatus a Deo—Life of St. Columba, Acta SS. Bollandus, vol. xxii. p. 186; Paris, 1867.

Serenissimus *imperator*—used by Eadgar, in 974 (K. dlxxxii).

Imperatoris titulum sibi arrogasse Reges Anglosaxonicos ex hoc patet, quod Basileas sese passim indigitarent: quae vox Imperatorem tum sonabat.—Du Cange, ‘Glossarium,’ s.v. Imperator.

Imperiali Anglo-Saxonum diademate infulatus, etc.—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Imperium—used in the phrase “rex . . . regens imperium,” was employed by Aethilbald, in 742 (*see* below, under Rex); in the date “anno secundo imperii,” by Coenuulf, 798 (*see* below, under Rector); “imperii piissimi regis . . . Coenuulfi anno xv^o,” by Coenuulf, in 811; in a phrase, “super . . . imperium elevatus rex,” by Aethelstan, in 930 (*see* under Rex); in the date, “iiii^o anno imperii mei,” by Eadmund, in 943 (K. cccxciv); “primo anni imperii mei,” by Eadred, in 947; in the phrase, “rex terrenus sub imperiali potentia regis saeculorum acternumque principis magnae Britanniae temporale gerens imperium,” by Eadred, in 948; “anno imperii mei tertio,” by Eadred, in 949; “primo anno imperii mei,” by Eadwig, in 956 (K. cccccxxvii, K. cccclii, K. ccccliv); “anno secundo imperii Eadwiges totius Albionis insulae imperantis,” 957; “anno quarto imperii,” by Eadwig and Eadgar, in 959; “anno imperii vi^o,” by Eadgar, 963.

MONARCHUS, etc.

Monarcha—used by Eadgar, in 966; by Eadweard, in 1065.

Monarches—used by Aethelred, in 1012.

Monarchia (*see* Rex).

Totius Albionis *monarchiam* gubernans—used by Aethelred, in 1004.

Monarchia regni munitus—by Offa of Mercia, in 785.

Monarchiam totius Britanniae insulae cum superno iuvamine obtinens—used by Eadgar, in 965.

Monarchiam optinens—used by Eadweard, in 1053.

Possidens totius Magnae Britanniae *monarchiam*—used by Eadgar, in 966.

Monarchia—in the phrase “singularis privilegii monarchia praeditus rex” (*see* Rex).

Opitulante gratuita dei gratia *monarchiam* tenentes—used by Aethered and Aethelfred, in 901.

Monarchus—used by Aethilbald, in the phrase “Aethilbaldus Britanniae Anglorum monarchus,” between 725 and 737 (K. lxxxi*); by Eadwig, “totius Albionis monarchus,” in 956, and by Eadred, in 949; “Monarchus Britanniae insulae,” by Eadwig, in 956; “Britanniae Anglorum monarchus,” by Eadgar, in 959, 961; “monarchus,” by Eadgar, in 961, 966, 969 and 970, 972; “Bryttanniae Anglorum monarchus,” by

Eadwig, in 959; by Eadgar [977 and 978]; and by Aethelred, in 993; "Britanniae totius Anglorum monarchus," by Aethelred, in 994, 1005, 1006; by Cnut, in 1018, 1019, 1020 (monarcus), 1021-1023, 1031; by Eadweard, in 1042, 1062.

Monarchus et primicerius—used by Eadred, in 949.

Regius Angliarum monarchus—used by Eadweard, in 1049.

Monarchus (*see* Basileus, *and* Rex).

Praepotens Anglicanae genealogiae sceptro fretus—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Primicerius (*see* Rex, *and* Monarchus).

Primicharius—used by Eadgar, in 967.

Propugnator (*see* Imperator, *and* Rex).

Anglorum *rector* caeterarumque gentium per circuitum adjacentium gubernator—used by Aethelred, in 995.

Rector et imperator—used by Coennulf of Mercia, in the phrase "rector et imperator regni," in 798. (Facs. of Anct. Charters in B. M.) The date is given "anno secundo imperii nostri."

Rector (*see* Gubernator, *and* Rex).

Regali prosapia comptus—used by Aethelred, in 1003.

Regali delibutus unguine, sceptrigeraque gentis Anglorum monarchia altithroni favente clementia sublimatus—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Regali fretus dignitate—used by Ini, of Wessex, in 701, 725; by Beorhtric of Wessex, before 790; by Ecgberht, in 825, 826; by Aethelulf of Wessex, in 854; by Eadgar, in 963; by Aethelred, in 996, 1015; by Eadweard, between 1038, 1042, 1044.

Regalia scepra gubernans—used by Eadweard, in 1065.

Regalis regiminis obtinens—used by Aethelstan, in 939.

Regia dignitate praeditus—used by Offa, in 796.

Regia dignitatis sublimatus honore—used by Aethelred, in 1005.

Regia infula comptus—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Totius Britannicae insulae *regimina* gubernans—used by Eadgar, in 971.

Totius Britanniae triviatim potitus *regimine*—used by Eadgar.

Totius Albionis triviatim potitus *regimine*—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Regiminis Anglici potitus—used by Cnut, in 1018.

Regni Merciorum sublimatus ad culmina—used by Eadgar, in 958.

- Regnum dispensans*—used by Aethelstan in the phrase “*regnum totius albionis deo auctore dispensans*,” in 929.
- Praesidens regno magnae Britanniae*—used by Eadgar, in 972.
- Regni gubernacula sortitus*—used by Aethelred, in 995.
- (Rex) *Regni solio sullimatus*—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 934; by Eadgar, in 970, 974; by Aethelred, in 985, 988.
- Regulus*—used by Uhtred, of the Hwiccas, in 767; and again in 770; for Aldred of the Hwiccas, in 777; and by him between 778 and 785.

REX.

Commonly used by all sovereigns without exception from the seventh to the eleventh century.

- Rex assistens angligenarum*—used by Eadweard, in 1061.
- Rex et basileus totius angliae*—used by Eadgar, in 966.
- Clementissimus rex*, speaking of Aethelbert, in 761.
- Rex regia dignitate conspicuus*—used by Eadmund, in 940.
- Rex a domino constitutus*—used by Eadgar.
- Rex a rege regum constitutus*—used by Offa between 793 and 796.
- Rex Anglorum et curagulus totius Bryttanniae*—used by Aethelstan, in 939; (et aequo tocius Brit. curagulus), by Aethelstan, in 939.
- Rex Anglorum et curagulus multarum gentium*—used by Eadmund, in 940.
- Rex . . . et curagulus praelectus*—used by Aethelstan, in 938.
- Rex ac defensor constitutus*—used by Eadweard, in 1063.
- Dei atque domini nostri Jesu Christi faventique ridenteque gratia in regem dicatus*—used by Burgred, in 869.
- Rex regni regimonia dispensans*—used by Beorhtric of Wessex, in 801.
- Rex . . . domini adridenti grati regimini praelatus (sic)*—used by Æthelwulf of Wessex, in 839.
- Rex donans*, etc.—used by Coenuulf, in 799; by Aethelstan, in 933.
- Rex donator*—used by Hlotharius of Kent, in 679; by Ceaddualla of Wessex, in 688; by Osuini of Kent, in 689 (K. xxx*); by Wythred of Kent, in 696; by Aethilberht of Kent, in 732; by Æthelwulf of Mercia, in 845.
- [*Rex*] *Donator*—used by Egberht of Kent, in 779.
- Rex ogregius*—used by Eadwig, in 956.
- Super . . . imperium elevatus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in the phrase “*tam super Britannicae gentis, quam super aliarum nationum huic subditarum imperium elevatus rex*,” in 930 (K. cccli).
- Rex sceptris fretus regalibus*—used by Aethelstan, in 929, 930.
- Gloriosus rex*—used by Uuihtraed, in 694; in mentioning Wihtred,

the father of Athelberht, king, 724; by Eadgar, in 949; by Eadgar (c. 978?).

Rex gloriosissimus—used by Eadred, in 949.

Rex Anglorum gloriosissimus, rectorque Northanhymbra, et paganorum imperator, Brittonumque propugnator—used by Eadred in 949 (k. ccccxxvi).

Rex gratulabundus—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex Anglorum . . . culminis totius regimen gubernans—used by Aethelred, in 995.

Rex ac gubernator—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex et gubernator—used by Aethelstan, in 937.

Rex Anglorum gubernator et rector—used by Eadred, in 949; by Eadwig, in 958; by Eadgar, in 961; by Aethelred, in 1002.

Rex Anglorum, ac totius Britannicae telluris gubernator et rector—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex Anglorum, caeterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector—used by Edmund, in 940, 944, 945, 946; by Eadred, in 946, 947, 948, 949; by Aethelstan, in 943; industrius rex, c. q. g. i. c. p. g. e. r. as above, by Eadwig, in 956; (“circumquaque” for “in circuitu”), by Eadwig, in 956, 957, 958; (“multarum” and “circumquaque”), by Eadwig, c. 958; by Eadgar, in 963, 964, 968, 971; by Eadweard, in 977; by Aethelred, in 984, 1006 and 1012; by Cnut, in 1032, 1033 (see *Industrius rex*).

Rex . . . Angulsaexa et Northanhumbroborum imperator, paganorum gubernator, Breotonumque propugnator—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Rex et dominium habens—used by Eadweard Confessor.

Humilis et devotus rex—used by Aethelstan, in 938.

Rex imperiosus—used by Aethelred, in 984.

Inclitus rex—used by Eadwig, in 956.

Inclitus et serenissimus rex—used by Eadgar, in 969.

Inclitae memoriae rex, speaking of Aethelbert, in 762.

Industrius rex—used by Eadmund, in 940, 941, 942, 943; by Eadwig, in 956, in the phrase “industrius rex Anglorum, caeterarumque gentium in circuitu persistentium gubernator et rector”; by Eadwig, simply, in 956; “industrius Anglorum rex gubernator et rector”—used by Eadwig, in 957; by Eadgar, in 958; by Aethelred, in 1005.

Rex justus et benignus—applied to Athulf, in 937.

Rex et monarchus—used by Aethelred, in 987, 1014 in the phrase, “sullimatus rex et monarchus totius Albionis.”

- Nomine *regis* fungens—used by Cuthraed of Wessex, in 745.
- Rex ordinatus super Angligenas*, etc.—used by Eadmund, in 941.
- Rex pacificus*—used by Eadgar, in 968.
- Pius rex*—used by Coenuulf of Mercia, in 803, 811.
- Piissimus rex*—applied to Offa in 759 [B. M. Add. Ch. 19789]; used by Offa, in 779, and applied to Coenuulf, in 811.
- Regum praecellentissimus*—used by Eadwi, in 956.
- Singularis privilegii ierarchia praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 930 (for 934), 932, 934; (gerarchia), in 931; by Cnut, in 1035.
- Ierarchia florentis Albionis praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 935.
- Monarchia praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 932.
- Singularis privilegii monarchia praeditus rex*—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 933; by Æthelred, in 1009.
- Rex ac praedux*—used by Eadgar, in 964.
- Rex . . . praordinatus in regem*—used by Eadred, in 949; by Eadwig, in 956, 958.
- Praordinatus in regem*—used by Aethelred, in 994.
- Rex Albionis summam praesidens*—used by Eadred, in 949.
- Rex Anglorum et aequae multarum gentium monarchiae potestatis praevisor*—used by Eadweard, in 977.
- Rex et primicerius*—used by Eadmund, in 946; *rex . . . totius albionis primicerius*—used by Eadred, in 947, 953, 955, 956; by Eadred, in 955; by Eadwig, in 956, 961; by Eadgar, in 958, 963, 965, 966, 967; *rex primicheriusque*—used by Eadgar, in 969, 972, 973, 975; by Aethelred, in 1009; by Hardacnut, in 1042; *rex primiceriusque*—used by Eadweard, in 1052-3; by Eadweard, in 1054.
- Rex et primicerius totius Albionis regni fastigium humili praesidens animo*—used by Aethelstan, in 931; by Cnut, in 1033; by Eadweard, in c. 977, 1050, 1052.
- Rex et princeps*—used by Eadberht, in 761; *rex et Anglorum princeps*, by Eadweard.
- Rex in cathedra regali promotus*—used by Cnut, in 1020 and 1023.
- Rex . . . [Christi] ammonitione provocatus*—used by Cnut, in 1033; by Eadweard, in 1044.
- Rex et rector*—used by Aethelstan, in the phrase “*rex et rector totius Britanniae caeterarumque deo concedente gubernator provinciarum*,” in 930; by Aethelstan, in 933, 934; by Eadred, in 949; by Aethelred, in 1001, 1005.
- Rex Anglorum gentiumque circumstantium praepotens almifice rector*—used by Eadmund, in 942.
- Rex regens imperium*—used by Aethilbald of Mercia, in the expression,

"Ego Ethelbald rex divino suffragio fultus gentis Merciorum regens imperium," in 742 (K. lxxvii).

Totius regni *rex* citra mare—used by Eadgar, 966.

Rex . . . regni totius fastigium tenens—used by Aedelred, in 990.

Rex regimina tenens—used by Coenuulf, in 816.

Rex regimina tentans—used by Eadwig, in 955.

Rex terrenus . . . temporale gerens imperium—used by Eadred, in 948.

Reverentissimus *rex*—used by Aethilbald of Mercia, in 727.

Strenuissimus *rex*—applied to Offa in 789.

Rex non modica infulatus sublimatus dignitate—used by Aethelstan, in 926.

Rex . . . sublimatus ad culmina—used by Eadgar, in 963.

Rex . . . regno sublimatus—used by Aethelstan, in 935.

Rex . . . regni solio sublimatus—used by Aethelstan, in 931, 932, 934.

Rex . . . solio sublimatus—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Rex subthronizatus—used by Cnut, in 1018, 1026.

Sceptrigera ditioe . . . *rex* subthronizatus—used by Aethelred, in 990.

Subthronizatus *rex* et rector—used by Cnut, in 1019.

Rex Anglorum . . . regni totius fastigium tenens—used by Aethelred, in 984, 985.

Rex vocitatus—used by Cnut in the phrase "Divino nutu Anglorum rex vocitatus, in 1020.

Subregulus—used by Aethilnuard of the Wiccas, 706—by Eanberht of the Hwiccas, 757—for Oshere of the Hwiccas, in 774—by Uhtred of the Hwiccas, between 764 and 775—by Aldred of the Hwiccas, between 778 and 781; and between 769 and 785.

PART II. A.D. 1066-1879.

This second part, into which my notes naturally divide themselves, embraces a period of 814 years, nearly twice the space of time occupied and illustrated by the former part. But it will be seen that the royal styles and diplomatic titles affected by the sovereigns in this division arrive at a degree of harmony and intelligible adoption not in all cases shown by the first division. The sources from which the following notes have been extracted might have been diffuse, had not the

very nature and essence of the inquiries demanded that my researches should be restricted to formal, original, and irrefragable evidence bearing in a direct manner upon these styles. Hence they are restricted to the evidence afforded by royal documents, coins, medals, and great seals; and the principal repertories, whence I have extracted my notes for this part following, are, the unrivalled collection of charters and seals in the British Museum; the chapter entitled 'Remarks on the Style and Charters of the Kings of England,' to be found in some editions only of 'The Chronology of History,' by Sir Harris Nicolas, itself derived in turn from Hardy's 'Introduction to the Charter-Rolls'; my own article on "Seals" in the *Arts and Sciences Supplement* of the *English Cyclopædia*; various Monographs on the Great Seals by Prof. Willis, the Rev. W. H. Gunner, and myself, in the *Journals and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Literature, the British Archæological Association, and the Royal Archæological Institute; and Mr. H. W. Henfrey's 'Guide to the Study and Arrangement of English Coins' (which is, for this purpose, perhaps as useful as other numismatic works of greater calibre that are less easily procured by the general reader).

A variety of other works will naturally suggest themselves to those who read and study the history of England in its critical forms. This part of the notes necessarily arranges itself best under the chronological series of sovereigns; and premising that the sign (s.) signifies *seal*, and (c.) *coins*, and that other notes without references are from documentary sources, while, for the sake of brevity, constantly recurring words are abbreviated or indicated by their initial letters only, we commence with—

William I. who used—rex—rex Anglorum—rex Anglorum, comes Normannorum atque Cinomanensium—r. A., princeps Normannorum et Cenomannorum—dux Normannorum et rex Anglorum—r. A. et Cenomannorum princeps—Normannorum patronus, Anglis rex (s.)—dux Normannorum . . . Angliam veniens in ore gladii regnum adeptus sum Anglorum—Anglorum rex et dux Normannorum atque princeps Cenomannorum—r. A. et dux Norm.—gloriosus rex A. et dux Northmannorum—victoriosus Anglorum basileus, in 1069—rex gloriosissimus—

rex A. hereditario jure factus—magnus, and senior, frequently applied to him by succeeding sovereigns—"imperium ejus" (Nicolas, p. 365, n.)—Anglorum rex (very rare).

- William II.—rex Anglorum (*s.*)—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum (on a doubtful seal)—rex A. filius magni Willelmi qui regi Edwardo hereditario jure successit.
- Henry I.—rex Anglorum (*e.*), between 1100 and 1108 (*s.*)—r. A., dux Normannorum, between 1108 and 1135 (*s.*)—r. A. et princeps Norm., after 1106—ænglelandes kyning—r. A. filius magni regis Willelmi qui beatae memoriae regi Edwardo in regnum successit (a doubtful charter, dated in 1109)—r. A. et Normannorum dux—r. A. et Normannorum dux, Willelmi magni regis filius, qui Aeduardo regi hereditario jure successit in regnum (in a doubtful charter of 1109)—gloriosus rex Anglorum, applied to him.
- Stephen—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum (*s.*)—rex Anglorum only, in charters, with one exception.
- Mathildis, or Maud the Empress (of Germany)—Romanorum regina (*s.*)—imperatrix Henrici regis filia, in 1140, 1149, etc.—imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum domina, in 1141, 1151, etc.—imperatrix Henrici regis filia et Anglorum regina, *circa* 1141 to 1143. See my monograph, 'A Fasciculus of the Charters of Mathildis,' etc., in the *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1875.
- Henry II.—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum, comes Andegavorum (*s.*)—rex Angliae et dux Normanniae et Aquitaniae et comes Andegaviae.
- King Henry, son of Henry II.—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et comes Andegavorum (*s.*).
- Richard I.—dux Normanniae et dominus Angliae, before his coronation—rex Anglorum, dux Normannorum et Aquitanorum et comes Andegavorum (*s.*)—rex Angliae, dux Normanniae et Aquitaniae, comes Andegaviae.
- John—rex Anglie dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie et Aquitannie, comes Andegavie (*s.*)—r. A., d. H., d. N., Aq., et c. An.
- Henry III.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Normannie et Aquitannie, comes Andegavie, between 1216 and 1260 (*s.*)—r. A., d. H., dux N. et c. Andeg. (*s.*)—r. A., d. H., d. Aquit., between 1262 and 1272 (*s.*).
- Edward I.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitannie (*s.*)—same, but "et dux," in deeds.
- Edward II.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitannie (*s.*)—rex Anglie et dominus Hibernie, sometimes in the last regnal year.

- Edward III.—rex Anglie, dominus Hibernie, dux Aquitanie, between 1327 and 1340 (*s.*)—rex Angl., Fra., Hib. (*c.*)—rex Francie et Anglie, dominus Hibernie, et dux Aquitanie, in 1340 (*s.*)—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, between 1340 and 1360 (*s.*)—same, with second “et” omitted (*c.*)—rex F., A. et d. H., in 1347 (*s.*)—r. F. et A. et d. H., between 1340 and 1360, and between 1372 and 1377 (*s.*)—rex A., dominus H. et Aq., between 1347 and 1360 (*c.*), and between 1360 and 1369 (*s.*)—rex A. et F., dom. H. et Aq., after 1369 (*c.*)—r. A. et F., dom. H. et dux Aq.
- Richard II.—rex Francie et Anglie et dominus Hibernie (*s.*)—rex A. et F. et d. H.—rex A. et F., d. H. et Aquitanie (*c.*)—r. A., d. H. et Aq. (*c.*)—r. A. et F., d. H. (*c.*).
- Henry IV.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, and “Francie et Anglie” (*s.*)—rex A. et F., d. H. et Aquitanie (*c.*)—rex Anglie et Francie (*c.*)—r. A. et F. et d. H. (*c.*)—rex Anglie (*c.*).
- Henry V.—Seals same as Henry IV.; coins same as the last three above—Roy de France et d’Engleterre, seigneur d’Irlande, et duc de Normandie, in 5th year, Norman Rolls—rex Anglie heres et regens Francie et dominus Hibernie—and the same, with “regni” inserted after “regens”—r. A., heres regni F. et d. H. (*s.*), used between 1420 and 1422—kyng of England, heire and regent of the rewme of France and lord of Irlande—roy d’Engleterre, heretier et regent du royaume de France et seigneur d’Irlande.
- Henry VI.—Seals same as Henry IV.; coins same as Henry V.—Francorum et Anglie rex, between 1422 and 1451 (*s.*)—“nuper de facto et non de jure rex Anglie,” applied to him by Edward IV.
- Edward IV.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, or r. Francie et Anglie, etc. (*s.*)—rex Anglie et Francie—rex Anglie—rex Anglie et Hibernie (*c.*).
- Edward V.—Coins same as of Edward IV.—rex Anglie et F. et d. H. (*s.*)—r. F. et A. et d. H.
- Richard III.—rex Anglie et F. et d. H. (*s.*)—rex Anglie, and rex Anglie et Francie (*c.*)—rex F. et A. et d. H.
- Henry VII.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, and rex Francie et Anglie, etc. (*s.*).
- Henry VIII.—rex Anglie et Francie et dominus Hibernie, between 1509 and 1532 (*s.*)—“His Most Christian Majesty,” title conferred by Pope Julius II. in 1513—rex Anglie, Francie, dominus Ibar for Hibernie (*c.*)—rex Anglie et Francie (*c.*)—rex Anglie (*c.*)—Fidei defensor, added in 1521—Henricus Octavus,

d. g. Anglie et Francie rex, fidei defensor et dominus Hibernie, between 1532 and 1541 (*s.*)—H. O. d. g. A. F. et H. rex, fidei defensor et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput, between 1541 and 1547 (*s.*)—same title, with sub Christo¹ added after Hibernice, in medal figured in *Brit. Arch. Assoc. Journ.* xxxiv.—Anglie, Francie et Hibernie rex, in 34th to 37th years' coinage.

Edward VI.—Edwardus sextus, Anglie, Francie et Hibernie rex fidei defensor et in terra ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice supremum caput (*s.* and deeds)—Anglie, Francie et Hibernie rex (*c.*).

Mary I.—Maria, Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regina, ejus nominis prima, fidei defensor et in terra, etc., as above, or the same, but "ejus nominis prima" omitted—Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regina (*c.*)—"Maria" to "defensor" as above (*s.*).

Philip I. and Mary I.—Philippus et Maria, rex et regina Anglie, Francie, Neapolis, Jerusalem, et Hibernie, fidei defensores, principes Hispaniarum et Sicilie, archiduces Austrie et duces Mediolani, Burgundie, et Brabantie, comites Haspurgi, Flandrie, et Tirolis, in July, 1554—P. et M., Anglie, Hispaniarum, Francie, Jerusalem, utriusque Sicilie et Hibernie rex et regina, f. d., archiduces Austrie, duces Burgundie, Mediolani, et Brabantie, comites Haspurgi, Flandrie, et Tirolis, in 1555—rex et regina (*c.*)—P. et M., rex et regina Anglie, Hispaniarum, Francie, utriusque Sicilie et Hibernie, f. d., etc., between 1556 and 1558 (*s.*).

Elizabeth—Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie regina, fidei defensor, etc. (*s.*)—Anglie, Francie, Hibernie regina (*c.*)—A., F., et H. regina, fidei defensatrix, in one instance (Nicolas)—"Elizabet, d. g. Angl., Fr. et M. Pr. c. a. i. regina," on coins which have been referred to the taking of Virginia by Raleigh in 1584; the abbreviations "M. Pr. c. a. i." on these coins are rendered "Magnae Provinciae captae auspiciis illius," by Henfrey, but "a. i." may be perhaps "ab inimico."

James I.—Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor (*s.* and deeds)—Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, on coins issued in the first year—Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, on coins issued in the second year—"Jac. I. Totius Ins. Brit. Imp. et Franc. et Hib. Rex," and "Jac. I.

¹ Compare the insertion "proxime a Christo" in the title engraved by Baron in 1736 from Holbein's picture of the king granting a charter to the Barber-Surgeons, and the similar terms "immediately after Christ," on title-page of the Statutes, a^o 31, and "under Christ," Statutes, a^o 32, as pointed out by Mr. A. J. Horwood in the *Athenaeum*, 2534, 20 May, 1876, p. 697.

- Brit. Cac. Aug. Hae. Caesar," medals figured in *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxxiv.
- Charles I.—Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, etc., in 1626, 1627 (*s.*)—Magnae to rex, as above (*c.*)—Angliae, Scotiae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, between 1627 and 1640 (*s.*)—Magnae to defensor, as above, between 1640 and 1649 (*s.*).
- Republic—Olivarius, Reipublicae Angliae, Scotiae, et Hiberniae, etc., protector, between 1653 and 1658 (*s.*)—Richardus, and so on, as above, between 1658 and 1660? (*s.*)
- Charles II.—Carolus II., or Secundus, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, etc. (*s.* and deeds)—"fidei defensor" omitted (*c.*).
- James II., *mutatis mutandis*, uses the same forms.
- William III. and Mary II.—Gulielmus III. et Maria II., Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex et regina, fidei defensores, etc., between 1689 and 1695 (*s.*)—Gulielmus et Maria, Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex et regina (*c.*).
- William III.—Gulielmus III., Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, etc. (*s.*)—the coins as above, but "et Maria" and "et regina" omitted.
- Anne—Anna, M. B., F., et H. regina, f. d., etc. (*s.*)—M. B., F., et H. regina (*c.*).
- George I.—Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae rex, fidei defensor, on deeds—same on seals and coins, with addition of Brunswicensis et Lunenburgensis dux, sacri Romani imperii archithesaurarius et princeps elector.
- George II.—deeds and seals ("etc." added) same as George I.—coins omit "princeps."
- George III.—deeds, seals, and coins same as George II. until 1801—thenceforward "Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor," deeds and coins; seals have "Brunswicensis" to "princeps elector, etc." as George I.—Of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland king, defender of the faith—Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor, et in terra ecclesiae Anglicanae et Hibernicae supremum caput, late in reign (on a seal in the British Museum).
- George IV.—Britanniarum rex, fidei defensor, on seals and coins—style in deeds, "of the United Kingdom," etc., as George III.
- William IV.—*mutatis mutandis*, as George IV.
- Victoria—Britanniarum regina, fidei defensor—seals and coins, style as above—"Empress of India, 1 January, 1877," medal by G. G. Adams, Esq., F.S.A., figured in *Journal of British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxiv. 1878.

PART III.

In this concluding division¹ of the subject, I will endeavour to point out succinctly some of the most prominent of the many lessons that the previous extracts and notes appear to show us. I will only say, by way of preface, that I have spared no time or trouble to make my list as perfect as possible, although I can hardly hope to have gathered in every one of the numerous expressions which have been employed, for a period of 1275 years, to denote sovereignty of rule within the area of England.

If readers will refer to the list of expressions in Part I., they will observe that several words for sovereign ruler have been only used on one occasion, and to suit the taste of some individual monarch; and these *hapaxlegomena* divide themselves into two classes, the one of pure Latin origin, the other of Greek extraction. The Latin forms are *coregulus* and *dominus*; the Greek are *agonista*, *fylos* for *φύλαξ*, or perhaps for *φίλος*, and *monarches*. We may, therefore, dismiss these from our minds, as words unlikely ever to have been of any great value towards expressing the sovereign power over the kingdom of Britain. *Brytenwalda*, a purely English word, signifying "Britain's wielder," or "the Britons' wielder," *i.e.* "he who wields, or sways, the supreme power in Britain," also occurs but once in a diplomatic document, as far as my researches go (and that I find used by King Æthelstan in A.D. 934), although we recognize therein the more familiar expression *Bretwalda*, or *Brihtwalda*, into the consideration of which it is not my intention to digress on this occasion.

Readers will also observe another class of words, which, from their use on more than one occasion, and by different monarchs, appear to imply a certain amount of acceptance and authoritative employment, during this pre-Norman period. And these, in like manner, divide themselves into Latin and Greek forms. For example, among Latin forms there are *curagulus*, *gubernator*, *imperator*, *primicerius*, *propugnator*, *rector*, *regulus* (but only in a

¹ This division is here published for the first time.

subordinate sense), and *subregulus* (also in a subordinate form). The words of Greek origin, which enter into this category, are *archons*, *basileus*, and *monarchus*.

Of these expressions, *gubernator* occurs either alone, in combination with a genitive case, such as *gentis* or *insulae*, or with another noun, such as *rex*, *rector*, etc., in between fifty and sixty documents. The word itself appears to have been selected by the scribes and advisers of the royal court merely as a synonym of *king* or *governor*, *ruler of the land*, for the educated Saxon scribe loved circumlocutions, periphrastic expressions, and metaphorical diction quite as much as his modern representative, the learned man of the nineteenth century. The reader may with profit compare the charter K. MCI., commencing "Afflante per cunctam triquadri orbis latitudinem gibonifero sacrosancti flaminis incendio," etc., dated in 928; or that numbered MCVII., dated in 923, beginning "Flebilis fortiter detestanda totillantis sæculi piacula," etc., with his own acquaintance with purer Latin styles.

The term *curagulus*, which appears to be a form of "curam gerulus" or "curam gerens" (although it very much resembles the word "coregulus," which has quite a different signification), occurs eight times, in combination with the more sublime title of *basileus* or *rex*.

The expression *primicerius*, or *primicherius*, appears once by itself, once in conjunction with *monarchus*, and twenty-six times in combination with *rex*. The signification of the word is not difficult of discovery, the latter part of the word probably being little more than a mere termination.

Propugnator, an expressive word, and full of meaning and value in the days of its employment, occurs in close combination with *bretonnem*, or *paganorum*, twice, and then only in the secondary clauses of an elaborated style.

Rector occurs in the phrase "Rector et imperator" once; as "Gubernator et rector," ten times; as "Rex, gubernator, et rector," between thirty and forty times. Its meaning was evidently almost synonymous with *rex*.

Regulus appears about five times, and *subregulus* about six times, and are employed by local potentates, and not by those

having entire government in the kingdom. These words appear mostly with the *Hwiccas*, or inhabitants of that tract of land generally identified with Worcestershire.

By far the most interesting word in the series to us all is *imperator*, and, from its frequent occurrence in formal documents, there can be no doubt that the use of this term was universally acknowledged and thoroughly understood, as well by the sovereigns who employed it as by the people who accepted its adoption. It appears used alone, or in combination with *rex*, *rector*, *gubernator*, *propugnator*, *basileus*, *dominus*; hence its signification was comprehensive and perhaps as sublime as that of any word in the whole list I have collected. It appears also in such phrases as "imperator regum," "Breotonum ceterarumque provinciarum imperator," "paganorum imperator," "totius insulæ," or "totius Albionis imperator," etc. In all, there are between twenty and thirty examples of the use of the word by Coenwulf, Oswald, Æthelstan, Eadred, Eadwig, Eadgar, Æthelred, and Cnut during years ranging between 798 and 1018. Curiously enough, Du Cange says (*see* the passage I have quoted in the paragraph devoted to this title) that the Anglo-Saxon kings laid claim to the title of emperor because they made use of the term *basileus*, a word which at that time signified the same as *imperator*; but that writer does not seem to have noticed that the actual word *imperator* had ever been used. The primary use of the word was probably suggested by Roman intercourse. One king, at least, adopted the constantly recurring Roman style *Imperator Augustus*.

The Greek word ἀρχων, in its Saxonized form *archons*, occurs three times in absolute use, and no doubt is the equivalent of *rector*, or, perhaps, *rex*.

Monarchus, another Greek term, occurs from twenty to thirty times used singly, and in the phrases "rex et monarchus" twice, "regius monarchus," "basileus monarchus," "monarchus et primicerius," once each. *Monarcha*, another form of the same word, occurs twice. This word *monarchus* is used for *emperor* by Theognis, Æschylus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Isocrates, according to Yonge.

Basileus (which is not the translation of *rex* in middle-age

Latin, as it was in older and classical ages, but of *imperator*) is apparently as favourite and as important a word as any in the whole series. This value of *basileus* is shown by the phrase "Rex et basileus totius Angliæ." The middle-age Greek equivalent to *rex* was merely a transliteration of the word into 'Ρῆξ. This word *basileus* occurs very frequently throughout the period embraced in Part I.—from fifty to sixty times simply, as well as many times in combination with the expressions *gubernator*, *rector*, *monarchus*, *imperator*, *curagulus*, and *rex*, the employment of such phrases as "basileus et imperator" being, of course, a mere repetition. It is worth while to remember that *tyrannus*, *autocrator*, *hegemon*, and other Greek words were not used by the Saxons.

When we take into consideration the frequency of the use of the word *imperator*, and its corresponding synonym *basileus*, I think we cannot deny that England, up to the time of the coming of the Normans, was not only a kingdom, but an empire, governed by a monarch who, while never losing sight of the words *rex* and *regnum*, yet possessed and very generally exercised his title to the word *imperator*, and designated his territories by the term *imperium*. Why William the First abandoned these titles, with one exception only of the use of *basileus* in a doubtful document, and persistently adhered to *rex*, a practice in which all his successors except James I. imitated him, I do not pretend to determine. If, as some assert, an *imperium* is a possession acquired and governed by the sword, but a *regnum* by inheritance and right and goodwill, then surely William would have used *imperator* and *imperium* in their most critically correct significations, unless, indeed, he desired to emphasize his contention that he succeeded to the throne of England by inheritance and not by conquest. by this use of the title *rex*. But it may be that this king never looked upon England as much better than a province added on to his own primary possession of the Duchy of Normandy: its greater extent being counterbalanced by its unsettled and unsatisfactory condition.

The remaining words, terms, and phrases of which my list is composed explain themselves, and appear to require little

comment; some are merely fulsome and adulatory, others tautological and periphrastic, some explanatory and descriptive, others epithetic and unique. The adjective forms applied to the more important substantive nouns are *beatus*, *egregius*, *industrius*, rather a favourite word; *famosus*, *augustus*, *serenissimus*, *clementissimus*, *gloriosus*, *gloriosissimus*, *gratulabundus*, *humilis*, *devotus*, *inclitus*, *imperiosus*, *justus*, *benignus*, *pacificus*, *pius*, *püissimus*, *præcellentissimus*, *terrenus*, *reverentissimus*, *strenuissimus*, *subthronizatus*, and *vocitatus*. Perhaps these expressions correspond to the modern employment of the words *Most Gracious*, applied to the sovereigns of England, just as *Most Christian*, *Most Faithful*, etc., are appropriated to European sovereigns.

A consideration of the remaining phrases and words which I have not here touched upon must be relegated to a future occasion, lest I encroach too much upon the space here allowed me. There is, however, one peculiar phase of the history of the first use of the term "Great Britain" which must be mentioned before I conclude these notes on the styles and titles of English sovereigns. "Rex Anglorum" appears to be the form from William the First to Richard the First; "Rex Anglie" commences with Henry the Second, and at first is used side by side with the previous form, but gradually supplants it, yielding in its turn on the death of Mary the Second, in 1695. But the employment of the term, "Magnæ Britanniæ, etc., rex," was not so uniformly persisted in when it first arose, for Charles the First adopts the words on his first great seal, which was only in use for the year 1626-1627; he then reverts to "Angliæ, etc., rex" until 1640, when he resumes the expression, "Magnæ Britanniæ," etc. Oliver does not use the term, Richard equally avoids or ignores it. Charles the Second, however, reverts to the practice first begun by his father. Yet William the Third and Mary the Second bear the older style on their seal, the newer one on their coins. William the Third's new great seal, after the death of Queen Mary, adopts "Magnæ Britanniæ," and from that time forwards "Angliæ," etc., are discarded. The present style, "Britanniarum," etc., dates from 1801, the union with Ireland.

One remarkable instance of a revival is presented by a great seal, of which an impression exists in the British Museum, where George the Third, late in his reign, adds, after *defensor*, the words "et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput," a title first used by Henry the Eighth, and not continued beyond Mary the First. We must, in like manner, consider the employment of the term *imperatrix* in connexion with Her Majesty the Queen more in the light of a resumption of a well-established Saxon usage—which perhaps inspired the unique title of "Totius Insulæ Britannicæ imperator" employed on the medal of James I.—than, as some will have it, in the light of a novelty without a precedent; for my notes and references indicate that it is a great archæological fact, and remove it altogether from a political expression.

