

ART. XV.—*Brougham Castle*. By JOHN F. CURWEN,
F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, July 8th, 1921.

FIRST EPOCH, 1174—1189.

AS at Brough, so also here, we find a late Norman castle built upon the site of a Roman fort. The great road from Carlisle to York crossed the Eamont by a ford a little below the modern bridge, and here it was met by a branch road coming by way of Yanwath, and by another road from Low Borough Bridge via Crosby Ravensworth Fell. We can feel pretty certain that the same reason which induced the Roman to select the site, namely, the necessity of guarding the ford at this important junction of the ways, led the Norman, many centuries later, to erect his castle here.

And, if we should try to understand the necessity for the strong chain of castles that continue down from Carlisle to Bowes and beyond, we must realize that this Stainmore road was the only military way at the time when England and Scotland were fighting for sovereignty over the district. With the accession of Henry II. (1154), eighty-eight years after the battle of Hastings, *we* in this district formed a part of the Scottish kingdom, and I take it that the keep of Carlisle, built by King David, was the only castle in Cumberland and Westmorland possessing any kind of defences in masonry—the remaining strongholds being constructed entirely of earth and timber. But when the English king, in 1157, demanded that Malcolm of Scotland should relinquish the territory, he appears to have issued, to those whom he placed in authority along the border, a royal order to erect castles of stone. Although possessed by local magnates they

were to be the property of the crown and the king took command of them on the slightest suspicion of insubordination or on the occasion of hostile invasion. Thus, I infer, were the keeps of Appleby and Brough commenced; but, following instances of which we have record, they would take some ten or fifteen years in the building. One is rather apt to forget the enormous amount of material to be gathered, hauled and worked before such a mass of masonry could be erected. With these chief centres, other purely garrison keeps along the road would be needed as appendages, and hence Pendragon to block the Mallerstang valley and Brougham,* as we have just said, to guard the junction of the ways as well as the Eamont ford.

But, before this time, the under-tenant would probably have a motte and bailey fortress here, and I think that we find signs of it at the south-west corner of the present courtyard, where the outer earthworks are very strong and where the old course of the river Lowther swept beside it. If this is so, the old timber tower would stand and be occupied while the stone keep was in course of construction at the further end of the bailey.

I do not think that this keep was built in 1174, the year that William, the Lion of Scotland, passed through the district to besiege Carlisle and to capture Appleby and Brough. Fantosme's Chronicle † of the event does not mention it, as surely it would have done if there had been a garrison here; so we may conclude that it was not built by Hugh de Morville, whose great estate was forfeited to the crown after the assassination of Thomas à Beckett in 1170. From this date until the year 1204, when King John granted the estate back to Hugh's

* Bruhame, Burgham, Browham and Brougham, as the name was variously written, is pronounced as a monosyllable, the same as Broom.

† *Chronicles of the Wars between the English and the Scots in 1173 and 1174*, by Jordan Fantosme (published by Surtees Society, vol. xi).

nephew, Robert de Vipont,* several custodians were in possession; and, if we may take Bowes† for a guide, it is highly likely that Henry II. took advantage of the interregnum, to cause Brougham Keep to be built, *i.e.* before the year 1189. Indeed it could not have been much later, as, in 1245—in 55 years' time—an inquisition shows that "the walls and roof had gone to decay for the want of repairing the gutters."

Mr. E. Towry Whyte, F.S.A., has written (in *Archæologia* lviii) the best description of the castle that I know of, and, most courteously, he has lent for our use all his notes and plans. So that with his help and a plan copied more or less from his survey let us endeavour to examine the building. Doubtless, as in most buildings, additions were made constantly, but I shall try to group the works of construction into three epochs, and for brevity as well as for clearness sake shall hope to miss out all minor details of arrangement which can be traced out on the plan.

KEEP.—At first the Keep, 47 feet east and west by 44 feet north and south, with its forebuilding to strengthen the entrance, stood alone—an impregnable mass of masonry surrounded by the deep moat and palisading of the original bailey. On three sides we find the usual broad flat pilasters at the corners, some 12 feet broad by

* *Pat. Rolls*, 4 John, m. 2.

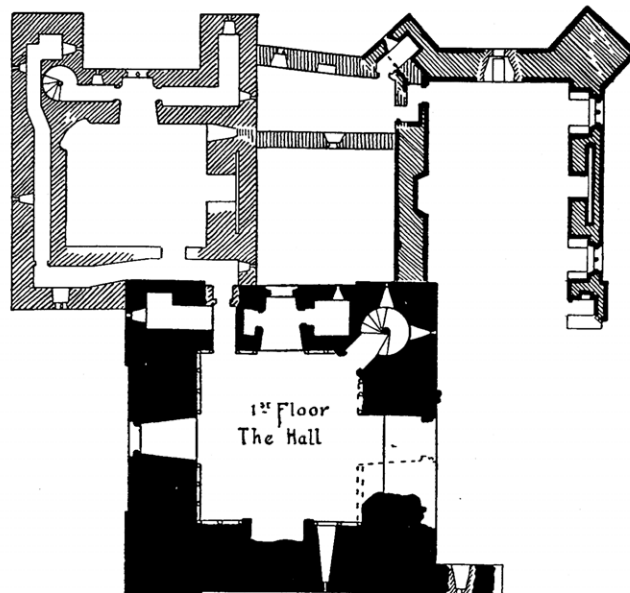
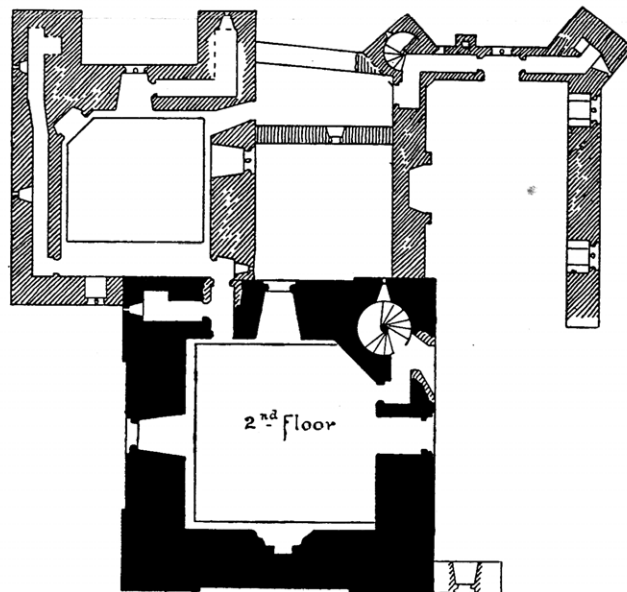
† Bowes was commenced by Conan, Duke of Brittany, about 1166, but on his death, in 1171, his incompleted tower escheated to the crown, with the wardship of Conan's heirress, and Henry II. completed it in 1187. It seems almost unnecessary to point out that medieval writers constantly used such words as *fecit* and *construxit*, "he built," in the sense of *feri fecit* and *construi fecit*, "he caused to be made" or "to be built." The phrase cannot be extended to mean that Henry II. took control of the work and its execution. After taking general instructions of the lord or *custos operis* the *magister cementariorum*, or master-mason, would design and supervise the work. Such a man would be brought from a distance, being "expert in his art and much commended"; he would be widely versed in the contemporary progress of military architecture as well as in the qualities of building stone—a man who had earned the right to exercise mastery in his craft. The master-carpenter came second in command with almost equal importance, but the master-smiths and plumbers were of inferior rank. Under them were the *operarii* or workmen.

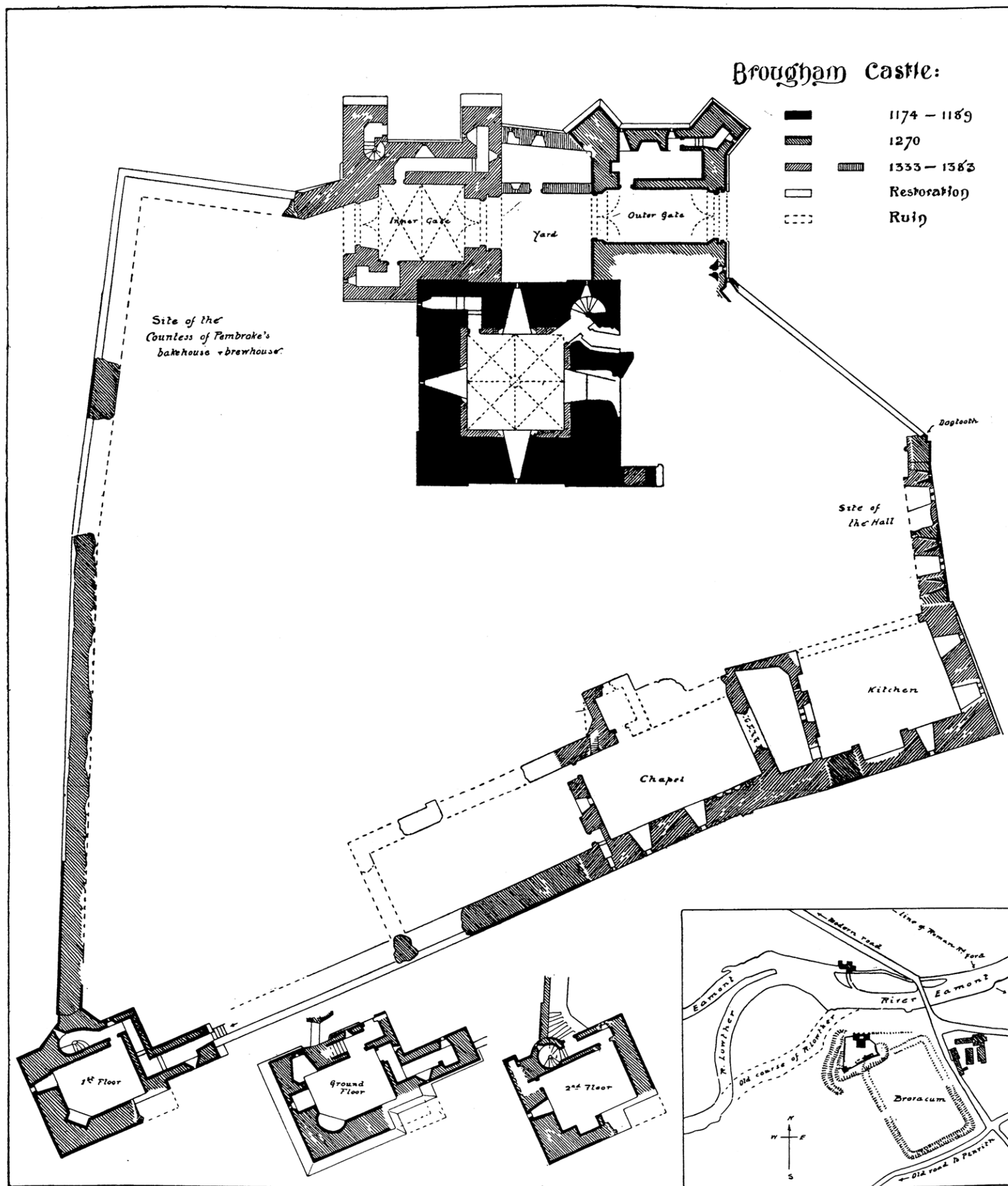
6 inches projection, but on the fourth or east side they were not needed, as the forebuilding stood there. Nothing now remains of this latter building excepting a small portion of the south wall, 5 feet thick, which is seen to be bonded into the angle of the Keep. The upper portion that is not bonded is an addition.

From this forebuilding a flight of stone steps would lead up to the entrance on the first floor level, where a few stones of the arch and label, of Transitional Norman date, are still visible. The doorway on the second floor would open out upon the leads of the forebuilding for defensive purposes. The Oratory, at the south-east corner, which we shall refer to presently, is seen projecting on a moulded course, with two very well carved heads to support the moulding, where it continues beyond the pilaster on the south side. At the parapet level three heavy corbels supported machicolations on each face of the tower.

The ground floor or basement, with walls 11 feet thick, can be entered now through a broken-down loop, but originally the only access would be by the newel stairway leading down from the first or entrance floor. Hutchinson says, in "An Excursion to the Lakes" (1773):—"The lower apartment in the principal tower is still remaining entire, being covered with a vaulted roof of stone consisting of eight arches, which, as they spring from (the angles and the centre of) the side walls, are supported and terminate on a pillar in the centre." If so, it must have been very like the vaulting of the keep at Richmond, but an addition of the 14th century. The appearance of the loops, which splay from 7 feet wide on the inside to only 3 inches wide on the outside, gives one a vivid feeling of the immense strength of the tower.

The first floor was the hall. The great fireplace with its huge flue was in the south wall. Two large windows within round-headed recesses pierce the west and north walls, but unfortunately a considerable portion of the





AFTER A SURVEY MADE BY E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

J.F.C.

To back on p. 147.

east wall has fallen. The walls on this level are 10 feet thick and yet, strangely enough, the builders thought it necessary to cant the north-east angle to accommodate the newel staircase. It will be noticed that the walls have been ornamented with a low arcade of semicircular arches, at the same time as the vaulting was put over the basement.

The second floor, with walls $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, is very much like the room below, but it is interesting to note how that, in order to accommodate the level with the winding staircase, it was necessary to enter the room through a short mural passage. In forming the ceiling of the passage a Roman inscribed slab has been used (see Art. xiv. of this volume).

The third or top floor was the ladies' boudoir which now, unfortunately, can only be reached by means of an iron ladder, and the gaps crossed by planked bridges. If this floor is not altogether an early 14th century addition, the interior certainly has been reconstructed at that period. The walls are honeycombed with passages, while each of the angles is canted on a corbelled string course, to give an octagonal effect to the room. The great fireplace with a flat hood composed of 13 stones joggled together, and measuring 8 feet 6 inches wide, occupies the north-west cant. Within the opposite south-east cant is the beautiful Oratory, which, for some reason, Mr. Whyte says, has been locally called 'The Marble Chapel.' It is rather a noticeable fact that the Countess of Pembroke never mentions this choice little corner in her diary; indeed, as a strict protestant, she seems to have ignored it purposely. However, it is a beautiful piece of architecture forming an irregular octagon with a vaulted roof and a small trefoil-headed east window over the site of the altar. On the right hand is a piscina, on the left an ambry, while a small doorway to the north leads into a mural vestry. A passage in the south wall, provided with stone seats

beneath an arcade on either side, appears to have acted as a nave for the accommodation of a few worshippers.

THE SECOND EPOCH, 1270.

Now we must pass to the second epoch, to architecture that clearly represents the Early English period, and we must try to ascertain who was the probable builder. We have just seen that in 1245 "the walls and roof had gone to decay." That was at the time when the third lord, Robert, was a minor and in the custody of the prior of Carlisle. But directly young Robert became of age he married and then threw all his time and strength into the Barons' dispute with Henry III., and was finally slain at the age of 33. For this rebellion the estate was again seized by the crown and his two young daughters, aged 10 and 4, became wards. Two years later, 1266, the king remitted the seizure to the guardians; whereupon* they made a partition of the lands somewhat as follows:— That with the assent of either party there should remain to Roger de Clifford, by reason of his guardianship of Isabella, the eldest daughter, the castle of Appleby, and the manor of Bruham, together with a moiety of the sheriffwick and some manors; and to Roger de Leyburne, by reason of his guardianship of Idonea, the younger daughter, the castles of Brough and Mallerstang together with the other moiety. It is somewhat noticeable that a castle is not mentioned in the manor of Bruham though the castles of Appleby, Brough and Mallerstang are specified, and this accords with the belief that from 1245 to at least 1269 Brougham went from bad to worse and was uninhabitable.

At the age of fifteen, 1269, Isabella was given in marriage to Roger de Clifford, the son of her guardian, a great soldier and one who is said by Nicolson and Burn (i, 275) to have "built the greatest part of Brougham Castle." That is to say, he found a lonely and dilapidated

* 51 Henry III., and again on the 21 August, 1268.

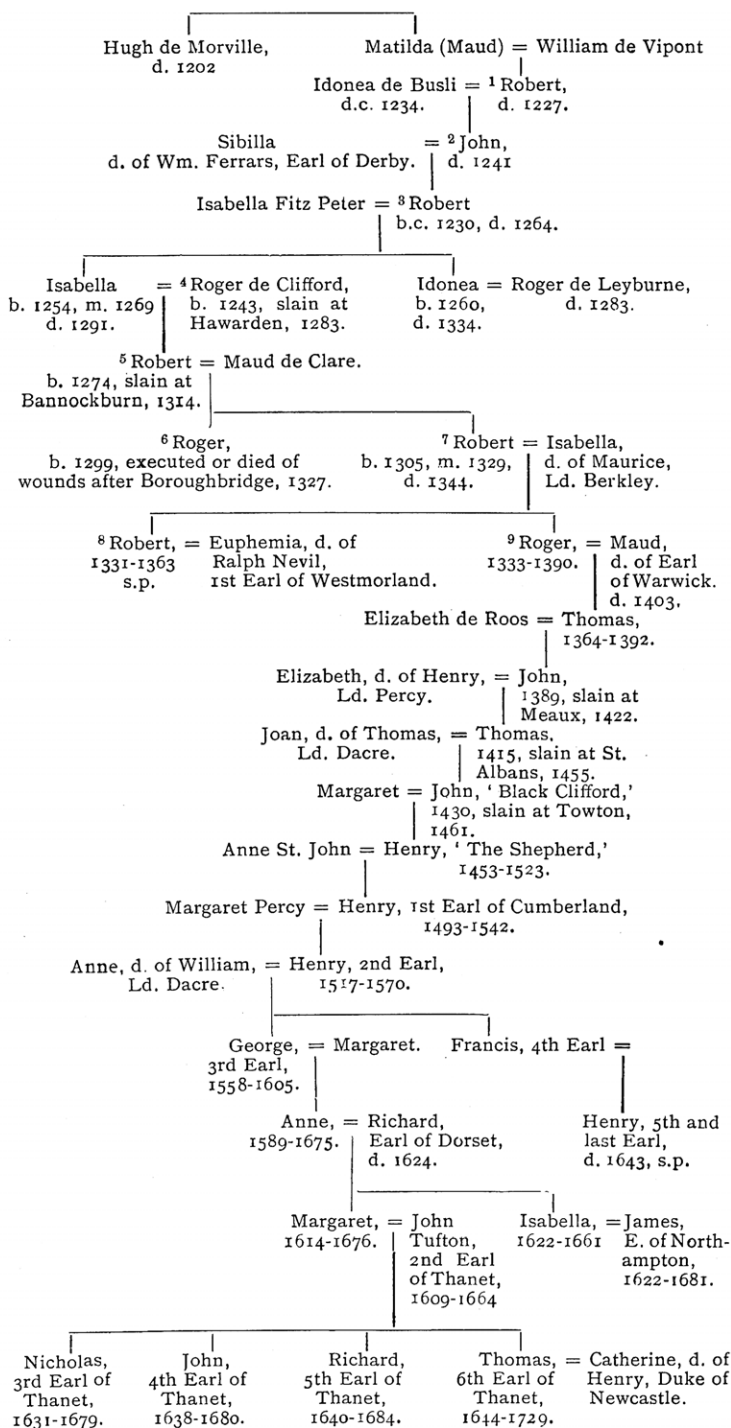




Photo. by H. Bell.

BROUGHAM CASTLE: THE KEEP AND OUTER GATE.
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To face p. 149.

keep surrounded by a palisading and a few wooden houses, and he left it surrounded by a strong curtain of stone with towers at each angle and, from certain 13th century details, presumably with better houses for his retainers. The chief of these towers he placed against the north-east corner of the keep to act as an outer gatehouse.

OUTER GATE.—It will be noted at once that on the face of the outer gate there are no traces of any chain-holes above or pivot-holes beneath for working a drawbridge across the moat, so that we must picture a barbican with a wooden bridge leading up to a portcullis, that worked between a double-arched entrance, with a pair of heavy doors behind it.

Above the archway there is a stone bearing the inscription 'Thys made Roger.' The Countess of Pembroke mentions it as being placed over the *inner* gateway and then, when the castle was dismantled, it appears to have been utilized for repairing the mill weir, from which position it was rescued about the year 1839 and placed here. It is not, however, a contemporary record of the building of this gate, but rather of work carried out about 1383 by Roger the 9th lord. Within, on the right hand of the vaulted passage, is a Porter's lodge and a trap in the floor gave entrance to the prison beneath. From all accounts this was truly an awful underground dungeon, with a small ventilation loop that was not large enough to lighten the verminous floor, and yet one that gave sufficient light to reveal, through the gloom, the deformed heads of grinning animals, intentionally carved upon the bosses of the vaulting. These bosses have now gone.

The first and second floors have been fine apartments, but it is not clear how they communicated with the keep or even with one another.

With the erection of this gatehouse the original fore-building to the Keep would be demolished, and I want you to notice that anyone seeking admittance would have to

enter the barbican, cross over the moat, pass beneath the portcullis and through two sets of doors, and then traverse around three sides of the Keep, exposed all the time to the defenders, before he could climb the external staircase to the entrance door. It was a strong position and well planned by a capable soldier.

CURTAIN.—At the same time, I take it, Roger de Clifford demolished the old palisading and built the curtain wall, which came forward from the corner of his gatehouse so as effectually to flank the new entrance.

A dog-tooth ornament carved upon the remnant of a window jamb, and a 13th century doorway beneath the present chapel, seem to indicate that he erected some domestic quarters on either side of a *second* tower which must have stood at the south-east angle of the courtyard. All these buildings have been demolished to make room for the kitchens and banqueting hall of the next epoch. To prove this, notice the much larger splayed plinth around this corner than that on the rest of the curtain, showing that the wall must have been rebuilt nearly from the bottom; and yet the new buildings seem to have followed the old foundations, as their peculiar twist at once suggests the base of a bastion tower.

Turning westward, the curtain followed for a short distance the fosse of the Roman fort, and here we find the lower courses of the original wall built with red sandstone and then with large and squared, grey Lazonby-blocks. Subsequent alterations of the late 14th century are marked by the use of rough-faced and much smaller stones which extend upward to the sill level of the chapel windows, and again by the use of coursed red sandstone when the chapel was restored by the Countess of Pembroke.

S.W. TOWER.—The third tower still stands at the south-west angle, where we again find the walls twisted out so as to enfilade the curtain. It consists of three floors; the

one on the ground-level being entered from the court, the first floor from off the southern rampart, and the second floor by means of an external flight of steps up from the western rampart. Within the thickness of the wall a newel staircase communicated between them. Each floor has a good fireplace for the comfort of the officers of the guard, and there are indications that a skew postern pierced the curtain just beneath.

Turning northward, the line of the curtain now followed close beside the old course of the River Lowther until its confluence with the Eamont, and so, along the bank of that river, it regained the gatehouse.

THE THIRD EPOCH, 1333—1383.

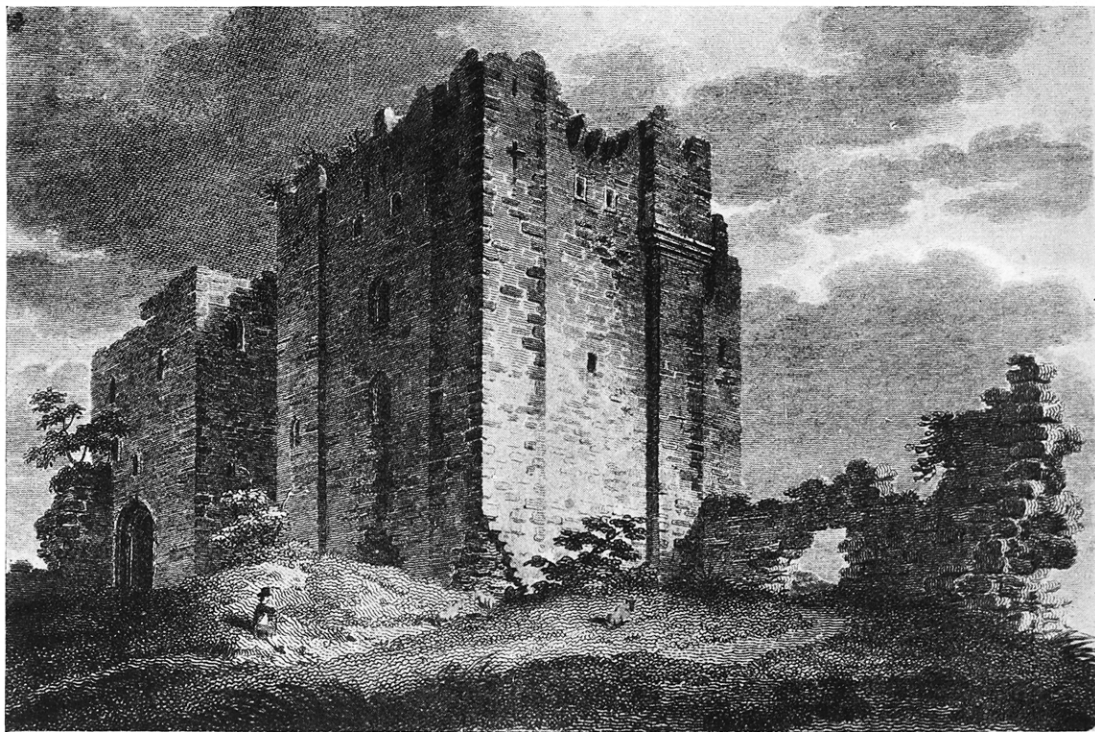
The younger sister, Idonea, having no issue, again united the barony by leaving her share to Robert, the son and heir of Isabella de Clifford. This fifth baron was one of Edward I.'s greatest soldiers. He was Lord Warden of the Western Marches, Lord High Admiral of England and Earl Marshall, and yet we find him only 39 years of age when he fell at Bannockburn in 1314. Such a young martial lord, with so many high offices, could hardly have visited his minor castles and much less had time to devote to their enlargement.

Roger, his eldest son and the next lord, had to suffer the consequences of Bannockburn. For instance, within two months Edward Bruce and James Douglas, after devastating the eastern border, returned over Stainmore burning the towns of Brough, Appleby, Penrith and Kirkoswald. In 1319 and again in 1322 the Black Douglas and Robert Bruce passed through the district causing as much wanton destruction as they could. Then for a short time the estate was forfeited to Andrew de Harcla and only returned one month before Roger, at the age of 28, died in 1327. He was succeeded by his brother, Robert, the 7th lord, who, as the histories say

'lived for the most part a country life.' Looked at from this point of view I cannot think that the Cliffords had any opportunity for such a great reconstruction as Mr. Whyte suggests was made in 1315; but that, on the other hand, the reconstruction was a necessary consequence to the fifteen years after Bannockburn, when England was on the defensive. With the peace following the battle of Dupplin Muir, Edward Balliol, King of Scots, came as a guest to hunt at Appleby and Brougham, and I think that we may safely ascribe to this Robert—the one who lived a country life—the next building epoch about the year 1333.

INNER GATE.—His chief work seems to have been the reconstruction of the upper floor of the keep with the little Oratory before referred to, and the building of the inner gatehouse. The need for an extra gate is not clear, but we find it strongly fortified with a portcullis and heavy doors of oak. The walls on the ground floor are 8 feet 9 inches thick. Within the passage a short flight of stone steps on the north wall led up to a door, raised 5 feet above the ground and opening to a mural chamber with three loop-holes in it for the defence of this corner. At the bottom of the north-west turret is a Carnarvon-arched postern with a newel stairway leading up from it to the first floor.

This upper room seems to have had only one window to the north. The eastern side is taken up with the recess for the portcullis, while the other sides are occupied by mural passages. The present door to the hall of the keep is modern, but probably on the site of an older one. The second floor is somewhat similar, but it has three 14th century windows. To return to the ground-level we again find the passage closed at the further end by a fourth pair of doors, and, curiously enough, as in the outer gate, these also open inwards. To my mind this is a clear indication that the dwellers in the Keep and gatehouses



BROUGHAM CASTLE; THE KEEP AND INNER GATE.

From a print of 1804.

To face p. 152.

found it necessary to bolt themselves in against their own courtyard. But whether this was a precaution in case the curtain proved insufficient to withstand the enemy, or a disbelief in the loyalty of their own retainers, is a question that cannot now be answered. Just as we pass out of this gatehouse we can see a remnant of the curtain and notice its 6 feet of thickness, a few corbels that denote the height of the rampart, and also a coping stone of the battlements.

Robert's younger son, Roger, the 9th lord, was a great man. He married Maud, the daughter of Thomas, Earl Warwick, and is said to have recovered the estates, kept his castles in good repair and built, according to Machell, this castle "next the East." On the 3rd December, 1383, the sheriffs of Cumberland and Westmorland were appointed "to take stone cutters, masons and other labourers for the repair of certain castles and fortlets of Roger de Clifford, knight, near the March of Scotland, which are useful as a refuge for the king's subjects." Between the two gatehouses he enclosed the small court toward the north, by a narrow building of four storeys; and it will be noted that the north-west turret of the outer gatehouse has been cut into, so as to square up the new rooms; and also that the walls do not bond in with the older work.

GREAT CHAMBER.—The Great Chamber in the courtyard and the adjoining chapel may stand upon the basement of earlier buildings, as Mr. Towry Whyte thinks and as a few 13th century details indicate; but the upper floors were certainly built or remodelled at this period. The ruins of the Great Chamber measure about 45 feet long by 20 feet wide. There have been cellars under its wooden floor, and it was covered by an open timbered roof at a lower level than the chapel, as can be seen by the marks on the west wall of the latter.

CHAPEL.—The chapel was also raised upon cellars, and some of the large stone corbels which carried the wooden floor beams still remain. The north wall is much ruined but fortunately the south wall is almost entire and shows three sedilia and a piscina of late Decorated period. At the east end there has been a large traceried window of grey Lazonby stone inserted into the red sandstone ashlar. The projecting tower probably contained a porch or vestry, with a priest's room above—a tiny room, approached by a very steep flight of steps from the chapel floor and carried on a clever piece of corbel work outside.

BANQUETING HALL.—Beyond the remains of a large fireplace and three windows there is not much to be seen in the kitchens at the corner, but northward of them was the Banqueting Hall. There is no doubt that all this corner, with its Decorated architecture, set up in front of the grim sternness of the Keep, made an imposing spectacle and induced Machell to say that Roger built the castle 'next the East.' But the work has not proved so enduring. There are two lights in the external wall still existing, and, at the extreme end, there is a jamb and portion of an arch to a small but rather good doorway.

THE FOURTH EPOCH, 1542—1652.

The fourth epoch was one of restoration. The last period of construction must have been closed by the reappearance of the Scots, for at the death of Maud, relict of the 9th lord, in 1403, an inquisition post mortem finds that the "Castle is worth nothing because it lieth waste by reason of the destruction by the Scots and that the whole profit of the demesne is not sufficient for the reparation and safe keeping of the castle." How long it remained waste we do not know, nor have we any history beyond the few items given on pp. 156-7, until the Countess of Pembroke, in her "Lives of the Cliffords," speaks of Henry, 2nd earl of Cumberland, as being one who bestowed

so much in repairing Brougham as kept him from doing anything at Brough. He married for his second wife, Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of whom it is said that she "never came at London in all her life but employed herself wholly in domestic affairs." In 1558, their eldest son, George, was born here, and in 1617, their second son, Francis, entertained King James I. here on the 6th, 7th and 8th of August. In 1629, Charles I. also stayed at the castle, so that it must have been fairly well restored by this time.

Then during the civil war Sir John Lowther was in command of a garrison here,* and Sir Dániel Fleming says,† "The castle received great damage in the time of the late Rebellion."

However, on August 18, 1649, the Countess arrived, finding it "verie ruinous and much out of repair . . . In which Castle and Parck I had not bene since the 9th of December, 1616, till this daie." There is a document preserved at Appleby, dated 6 February, 1650, in which she states that "she is interested in learning that the lead roof was to be replaced, so that the timber could be preserved." And from this date the restoration seems to have been thoroughly taken in hand. She caused the chapel to "bee pulled downe and new built upp againe larger and stronger than it was before." She caused the old bakehouse and brewhouse beside the south-west tower to be taken down, the site levelled and new buildings to be erected in the north-west corner and this she says, "made the court larger and handsomer than it was before." And so the work continued until 1652 when it was in a condition for her to reside in it. Brougham Castle, she says, "had layne as itt were ruinous and desolated ever since King James his lying in it in 1617, till I made it lately habitable." The usual stone recording

* *Hist. Com.*, 13th Report, Appendix, Part 7, p. 89.

† *Description of the county of Westmorland*, 1671, p. 28.

this event, which is finely engraved in beautiful lettering, is carefully preserved in the tower at Appleby.

But after the death of this great lady none of her successors cared to keep so many houses in habitable repair, so that Brough, Pendragon and Brougham were each dismantled as occasion required. In the year 1714, the timber and lead were sold to Mr. Markham and Mr. Anderton, two attorneys at Penrith, for £100. They resold them by auction, the first sale taking place on George I.'s coronation day. In 1767, it is said that the Keep was occupied by a steward, but since then no one has resided here.

Brougham Castle has really been the history of the gallant family of de Clifford, of whom England, but more especially Westmorland, should ever be proud, and for their sakes and their indomitable valour, we reverence this pile.

ADDENDA.

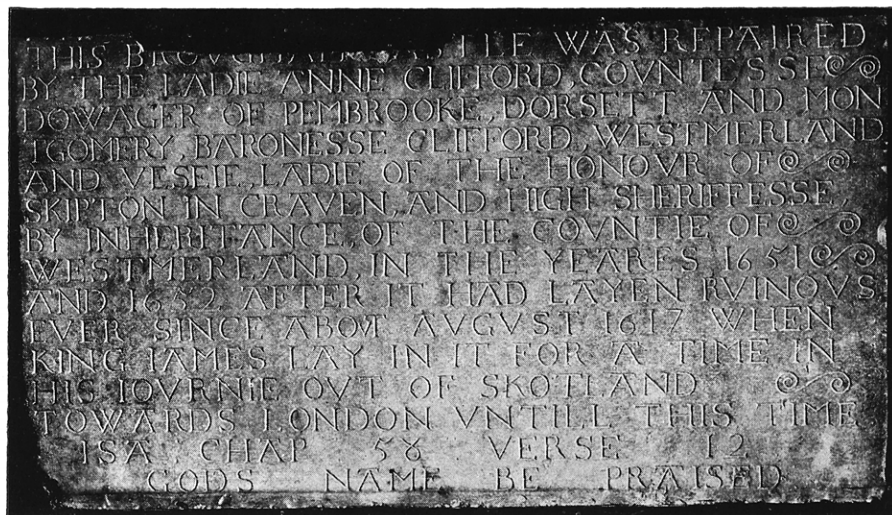
1228, 12 Henry III. De custodia terre et heredis Roberti de Veteri Ponte Dominus rex concessit H. de Burgo, etc. . . . custodiam terre et heredis Roberti de Veteri Ponte una cum castris que fuerunt ipsius Roberti usque ad etatem predicti heredis Eodem modo scribitur constabulariis castrorum de Peverelthorp, Appleby, Bruham, Burgh que fuerunt ipsius Roberto, liberanda predictis Willelmo et Gilberto (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 176).

1300, June 23. Edward I. issued letters patent dated from here (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292—1301, p. 551).

1316, October 4. Bartholomew de Badlesmere had the custody of Robert de Clifford's heir, being a minor (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 595).

1324, October 28. To Thomas de Wardecop, keeper of certain lands in the King's hands in County Westmorland. Order to expend up to £10 in repairing the houses, walls and other buildings within the castle of Browham (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323-27, p. 227).

1380, July 14. Grant of pontage for six months, for repair of the bridges of Louthirbrig and Amotbrig, on the confines of West-



THE COUNTESS OF PEMBROKE'S STONE.

From Dr. Williamson's *Lady Anne Clifford*.

To face p. 156.

morland and Cumberland, from things for sale passing over or under them or by "le Castelwath of Burgham" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1377-81, p. 530).

1462, February 6. Grant for life to Richard Musgrave, the younger, esquire, of the office of Constable of the King's Castle of Burham, co. Westmorland, and surveyor of the castle and lordships with all the accustomed profits (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-67, p. 74).

1462, May 27. Grant to the King's kinsman Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick, of divers castles including the castles, manors and lordships of Pendragon, Burgh, Burgham and Appleby (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1461-67).

1471, July 11. Grant to William Parre and John Parre, knights, and the heirs male of their bodies of the castles, manors, and lordships of Pendragon, Burgh, Appleby and Burgham (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77, p. 264).

1475, June 3. Licence for William Parre, knight, who is going to cross the sea with the King on his voyage and service to grant the castles, manors and townships of Pendragon, Burgh, Appleby and Burgham to the King's kinsman, George, archbishop of York and others (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1467-77).

1537. In a "device for the sure keeping of the West Marches foranempst Scotland," we find that Henry, earl of Cumberland, is to lie at Brougham and Sir Edward Musgrave at Hartley Castle (*Letters and Papers*, Henry VIII., vol. 12, pt. 2).

1629, December 3. Thomas Carleton to Sec. Dorchester, a letter in which he hopes he shall see him at Carleton when His Majesty returns from Scotland by Carlisle to Brougham Castle, his Majesty's next stage (*Cal. Dom. State Papers*, 1629-31).

1663, August 10. Sir Philip Musgrave to Williamson. A letter in which he says that Appleby, Brougham, Brough and Pendragon Castles are lately repaired by the Countess of Pembroke, in the last of which lives Captain Branthwaite, who formerly served the Parliament. Mr. Secretary should write to her to be careful to put faithful keepers into them; I cannot call them tenantable places, yet they are of that strength as, if an enemy shall seize upon any, it might be a trouble to recover it again (*Cal. Dom. State Papers*, Addenda, 1660-1670, p. 683).