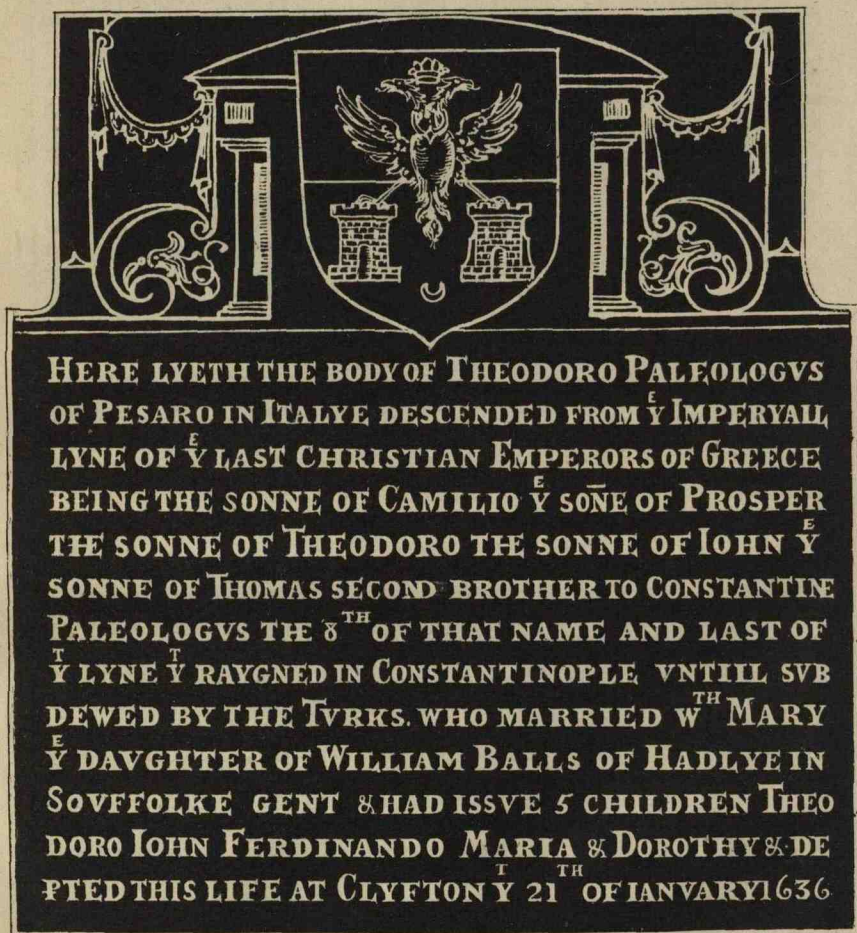


COPY OF RUBBING
TAKEN FROM THE
TOMB OF THEODORO PALEOLOGUS,
LANDULPH CHURCH,
CORNWALL.



A VISIT TO THE TOMB OF THEODORO PALEOLOGUS.

By John Thomas Towson, Esq.

(READ 21st MAY, 1857.)

During a recent visit to the west of England it occurred to me that it might be interesting to this Society to obtain such information connected with the latter part of the history of the family of the Paleologi, as the records of the parish of Landulph afford, and also to procure a rubbing from a monumental brass on the wall of the Church over the tomb of Theodoro Paleologus. Having introduced myself as a member of this Society, I received every courtesy and attention from the Rector, the Rev. W. Seymour. It is the result of this visit I have now the honour of laying before this Society.

Landulph is a parish in Cornwall, situated on the banks of the Tamar, two miles beyond Saltash. Its Church is a very ancient one, and bears many records, extending over at least three centuries, of the connexion that existed between the principal families of this parish and the affairs of those allied to the house of Paleologus. Although the Church is said to have been rebuilt at or about the commencement of the fourteenth century, by Nicholas D'Awney or Dawney, one of the Crusaders who returned after the fall of Ptolemais, still an inspection of the building leads us to believe that it was rather enlarged than rebuilt at that period. The arch of entrance, and the "bustos" at each side of the ceiling between the chancel and nave, appear to be Saxon. At the period named, there can be no doubt that the lord of the manor of Landulph was much interested in Byzantine affairs. About the middle of the fourteenth century Sir Edward Courtenay inherited the manor, by marriage with Emmeline, daughter and heiress to Sir John Dawney. Between the years 1477 and 1486, Peter Courtenay, Bishop of Exeter, was lord of the manor, except during the time he was attainted in 1484 and part of 1485. The Bishop had joined Sir Edward

Courtenay (afterwards Earl of Devon), in the conspiracy with Richmond against Richard III., which having failed, he fled with the Earl, but returning with him to the battle of Bosworth, in which he was personally engaged, the attainder was removed, and the manor of Landulph restored by Henry VII.

The Archæologia of Landulph settles a disputed point on which Cleveland differs from most other historians in asserting that Peter, Bishop of Exeter, was son of Sir Philip Courtenay, of Powderham. Cleveland is decidedly wrong. The Courtenays of Powderham had no family connexion with the D'Awneys, by which they could inherit Landulph. The Bishop was brother of the Earl of Devon, as most historians assert, being a descendant from Sir Edward Courtenay. This is proved by his arms, and those of the Earl of Devon, impaling those of the D'Awney family, from whom the manor of Landulph was inherited. After the restoration of the manor of Landulph to Peter Courtenay in 1485, it remained with that family till 1539, when in consequence of the attainder of the Marquis of Exeter, it was lost; and although Queen Mary removed the attainder, and restored Edward Courtenay to the Earldom of Devon, and the Manor of Landulph is specially mentioned in the Act of Restoration, it has ever since its confiscation remained *de facto* a portion of the Duchy of Cornwall.

I need scarcely here detail how intimately the family of the Courtenays were connected, during a considerable portion of this period, with Byzantine affairs, but merely remark that on this account, in chapter 61 of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Gibbon has thought it necessary to introduce a "digression on the family of Courtenay," and that three members of that family were Emperors of Constantinople during the thirteenth century.

The principal seats in Landulph Church were erected by Peter Courtenay, and a large number of those curious carvings on the panels, common at that period, still remain. The most interesting of these are the armorial bearings of the principal families who have resided in this parish. In the nave there are the arms of the see of Exeter, a sword in pale surmounted by two keys in saltire; arms of Courtenay, three torteaux with label of three points; in the chancel the arms of Courtenay, surmounted by a mitre and the arms of the Bishopric of Exeter. On the Clifton seats are the arms of Lower, Moyle, Trethirf, Flamank, Trevarthin, Valetort, Densil,

Bodragan, Prideaux, Carminow, Reskymmer, Arundell, Killigrew, Langdon, Trevenor, Upton, Trefry, Treveerbyn and Talbot. There is in like manner the arms of a knight who had been engaged in the Crusades, a chevron between three Saracen heads affrontes.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century we find that Sir Nicholas Lower was the principal inhabitant of Landulph, as occupier of Clifton, the mansion of the Arundells. It appears that he was collaterally connected with the family of Paleologus, his brother Sir Francis Lower, having married a lady of Grecian origin, a native of Constantinople, and in some way connected with the family of Paleologus. Her name was Antonetao Mulier Turcom, daughter of Ocker, the son of Sizzeksens. It is supposed, however, that Sir Nicholas was more directly connected with the Paleologi, since Theodoro Paleologus, with his family of five children, became guests of Sir Nicholas Lower, at Clifton, between the years 1620 and 1630, and continued so till his death.

Dame, the wife of Sir Nicholas Lower, died in 1638, and Sir Nicholas seventeen years after the death of his wife. Their monumental inscriptions read as follows :—

HEERE LYETH BVRIED THE BODY OF DAME ELIZABETH LOWER LATE WIFE VNTO SR NICHOLAS LOWER OF CLIFTON KT DAUGHTER VNTO SR HENRY KILLIGREW OF LONDON KT ANTIENLY DESCENDED FROM YE HOVSE OF ARWENNICH IN CORNWALL AND FROM YE YOVNGEST OF THE LEARNED DAUGHTERS OF SR ANTHONY COOKE KT A MAIDE OF HONOUR TO QUEENE ELIZABETH WHO FOR TREW VIRTVE PIETY & LEARNING CAME NOTHING SHORT (THAT I MAY MODESTLY SPEAKE) OF ANY HER ANCESTORS AND FOR HER SINGVLAR COVRTESY TO ALL & AMIABLE SVBJECTION TO HER HVS BAND (A VERTVE RARE & HIGH) I THINKE CAN HARDLY BE MATCHD WHO DESERVES A FAR AMPLER CHARACTER THAN CAN BE CONTAINED IN SO NARROW A ROOME, SHE DYED AT CLIFTON IN CORNWALL THE SIXT DAY OF JUNE IN THE YEARE OF OVR LORD 1638 AND EXPECTS HEERE A GLORIVS RESVRRECTION.

This mural brass is surmounted by the arms of Killigrew, impaled by that of Lower, chevron between three roses, crest unicorn's head, the same as that on the black marble tomb in which Sir Nicholas and his lady were buried.

The mural inscription of Sir Nicholas Lower is as follows :—

HERE LYETH BVRIED YE BODY OF SR NICHOLAS LOWER OF CLIFTON KNIGHT, DESCENDED OF THE HOVSE OF ST. WINOWE) THE SONNE OF THOMAS LOWER AND JANE HIS WIFE ONE OF THE COEHEYRES OF RESKYMER WHO HAD ISSVE SIX SONNES VIZ SR WILLIAM LOWER KNIGHT DESCEASED IN CARMARTHENSHIRE, JOHN LOWER, THE (SAID SR NICHOLAS LOWER) SIR FRANCIS LOWER KNIGHT THOMAS LOWER DESCEASED IN LONDON AND ALEXANDER

LOWER) (HE MARRIED WITH ELIZABETH ONE OF THE DAUGHTERS OF SR HENRY KILLIGREW OF LONDON KNIGHT DYED WITH OUT ISSUE SURRENDERING HIS SOVEREIGNTY TO HIS REDEEMER AT CLIFTON YE 17TH OF MAYE AO DNI 1655.

The arms are the same, except that the crest and mullet of difference are omitted.

Theodoro Paleologus died in 1636. The monumental brass over his tomb is one of considerable interest, and I have the honour of presenting to this Society a rubbing, a copy of which is annexed. The inscription is surmounted by the imperial arms proper of the empire of Greece. An eagle displayed with two heads, legs resting on the houses of Rome and Constantinople, an imperial crown over, and the crescent of difference for second son between the gates. Thomas was the fifth son of Manuel but the second to Constantine, to whom the arms proper as Emperor belonged.

The family of Theodoro continued to reside at Clifton, after the death of Sir Nicholas, and Maria Paleologus remained a resident there till her death, which occurred in 1674. Some believe that the family of Lady Lower, that of Killigrew, was connected with that of Paleologus, and support this hypothesis by reference to the armorial bearings of that family. It is an eagle displayed with two heads within border bezanty. The eagle on the brasses is the same as that of Paleologus, the gates and imperial crown being omitted, and the border bezanty added. The border bezanty proves that the baronet who first bore this coat was a Crusader, and this strengthens the probability that such a connexion might have existed. The name Killigrew, the armorial bearing, and the baronetcy, were conferred at the same time. The last became extinct about the middle of the seventeenth century, but some collateral branches of that family retain both the name and arms to the present day.

Had the result of our investigations been consistent with the testimony of Byzantine historians, we should have little further to add than to trace the five children of Theodoro; having come to this conclusion that Theodoro was the eldest son of Camilio, the eldest son of Prosper, the eldest son of Theodoro, the eldest son of John, the eldest son of Thomas, the next brother to Constantine. But Gibbon designates Andrew the eldest son of Thomas, and Manuel the second son. He refers to these two sons as though they were his only children. In chapter 68 he says, "It is not

easy to pronounce whether the servitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas, be the most inglorious. On the conquest of the Morea the Despot (Thomas) escaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with some naked adherents: his name, his sufferings, and the head of the apostle St. Andrew entitled him to the hospitality of the Vatican; and his misery was prolonged by a pension of six thousand ducats from the Pope and Cardinals. His two sons Andrew and Manuel were educated in Italy, but the eldest, contemptible to his enemies and burthensome to his friends, was degraded by the baseness of his life and marriage. A title was his sole inheritance, and that inheritance he successively sold to the kings of France and Arragon." And again, in the same chapter, "Manuel Paleologus, the second son, was tempted to revisit his native country. His visit might be grateful, and could not be dangerous to the Porte: he was maintained at Constantinople in safety and ease; and an honourable train of Christians and Moslems attended him to his grave. If there be animals of so generous a nature that they refuse to propagate in a domestic state, the *last of the imperial race* must be ascribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the Sultan's liberality two beautiful females; and his surviving son was lost in the habit and religion of a Turkish slave." Thus Gibbon ignores altogether the existence of John, the son of Thomas.

This at first appears a most serious difficulty to surmount, but we believe that the Archæologia of Landulph alone is sufficient to prove that this omission must have been an error on the part of Gibbon. Some years since the tomb in which Theodoro is said to have been buried, was accidentally opened, and a body was there found in a single oak coffin, in so perfect a state as to determine that he was in stature far beyond the common height, that his features were oval, and nose very aquiline, all of which are family traits. He had a very white beard, low down on his breast.

There is therefore no doubt that some one, believed to have been Theodoro Paleologus, was buried there, and the registers of this and other neighbouring parishes, as we shall hereafter find, establish the fact that a person representing himself to have been such, had lived and died in Landulph. And it is most improbable that an impostor could have succeeded in deceiving the residents of this parish. We must not, in this investigation, regard Landulph as an obscure parish, in a remote part of England, but as the residence at times of the Talbots, the Killigrews, the Valetorts, and several others who owed their family prestige to their ancestors having been Crusaders, and there-

fore well-versed in Byzantine affairs. This is shown by the carvings on the doors of the principal seats in the Church, of *torteaux*, crosses, lions' heads, bezants, Saracens' heads, and other charges which were assumed by Crusaders on their return, or by their families, in commemoration of the expeditions in which they had been engaged. But beyond all others the Courtenays were the last persons in the kingdom who could be imposed on in such a matter. We have also the assurance, on the monument of Lady Lower, that she was daughter of the youngest of the learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke, and that for learning she came nothing short of any of her ancestors. We know that one of the accomplishments which distinguished the daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke as learned, was their extraordinary proficiency in the knowledge of the Greek language, both ancient and modern, and this latter would no doubt include a full knowledge of all matters connected with the Byzantine Empire. Lady Lower was also a maid of honor to Queen Elizabeth, at the time when the Czar, Ivan the Terrible, grandson of Zoe Paleologus, was one of the suitors of "Her most gracious and drede Majestie," and therefore she possessed all the knowledge of the family of Paleologus which a connexion with court at that period could confer. Nothing appears therefore more improbable than that in this matter Lady Lower could be so deceived as to receive such an impostor as a guest. On the contrary, we can understand the motives which might have induced the occupants of Clifton to invite the Paleologi to become residents at their mansion.

But we do not depend alone on the *Archæologia* of Landulph. The existence of this direct branch of the Paleologus family, through Thomas, brother of Constantine, was better known in Italy and Greece, than in this country. During the War of Independence in Greece a deputation was appointed by the provisional government to inquire whether any of the family of Paleologus existed. This deputation proceeded to Italy and other places where the Paleologi had become refugees, and amongst other places to Landulph, to carry out the object of their appointment. At that time the Rev. Frances Vyvyan Jago Arundell was rector of Landulph. That gentleman having given much attention to all matters connected with archæology, rendered great assistance in this investigation, and also gained much valuable information respecting the earlier history of the Paleologus family. He ascertained that Thomas was married in 1430, to the daughter of a Genoese nobleman, Catherine, the mother of John, Helena, and Zoe.

Andrew was born on the 17th of January, 1453. This was twenty-three years after the marriage to Catherine. On the 11th January, 1455, Manuel was born, and five years after this (1460) his sister Helena was married to Lazarus, despot of Servia, whose arms now impale those of the Empire of Constantinople. Subsequently (1475) Zoe, another daughter of Thomas, was married to Ivan III., grand duke of Muscovy, and it is through this marriage that a claim is set up in favour of the present Czars of Russia being descendants from the Emperors of Constantinople. There is no doubt but that it was through the marriage of Ivan III. to Zoe Paleologus that the Czars of Russia obtained the two-headed eagle. She brought as her dowry to the Grand Prince the arms of the Grecian Empire, the cognisance of sovereigns of Russia having previously been the figure of St. George killing the dragon. All subsequent Czars have borne the two-headed eagle of Constantinople as arms of dominion, even where, as in the case of Boris Godonof, no claim could have been set up of being related in any manner to the descendants of Zoe Paleologus. Great discrepancies however exist on this subject amongst Byzantine and Russian historians. Some represent the second consort of Ivan III. as being Sophia, daughter of Manuel II. But this cannot have been the case, since the second wife of Ivan gave birth to a prince at least 60 years after the death of Manuel, who had been several years a widower. The first consort of Ivan, who was the daughter of the Hospodar of Tver, was probably called Sophia, this being the name of a princess who was married to a Romanoff, through which marriage the present Czars are descendants from Ivan III. and may be thus regarded as representatives of the house of Rurik.

The founder of the family of Romanoff was a Prussian of obscure origin, who settled in Russia in 1350, but being distinguished by public virtue, brilliant achievements, and zeal for the welfare of his adopted country, he rose rapidly into eminence. For 250 years it was the policy of that family to contract alliances with every branch of the Russian nobility. To this policy they owe the imperial crown, and especially to an acknowledged relationship to the family of Rurik, but it is scarcely possible that this popularity arose from his connexion with an issue of the second marriage that had been so offensive to the boyards as to have given rise to a revolt against Ivan, which required the severest measures to suppress.

Taking into consideration the acknowledged difficulty which occurs in

tracing genealogy in Byzantine and Russian annals at this period,* we do not believe that any of the discrepancies to which we have alluded throw any doubt on our position, viz., that Thomas Paleologus had five children, John, Andrew, Manuel, Helena, and Zoe, and that Theodoro, the subject of this paper, was the direct descendant from John, the eldest son of Thomas. And Theodoro also, as shown by the monumental brass, left five children. It then remains for us to endeavour to trace, most probably, the last of the descendants of Theodoro Paleologus.

In the list of the army raised under Robert, Earl of Essex, we find the name of Theodoro Paleologus, as a lieutenant in the Lord Saint John's regiment. This was while Essex was in the west of England, and previously to his taking arms against the king, and we may presume from the fact, that the brothers of Theodoro bore arms as Cavaliers, that he left the army when Essex joined the parliamentary cause, for we find that he died a sailor on the 1st of August, 1693, whilst serving on board of the "Charles II.," commanded by Captain Charles Gibson, but his rank is not stated. He had acquired landed property, which he left to his wife Martha. He makes no mention of any issue in his will, and as it was customary at that period to do so, even when children were disinherited, it is presumed that he left no issue.

* The discrepancies in Byzantine and Russian history have evidently been increased by the misconceptions of modern authors. Thus it is made to appear that two princesses of the house of Paleologus were married to Muscovite princes; Sophia, daughter of Manuel II., to Ivan III., and Zoe, daughter of Thomas, to John Basilides, or Basilius. But all these names belong to the same grand prince, or czar, Ivan III. (Basilovitz). By most historians Demetrius is represented as being the fifth son of Manuel II., and Thomas as the sixth. Although the weight of evidence appears rather in favour of this statement, we have given the preference to the contrary, because it agrees with the *Archæologia* of Landulph. The Russian history of this period contains also many discrepancies. Thus, by Kelly, the second marriage of Ivan III. is said to have taken place after the death of his first consort in 1485. The historians of the fifteenth century disagree to such an extent as to render it difficult to decide whether Ivan's marriage with Zoe took place before or after the death of his first consort. They are equally divided in assigning, as the period of the birth of Ivan III., the years 1438 or 1440. The existence of a regency between the death of Basil V. and the reign of Ivan IV. has caused the number of years of the reign of the last named sovereign to be variously stated. Haydn is, without doubt, wrong in representing the murdered Dmetri as the son of Feodore, who was only the elder by ten years. We also find that Boris Godonof at first pronounced Dmetri to be illegitimate, because he was the son of the last of Ivan's seven wives, such marriage being contrary to the canons of the Greek Church.

Soon after the death of their father, John and Ferdinando served under Major Lower, nephew of Sir Nicholas Lower, on the king's side. Ferdinando appears to have been a lieutenant, but the rank of John is unknown. They fought with the Major at the battle of Naseby. Major Lower gallantly fell, and it is supposed that John fell by his side. Ferdinando escaped to Barbadoes, his maternal grandfather, William Bales, of Hadlye, in Suffolk, having estates in that island. Here he resided thirty years at Clifton Hall, so named by him in remembrance of the hospitality he had received at the mansion of Clifton in Landulph. He was married here, and had one son, Theodorus. Ferdinando died in September, 1678, and was buried on the 3rd of October. He left one-half of his plantation to his wife, Rebecca Paleologus, for her life, with the remainder to his son, Theodorus Paleologus, except some trifling legacies, two of which he bequeathed to his sisters, Mary Paleologus and Dorothy Arundell. Theodorus died soon after, on which the whole of the landed property devolved on his mother. If, therefore, any descendants of this branch remain, it must be in the female line. Several respectable families in Barbadoes claim thus to be allied to the family of Paleologus. But it appears improbable that Ferdinando left a daughter, no mention being made of her in his will. It has also been stated, that the assumed alliance with the family of Paleologus was a family connexion with the issue of the widow of Ferdinando by a second marriage. During the year 1831 the lead coffin of Ferdinando Paleologus was discovered. There had been two Greek customs observed at the burial of Ferdinando. The coffin was laid in the contrary direction to that which is customary in the west, and the body was imbedded in quicklime. Although the skeleton alone remained it was evident that Ferdinando resembled his father, in being of extraordinary stature. The deputation from the provisional Greek government, to which we have before referred, corresponded with the authorities at Barbadoes, to ascertain whether any of the descendants of Ferdinando were living.

Maria Paleologus continued a resident in Landulph, during thirty-eight years after the death of her father, and died unmarried in the year 1674.

Dorothy was married in 1656, to William Arundell, of St. Mellion, a parish situate about four miles from Landulph. He was one of the grandsons of Alexander Arundell, of Clifton. At the time of this marriage Dorothy was still residing at Landulph, most probably at Clifton, her

marriage was therefore registered in both parishes. The entry in the St. Mellion registry is, "*Dorothea Paleologus de stirpe Imperatorum.*" Soon after their marriage they removed to St. Dominick, about five miles from Landulph; the register of this parish having been accidentally destroyed, there now exists no means of determining whether they had issue. Mr. Arundell has however observed that a Mary Arundell was married to Francis Lee, of Cargreen, and from the date considers it probable that she might have been the daughter of Mary Paleologus, and therefore that the imperial blood may still flow in the bargemen of Cargreen, bearing the name of Lee. It is however improbable that a lady, who at her marriage adopted the unusual method of blazoning her descent from a dynasty which had been extinct for 200 years, as *de stirpe Imperatorum*, should, at the baptism of her daughter, have failed to adopt the usual means of marking the family prestige, and have conferred on her no other Christian name than that of Mary. I do not myself consider that any of the present Arundells are descended from the Arundells of Clifton, because I find that the late Rector, Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell, who possessed the last of the estates held by a proprietor of that name, took the name of Arundell by letters patent on coming into possession of this property, his paternal name being Jago; nor do I understand that he had even a collateral family connexion with anyone bearing that name. We believe, therefore, that there remains no descendant from Dorothy Paleologus.

I append a genealogical map of the descendants of Manuel II. and also one for the issue of the two marriages of Ivan III. That branch, however, which connects the houses of Rurik and Romanoff, on account of the imperfect data now attainable, is obviously defective. From the same cause there are also other details that claim a greater or less amount of credence. These have already been discussed in pages 217, 218 and 219, and in the foot note page 220.


[NOTE. The Greek Empire, or "Empire of Constantinople," existed for more than 1000 years, from the accession of Theodosius I. in 385, till the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. There were in all 72 Emperors; of whom the Paleologi furnished eight (including Alexis III.) They were the last of ten dynasties, (exclusive of the Frank Emperors,) being descended naturally from the Emperors Angeli, who again were descended naturally from the Emperors Comneni.]

MANUEL II.
m. Irena of Macedonia.
b. 1347.
r. 1373, with John I.
r. 1391, sole Emperor.
d. 1425.

JOHN II.
m. 1 Ann of Muscovy.
d. 1417.
2 Sophy of Montferrat.
3 Mary of Comnena.
b. 1391, r. 1425, d. 1449.

IVAN III.
m. 1 betrothed to
Sophia,
b. 1440 or 1438.
r. 1462.
d. 1505.

2 Zoe Paleologus, 1475.


 BASIL V.
m. Helena.
b. 1477.
r. 1505.
d. 1533.

IVAN IV.	b. 1530.
m. 1	regency from 1533 to 1550.
2	
3	r. 1550.
4	d. 1584.
5	

Ivan, son of Anastasia, Ivan's first Czarowna, killed by his father.

	FEODORE, m. Irena, sister of Boris Godonof. b. 1571. r. 1584. d. 1598.
	DMETRI.

b. 1581.
d. 1591, murdered by
the order of
Boris Godonof.

ANDRŌNICUS,  CONSTANTINE XII,
Prince of
Thessalonica.
r. 1448,
killed at the
taking of
Constantinople
by the Turks,
1453.

IVANOVITZ,
m. Princess of Moldavia.

of the
te Army.
mur-
y Shuiski.

ia, Ivan's first Czarowna, killed by his father.

TEODORE,
m. Irena, sister of Boris Godonof.
b. 1571.
r. 1584.
d. 1598.

supposed to be poisoned
by Boris Godonof.

A Princess, b. 1592, supposed to
be poisoned by Boris Godonof.

THOMAS, DEMETRIUS,
Despot of
Achaia,
m. 1 Catherine
of Genoa, 1430.
2 Name unknown.

ANDREW,
b. 1453.

THE

SOPHIA,
from whom descended

Michael Romanoff,
and the present Czars
of Russia.

1. 5. 5.

THEODORO.
ROSPER.
MILIO.

THEODORO, JOHN, } FERDI

THEORY OF THE

d. 16

m. married.
b. born.

r. began to reign.
d. died.

101223 (2001.01.01) 111 111 111

ANDO, MARIA, DOROTHY

1630.
d. 1681.

