

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, WOOKEY HOLE, AND THE CORYCIAN CAVE

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With an Appendix on the Wondrous Cave of Gwent

Clement of Alexandria's celebrated reference to a British cave from which sounds were emitted occurs in Book VI, chapter 3, of his *Stromata* or *Miscellanies* upon religious subjects (Appendix II, 1).¹* He is thought to have written this work within a few years of being driven from Alexandria by the persecution of A.D.202. A new translation is as follows:

Compilers of histories say somewhere in the island of Britain is a particular cave, lying below a mountain, with an opening at its summit; when the wind strikes into the cave and dashes against the sinuosities of its depths, the sound of cymbals clashing in measured cadence is heard without.

The first to link this passage with Wookey Hole was the Exeter antiquary William Musgrave, F.R.S. and F.S.A., in his *Belgium Britannicum* of 1719 (Appendix II, 2).² It had earlier been cited by Camden (1586), without localisation,³ and also by Robert Plot (1640-96), first Professor of Chemistry at Oxford, and author of *Natural Histories of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire*, who remarked that 'some of a strong Fancy' connected it with a cave in Herefordshire.⁴ The *editio princeps* of Clement was printed in Florence, 1550; between it and the Paris edition of 1677, there were several others, including a London edition of 1650 in Rous's *Mella Patrum*; but nearly forty years were to elapse before another was produced, Bishop Potter's great Oxford edition of 1715.⁵ It can hardly be accidental that Musgrave's work, with its identification of the cave made possible by its learned author's local knowledge, appeared only four years later.

Musgrave points out the close correspondence between Clement's description and the setting of Wookey Hole: 'Our *Ogo* (as he called it, following the usual etymology) is certainly a cave lying below a mountain, with a cleft near the top of its lofty front.' Whether, on his winter visit,⁶ he had himself heard the sounds described by the Early Christian Father, is doubtful. He accepts Clement's explanation, and implies that the production of noises was common: 'when the north-west wind blows into the cleft, as is the case for most of the year, it may appear to emit sounds which, with imagination's help, may be judged those of cymbals.' On the contrary, the sounds are rare, and seem in the past to have been rare, if the scarcity of recorded references

* Numerals such as this refer to the notes, which are at the end of this paper.

to them is any guide;⁷ Balch, whose many years of study and exploration placed him in a favourable position to hear them, seems to have had about four experiences by 1914, when he published his *Wookey Hole: its Caves and Cave Dwellers*, and does not adduce an external wind as being the cause; and as far as a 'musical throbbing sound' was concerned, was able to identify its source in peculiar hydraulic conditions.⁸ Others remain unexplained; but the discovery in recent years of a whole series of water-locked chambers beyond the furthest point to which Balch and his colleagues could go—chambers now opened up to the public with the greatest possible taste—can but suggest that such will prove the general explanation.

Such matters, however, lie beyond the scope of the present remarks. Returning to Clement, despite the dam which brings the water-level at the resurgence nearly always to the roof of the passage, and despite the construction of an easy path to what for centuries has been the chief entrance—the 'cleft'⁹—it is difficult to believe that he was describing any other cavern but Wookey Hole; and Rooker's painting of 1794, beautifully reproduced in colour in E.V. Gatacre's new guidebook,¹⁰ which shows the stream and cascade before the dam was built, and the cleft above to the left, confirms this belief. Furthermore, Balch states that Wookey Hole is the only cave where sounds are produced;¹¹ and this is largely true, if we tacitly understand 'inland British' with those words.

Musgrave suggested that the Roman soldiers would have explored the cavern—there was, after all, the leaden trophy of A.D.49 near by¹²—and, reminded of the Sibyl's cave at Cumae, would have described it in their despatches. Thus Clement may eventually have heard of its existence. There were, of course, later opportunities for the fame of Wookey Hole to reach him, given the Severan date of his work. The deduction is reasonable: at least, there seems to have been a work treating of the wonders of Britain, of which we have a glimpse in Solinus' reference, late in the third century A.D., to the hot springs of the island—at Bath, that is—and to the curious fires at the Temple of Minerva there, composed of fuel which did not whiten into ashes, but when the flames died became rounded stony lumps.¹³ The same author's reference to jet as the commonest and best of British stones might also come from such a source,¹⁴ as also the account of the soothsaying inhabitants of Scilly, who traded by barter and resolutely refused coins, and the even stranger tale of the Caledonian altar with a Greek inscription set up by Ulysses in his wanderings.¹⁵ Pliny, who would assuredly have included all these, and with them the strange sounds of Wookey Hole, in the *Historia Naturalis*, has no mention of any. *Ex hypothesi*, the lost book of wonders was written after his death in the eruption of Vesuvius, A.D.79; and furthermore, since coal did not come into use until the very end of the first century at the earliest, and since Clement wrote towards A.D.200, we have a broad date for its compilation.

The sounds of Wookey Hole, as Balch observed, must in ancient times have excited superstitious dread; and it is no surprise to find that the human remains recently exhumed from its depths had been placed in the furthest normally accessible spot. Superstitions abound in connexion with caves, and descend to recent times from the remotest past of the human race. Such we

find existed, for example, in the illuminating parallel to which the Exeter scholar draws our attention in concluding his remarks. This was the Corycian cave, on the promontory of Corycus near the town of that name in Cilicia, the coastal fringe of Asia Minor opposite the island of Cyprus. It was described at some length by Strabo,¹⁶ Pomponius Mela (who wrote on the eve of the Roman invasion of Britain, A.D. 43, and thus half-a-century after Strabo, Appendix II, 3),¹⁷ and Solinus (Appendix II, 4).¹⁸ The name was given to a large oval depression with high rocky walls, where the best saffron grew; it was filled with an agreeable, shady woodland, and was traversed here and there by streams; and at the bottom there opened an underground cavern. The site was studied by an English traveller, J. Theodore Bent, in 1890 (Appendix II, 5), who placed its identity beyond question by the discovery of inscriptions mentioning the Corycian Jove among the ruins of a temple within the distance of a mile from it.¹⁹

Pomponius alone mentions sounds, and here is his description of the underground cavern:

It terrifies those entering by *the sound of cymbals clashing by divine agency and with a great din*. Then, light for a while but with increasing progress soon becoming darker, it leads those who have courage further, and admits them to its depths as if by a tunnel. There, a huge torrent rears up in a great fountain, does but show itself, and where its powerful impetus has formed a narrow pool, it sinks again and is hidden from view. Within is a space greater than anyone has ventured to cross, so dreadful is it, and on that account is unknown. The whole situation, however, is impressive and truly awesome, worthy—and indeed believed—to be the haunt of gods. . . .

Strabo says that the stream emerged on the sea-shore, where it was known as the bitter water. Pomponius continues:

There is another cave beyond, which they call Typhon's Den; it has a narrow mouth, and is much constricted, as those who have tried it have related; and for that reason is suffused with a perpetual darkness, which the eye can never penetrate without difficulty; but because it was once upon a time the bed of Typhon, and because at the present day it immediately destroys objects dropped into it, it is worthy of mention for its character as well as for the fable.

Solinus adds that the cave contained a shrine or chapel of Jupiter, and that in the furthest recess of this 'those who wish to do so, believe the couch of the giant Typhon²⁰ was placed.' In reality, as indeed we would gather from Pomponius, Typhon's Den was a separate pot-hole, and not in the great hollow; the nomadic inhabitants of the region informed Bent, however, that smoke entering in at the main cave came out at the other, and some underground connexion is thereby implicit. The country rock is limestone, and we can readily visualise a cave-system of a kind familiar in limestone regions, where there is a swallet-hole at an upper level, and a sequence of passages and chambers which may debouch at a much lower level. The great depression termed the Corycian cave may be the result of the collapse of part of just such a system upon a gigantic scale, perhaps after an earthquake.²¹

Returning again to Clement in conclusion, it seems at first sight strange that he should have chosen to mention a cave in distant Britain in preference to this well-known example, where identical sounds had been placed on record. But the context of the passage shows his reason for doing so.²² The chapter starts with some 'plagiarisms' of Old Testament stories regarding the manifestations of God: the parallel Greek myths, Clement suggested, ought to convince the Greeks of the truth of the others. He refers to *Exodus*, chapter 19, where God declared himself upon Mount Sinai to the Jewish people encamped at its foot, in thunder, lightning, cloud and fire 'and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud'. This, says Clement, was the advent of Divine power, 'the Light which no man can approach unto'.²³ The point which he wished to make was that the manifestation was seen by the whole multitude, not less than a million souls, encamped around the base of the mountain, which was some five days' journey in circumference: as the phenomenon was seen by all, the descent of God was not localised, for God is everywhere. Prompted by his reference to auditory phenomena, he then launches into a description of three others, of which that concerning Wookey Hole is the first. As the second, he chose something more general: the effect of a sudden wind upon the leaves of a forest, which may cause them to give out a sound resembling bird-song. The third relates that in Persia there was a plain upon which three mountains stood. Travellers approaching the first heard a confused noise as of myriads of soldiers shouting in battle-array; on nearing the second, they heard the same sound intensified; and on reaching the third, paeans of victory. Clement chose shrewdly: a general example, and two others from places separated by an immense distance, God being everywhere: one from the mysterious land of the Magi, the other from the equally mysterious (and equally magician-haunted²⁴) island of Britain. The cause, however, was perfectly natural: in his opinion, the sounds were made by the wind being reflected with considerable force from the smooth surfaces and concavities which were present in each case. Let that be as it may: his point, he stresses, rather was that God could communicate by auditory means without a medium of any kind.

APPENDIX I

The wondrous cave of Gwent

None of the authorities, ancient or modern, refers to wind in connexion with the Corycian cavern; and therefore Clement could not have chosen it as an example in leading his reader up to that last statement. As already mentioned, Pomponius Mela is the only writer to mention 'the clashing of cymbals' at the Corycian cavern; and just as in the case of Wookey Hole, we might conclude that the production of noises was rare. Indeed, the cause in both cases was doubtless similar. It was remarked above²⁵ that there is apparently no record of noises at Wookey between Clement and Drayton's extravaganza of 1612. This cannot of itself mean that no sounds were ever heard in that period of some fourteen hundred years: indeed, we might guess that if Clement's account had been known to medieval scholars in touch with the locality, we might have heard more of them, for they would at once have

gained 'respectability'. That knowledge, however, was hidden;²⁶ and, if sounds there were, they were recorded in peasant tradition and story-telling alone, which the learned would have frowned upon as inanities²⁷ or, worse, as stained with paganism.

Nevertheless, there exists one early work, of the ninth century A.D., which contains an artless collection of 'wonders'—Nennius' *Historia Brittonum*. Among these curiosities is one of a spelaeological character (Appendix II, 6):

There is another wonder in the region which is called Gwent. There is a pit there from which wind blows uninterruptedly all the time; and when there is no wind in summer-time, from that pit it blows incessantly, so that no man can stand before the pit for the chill. And the name of it is called in the British tongue *Vith Guint*; in Latin however *Flatio Venti* [Breath of the Wind]. It is a great wonder that wind should blow from the ground.

By the Clementine standard of Wookey Hole, this wonder is of a decidedly feeble kind; and it is adduced here merely to suggest that Wookey Hole had no wide notoriety in Nennius' day. Caves from which winds issue are by no means rare, and are recorded by ancient writers, such as the Senta cave in Dalmatia, mentioned by Pliny;²⁸ and in Henry of Huntingdon, c. 1130, we find a similar tale told of the Peak caverns (Appendix II, 7), where the draught was powerful enough to eject and cast to a considerable distance any garments thrown in.²⁹ This effect, even when allowance is made for hyperbole, was no longer noticeable in Camden's time: writers had been 'much deceived'.³⁰ Yet it is of a perfectly explicable kind, and a recent author has mentioned the 'strong, cold current of air' which issues from Ogof Ffynnon-ddu in summer.³¹ By 'pit' (*fovea*) in the Gwentian case, we may probably understand a swallet-hole communicating with an extensive system opening out at a lower level, into which the warm summer air would be drawn, and emitted, chilled to the ambient temperature of the cave, at the upper orifice.³² Whether *Vith Guint* could ever be identified seems doubtful. As in the case of Eldon-hole or the Devil's Arse in the Peak (the latter name, highly significant in the context of the tale), some internal blockage may have interfered.

APPENDIX II - SOURCES

(1) CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromata* VI, 3

λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ τὰς ἱστορίας συνταξάμενοι, ἄμφι τὴν βρεττανικὴν νῆσον ἄντρον τι ὑποκείμενον ὄρει· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς χάσμα· ἐμπύπτοντος οὖν τοῦ ἀνέμου εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, καὶ προσρηγνουμένου τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ ὀρύγματος, κυμβάλων εὐρύθμως κρουομένων ἤχον ἐξακούεσθαι.

- (2) WILLIAM MUSGRAVE,
Belgium Britannicum (1719), 188-90

Cum eo Terrae tractu versarentur *Romani*, non improbabile videtur, *Ogonis* Antrum, quod est in propinquo, illos intrare, multiplices anfractus, & praecipitia introitus, Petrificationes in eo innumeras, nunc Strumarum more tumentes, nunc tanquam Mucrones in aere pendentes, & ex alto mortem *Damocleam* minitantes; intus autem Aream, quasi ad saltatus & tripudia destinata: interius amnem molliter labentem, & cum murmure, pristino meatu relicto, viam facientem: vasta porro spatia, & in iis nunc succidias (a forma sic dicuntur) nunc Columnas e *Stalactite* pendulas, oculoque iudice cadentes: Aerem interea tepidum & temperatum; aliaque hujus Antri mirabilia spectare, mirari: Quae cum milites *Romani* contuerentur, *Sibyllae* Antrum immane memorati, multa de iis proculdubio *Romam*, matrem Urbium renunciarunt, Belli eventa, & in Insula quae notanda literis mandantes; quae cum a *Clemente* demum *Alexandrino* legerentur, eique innotescerent, in causa forsitan essent, quod de *Britannia* vir ille perdoctus. . . scripserit in hunc modum [*quotes and translates passage (1) above*].

Certe *Ogo* noster Antrum monti subjectum est, quod in loco ejus edito prope fastigium habet Hiatus, in quem dum Caurus inflat (hoc autem maximam anni partem facit) & in speluncam incidit, inque sinum Antri illiditur, numeros sonorum edere videatur, qui imaginationis ope, Cymbalorum esse iudicentur. Specus in *Cilicia Coryceus*, huic non multum absimilis, a *Pomponio Mela* verbis elegantissimis exprimitur, non sine voluptate summa legendis.

Huic opinioni astipulatur id, quod sequitur, nempe *Clementem* tempore *Severi* & *Bassiani* Impp. floruisse, unde ea de *Rebus Britannicis* legendi discendique, post tot tantasque Copias in *Britanniam* missas, non una fuit opportunitas. Verum quidem haec hactenus.

- (3) POMPONIIUS MELA,
De Situ Orbis I, 13 (from Gronovius' edition, 1722).

Supra specus est, nomine Corycius, singulari ingenio ac supra quam describi facile sit eximius. Grandi namque hiatus patens, montem litori appositum, et decem stadiorum clivo satis arduum ex summo statim vertice aperit. Tunc alte demissus, et quantum demittitur amplior, viret lucis pendentibus undique, et totum se nemoroso laterum orbe complectitur: adeo mirificus ac pulcher, ut mentes accedentium primo adspectu consternat; ubi contemplati duravere, non satiet. Unus in eum descensus est, angustus, asper, quingentorum et mille passuum, per amoenas umbras et opaca silvae quiddam agreste resonantis, rivis hinc atque illinc fluitantibus. Ubi ad ima perventum est, rursum specus alter aperitur ob alia dicendus. Terret ingredientes sonitu cymbalorum divinitus et magno fragore crepitantium. Deinde aliquandiu perspicuus, mox et quo magis subitur, obscurior, ducit ausos penitus, alteque quasi cuniculo admittit. Ibi ingens amnis ingenti fonte se extollens, tantummodo se ostendit, et ubi magnum impetum brevi alveo traxit, iterum demersus absconditur. Intra spatium est, magis quam ut progredi quispiam ausit horribile, et ideo incognitum. Totus autem augustus et vere sacer, habitarique a diis et dignus et creditus, nihil non venerabile et quasi cum aliquo numine se ostendat.

Alius ultra est, quem Typhoneum vocant, ore angusto, et multum (ut experti tradidere) pressus, et ob id assidua nocte suffusus, neque unquam perspici facilis: sed quia aliquando cubile Typhonis fuit, et quia nunc demissa in se confestim exanimat, natura fabulaeque memorandus.

(4) SOLINUS,

Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium, 38.8 (from Mommsen's edition, 1864).

. . . alter rursus specus panditur: quod antrum latis primum patet faucibus, postmodum in processu per angustias obscuratur, in eo sacrum est Iovis fanum, in cuius recessu intimo Typhonis gigantis cubile positum qui volunt credunt.

(5) J. THEODORE BENT,

'Explorations in Cilicia Tracheia,' *Proc. Roy. Geographical Soc.* n.s. XII (1890), 446 ff. By permission of the Society.

The principal geographical features of the first plateau immediately above the sea-level are the great caves, or more strictly speaking, great depressions in the calcareous rock formation, caused by the action of water, those underground streams which appear and disappear. . . . Within the space of five miles we found three of these great caves, which resemble the deep chasms through which the neighbouring rivers flow, except that they are closed up at either end. . . .

The first of these in importance is, of course, the anciently famed Corycian cave, above three miles in the hills behind [and east of] Corycos; this has been frequently described by previous travellers, some of which have doubted its identity, but as we stayed around it for several days, and we were able to add much new information concerning it, including inscriptions identifying it beyond all doubt, I propose to give here a detailed account of it.

It is an oval depression running from north to south, and around it is a level plateau, covered with a perfect sea of pointed calcareous rocks, which prevent its being seen until the edge is reached, and make walking around it almost impossible. Its dimensions are as follows: length 886 feet, mean width, 65½ feet, and height from 98 feet at the northern end, to 228 feet at the southern end. At the southern end of the depression you enter the cavern, which descends over 200 feet into the bowels of the earth. The old road, paved with polygonal stones [*i.e.*, *within the cavern*], may still be followed for a little distance, then there is a covering of slippery earth...; at the extreme end, you hear above you the rushing of water, the dripping from which forms a tiny pool and many stalactites, but the stream is never seen continuing its course in the heart of the mountain. . . . at the mouth of the cavern was a temple replaced by a later Byzantine church [*in Journ. Hellenic Studies XII, he says the mouth of the cave was walled up; and there was a church outside, very close to it; the temple appears to have been directly above the cavern, on the very lip of the depression*].

The bottom of the outer depression, which, I have said, slopes from north to south, is nearly all covered with a thick jungle of trees, caroubs, pomegranates, myrtle, &c., just as it was in the days of Pomponius Mela, who gave a somewhat timid description of a visit he paid to the cave. . . . Here it was that the saffron grew alluded to by Strabo, Dioscorides, and Pliny, [*the*

first of whom] carefully distinguishes between the depression and the actual cavern. Though we found no saffron there now, we found plenty of it on the neighbouring mountains, and I have no doubt it would easily grow here too. This cave the nomads call Paradise, for here they can fasten their camels and find shelter for their goats, in contradistinction to the second cave we found, which they call Purgatory. This second cave is separated from the northern end of the Corycian cave only by a distance of 100 yards, but as the sides slope inwards and are hung with stalactites, no one without proper appliances can descend into it; it is much smaller, and almost round, decidedly deeper, and far more terrible in aspect than the other, but, strange to say, I can find no allusion to it amongst either ancient or modern authors, with the exception of Pomponius Mela.... The nomads say that smoke which goes in at the southern end of the Corycian cave comes out here, and I have no doubt that there is a subterranean communication between them.

Our most important discoveries concerning the Corycian cave were made outside it. On an eminence about a mile from it stood the ruins of a temple of Jupiter. . . . On its walls I found scribbled a prayer invoking the assistance of the Corycian Jove, and we found the stele of a statue bearing a dedication to the same deity. . . . Outside the temple, quite accidentally, by pulling down a wall, we came across a list of 162 names. . . . The last. . . was King Archelaus, who ruled a considerable portion of the Tracheia. . . . the last king of the district prior to its becoming a Roman province. . . . The third cave is about five miles distant from the two Corycian caves, and is separated from them by many deep gorges and almost impassable rocks; it . . . bears a remarkable resemblance to the larger of the two Corycian caves. . . . This cave is not mentioned by either ancient or modern writers. . . . there is no apparent cavern or underground stream here now. . . .

As I have said, [*the nomads*] are not superstitious: even at that dread spot, the Corycian cave. . . . we were told that nothing uncanny existed. An old Yuruk was quite indignant at the suggestion; neither he, nor his father, nor his grandfather had ever been troubled by apparitions, and they had lived most of their lives near the cave.

(6) THE GWENT CAVE: NENNIUS,

Historia Brittonum 70 *ter* (from Lot's edition, 1934)

Est aliud mirabile in regione quae vocatur Guent: est ibi fovea a qua ventus inflat per omne tempus sine intermissione; et quando non flat ventus in tempore aestatis, de illa fovea incessanter flat, ut nemo possit sustinere ante foveam pro frigiditate. Et vocatur nomen eius *Vith Guint* britannico sermone, latine autem flatio venti. Magnum mirabile est ventus de terra flare.

(7) PEAK CAVERNS: HENRY OF HUNTINGDON,

Historia Anglorum I, 7 (ed. Arnold, 1878).

Quatuor autem sunt quae mira videntur in Anglia. Primum quidem est, quod ventus egreditur de cavernis terrae in monte qui vocatur *Pec*, tanto vigore, ut vestas injectas repellat et in altum procul ejiciat.

NOTES

1. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* IX (1857), col. 252.
2. *Op. cit.*, 188-90.
3. William Camden, *Britannia, sive Florentissimorum Regnorum . . . Chorographica Descriptio* (1586), 367.
4. In an undated letter (c. 1670?) to Dr John Fell (1625-86), printed by Thomas Hearne in *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary* II (1711), 108-9.
5. *Clementis Alexandrini Opera quae exstant, recognita et illustrata per J. Potterum Episcopum Oxoniensem* (1715), 2 vols. (the text used by Migne).
6. He mentions the 'warm and temperate air' which scarcely varies from 52° F. all year, and would therefore strike warm to anyone entering in winter, and cool in summer.
7. According to the passages assembled by H. E. Balch, *Wookey Hole: its Caves and Cave Dwellers* (1914), 223 ff., there appears to be no reference to sounds between Clement and Michael Drayton, whose *Poly-Olbion* of 1612 (*Works*, ed. W. Hebel, 1933, IV, 56-7; Song III, 292, 315-6) has the following:

. . . the dreadful cavern spake;

This said, she many a sigh from her full stomacke cast,
Which issued through her breast in many a boystrous blast.

- 'Her full stomacke' may be explained by reference to Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* V, 4, likening the production of winds from caves to belching: 'it is fortunate for us,' he comments, 'that the earth always digests what she consumes; otherwise, we might fear some unpleasant consequences.' He does not refer, however, to any characteristic sound associated with the subterranean digestion! Was the Wookey Hole 'boystrous blast' introduced upon the analogy of the Peak (notes 29-30)? Balch, *ibid.* 225, refers elegantly to the cave 'breathing in' and 'out', sufficiently strongly to gutter a candle; but such a draught can hardly be called a 'boystrous blast'.
8. Balch, *op. cit.*, 197-201.
 9. The earliest description, 1480, refers to the *introitus strictus*: William Worcestre, *Itineraries* (ed. Harvey, 1969), 290-1.
 10. E. V. Gatacre, *Wookey Hole* (Wookey Hole Caves Ltd., 1975), 13.
 11. *Op. cit.*, 225. For a sea-cave with smithy-noises, at Barry Island, recorded in 1138 and long since destroyed, see Giraldus Cambrensis, *Itinerarium Kambriae* (ed. Dimock, 1868), 79. Plot (note 4) cited Varenus (B. Varenus, *A Complete System of General Geography*, tr. Dugdale; 1733 ed., I, 154-5) for this cave, which by error was assigned to Bardsey Island, N. Wales.
 12. Musgrave, pl. 13, 1 has a fanciful illustration of the 'trophy' let into a kind of gravestone-shaped plinth. This manifest lead pig, or part of a pig, was published by Leland as a 'trophy' in connexion with the sepulchral inscription of Arthur at Glastonbury, see his *Assertatio Inclytissimi Arturi* (1544), f. 23a, in Thomas Hearne's *Lelandi Collectanea* (2nd ed. 1774) V, 45. By Camden's time the 'trophy' had disappeared. It is strange that Balch, as late as 1929, maintained that it was a 'trophy' despite Haverfield's comment in the *Victoria History, Somerset* I (1906), 340: see *The Great Cave of Wookey Hole*, 56.
 13. Solinus, *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, 22.10 (ed. Mommsen, 1864). Coal, H. M. Scarth, *Aquae Solis* (1864), 3;—in Roman Britain, G. Webster, *Antiq. Journ.* XXXV (1955), 199-217.
 14. Solinus, 22.11.
 15. Solinus, 22.7; 22.1. This last is quite extraordinary, and must have a basis in fact. Is it possible that someone in Agricola's fleet, which circumnavigated Scotland in A.D. 84, brought back a report of this altar, carrying *inter alia* an epigram mentioning Odysseus, and that it was a *padrão* set up by Pytheas c. 320 B.C.? The notion of Odysseus in Atlantic waters, cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, III, 4.4.
 16. Strabo, XIV, 5.5.

17. Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, I, 13.
18. Solinus, 38, 7-8.
19. J. Th. Bent, *Proc. Roy. Geographical Soc.* n.s. XII (1890), 446-8, 457, map facing 508; *idem*, *Journ. Hellenic Studies* XII (1891), 212-16, pl. 12 (same map); E. L. Hicks on the inscriptions, *ibid.*, 238-58.
20. Typhon was a terrible giant of immense size; created by Earth for revenge on the gods, he was born here, and here temporarily imprisoned Zeus, who however cast Mount Etna on top of him, and his fiery breath and vomit of blazing rocks continue to this day. See Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (1955) I, 133-6, for a good account. The same word was used of a hurricane; and as the Chinese word for a hurricane was similar in sound, it has become anglicised as 'typhoon'. See *Oxford English Dictionary*.
21. Earthquakes here, see Seneca, *Quaestiones Naturales* III, 2.2 quoting Theophrastus; and Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* XXXI, 5.
22. There is a complete English translation by W. Watson, *The Writings of Clement of Alexandria* (1869), 2 vols., see vol. II.
23. I Timothy 6 v. 16, quoted by Clement.
24. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* XXX, 1; cf. Nennius, *Hist. Britt.* (ed. Lot, 1934), 40 for Vortigern consulting his *magi*.
25. See note 7.
26. Clement of Alexandria does not figure in the titles of surviving books from medieval libraries, either in the original or in a Latin version. Greek books are naturally very few and almost all are late. See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (1964 ed.), *passim*.
27. Camden (*Britannia*, 1586, 104-5) refers to the 'extravagant fables' of the local inhabitants. Doubtless these concerned the 'witch', of whom, presumably, the figure depicted on one of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* maps (*op. cit.* note 7, between pp. 48-9) is a representation; and perhaps also the 'porter' mentioned by Worcestre, of whom one asked permission to enter (*loc. cit.*, note 9).
28. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* II, 45.
29. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* I, 7 (ed. Arnold, 1878).
30. *Britannia* (1586), 314. Both Gervase of Tilbury in 1211 (*Otia Imperialia*, 45, ed. Liebrecht, 1856) and—*pace* Camden—Alexander Neckam c. 1213 (*De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae* V, 747-50, ed. Wright, 1863) pick up and elaborate Henry of Huntingdon's reference. No wind is mentioned by Charles Leigh, *Natural History of Lancashire, Cheshire, and the Peak, in Derbyshire* (1700), Bk. III, 42-44; Bk. I, 187-91, where *enjolivé* engravings of both Poole's Hole and the Devil's Arse will be found, showing many fancifully-named formations and, in the latter case (now known as the Peak cavern), the cabins inhabited by poor folk. See further, Gough's Camden's *Britannia* (1789 ed.) II, 319-26 *passim*. For draughts at Wookey Hole, see note 7.
31. J. O. Myres in *British Caving: an Introduction to Spelaeology* (ed. C.H.D. Cullingford, 1964 ed.), 228.
32. Explained *ibid.* Unfortunately Mr. Myres does not stray on to the subject of cave-noises. Professor Tratman (*in litt.*, 24th February, 1976) tells me that on one occasion, in Swildon's Hole, in the area of the Old Grotto, he heard a deafening noise similar to that mentioned by Balch, *op. cit.* note 7, 198: it lasted for about five or six seconds, and suddenly stopped. On the following day there was a newspaper report of a minor earth-tremor in the Malvern district, and the time given corresponded approximately with the time of the sound which he had heard.