

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01172218 8



Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2013





15

857

I

ORIGINS  
OF  
ENGLISH HISTORY.



# ORIGINS

OF

# ENGLISH HISTORY

BY

CHARLES I. ELTON. F.S.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD; ONE OF HER MAJESTY'S COUNSEL; AUTHOR  
OF "THE TENURES OF KENT;" "THE LAW OF COMMONS AND WASTE LANDS;"  
"THE LAW OF COPYHOLDS AND CUSTOMARY TENURES OF LAND;"  
"NORWAY, THE ROAD AND THE FELL," ETC.

SECOND EDITION REVISED.

LONDON:  
BERNARD QUARITCH. 15 PICCADILLY.  
1890.

DA  
140  
E47  
1890

LONDON :  
G. NORMAN AND SON, PRINTERS, HART STREET,  
COVENT GARDEN.

16798  
—  
19/10/91 £

## *PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.*

THE object of this work appears so fully in its introductory chapter that it is almost needless to add anything by way of formal preface. It has been the writer's wish to collect the best and earliest evidence as to the different peoples with which the English nation in any of its branches is connected by blood and descent.

There are few that have studied the fascinating subject of the trade and travel of the Greeks from the times when they sailed in the track of the Phœnicians to the great age of their discoveries which followed the conquests of Alexander, who have not been astonished at the extent and accuracy of the knowledge which the earliest classical writers possessed concerning the North of Europe, as compared with the comparative ignorance and confusion of later times.

To an Englishman the voyage of Pytheas is especially interesting, not only because he was the first explorer of the British Islands, but also because he brought back with him a singularly minute account of what he had seen and heard in the marshes and forests, from which long after-

wards the "three great English kindreds" came. But his visit to the Amber Islands and his stories of the brilliant Arctic summer became for the Greeks the foundation of all the fantastic tales of Thule, which for a time brought the whole science of Geography into contempt.

The people who are found in Britain at the time of the Roman invasions—usually classed as Celts—are divided into a Gaulish stock, which is first described, as far as materials exist, and the Celts or Gaels of an earlier migration, whose colonies were found in every part of the British Islands that was not held by the Belgian nations.

The subject involves an inquiry into the character and distribution of those forgotten peoples which everywhere throughout Western Europe underlie the dominant Aryan race. The description of the British Gauls is accordingly followed by an account of the remaining traces of institutions owing their origin to the series of races that begins with the men of the Later Stone Age and covers the tribes that introduced the use of Bronze into Britain.

The men of the long heads, who built long barrows and polished their weapons of stone, and the men of the round skulls, who were buried in round tombs and had learned to work in metal, have left abiding influences on the population of Britain, and the survivals of their primitive religion and laws appear in the form of local superstitions and customs which have descended even to modern times.

---

Something of this kind may help to explain the anomalous customs of inheritance, the wide prevalence of which under the name of Borough English has long been a subject of speculation to all who have studied the curious details of the English Law of Real Property. A lawyer's reading enables him also to gather together many fragments of customs and tenures which point back to the same barbarous antiquity and enable the critical student of history to form at least a scientific guess at the civilisation and social ideas of the forgotten Pre-Celtic population.

In conclusion the writer desires to express his obligations to the many kind friends who have assisted him during the progress of this work, and to acknowledge his special indebtedness to the writings of Professor Rhys, the late Professor Rolleston and Sir Henry Sumner Maine.

---

### *PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.*

IN preparing a second edition of the "Origins of English History" the author has endeavoured to take advantage of the observations and friendly advice to which the appearance of the former edition gave rise. Since the work was first published many fresh discoveries have been made in the provinces of philology and archæological

science. Much fresh light has been thrown on the problems of Celtic history by the continuous labours of Professor Rhys at home, and of M. Gaidoz, M. D'Arbois de Jubainville and many other eminent scholars abroad, while some of the best-known landmarks of archæology have been altered by the results of the recent explorations made by General Pitt-Rivers at Rushmore. The earlier chapters of the work, dealing with the important discoveries of Pytheas, the Greek romances of travel, and the ancient languages and institutions of the Celtic peoples, have been carefully revised, without much alteration in their main argument or the arrangement of the principal facts. Some doubtful points have been omitted as well as some few appeals to authority which seemed to be no longer required. The descriptive catalogue of classic authors cited in the work has been entirely re-arranged, and references are now given to the pages on which they are cited in the text. An Index Locorum has been added, and care has been taken to distinguish those places which have anything to do with customary modes of inheritance from those which are more incidentally mentioned in the purely historical chapters. The General Index has been reconstructed and greatly enlarged, and a Table of Contents has been added.

WHITESTAUNTON, SOMERSET,

*December 2nd, 1889.*

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
Object of the work . . . . .	I
Prehistoric inhabitants of Britain . . . . .	2
The Welsh bards on the first settlement . . . . .	3
The ancient Fauna of the island . . . . .	3
Commencement of authentic history . . . . .	4
The Hyperborean legends . . . . .	5
The travels of Pytheas in Britain . . . . .	6
Marseilles in the age of Alexander the Great . . . . .	7
Her commerce . . . . .	8
Rivalry with Carthage . . . . .	8-11
Mineral riches of Spain . . . . .	9
Extensive deposits of tin . . . . .	9
The Phœnician commerce . . . . .	11
Plans for interfering with trade of Carthage . . . . .	12
Voyage of discovery proposed . . . . .	12
The scientific discoveries of Pytheas . . . . .	12, 13
He is chosen as leader of an expedition . . . . .	13
His writings. . . . .	14
Course of the expedition . . . . .	14
From Gadeira to the Tagus . . . . .	14, 15
Erroneous notions of Spanish geography . . . . .	15, 16
Havens of the Artabri. . . . .	16
Situation of the Cassiterides . . . . .	16-23
Description of the inhabitants . . . . .	18
Visit of Publius Crassus . . . . .	18
Theory as to the Scilly Islands . . . . .	16-19
Carthaginian discoveries . . . . .	20
The voyages of Hanno and Himilco . . . . .	20
Course of Himilco's voyage . . . . .	20
The tin districts . . . . .	21
The Sargasso Sea . . . . .	22
Teneriffe . . . . .	22

	PAGE
Pytheas at Finisterre . . . . .	23
Religious rites of natives . . . . .	23-4
The Pyrenees and Ligurian shore . . . . .	23
The Loire and Island of Amnis . . . . .	23
Barbarous ritual . . . . .	24
The Morbihan and Celtic Islands . . . . .	24
The College of Druidesses . . . . .	25
Voyage to Britain . . . . .	26
Pytheas travels in Britain . . . . .	26
His observations . . . . .	27
Erroneous measurements . . . . .	28
Mistakes as to size of the World . . . . .	29
State of Kent and Southern Britain . . . . .	30
Wheat-cultivation . . . . .	30
Metheglin and beer . . . . .	30
Agriculture . . . . .	31
Mode of dressing corn . . . . .	31
Pytheas visited Eastern coasts only . . . . .	32
Visit of Posidonius . . . . .	31, 34
Traditions of Stonehenge . . . . .	32
British trade in tin . . . . .	32
British coins from Greek models . . . . .	32
Districts where tin is found . . . . .	33
The island of Ictis . . . . .	34-37
Probably the same as Thanet . . . . .	34
Description of tin-works . . . . .	35
Portus Itius . . . . .	35-6
Thanet formerly an island . . . . .	36
St. Michael's Mount . . . . .	37

## CHAPTER II.

Pytheas visits Germany and the Baltic . . . . .	38
Criticism by Strabo . . . . .	38
Summary of route . . . . .	39
Pliny on northern geography . . . . .	40
The 'Germany' of Tacitus . . . . .	41

	PAGE
The Gothones and Suiones . . . . .	42-3
The Northern Ocean . . . . .	42
The Amber Coast . . . . .	43
Obligations of Tacitus to Greek writers . . . . .	45
Route of Pytheas . . . . .	45
Passage to Celtica . . . . .	46
The Ostians or Ostiones . . . . .	46
Their mode of living . . . . .	47
The Cimbri . . . . .	48
The Chauci . . . . .	49
North Germany . . . . .	50
The Hercynian Forest . . . . .	51-57
Its Fauna in the time of Pytheas . . . . .	52
The reindeer . . . . .	52-3
The elk . . . . .	54-5
The urus . . . . .	55-6
The aurochs . . . . .	56-7
The country of the Cimbri . . . . .	57-8
The Guttones . . . . .	58-9
The Amber Islands . . . . .	60-1
Extent of commerce in amber . . . . .	62-3
Voyage to Thule . . . . .	64-67
Discoveries in the Arctic Circle . . . . .	67-70
Return to Britain . . . . .	71
Return to Marseilles . . . . .	72
Character of Pytheas . . . . .	73

### CHAPTER III.

Imaginary travels based on discoveries of Pytheas . . . . .	74
Their confusion with records of real travel . . . . .	75
Beginning of scepticism on the subject . . . . .	75
Criticism of Dicæarchus . . . . .	75
The acceptance of Pytheas by Eratosthenes . . . . .	75
Euhemerus the rationalist : his account of Panchaia . . . . .	75
Argument based on his fictions . . . . .	75
Reply of Eratosthenes . . . . .	76

	PAGE
Criticisms by Polybius and Strabo . . . . .	76
Geographical romances . . . . .	77
Plato's use of the Carthaginian traditions . . . . .	77
Atlantis . . . . .	77
Origin of the stories of monstrous men . . . . .	78
"The Wonders beyond Thule" . . . . .	78
The epitome of Photius . . . . .	78
Plot of the romance . . . . .	79
Stories of Germany and Thule . . . . .	78-81
Of the Germans and the Hercynian Forest . . . . .	80
Stories about Britain . . . . .	81
The legend of Saturn and Briareus . . . . .	81
The Northern Pygmies . . . . .	81
Story preserved by Procopius . . . . .	81-83
Island of Brittia . . . . .	82
The conductors of the dead . . . . .	82
The communism of Thule . . . . .	83
The King of the Hebrides . . . . .	83-4
Modern variations of the legend . . . . .	84
Evan the Third and his law . . . . .	84
Mediæval use of the legend . . . . .	84
The romance of "The Hyperboreans" . . . . .	85
Description by Lelewel . . . . .	85
Stories of the Arctic Ocean . . . . .	86
Britain described as "Elixoia" . . . . .	86
The Circular Temple . . . . .	86
The Boread Kings . . . . .	86
Solar legends . . . . .	86
A description of the Hyperborean customs . . . . .	87
The suicides of the old men . . . . .	88
Historical weight of the legend . . . . .	88-9
Family-cliffs and family-clubs . . . . .	88
Barbarous practices of northern nations . . . . .	89
Mention of other romances . . . . .	89
The Attacosi . . . . .	89
The description of the Fortunate Islands, by Jambulus . . . . .	89
His accounts of strange kinds of men . . . . .	89
Fictions rejected by Tacitus . . . . .	90

	PAGE
CHAPTER IV.	
Recapitulation . . . . .	91
Later Greek travellers . . . . .	91-2
Artemidorus . . . . .	91
Posidonius the Stoic . . . . .	92
His travels in Western Europe . . . . .	92
Condition of the Celts in Britain . . . . .	93
Difficulty of framing general rules . . . . .	93
Division of population into three stocks . . . . .	93
British Gauls . . . . .	93
Insular Britons . . . . .	93
Other tribes . . . . .	93
Methods of finding their ancient settlements . . . . .	93
Antiquarian research . . . . .	94
Philological method . . . . .	94
Division of the Celtic languages . . . . .	94
Living forms in Wales . . . . .	94
Ireland . . . . .	94
Scotland . . . . .	94
Man . . . . .	94
Brittany . . . . .	94
Dead forms . . . . .	94
Welsh of Strathclyde . . . . .	94
Pictish . . . . .	94
Cornish . . . . .	94
Gaulish . . . . .	94
The Celtic of Thrace and Galatia . . . . .	94
Originals from which the groups are derived . . . . .	95
Lingua Britannica . . . . .	95
Affinities of Old Welsh . . . . .	95
Whether more related to the Irish or the Gaulish . . . . .	95-6
Theory of the division of the Celtic stock . . . . .	96
Brythonic and Goidelic races . . . . .	96
Origin of the Theory . . . . .	97
Similarity of Welsh and Gaulish languages . . . . .	97
The likeness explained . . . . .	97-8
It arose from independent causes . . . . .	98

	PAGE
The languages not similar at the same time . . .	98
Likeness between old forms of Welsh and Irish . . .	99
Welsh and Irish at one time united . . .	99
Occupation of Britain by one Celtic horde . . .	99
Separation of Welsh and Irish languages . . .	100
British language distinct from Gaulish . . .	100
Practical result of accepting the theory . . .	101

## CHAPTER V.

The Gauls in Britain . . . . .	102-119
Invasion by the King of Soissons . . . . .	102
Older settlements . . . . .	102-3
Kingdoms of Kent . . . . .	103-4
Forest of Anderida . . . . .	104
The Trinobantes . . . . .	105
Extent of their dominions . . . . .	105
The Iceni . . . . .	106
The Catuvellaunian Confederacy . . . . .	107
Civilisation of the Gaulish settlers . . . . .	108
Their physical appearance . . . . .	109
Dress . . . . .	110
Ornaments . . . . .	111
Equipments in peace and in war . . . . .	112-3
Scythed chariots . . . . .	114
Agricultural knowledge . . . . .	115-6
Cattle . . . . .	117
Domestic life . . . . .	117
A Gaulish feast . . . . .	118-9

## CHAPTER VI.

Population outside the Gaulish settlements . . . . .	120
How classified . . . . .	121
Stone Age . . . . .	121

	PAGE
Bronze Age . . . . .	121
Iron Age . . . . .	121
Special evidence as to Britain . . . . .	122
Palæolithic Age . . . . .	123
Later Stone Age . . . . .	124
Tombs of the Kings . . . . .	124
Cromlechs . . . . .	125
Rites and superstitions . . . . .	125-6
Wayland's Smithy . . . . .	126-7
Trous des Nutons . . . . .	128
Classification of barrows . . . . .	128
Chambered and unchambered varieties . . . . .	129
Their contents . . . . .	129-30
Physical characteristics of the Tomb-builders . . . . .	130
The nature of their society . . . . .	130-2
Lake-dwellings . . . . .	132
Survival of the neolithic race . . . . .	133
Legends of Irish bards . . . . .	134
The Firbolgs . . . . .	135
Black Celts . . . . .	136
The Silures . . . . .	137
Their character and habits . . . . .	138
Commencement of Bronze Age . . . . .	139
On the Continent . . . . .	140
In Britain . . . . .	141
Tribes of Finnish type . . . . .	141
Contents of their tombs . . . . .	142
Their implements . . . . .	143
Ornaments . . . . .	144
Agriculture . . . . .	145
Nature of their society . . . . .	145-6

## CHAPTER VII.

Oldest settlements in Britain . . . . .	147
Theories of British ethnology . . . . .	148
Fair and dark races . . . . .	148-9

	PAGE
Theory as to Iberians . . . . .	149
Aquitaniens . . . . .	149
Variety of Iberian customs . . . . .	149-50
Basque Tribes . . . . .	150
Origin of Milesian legends . . . . .	151-2
Mr. Skene's view as to the Silures . . . . .	153
Ethnological table . . . . .	154
Survivals of the pre-Celtic stocks . . . . .	155
Evidence from language and manners . . . . .	156
Comparison of Aryan customs . . . . .	157
Local names . . . . .	158-60
Personal names . . . . .	160-1
Abnormal words and constructions . . . . .	161-2
Classical notices: Vitruvius . . . . .	163
Tacitus . . . . .	164
Herodian . . . . .	164
Dion Cassius . . . . .	164-5
Caledonians and Picts . . . . .	165-6
Rock-carvings and sculptured stones . . . . .	166-8
Customs of succession . . . . .	169
Coronation rites . . . . .	170-1
Relics of barbarism in mediæval Connaught . . . . .	172-3
Ancient customs in Wales . . . . .	174
St. Almedha's Fair . . . . .	175
Cursing-customs . . . . .	175-6
Sin-eater . . . . .	176

## CHAPTER VIII.

Customs foreign to Celtic and Teutonic usage. . . . .	178
Anomalous laws of inheritance . . . . .	178
Borough-English . . . . .	179
Maineté and Jungsten-Recht . . . . .	179
Theories of their origin . . . . .	180
Their wide extent . . . . .	180
Primitive forms in Wales and Shetland . . . . .	181-2
In Cornwall and Brittany . . . . .	183
Distribution of Junior-right in England . . . . .	183

	PAGE
South-eastern district . . . . .	183
Danish towns . . . . .	184
Customs of Kent . . . . .	185-6
Customs in Sussex . . . . .	187-8
The neighbourhood of London . . . . .	189
Manor of Taunton-Deane . . . . .	189-90
North-western France and Flanders . . . . .	190
"Theel-boors" of East Friesland . . . . .	191
Germany . . . . .	192-3
Bornholm and Russia . . . . .	193
Attempts to explain the custom . . . . .	194-6
Early forms of primogeniture . . . . .	197
"Principals" or Préciput . . . . .	198
Eldest daughter . . . . .	198-9
The Law of the Sword . . . . .	199
Glanville . . . . .	200
Extension of custom . . . . .	201-2
Bracton . . . . .	203
Custom of the Pays de Caux . . . . .	203
Ireland and Norway . . . . .	204
Religious origin of customs . . . . .	205
Laws of Manu . . . . .	205
Survivals of a domestic religion . . . . .	206-7
The fire and hearth . . . . .	207
The remembrance bowl . . . . .	208
Household spirits . . . . .	209
Feast of All Souls . . . . .	210
"Brande Erbe" . . . . .	211
Analogous origin of Junior-right . . . . .	212
Early extension of Altaic peoples . . . . .	212
Mongolian and Ugrian customs . . . . .	213
Tchudic superstitions . . . . .	214
The mandrake . . . . .	215-6

CHAPTER IX.

Physical condition of the country . . . . .	217
Misrepresented by Roman orators . . . . .	218
Its state under Agricola . . . . .	218

	PAGE
Under the Plantagenets and Elizabeth . . . .	219
No genuine early descriptions . . . .	220
Sources of Bede's statements . . . .	220-1
Ancient accounts of Ireland . . . .	221-2
The picture of Britain by Gildas . . . .	222
True sources of information . . . .	223
Pliny, Aneurin, Giraldus . . . .	224
Description of British village . . . .	225
The Celts of North and West Britain . . . .	226
How affected by the English invasions . . . .	226-7
Evidence from language . . . .	227-8
Tribes of the South-West . . . .	229
Their culture and trade . . . .	230
Description of their ships . . . .	231
The Silures . . . .	232
The Dobuni of the Cotswolds . . . .	232-3
The Cornavians . . . .	233
The Ordovices . . . .	233-4
The central tribes . . . .	234
The Coritavi . . . .	234-5
Notices by Strabo and Cæsar . . . .	234-5
Migratory tribes . . . .	236
The northern confederation . . . .	236-7
Queen Cartismandua . . . .	237-9
Rules a Brigantian tribe . . . .	237
Commands the Brigantian army . . . .	238
Defeats Caractacus . . . .	239
Brigantians compared with Irish . . . .	240-1

## CHAPTER X.

✓ Religion of the British tribes . . . .	242
Its influence on the literature of romance . . . .	243
Theories about Druidism . . . .	243-4
The Welsh Triads . . . .	244-5
Legend of Hugh the Mighty . . . .	245-6
Mythological poems of the bards . . . .	247-8
Taliessin . . . .	248-9

	PAGE
Religion of the Gauls . . . . .	249-50
The greater gods . . . . .	251
Reckoning by nights . . . . .	251
Mercury and Minerva . . . . .	252
The worship of Belenus . . . . .	252
Adoration of plants . . . . .	253-4
Mistletoe and club-moss . . . . .	253
Water-pimpernel . . . . .	254
Teutates, Esus, Taranis . . . . .	254-6
Camulus . . . . .	255
Goddesses . . . . .	256-7
The Mothers . . . . .	257
Giants . . . . .	257
Origin of Druidism . . . . .	258
Druidism in Britain . . . . .	258-9
Scottish and Irish Druids . . . . .	258-9
Their magic . . . . .	259
Position of the Druids in Gaul . . . . .	259-60
Human sacrifices . . . . .	261
In Britain and Ireland . . . . .	262
Slaughter of hostages . . . . .	263
Sacrifices for stability of buildings . . . . .	263-5
Doctrines of the Druids . . . . .	265
Metempsychosis . . . . .	266
Disappearance of Druidism . . . . .	267
In Ireland and Scotland . . . . .	267-8
Other remains of British religions . . . . .	268
In legends of saints . . . . .	268-9
In romance . . . . .	269
St. Bridget's fire . . . . .	270
Nature of the idols . . . . .	271
Superstitions about natural phenomena . . . . .	272-3
Mirage and sunset . . . . .	272
Laughing-wells . . . . .	274
Pin-wells . . . . .	274-5
Worship of elements . . . . .	275
The Irish gods . . . . .	275-7
The Dagda . . . . .	275-6

	PAGE
Moon-worship . . . . .	276-7
Degradation of British gods . . . . .	277-8
Principal families of gods . . . . .	278-81
Children of Dôn . . . . .	278
Of Nudd . . . . .	279
Of Lir . . . . .	279-81
Legend of Cordelia . . . . .	280
Bran and Manannán . . . . .	281
Relics of sun-worship . . . . .	282
Fire-worship . . . . .	282-3
Rustic sacrifices . . . . .	283-4
Offerings to saints . . . . .	284-6
Sacred animals . . . . .	285-7
Prohibition of certain kinds of food . . . . .	288
Claims of descent from animals . . . . .	288
Totemism . . . . .	288-9

## CHAPTER XI.

Character of the Roman Conquest . . . . .	290
The century of peace after Cæsar's invasion . . . . .	291
Increase of commerce with Gaul . . . . .	292
Fresh settlements of Gauls in Britain . . . . .	292-4
The Atrebates, Belgæ and Parisii . . . . .	292
Metallurgy . . . . .	293
List of exports . . . . .	293-4
End of the peace . . . . .	294
The capture of Camulodunum . . . . .	294-5
The triumph of Claudius . . . . .	295-6
Massacre of the captives . . . . .	297-8
Enrolment of British regiments . . . . .	298
Conquest of the Southern districts . . . . .	299
The colony of Camulodunum . . . . .	300
Tyrannical measures . . . . .	301
Revolt of the Iceni . . . . .	301-3
Victory of Paulinus . . . . .	303-4
The constitution of the province . . . . .	305
Agricola's government . . . . .	306

	PAGE
His campaigns . . . . .	306-7
The visit of Hadrian . . . . .	308
Description of Caerleon . . . . .	309
Discipline of the legions . . . . .	309-10
Growth of towns . . . . .	310-11
Hadrian's Wall . . . . .	312-15
Description of its remains . . . . .	315
The Wall of Antoninus . . . . .	316
Tablets erected by the soldiers . . . . .	316-7
Their worship and superstitions . . . . .	317
The expedition of Severus . . . . .	318
The revolt of Carausius . . . . .	319
Influence of the Franks . . . . .	320
Diocletian's scheme of government . . . . .	321
Constantius and Constantine the Great . . . . .	321-2
A new system of administration . . . . .	323-4
The military roads . . . . .	324
The mediæval highways . . . . .	325-6
Watling Street . . . . .	326
System of communications . . . . .	327
The lines from north to south . . . . .	328
Transverse routes in the north . . . . .	328-9
Connections in the south and west . . . . .	329
The Saxon Shore . . . . .	329-30
The Ikenild Way . . . . .	330-1
The Antonine Itinerary . . . . .	331
The Peutingerian Table . . . . .	332-3
Effect of the new constitution . . . . .	334
Increase of taxation . . . . .	334-5
Christianity established . . . . .	335
Gradual decay of paganism . . . . .	336
Pantheistic religions . . . . .	337
State of the frontiers . . . . .	338
The Picts and Scots . . . . .	338-9
The Franks and Saxons . . . . .	338-9
Victories of Theodosius . . . . .	339-40
The revolt of Maximus . . . . .	340
The successes of Stilicho . . . . .	341

	PAGE
Usurpation of Constantine . . . . .	341
The treason of Gerontius . . . . .	342
Independence of Britain . . . . .	342

## CHAPTER XII.

Troubles of the Britons . . . . .	343
Fresh invasions of Picts and Scots . . . . .	343
The Saxon pirates . . . . .	344
The Halleluia victory . . . . .	344-5
The appeal to Aetius . . . . .	345-6
Beginnings of the English conquest . . . . .	346
Early Welsh poems . . . . .	346
Nennius . . . . .	347
Romances of Arthur . . . . .	347-8
The history of Gildas . . . . .	348
Its dramatic nature . . . . .	349
Its imitation of the Vulgate . . . . .	349
The story of Vortigern . . . . .	349
His war with the mercenaries . . . . .	350
The victory of Ambrosius . . . . .	350
The Mons Badonicus . . . . .	351
English accounts of the conquest . . . . .	352
Influence of ancient ballads . . . . .	352-3
Description of the invasion . . . . .	353
Saxons, Jutes, and Angles . . . . .	354-6
Their continental home . . . . .	354-7
Other invading tribes . . . . .	357
The Frisians . . . . .	358
Argument from local names . . . . .	358-9
The conquest of Kent . . . . .	359-61
Welsh traditions . . . . .	361-2
Horsa's tomb . . . . .	362-3
Legends of Hengist . . . . .	363-5
The conquest of Sussex . . . . .	366
Destruction of Anderida . . . . .	367
Fate of the Roman towns . . . . .	368-9
Rise of the House of Cerdic . . . . .	369-70

	PAGE
Conquest of Wessex . . . . .	371-2
Victories of Cerdic and Cynric . . . . .	373
The wars and fate of Ceawlin . . . . .	374-7
Genealogies of the kings . . . . .	378
The conquest of Northumbria . . . . .	378
East Anglia and Mercia . . . . .	378-80
Reign of Ida . . . . .	380-1
Welsh traditions . . . . .	381
Reign of Ælle . . . . .	381
Of Æthelfrith . . . . .	381-2
General description of the conquest . . . . .	382
Ancient poems . . . . .	382
The sea-kings described by Sidonius . . . . .	383-4
The lord and his companions . . . . .	384-6
Degradation of the peasantry . . . . .	386-7
Free townships . . . . .	388-9
Co-operative husbandry . . . . .	390
Village customs . . . . .	390
Survivals of heathenism . . . . .	390-2
Festivals . . . . .	393
Sacrifices . . . . .	394
Character of English paganism . . . . .	394-6
Conversion of Northumbria . . . . .	396
Of Sussex . . . . .	397
Of the remaining kingdoms . . . . .	398

APPENDIX I.

Knowledge of the ancients as to Northern and Western Europe . . . . .	399
---	-----

APPENDIX II.

A list of the principal Greek and Latin writers to which references have been made . . . . .	425
--	-----

INDEX LOCORUM . . . . .	431
-------------------------	-----

GENERAL INDEX . . . . .	439-50
-------------------------	--------

## *LIST OF MAPS.*

1. SPAIN (from the edition of Ptolemy printed at Rome in 1478).
2. THE WORLD OF THE ANCIENTS (from the Ptolemy of 1478).
3. EASTERN EUROPE (from the edition of Ptolemy printed at Strasburg in 1525).
4. NORTHERN EUROPE (from the *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* of Olaus Magnus, printed at Basle in 1567).
5. GAUL (from the Ptolemy of 1478).
6. THE BRITISH ISLES (from the Ptolemy of 1478).
7. SOUTH-EASTERN BRITAIN (from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*).
8. GERMANY (from the Ptolemy of 1478).
9. THE ISLE OF THANET (from Dugdale's *Monasticon*, edition of 1655-73).
10. THE BRITISH ISLES (from the Ptolemy of 1525).

# ORIGINS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

---

## CHAPTER I.

Object of the work.—Prehistoric inhabitants of Britain.—The Welsh bards on the first settlement.—The ancient Fauna of the island.—Commencement of authentic history.—The Hyperborean legends.—The travels of Pytheas in Britain.—Marseilles in the age of Alexander the Great.—Her commerce.—Rivalry with Carthage.—Mineral riches of Spain.—Extensive deposits of tin.—The Phœnician commerce.—Plans for interfering with trade of Carthage.—Voyage of discovery proposed.—The scientific discoveries of Pytheas.—He is chosen as leader of an expedition.—His writings.—Course of the expedition.—Gadeira.—The Tagus.—Erroneous notions of Spanish geography.—Havens of the Artabri.—Situation of the Cassiterides.—Description of the inhabitants.—Visit of Publius Crassus.—Theory that the Cassiterides were the Scilly Islands discussed.—Carthaginian discoveries.—The voyages of Hanno and Himilco.—Course of Himilco's voyage.—The tin districts.—The Sargasso Sea.—Teneriffe.—Pytheas at Finisterre.—Religious rites of natives.—The Pyrenees.—The Loire and Island of Amnis.—Barbarous ritual.—The Morbihan and Celtic Islands.—The College of Druidesses.—Voyage to Britain.—Pytheas travels in Britain.—His observations.—Erroneous measurements.—Ancient ideas of the extent of the world.—State of Kent and Southern Britain.—Wheat cultivation.—Metheglin and beer.—Agriculture.—Mode of dressing corn.—Pytheas did not visit Ireland, or the West of Britain.—Traditions of Stonehenge.—British trade in tin.—British coins from Greek models.—Districts where tin is found.—The Island of Ictis—Its situation—Probably to be identified with Thanet.—Visit of Posidonius.—Description of tin-works.—Portus Itius.—Thanet formerly an island.—St. Michael's Mount.

THE following chapters are the result of an attempt to rearrange in a convenient form what is known of the history of this country from those obscure ages which preceded the Roman invasions to the time when the English accepted the Christian religion and the civilising influences of the Church. The subject must always be interesting to those who care to trace the development of society from its remote and savage beginnings. The compiler's task is lightened by the labours of a multitude of scholars, from the Greek travellers who first explored the wonders of the northern world to the Welsh scribe who might have seen King Arthur : and from them to the

masters of comparative history who have lately traced the origin and growth of most of our modern institutions. The compilation may still be useful or convenient, though the field has been well-laboured for centuries, and "hardly a gleanings-grape or ear of corn is left when the vintage and harvest are done."

The really prehistoric times are the province of the archæologist, and must be explored by his technical methods, though every one who approaches the subject of English history must feel a desire to know something of all kinds of men who have colonised or traversed our islands. Our principal ancestors, no doubt, came late from the shores and flats between the Rhine and the Gulf of Bothnia. But the English nation is compounded of the blood of many different races; and we might claim a personal interest not only in the Gaelic and Belgic tribes who struggled with the Roman legions, but even in the first cave-men who sought their prey by the slowly-receding ice-fields, and the many forgotten peoples, whose relics are explored in the sites of lake-villages or seaside refuse-heaps or in the funeral mounds, or whose memory is barely preserved in the names of mountains and rivers. For it is hardly possible that a race should ever be quite exterminated or extinguished: the blood of the conquerors must in time become mixed with that of the conquered; and the preservation of men for slaves and of women for wives will always insure the continued existence of the inferior race, however much it may lose of its original appearance, manners, or language.

The Welsh bards indulged their fancy in describing the state of Britain before the arrival of man. According to the authors of the earliest Triads, the swarms of wild bees in the woods gave its first name to the "Isle of Honey:"

and the first settlers were supposed to marvel at the bears and wolves, the humped cattle of the forest, and the colonies of beavers in the streams. We need not follow the poet in his prehistoric flight, but we may be sure that down to the dawn of history a great part of the island must have been given over to wild beasts: even in the historical period, the Caledonian bears were known in the Roman circus, the beavers' colonies were long remembered in Wales and Scotland, the wild boar survived into the 17th century, and the wolf remained for some generations later in the more remote recesses of the island.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Scottish bear is mentioned by Martial: "Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso." (Epig. vii. 3, 4.) The city of Norwich gave a bear every year to Edward the Confessor, "and six dogs for the bear;" but the native bears were probably extinct before the 10th century. (Boyd Dawkins, *Cave-hunting*, 75; Harting, *Extinct British Animals*, 24.) The manor of Henwick, in Northamptonshire, was held by the family of Lovett, or Luvet, by the service of chasing the wolf, "fugacionem lupi quam dictus Johannes mihi pro terrâ de Henwyht debebat." (Nichol. Collect. Topogr. vi. 300.) The Luvets bore for their arms "Argent, three wolves passant." The service of the Luvets is recognised in a fine between Engaine and Luvet, in the 10th year of King John. The "Testa de Nevil" refers to the grant by William the Conqueror to Robert de Umfreville, of the valley and forest of Riddesdale, by the service of defending that part of the country from enemies and wolves with the sword which the King wore, when he first came to Northumberland. The family of Engaine held Pytchley, in Northamptonshire, by the service of hunting the wolf across the county wherever he pleased. (Pleas of the Crown, 3 Edw. I., r. 20.) The account-rolls of Whitby Abbey show that wolves must have been common in Yorkshire during the reign of Richard the 2nd. Professor Newton states that they were probably not extinct in England till the end of the 15th century. (Zoology Anc. Eur., 24; Harting, *Ext. Brit. Anim.* 151.) There is some evidence that the wolf survived in Scotland till 1743, and in Ireland till 1766, or a few years later (*ibid.* 204). As to the survival of the wild boar, see *ibid.* 101. Stow's "Survey of London" contains a well-known description of the forest of Middlesex in the reign of Henry II., where the citizens were wont to hunt the wild bull and the boar on the

The authentic history of Britain begins in the age of Alexander the Great, in the fourth century before Christ, when the Greeks acquired an extensive knowledge of the western and northern countries from Gibraltar to the mouth of the Vistula, and as far north as the Arctic Circle. We shall show how the knowledge was acquired, and afterwards obscured by the inability of later writers to distinguish between the facts of travel and the incidents of popular romances. When these parts of the northern tracts were rediscovered many generations afterwards by the Romans, it had become impossible for them to separate history from fable, and they took credit for finding a new world as if it had not all been described in their ancient books. So America and the regions of Central Africa were discovered and lost, and rediscovered and lost again, probably many times in succession: and so the colony of Old Greenland flourished for centuries, till it decayed from the ravages of plague and barbarian invasion and for nearly 300 years its very situation and direction were forgotten.

The earliest literature of Greece shows the existence of a rumour or tradition that somewhere to the north of the

hills of Hampstead. The wild cattle still remain at Chillingham, and in several other parks in England and Scotland. The beaver was mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis as existing in this country in the reign of Henry the 2nd. "The Teivy (in Cardiganshire) has another singularity, being the only river in Wales, or even in England, which has beavers. In Scotland they are said to be found in one river, but they are very scarce." (Itin. Wall. ii. c. 3.) He adds that they were at that time abundant in Germany and the north of Europe. (Topogr. Hibern. i. c. 21.) Hector Boece, writing in 1526, said that beavers were still to be found in Loch Ness, but they are not mentioned in an Act dealing with the fur-trade, which was passed in 1424. (See Harting's *Extinct British Animals*, and Boyd Dawkins, *Cave-hunting*, 76.)

Euxine and behind the Gulf of Adria, the resort of the amber merchants, the Hyperborean people lived "at the back of the north wind," and worshipped the Delian Apollo with hecatombs of wild asses in a land of perpetual sunshine, where the swans sung like nightingales, and life was an unending banquet. We need not pause very long over the consideration of the origin of these fancies, which acquired a fresh popularity when later poets and novelists incorporated the Boread legends with travellers' descriptions of the ritual of a solar worship and the brightness of an arctic summer :<sup>1</sup> but we will pass at once to a detailed examination of the discoveries of Pytheas, "the Humboldt of antiquity," whose writings for several centuries were the

<sup>1</sup> There are two distinct sets of Hyperborean legends, which appear to be generally confused together in the books which deal with Stonehenge and the supposed relations of the ancient Britons with the Levant. The first is almost as old as Greek literature: it refers to the nations north of the Euxine, the countrymen of the Scythians Abaris and Anacharsis and of the virgins who came to Delos. For these Hecatæus of Miletus was the chief authority: see the full details in Herodotus iv. 32-36. For the ὄνων ἐκάτομβοι, see Pindar's 10th Pythian Ode. Humboldt considered that the six gold-bearing districts of Altai, the regions of the Arimaspi and the Griffins, were the sites of "the meteorological mythus" of these Hyperboreans. Cosmos (Sabine), ii. 141. For a collection of information as to passages bearing on the locality of these Scythians, see Herbert's "Cyclops Christianus." Niebuhr was inclined to place the Hyperboreans of Herodotus to the north of Italy. Herodotus himself offered no opinion, and "smiled to think that people were already writing circumnavigations of the world without knowing anything about geography." (Herod. iv. c. 36.) The earliest trace of acquaintance with the brief nights of the Northern summer is perhaps to be found in the "ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματος εἰσὶ κέλευθοι" of Odys. x. 86.

The other legend comes from Hecatæus of Abdera, who lived soon after Alexander the Great, and who wove the stories about Britain and Northern Europe into connection with the more ancient legends. See Scholia ad Apollon. Rhod. ii. 675, and ad Pindar. Ol. iii. 28. Ælian. H. A. xi. 1. Diod. ii. c. 47, and Hecatæus in Müller's collection, Hist. Græc. Fragm. ii. 283.

only source of knowledge respecting the north of Europe. His diary may have been extant in a connected form as late as the 5th century, since a copy of his works seems to have been quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium, not long before the time of the Emperor Justinian. It has now to be sought in the fragments, extracts, and references, preserved by geographers and historians, who used his book as an inexhaustible source of information; and the most important writers of antiquity were content with his authority. It has suffered chiefly from the violent attacks of Strabo, whose own system of geography was, as we may safely admit, inconsistent in several points with the ideas of the old explorer.

This chapter will be concerned with an attempt to reconstruct the narrative of his travels from Marseilles round the Spanish coast, and as far as the south of Britain, leaving for the next chapter the consideration of his visit to Germany and the Baltic, and his famous voyage to Thule. In connection with the earlier part of his voyage we shall deal incidentally with some other traditions relating to the subject, of which some have generally been believed without proof, and others rejected without reason. We shall deal with a kind of historical matter which is found in the course of every attempt to explore the history of an ancient nation. Between the region of fancy and the province of authenticated history lies a border-land of tradition, full of difficulties, which can neither be passed without notice, nor ever perhaps very clearly or finally explained. The half-lost annals of a debateable time, worn out by age and obscured by neglect, and preserved piece-meal in imperfect extracts from books which have perished, in the notes of a scholiast or epitomist,

or in the language of ancient criticisms which have chanced to survive the objects of their attack.

The travels of Pytheas opened the commerce in tin and amber to the Greek merchants of Marseilles about the middle of the 4th century before Christ. The exact date cannot be ascertained, but is found approximately by the facts that the astronomical discoveries of Pytheas were not mentioned by Aristotle, but were controverted on some points by Dicæarchus, the pupil of Aristotle, whose writings were published not long after the famous philosopher's death.

The merchants of Marseilles and the other Greek colonists of the Ligurian coast seem to have been anxious to strike a blow at their Carthaginian rivals, who had almost a complete command of the mineral wealth of Spain. Colæus of Samos had long before discovered the wealth of Tarshish along the Andalusian shore, and had brought home glowing accounts of the riches of the West, and of the simple barbarians who allowed their visitors to load their ships with precious ore for ballast. But the Phœnicians had soon secured a monopoly of the mineral trade : the men of Tarshish were their merchants ; "with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in the fairs of Tyre."<sup>1</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> These words are taken from the description of the commerce of Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. For the earlier mentions of Tarshish, or the coast of Andalusia, see Gen. x. 4, and Exod. xxviii. 20, where the beryl or chrysolite of the high-priest's breastplate is called *tarsis* in the original; for the prevalent east winds which impeded the trade, see Ps. xlviii. 7, and compare Strabo iii. 144. See also Isaiah ii. 16, and the "burden of Tyre," c. xxiii. For mentions of Chittim or the region of the Pyrenees, see the chapter last cited, and Ezek. xxvii. There appears to have been no city of Tarshish, but the name properly applies to the whole of the Andalusian coast between Guadiana and Cape Trafalgar. The Bætis or Guadalquivir and the Anas or Guadiana River

town of Ampurias, in the Gulf of Lyons, preserves the name of the emporium where the Greeks attempted to engross some part of the Spanish commerce ; but south of that point the whole country was at first under the influence of the Phœnicians, and afterwards under the power of Carthage.<sup>1</sup> It must always be remembered that Spain

were formerly noted for their gold-bearing gravels, though neither was as rich as the Tagus in this respect.

“The region Tartessus corresponded in extent with the country of the Turduli and Turdetani, whose name appears to be derived from the same root. On the west it was bounded by the mouth of the Anas ; on the east by the prolongation of the hills, which border the valley of the Bætis on the S.E. and terminate in a low sandy point at Cape Trafalgar. In the Romish times, however, the name was more widely extended, and included the coast eastward of Gibraltar. Beyond the Anas was the country of the Cynetes (Herod. ii. 33), extending to the Sacred Promontory or Cape St. Vincent, the most westerly point of Europe.” Kenrick. *Phœnicia*. c. 3.

<sup>1</sup> The Greek name for tin, *κασσίτερος*, (*cassiteros*,) appears to be connected with *kastira*, the Sanskrit name for the metal. The island Cassitira must have been somewhere near the Straits of Malacca, the chief source of our modern supplies. Stephanus of Byzantium is the authority for a description of Cassitira as “an island in the ocean near India, as Dionysius says in his *Bassarici*, from which the tin comes.” For details of the modern tin trade, see Sir Henry De la Beche, *Geology of Cornwall*. For the ancient trade, see Heeren’s *Essays on the Commerce of the Ancients*. Humboldt pointed out that the Romans were acquainted with the existence of tin in the country of the Artabri and Callaici, in the north-western parts of Iberia. Humboldt, *Cosmos*. (Sabine) ii. 128. “When I was in Galicia, in 1799” (he adds), “before embarking for the Canaries, mining operations were still carried on, on a very poor scale, in the granitic mountains. The occurrence of tin in this locality is of some geological importance, on account of the former connection of Galicia, the peninsula of Brittany and Cornwall.” Kenrick gives us the following useful summary :—“There can be no doubt that tin was anciently found in Spain and in its southern regions. The Guadalquivir brought down stream-tin (Eustathius ad Dionys. *Perieg.* 337), and, according to Festus Avienus, the mountain in which this river rose was called Cassius from Cassiteros, and Argentarius from the brilliancy of the tin which it produced. The mines of the south of Spain have been neglected

was the Mexico of the ancient world. The Tagus rolled gold, and the Guadiana silver; the Phœnician sailors were said to have replaced their anchors with masses of silver for which they had no room on board, and the Iberians to have used gold for mangers and silver for their vats of beer. The western and northern coasts were equally rich: a mountain of iron ore stood near Bilbao, and the whole coast from the Tagus to the Pyrenees was said to be "stuffed with mines of gold and silver, lead and tin;" the moor-lands were full of tin-pebbles, the river-gravels mixed with broken strings and branches of tin, which the Iberian girls were able to win by light "stream-work," washing the ore from the soil in wicker cradles; and, as in Cornwall, the tin was often mixed with gold, and the lead with silver. We learn the ancient wealth of the country

since the discovery of America, with the exception of the quicksilver mines of Almaden, and therefore it would be unreasonable to call these precise statements in question, because tin is not now known to be found there. With regard to the north-western provinces of the peninsula, there can be no doubt that tin anciently abounded in them. Posidonius, quoted by Strabo, says that in the land of the Artabri, the most remote in the north-west, the soil glitters with silver, tin, and white gold (Strabo. iii. 147). The tin was the black stream-tin, and no lodes appear to have been worked. The account given by Pliny is much the same: "Tin, it is now well ascertained, is produced in Lusitania and Galicia, sometimes of a black colour on the surface of the sandy soil, and distinguishable only by weight (peroxide of tin), sometimes in minute pebbles in the bed of dried torrents (stream-tin) which are collected, washed, and fused in furnaces. It is also sometimes found in gold mines, and separated by washing in baskets, and subsequent melting" (Hist. Nat. xxxiv. c. 16). The geological structure of Galicia and the adjacent part of Portugal is very similar to that of the metalliferous districts of Cornwall; and as many as seven different localities, in which tin has been procured, are enumerated in a recent work on the geology of the former country (Schulz, "*Descripcion Geognostica di Galicia*," pp. 45, 47). The name of a village in the neighbourhood of Viseu, in Portugal, indicates the remains of old tin-works. Kenrick. Phœnicia. 214.

from the reports of Greek travellers, and from the Romans who inherited the riches of Spain, when the power of Tyre and the careless magnificence of Carthage had passed away, and before the mineral deposits had been very sensibly diminished.

At the time which we are now considering, the jealousy of the Carthaginians had hindered the Greeks and Romans from learning the secrets of the seas west of the Pillars of Melkarth. There were, doubtless, vague reports of the temple of Moloch which crowned the last point of Europe, of a beetling cliff lashed by perpetual surf, a river that rolled sands of gold, and islands where the ground gleamed with silver and tin. Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> a century before, had heard the name of the Cassiterides, though he confessed a doubt as to their existence, in the absence of eye-witnesses from the west of Europe. The knowledge of the tin-deposits was the most valuable secret of Tyre and Carthage. The difficult manufacture of bronze was the most important art

<sup>1</sup> The passage in which Herodotus confessed his ignorance of Western Europe relates both to the tin-trade and the commerce in amber. "Of that part of Europe which is nearest to the West I cannot speak with decision. I by no means believe that the barbarians give the name of Eridanus to a river emptying itself into the Northern Sea, whence (as it is said,) our amber comes; nor am I better acquainted with the Islands called the Cassiterides, from which we are said to get our tin." Herod. iii. 115. Polybius considered that all the reports about Northern and Western Europe up to his time were "mere fable and invention, and not the fruit of any real search or genuine information." The early travellers, according to him, were not content with plain and simple truth, but "invented strange and incredible fictions and prodigies and monsters, reporting many things which they never saw, and others which had no existence." Polybius. Hist. iii. 4, 5. It should, however, be observed, that the criticisms of Polybius dealt with statements of Pytheas which had been accepted by Eratosthenes and Hipparchus; and that, in fact, from the time of Alexander the Great, the ancients had a very fair notion of the geography of Britain.

of the ancient world, before the Celts discovered the method of making the hard Noric steel. Weapons and implements of all kinds were made of a compound of tin and copper, the zinc-brass made with the calamine-stone being little used in comparison with the use of bronze. The Phœnician sailors busied themselves in all known regions of the world in seeking for the precious ore. "Who are these," said the sacred poet, "that fly as a cloud, and as the doves to their windows?"<sup>1</sup> The seas were covered with their sails, and the harbours full of their ships, which they loaded with metal smelted from the tin-bearing gravels of the Eastern Cassitira.

Such were the rivals with whom the Greeks were about to compete. Tin had been found in Gaul, perhaps in several districts,<sup>2</sup> and it is possible that the Celts had some knowledge of British tin before the Greek discoveries. The Greeks hoped to find tin-countries in the unexplored north, and might expect to light on the source of the amber trade, which for ages had come by "a sacred road" from some Scythian region to the head of the Gulf of Adria. There seem to have been reports or traditions that tin as well as amber came from the north: and an old legend passed current about a statue of tin having been erected on an island near the trade road which all the barbarian tribes respected, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Venice or Trieste.<sup>3</sup>

When Publius Cornelius Scipio made his expedition to

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah lx. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Boyd Dawkins states that stream-works of the Bronze Age are known to have been carried on in the Morbihan, or country of the Veneti. *Early Man in Britain.* 403; *Rhys. Celtic Britain.* 48. Tin has also been found at Montebas, in Auvergne.

<sup>3</sup> *De Mirab. Auscult.* 81. (*Westermann, Paradox.* 23.)

Marseilles, he seems to have inquired as to the chance of establishing a new trade with Britain, hoping thereby to do an injury to the wealth of Carthage. Polybius is the authority for the story, and for the statement that no one in the city could tell the Roman anything worth mentioning about the north : and also that nothing could be learned from the merchants of Narbonne, or of "the City of Corbelo,"<sup>1</sup> which was said to have been a flourishing place in the age of Pytheas, though the later Romans were ignorant even of its situation. The foreigner was told of the danger of all attempts to interfere with the Carthaginian commerce,—“how a ship-master of Gaddir, on his way to the tin islands, was tracked by a Roman merchant-man, but ran his ship upon a shoal, and led his enemies into the same destruction. The captain was saved on the floating wreck, and was rewarded by the Senate of Carthage with the price of the sacrificed cargo.”<sup>2</sup>

When the project of a voyage of discovery was first undertaken at Marseilles, a committee of merchants engaged the services of Pytheas, an eminent mathematician of that city, who was already famous for his measurement of the declination of the ecliptic, and for the calculation of the latitude of Marseilles, by a method which he had recently invented of comparing the height of a gnomon or pillar with the length of the solstitial shadow.<sup>3</sup> Pytheas was also

<sup>1</sup> Corbelo is said to be Coiron on the Loire, near Nantes (Martin, *Hist. France*, i. 90). For the story from Polybius, see Strabo, iv. 190.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iii. 175.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of the gnomon by Pytheas, see Gassendi, *Proport. Gnomon.* iv. 530; Gosselin, *Recherches Géogr. Ant.* iv. 61. What kind of gnomon he used is not known. He appears to have fixed the ratio in question at 24:7. Strabo misquoted him, as if he had made it out to be 600:29. (See Strabo. i. 92.) Modern experiments conducted at Marseilles have shown

known for his proposition "that there is no star at the pole, but a vacant spot where the pole should be, marked at a point which makes a square with the three nearest stars"<sup>1</sup>; and for his studies on the influence of the moon upon the tides.<sup>2</sup>

Pytheas was chosen as the leader of a northern expedition to explore the Iberian coast, and then to proceed north as far as the "Celtic countries," and as much further as might seem expedient. Another expedition was sent southwards to explore the African coast, under the direction of Euthymenes, another man of science, with whose discoveries we are not here concerned. But we may say that he reached a river where crocodiles and hippopotami were seen in great abundance, which was probably the River Bambothus of Hanno's expedition, and that the records of his voyage are almost completely lost. It will be seen hereafter that Pytheas was more fortunate, a good

Pytheas to be correct within a trifling fraction of 40 seconds: as to this, see Aout's pamphlet on the subject, "*Étude sur Pythéas*." (Paris. 1866.)

<sup>1</sup> It should be remembered that, in the age of Pytheas, the constellation of the Little Bear had not yet been placed in the Greek celestial sphere. As to the discovery of the pole-star, see Hipparchus ad Aratum. i. c. 5. Strabo, i. 3. A work attributed to Eratosthenes calls it *Φοινίκη*, or the lode-star of the Phœnicians. The same point is also mentioned by Manilius:—

"Septem illam stellæ certantes lumine signant,  
Qua duce per fluctus Graiæ dant vela carinæ.  
Angusto Cynosura brevis torquetur in orbe,  
Quam spatio tam luce minor: sed iudice vincit  
Majorem Tyrio." *Astronomica*. iv. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Pytheas considered that the tide was caused by the waxing and waning of the moon. Stobæus, Append. (Gaisford), iv. 427. Plutarch. De placit. Philosoph. iii. 17. Strabo accuses Pytheas of stating the ebb came to an end (*ἀμπώτεις περατοῦσθαι*), by which he appears to have meant that the current from Cadiz ended at the Sacred Cape.

many fragments of his work having been preserved, not only by Eratosthenes and other great geographers, who accepted his accounts as correct, but also in the criticisms of Polybius, which have been preserved and exaggerated in Strabo's work. It is known that his account was preserved in the shape of a diary, recording the times of passage from port to port, and it is believed that this diary was embodied in two books, called "The Circuit of the Earth," and "Commentaries concerning the Ocean"; and some have supposed that these represented the results of two voyages, the one to Britain, and the other from Cadiz to the "Vistula." But a comparison of the fragments shows clearly enough that only one voyage was described, its course being from Marseilles round Spain to Brittany, from Brittany to Kent and several other parts of Britain, from the Thames to the Rhine, round Jutland along the southern shore of the Baltic to the mouth of the Vistula; thence out of the Baltic and up the Norwegian coast to the Arctic Circle; then to the Shetlands and the north of Scotland, and afterwards to Brittany again; and so to the mouth of the Garonne, where he found a route leading to Marseilles.

The ships first touched at Gaddir, the Tyre of the West, where the merchants lived "quietly after the manner of the Sidonians, careless, and secure, and in the possession of riches." Here they reached the limit of Greek geographical knowledge, the Pillars or Tablets of Hercules, whom the Phœnicians called Melkarth.<sup>1</sup> The voyage to

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks gave the name of Melicertes to the Tyrian god, who is also believed to have been the original of that Midacritus, "who first brought tin from the Island of Cassiteris" (Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. c. 57). The description of Gadeira by Pytheas has been partially preserved in Strabo's criticisms on Eratosthenes. Strabo, iii. 148. The city of Gadeira was built on an

Æstrymnis, or Cape St. Vincent, took no less than five days, though the distance cannot be more than 300 miles along the coast, and the prevailing winds are favourable to a western voyage. And Strabo quoted the allegation to cast discredit on Pytheas, though Artemidorus, a later traveller, declared that he had taken nearly as long a time for the journey : but there was a nearly general acceptance of what Pytheas had reported of the situation of Gaddir, and of the general geography of the Spanish coast.<sup>1</sup> All the travellers appear to have been unaware of the existence of the strong south-eastward current which commences at the harbour of Cadiz. Pytheas noticed its effects ; but he seems to have attributed them to the general flow of the ocean, which all the poets had described as a vast and swift river encircling the habitable earth ; and he was surprised on rounding the southern face of the cape to find that the current had ceased.

island separated from the coast by a strait only a furlong in breadth at its narrowest part. "The temple of Saturn stood on the western extremity of the island, that of Hercules on the eastern, where the strait narrows itself to a stadium, and in the Roman times was crossed by a bridge. This temple was said to be coeval with the first establishment of the Tyrian colony, and to have remained, without renovation, unimpaired. The distinction between the Tyrian and the Theban Hercules was well known to the ancients ; but after Gades became the resort of merchants and travellers from all parts of the world, the temple of Hercules received offerings and memorials, belonging rather to the Grecian than the Phœnician god. It contained two columns of a metal mixed of gold and silver, with an inscription in unknown characters, and therefore variously interpreted as containing mystical doctrines, or a record of the expenses of erecting the temple," Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, 124, 127. The Greeks took the Pillars of Hercules to be the mountainous masses of Gibraltar and the opposite shore : but the first Pillars of Melkarth, mentioned in Hanno's voyage, were probably votive tablets, and not pillars ; and they were afterwards identified with the columns above mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. i. 64, ii. 106, iii. 148.

In three days more they came to the mouth of the Tagus, lying between a long sharp promontory to the south and the extremities of the mountain-range which reaches the sea at Cape Rocca. We must stay to consider very briefly the notion of the ancient geographers about this district, because it is only by that means that we can ascertain the situation of the Cassiterides: they are often taken for the Scilly Isles, but a comparison of the oldest authorities shows clearly enough that the name was intended to be applied to the islands situated in the neighbourhood of Vigo Bay and Corunna.

The ancients thought that the west side of Spain extended from Cadiz to a point but little north of Lisbon, and that Cape St. Vincent was as nearly as possible the central point of the western coast. The country between Capes Rocca and Carboeira was considered to form one large promontory, from which the northern coast stretched as far as the foot of the Pyrenean range. All the districts, therefore, between this promontory and Finisterre or "Nerium," were, according to their ideas, a portion of the northern coast. Lusitania ended at the present northern boundary of Portugal, and between that point and Cape Nerium were situated the "Havens of the Artabri," in the mouths of the rivers between Vigo and Finisterre; and here, not far from the shore, are the islands which were long known as the Cassiterides.

The influence of the old tradition reported by Herodotus, or the habit of using islands as convenient marts, may have caused the whole of the tin-trade to be attributed to the islands fronting on the coast: but there certainly seem to have been some mines on the islands themselves. The Cassiterides are hardly ever connected with Britain,

but are always treated as having some relation to Spain. When Posidonius described the tin-trade, he said that the metal was dug up "among the barbarians beyond Lusitania, and in the islands called Cassiterides," and he added that it was also found in Britain, and transported to Marseilles.<sup>1</sup> Diodorus quotes the same account. "In many parts of Spain tin is also found, but not upon the surface, as some historians report; but they dig it, and melt it down like gold and silver. Above Lusitania there is much of this metal in the little islands, lying off Iberia in the Ocean, which are therefore called Cassiterides; and much is likewise transported out of Britain into Gaul." Pomponius Mela, who was a Spaniard himself, and particularly well acquainted with the north-western districts of the country, described the whole region between Nerium and the Douro as belonging to the Celts; he next gave an account of the islands of Spain and the North, saying, "Among the Celtici are several islands, all called by the single name of Cassiterides, because they abound in tin."<sup>2</sup> He then passes to the Isle of Sena "in the British Sea," and to Britain itself and the islands beyond it. Strabo, writing about the year A.D. 20, certainly raised a doubt about the identity of the Cassiterides and the islands on the coast of Spain. He does not bring the tin-islands to Britain, but he carries them out to sea in a way which seems to indicate some knowledge or rumour about the Azores. "Northwards and opposite to the Artabri are the islands called the Cassiterides, situate in the high seas, somewhere about

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. ii. 129, 146. Diod. Sic. v. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Mela. iii. 3, 6.

the same latitude as Britain." "The islands," he added, "are ten in number: one is deserted, but the others are inhabited by people who wear black cloaks and long tunics reaching to the feet, girded about the breast: they walk with long staves, and look like the Furies in a tragedy: they subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life: and they barter hides, tin, and lead with the merchants in exchange for pottery, salt, and implements of bronze."

When Publius Crassus<sup>1</sup> visited the northern coast of Spain, he is said to have found the way to the Cassiterides, the situation of which had not up to that time been known to the Romans. "As soon as he landed there," says Strabo, "he perceived that the mines were worked at a very slight depth, and that the natives were peaceable and employing themselves of their own accord in navigation: so he taught the voyage to all that were willing, although it was longer than the voyage to Britain. Thus much about Spain, and the islands lying in front of it." It is somewhat difficult to say whether this means that the voyage from Spain to these islands was longer than that from Spain to Britain, or that the distance of these islands from Spain was greater than their distance from Britain, or merely that it was thought worth while to carry the tin round to Marseilles, even though the merchants of that place had an easier way of getting it by the caravan-route across Gaul. The question is, however, much reduced in importance by the fact that Pliny, who was himself Procurator of Spain in the next generation, went back to the old statement, that "opposite to Celtiberia

<sup>1</sup> See Cæsar. *De Bell. Gall.* iii. c. 20. Mariana, *Hist. Hispan.* iii. c. 18.

are a number of islands, which the Greeks called Cassiterides, because of their abundance of tin.”<sup>1</sup>

It has been a common belief, ever since the revival of archæology in the days of Camden, not only that the Scilly Isles were the Cassiterides of the Greek writers, but that they were discovered by the Carthaginians in very early times; the authority being found in a geographical poem of the fourth century, written by Festus Avienus, a foolish writer, whose only merit lies in the fact that he has preserved a fragment of the voyage of Himilco, which had been engraved on a votive tablet in a Carthaginian temple many centuries before his time.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Strabo. ii. 120, iii. 175. Pliny. Hist. Nat. iv. c. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Kenrick adopted the view that the Cassiterides were the Scilly Isles. (Phœnicia. 217.) The following is his translation of the account given by Avienus:—“Beneath this promontory spreads the vast Œstrymnian gulf, in which rise out of the sea the islands Œstrymnides, scattered with wide intervals, rich in metal of tin and lead. The people are proud, clever, and active, and all engaged in incessant cares of commerce. They furrow the wide rough strait, and the ocean abounding in sea-monsters, with a new species of boat. For they know not how to frame keels with pine or maple, as others use, nor to construct their curved barks with fir; but, strange to tell, they always equip their vessels with skins joined together, and often traverse the salt sea in a hide of leather. It is two days’ sail from hence to the Sacred Island, as the ancients called it, which spreads a wide space of turf in the midst of the waters, and is inhabited by the Hibernian people. Near to this again is the broad island of Albion.” The latter name represents the “*insula Albionum*” of the poet. Avienus was probably thinking of the British Isles; but it may be observed that there were “*Albiones*” in the region of the Artabri, according to the better reading of Pliny, Hist. Nat. iv. c. 111. “*A flumine Navià Albiones, Cibarci, &c.*” See, on the whole subject, Die Kassiteriden und Albion. Rhein. Mus. Philol. N.F. 38 (1883), p. 157. Mr. Kenrick added, that in the Scilly Islands tin is not now worked; and according to Borlase, the ancient workings were neither numerous nor deep. Borlase, Cornwall, 30; Lyson’s Cornwall, 337.

The subject of the Carthaginian voyages is extremely interesting, but it has little to do with the history of Britain. Himilco can be traced not to the Scilly Islands, or even to the Bay of Biscay, but to the neighbourhood of the Azores, and of the Sargasso Sea: and he appears to have returned by a route which passed Madeira and the Peak of Teneriffe. "In the flourishing times of Carthage" (no nearer date is known), Hanno and Himilco, two brothers belonging to the dominant clan of Mago, were despatched by the Senate to find new trading stations, and to found new colonies of the half-bred "Liby-Phœnician" population, from whose presence the State was always anxious to be freed. Each admiral was in command of a powerful fleet. Hanno was directed to go south from the Pillars of Hercules, and to skirt the African coast: Himilco was in like manner directed to keep to the coast of Spain. The records of both voyages were long preserved upon tablets in the temple of Moloch; and Hanno's account is still extant in a Greek translation. Himilco's tablet is lost, though it seems to have been extant as late as the fourth century of the Christian era; but its form is known from the "*Periplus of Hanno*," and its substance is, to some extent, preserved in the extracts of Avienus.<sup>1</sup>

By a comparison of these authorities we find that Himilco started from Gaddir and rounded the Sacred Cape, proceeding northwards, and founding factories and colonies, which afterwards became filled with a large Carthaginian population: that he reached the Cassiterides

<sup>1</sup> The details of Hanno's voyage may be read in Cory's "*Fragments of Phœnician, Carthaginian, and other Authors*," and in Müller's "*Geograph. Græci*," vol. i. A very good version will also be found in the first volume of "*Purchas's Pilgrims*."

or "Æstrymnîc Islands," where he found a proud and active race of men, ready for all kinds of commerce, and accustomed to pass between the islands and to visit the mainland in canoes or coracles of wicker-work covered with hides: the later poets long gave them the formal epithets of "rich and magnanimous Iberians." From this point the fleet ventured into the open sea, and were driven to the south. Thick fogs hid the sun;<sup>1</sup> and the ships drove before the north wind. Afterwards they came to a warmer sea and were becalmed, where vast plains of seaweed stretched for many days' journey, and the ships could hardly be pushed through the interlacing branches. There seemed to be no depth of water, as if the fleet was passing over submerged land; and they dreaded the neighbourhood of dangerous reefs. Shoals of large tunnies and other fish, as was afterwards noticed in the same place by Columbus, swam in and out between the ships, and "the sea-animals crept upon the tangled weed." With a little good fortune the admiral would have discovered America more than 2,000 years before the birth of Columbus, but "the magicians on board" were too powerful to allow the

<sup>1</sup> Himilco's description of the fog as paraphrased by Avienus will be found in the Appendix. A more graceful version of the incident by M. Flaubert, in his well-known romance of ancient Carthage, seems to be worthy of quotation. He describes the courage of the pilots, who were bold enough to explore the recesses of the ocean without compass or astrolabe, and thus depicts a possible incident of the voyage: "Ils continuaient dans l'Ouest durant quatre lunes sans rencontrer de rivages, mais la proue des navires s'embarassait dans les herbes: des brouillards couleur de sang obscurcissaient le soleil, une brise toute chargée de parfums endormait les équipages: et ils ne pouvaient rien dire, tant que leur mémoire était troublée." Coleridge appears to have made great use of the same incidents in the "Ancient Mariner."

prosecution of the adventurous voyage. They had arrived at the Sargasso Sea, which is said to be seven times as large as France. "At the point," says Humboldt, "where the Gulf-stream is deflected to the east by the banks of Newfoundland, it sends off an arm towards the south, not far from the Azores : this is the situation of the Sargasso Sea, or that great sea of weed or bank of fucus, which made so strong an impression on the imagination of Columbus, and which Oviedo calls sea-weed meadows : these evergreen masses of *Fucus natans* (one of the most widely-distributed of the social sea-plants), driven gently to-and-fro by mild and warm breezes, are the habitation of a countless number of small marine animals." The sailors of Gaddir used to describe "the deserted tract in the ocean four days' sail to the south-west," which was full of seaweed and tangle, the home of shoals of tunny-fish of wonderful size and fatness.<sup>1</sup> The Carthaginian fleet appears to have turned homewards from this point and to have touched at the Island of Madeira, which was described on their return in such glowing language that others undertook the voyage, until the Senate, being afraid of an exodus from Carthage, forbade all further visits to "the Fortunate Islands" on pain of death. Himilco seems also to have visited Teneriffe, the description of the volcano not being found in the Periplus of Hanno, though Pliny must have taken his picture of "Mount Atlas" from one or other of the Carthaginian voyagers, to whose authority he expressly refers. "The wonderful high crown of the mountain reached above the clouds to the neighbourhood of the circle of the moon, and appeared at

<sup>1</sup> De Mirab. Auscult. 132.

night to be all in flames, resounding far and wide with the noise of pipes, trumpets, and cymbals.”<sup>1</sup>

Enough has now been said of Himilco’s voyage to show that it is most improbable, to say the least, that he visited the Cornish coast. We will therefore return, after this long but necessary digression, to our consideration of the voyage of Pytheas.

Leaving the Cassiterides, the travellers came to “Nerium” or Finisterre, then occupied by Iberian tribes, but afterwards called the Celtic promontory. Little is known of this passage round the northern coast, but Strabo<sup>2</sup> has preserved the observation of Pytheas that the journey to the north of Spain would have been made much more easily overland than by the sea-voyage which they had undertaken.

Coming to the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, they made a passage of two days to “a deserted shore of the Ligurians,” to take a phrase from the careless Avienus, and at any rate in a short time arrived at the mouth of the Loire, then the northern boundary of the Aquitanian population, and the limit of the Celtic advance. Somewhere in this neighbourhood they appear to have come upon an island, where the natives worshipped the earth-goddesses with shrill music and noisy rites in honour of Ceres and Proserpina.<sup>3</sup> In a bay near the mouth of the Loire they visited another island inhabited by women, who worshipped a barbarous god with bloody and orgiastic rites. This island was called Amnis or Samnis, and the

<sup>1</sup> Pliny. Hist. Nat. i. introd. and *ibid.* v. c. i.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo. iii. 148.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek traveller Artemidorus reported or confirmed the traveller’s story of a worship being paid to Ceres and Proserpina “with a Samothracian ritual” in an island of the Britannic seas. Strabo. iv. 198.

tribe to whom it belonged were called Amnites, the "noble Amnitæ" of the poets. No man might land on their sacred island; but the priestesses might cross to the mainland in their coracles as occasion required. A temple stood on the island, which was unroofed once a year, the custom requiring that the roof should be replaced in one day before the sun went down. Each woman had an allotted burden of materials and an appointed share of the task; if any one of them let her burden fall, she was torn in pieces by her horrible companions: and it was said that the feast never passed without one at least of the priestesses being sacrificed in this fashion. Other wild rites were performed by night, and the appearance of the ivy-crowned women dancing in their tumultuous processions was compared to that of the Mænads on the hills of Thrace.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. Perieg. 570. Martin (Hist. France, i. 63) considers all these rituals to have belonged to convents of Druidesses engaged in the service of Koridwen, the White Fairy or Moon-goddess, to whose cult the Celtic priestesses were said to be devoted. "Strabo prend Koridwen pour Koré, Proserpine." "Les némédes (temples) des collèges ou monastères de druidesses, dont ils (les écrivains grecs ou latins) nous révèlent l'existence sont situés dans les îles les plus sauvages d'Armorique et de Bretagne. Dans une de ces îles sacrées, voisine de la côte britannique se célèbrent, dit-on, des mystères pareils à ceux de Samothrace et d'Eleusis, c'est-à-dire les mystères de Koridwen. Un îlot situé en face de l'embouchure de la Loire est le théâtre de mystères plus redoutables encore. . . . Les prêtresses qui l'habitent, et qui appartiennent à la nation armoricaine des Nannètes, sont mariées; mais leurs maris n'osent approcher de leur inviolable asile; ce sont elles qui vont les visiter de nuit sur le rivage à des époques déterminées. Le plus fameux de tous les collèges de druidesses est celui de l'île de Sein ou de Sena, près de la côte des Corisospites, Cornouaille Française. Sur un rocher presque inabordable jeté dans la haute mer, en face du Raz de Plogoff, de ce vaste promontoire de granit où le continent européen vient mourir tristement dans un océan sans bornes, résident neuf prêtresses vouées comme les Vestales de Rome à une perpétuelle virginité.

Shortly after leaving the mouth of the Loire, the travellers skirted the shores of the Morbihan, and found themselves among the Celtic Islands. The mainland in the vicinity of Vannes, as far as the extremity of Cape Finisterre, was held by the "Ostimii," and tribes called "Osismici," or "Osistamnii," words which are either corrupt and various readings of a manuscript, or the names of different clans living near each other. The cape itself was known to Pytheas as "Calbion," or "Cabaion." Opposite to this promontory they found an island then known as "Axantos" or "Uxisama," and now called the Isle of Ushant, which they described as being "three days' sail," or 1500 stadia, from the headland.<sup>1</sup> Here they landed, and

On assure qu'elles guérissent les maladies qui échappent à la science des Ovates, qu'elles soulèvent et apaisent par leurs chants les vents et les flots, qu'elles empruntent à volonté la figure de tous les animaux, qu'elles dominant sur la Nature entière, et savent les secrets de l'avenir, mais ne les dévoilent qu'aux seuls navigateurs embarqués dans le but unique de consulter les oracles. Ces neuf vierges semblent dans la croyance populaire la plus grande puissance des Gaules." He adopts the best reading of Pomponius Mela, iii. 6, "Galli Senas vocant," instead of *Gallicenas* or *Barrigenas*, and interprets the root *sen* to denote awe and respect, "Le radical *sen* exprime la vénération et l'autorité." The whole subject is very uncertain, resting only on a faint report of what was said by Pytheas; but it may be fairly supposed that if there were two islands north of the Loire, in which the Celtic rituals were practised, the one may be identified as Ushant (Uxisama), and the other as l'Ile des Saints (Sein), not far from Brest.

<sup>1</sup> The length of the *stadium*, after some disputes, is now fixed at 600 Greek feet, which is equal to the 600th part of a degree or the tenth part of a nautical mile (See Bunbury's *Anc. Geog.* i. 209). The calculation of distance mentioned in the text was erroneous, and led Eratosthenes to make a false estimate of the extension of Gaul and Britain to the west. Pytheas considered Brittany to be 300 miles further west than the Straits of Gibraltar, and to this was added "the headlands, including that of the Ostimii, called Cabæum, and the adjoining islands, the last of which, called Uxisama, was

found another temple, where nine virgin priestesses maintained a perpetual fire and attended to a famous oracle. These vestals professed to have magical powers, to be able to transform themselves into the shapes of animals, and to have fine weather and favouring winds on sale for travellers, with a curious similarity in their customs to the arts of the later Lapland witches.<sup>1</sup> Here, without knowing it, Pytheas was at his nearest point to the Cornish tin-country of which he was in search : and there is no hint of any trade then existing between the Bretons and the people of the opposite coast, such as Posidonius soon afterwards found existing between the insular Britons and the people of the neighbourhood of Vannes; so that it seems probable that the regular mode of communication was by coasting as far as the Straits of Dover, where the passage was less perilous than a voyage over the broad and stormy Channel. Pytheas himself at all events was unaware of his vicinity to Cornwall, for he sailed up the Channel as far as "Cantion," at the eastern extremity of the island.<sup>2</sup>

Pytheas remained for some time in Britain, the country to which, as he said, he paid more attention than to any other which he visited in the course of his travels ; and he claimed to have visited most of the accessible parts of the island and to have coasted along the whole length of

distant (according to Pytheas) a three days' sail " (Strabo. i. 64). All these calculations were accordingly described as "inventions of Pytheas."

<sup>1</sup> Mela. iii. c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> "Cantion" is usually identified with the North Foreland, but it is not clear that the earlier writers did not give the name to Dover. Cæsar described the south-eastern angle of the island as being at Cantium, "where nearly all the ships from Gaul put in." De Bell. Gall. v. c. 13. This was probably the "emporium" used by the Veneti. Strabo. iv. 194.

its eastern side.<sup>1</sup> He appears to have taken a great number of astronomical notes and measurements, which became the foundation of the system of geography started by Eratosthenes, and improved by the celebrated Hipparchus. This was in time superseded by the Ptolemaic system, which enjoyed a long popularity, until it was over-set in its turn by the results of mediæval discoveries. The measurements of distance by the Greek travellers appear to be all equally valueless. Their want of scientific instruments led them to adopt a rough calculation of the number of miles that a particular ship would go in an hour, allowing as best they might for wind and currents and other accidental sources of mistake. They employed indeed the more scientific methods of calculating the distance between particular points by the height of the sun at the winter solstice, the length of the longest day, the ratio of the gnomon to the solstitial shadow, and other similar processes, but the results were not of a valuable kind. Pytheas has left several of these calculations with reference to different stations in Britain, but it does not seem to be worth while to examine them minutely. His system, and those of the great geographers who followed his methods, must be disregarded; for we are assured with regard to the more precise learning of Ptolemy, that "the entire ignorance of the polarity of the

<sup>1</sup> "Polybius," said Strabo, "told us in his Chorography, that it was not his intention to examine the writings of the ancient geographers, but the statements of their critics, such as Dicæarchus, Eratosthenes, and Pytheas, by whom many have been deceived. It is this last writer who states that he travelled all over Britain on foot, and that the island is over 40,000 stadia in circumference." Strabo. ii. 104. It is clear that the word ἐμπαδόν, "on foot," was used by mistake for ἐμπαρον, referring to the parts which were "accessible."

magnetic needle and of the use of the compass rendered the most detailed itineraries of the Greeks and Romans extremely uncertain, for a want of knowledge of the direction or angle with the meridian." "The universal geography of Ptolemy has the merit of presenting to us the whole of the ancient world graphically in outlines, as well as numerically in positions assigned according to longitude, latitude, and length of day ; but often as he affirms the superiority of astronomical results over itinerary estimates by land and water, we are unfortunately without any means of distinguishing among these assigned positions the nature of the foundation on which each rests, or the relative probability which may be ascribed to them according to the itineraries then existing."<sup>1</sup> For these reasons we need not dwell very much upon those exaggerated estimates of distance which led Pytheas to suppose that Britain was a continent of enormous size, "a miniature world," or a "new world," to use the phrases of those who relied upon his authority. As far as we can judge by the extracts in the works of Strabo and Diodorus, he more than doubled some of the proper measurements. He considered that the island of Britain was of a three-cornered shape, something like the head of a battle-axe, the southern side, lying obliquely near the coast of Gaul, being the shortest, on the assumption that the whole line from Cantion to the westernmost promontory was about 750 miles in length ; the eastern side he estimated at double that length ; and the western side, which he had not visited in person, was thought to be about 2,000 miles long. The total circuit of Britain was therefore about 4,250 miles.<sup>2</sup> In considering

<sup>1</sup> Humb. *Cosmos*. ii. 190 (Sabine).

<sup>2</sup> Pliny cites Pytheas as computing that Britain was distant from

these measurements we must remember at the same time that the whole habitable world was then believed to be very small. The world was thought to be twice as long as its own breadth: the total breadth, from the Spice Countries and Ceylon to the frozen shores of Scythia, being taken at about 3,000 miles; the length, from Cape St. Vincent to the ocean east of India, at double that amount.

These calculations were upset by the exaggerated measurements of Pytheas, which (if correctly reported) appear to have been inconsistent among themselves, as well as contradictory of the ideas which were then most generally received. Pytheas had placed the south of Britain at a point about 1,000 miles north of Marseilles, and the northern point of the island at a distance of nearly 2,500 miles from that city, the distance from Cape Oreas in Scotland to Thule being estimated at a further distance of six days' and nights' sail to the northward. It is not surprising therefore that considerable confusion resulted from such new and revolutionary estimates, or that some of the later geographers should have inveighed against the traveller as a deceiver and detected impostor; but the impartial student will probably discover a motive for a more charitable estimate in the fact, that Strabo's own measurements are as wild in their own way as any which are ascribed to the older writer.

We may now leave these barren calculations, and consider the few details of a more valuable kind which are all that remain of the description of Britain by Pytheas. He appears to have arrived in Kent in the early summer.

Gessoriacum (Boulogne) about 50 Roman miles, and that the whole circuit of the island was 38,125 miles. Pliny. *Hist. Nat.* iv. c. 30.

and to have remained in this country until after the harvest, returning for a second visit after his voyage to the north. He estimated the length of the day at Midsummer at 19 hours; on the shortest day the sun "ascended not more than 3 cubits in the sky"; and in those parts of Gaul where the sun rose 4 cubits at the winter solstice, he calculated the length of the longest day at 18 hours; in the extreme north of the island the nights were so short in summer that there was hardly any diminution of light between the sunset and the sunrise; and further north still, in the neighbourhood of Thule, "if there are no clouds in the way, the splendour of the sun can be seen through the night, for he does not rise or set in the ordinary way, but moves along the horizon from west to east."

In the southern districts he saw an abundance of wheat in the fields, and observed the necessity of thrashing it out in covered barns, instead of using the unroofed floors to which he was accustomed in the sunny climate of Marseilles. "The natives," he said, "collect the sheaves in great barns and thrash out the corn there, because they have so little sunshine, that our open thrashing-places would be of little use in that land of clouds and rain." He added, that they made a drink "by mixing wheat and honey," which is still known as "metheglin" in some of our country districts; and he is probably the first authority for the description of the British beer, which the Greek physicians knew by a Welsh name, and against which they warned their patients as a "drink producing pain in the head and injury to the nerves." This last detail, however, may come from Posidonius, who visited the island in a later generation, and who was perhaps the author of a

description of harvest in another part of Britain, "where the people have mean habitations constructed for the most part of rushes or sticks, and their harvest consists in cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in pits under-ground: they take out each day the corn which has been longest stored, and dress the ears for food."<sup>1</sup> To understand this description one should compare with it a passage from Martin's "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," which was published in 1703:—"A woman," he said, "sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame. She has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating off the grains at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt; for if she miss of that, she must use the kiln; but experience has taught them the art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked, within an hour after reaping from the ground." We learn from a confused passage of Strabo, that Pytheas described the different forms of agriculture and modes of living in several parts of the country: "for the celestial signs and scientific survey he seems to have made ample use of the phenomena of the Arctic zone, as that there are cultivated fruits, a great abundance of some domestic animals and a scarcity of others; that the inhabitants feed on millet and other

<sup>1</sup> Diod. v. 21. Posidonius appears to have visited the eastern parts of Britain, as well as the Cornish mining-districts. His description of the Thames and the reflux of the tidal stream, "four days' journey from the sea," appears in Priscianus Lydus. *Solutiones ad Chosroem* (Bywater) 72. The description is used by Mela, without quoting the traveller's name. Mela. iii. c. 6. Jornandes cites the same passage, with a reference to a lost account of Britain in the *Annals of Tacitus*. *Jornand. De Reb. Getic.* c. 2.

vegetables, and on fruit and the roots of plants ; that they have wheat and honey, of which they make a beverage," with the other details already quoted as applicable to the southern districts.<sup>1</sup>

Pytheas appears to have known the eastern coasts from the Shetland Islands to the North Foreland, but not to have visited Ireland or even the western regions of Britain ; and the ancient critics argued against his accuracy from the fact that he described a great number of small islands lying north of Scotland, but did not say anything about Ireland. This place must in their view have come under his notice, if he had been in those regions at all ; for Ireland, as they thought, was an Arctic island, lying due north of Britain, "where the savages find living very difficult on account of the cold."

It has been supposed that he may have visited the west of Britain, on account of the very early reports which reached the Greeks of an immense round temple in Britain, that was dedicated to the worship of the sun. Some of the Greek travellers who followed him may have seen Stonehenge, but the evidence is against the theory that Pytheas was ever in those parts. Doubtless he learned something about the tin-trade, the chief object of his visit to the island ; and he was probably the originator of that commerce in the metal which was established after his time on the route between Marseilles and the Straits of Dover. Many of the ancient British coins, of which specimens exist which are believed to be earlier than the second century B.C., are modelled on Greek money of the age of Philip of Macedon ; but it is thought that these were copied

<sup>1</sup> Strabo. iv. 201.

from Gaulish patterns, and that the Britons did not coin for themselves earlier than 200 years before Christ.<sup>1</sup>

From the best modern accounts of the regions where tin might have been produced at that time, we may take them as being subdivided into the district of Dartmoor and the country round Tavistock, at one time a very fertile source of stream-tin: the parts round St. Austell, including several valleys opening to the southern coast of Cornwall: the St. Agnes district, on the northern coast (where, however, the tin lies too deep for us to attribute a knowledge of it to the primitive inhabitants): and the rich country between Cape Cornwall and St. Ives, to which the same remark seems to apply. "From the search," says Sir Henry De la Beche, "which has during so many centuries been made for stream-tin in Cornwall and Devon, it is difficult to obtain sections of unmoved ground. Hence we can form a very inadequate idea of the great accumulations which must have been first worked, and consequently of the tin-stone pebbles swept into the bottoms of valleys or into basin-shaped depressions by the body of water which appears to have passed over this land. Traces of stream-works (pits and 'burrows') are to be seen from Dartmoor to the Land's End, often in depressions on the higher grounds; as, for example, on the former elevated region, whence tin-pebbles have long ceased to be obtained, being the works of the 'old men,' as the ancient miners are universally termed in Devon and Cornwall."<sup>2</sup>

This evidence may help us to explain the meaning of

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 26. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 19. Some of the coins, however, are said to have the appearance of being "centuries older than Cæsar's first expedition." *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, introd. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Geology of Cornwall*, 401.

Timæus, the contemporary of Pytheas, when he mentioned "an island called 'Mictis' (or 'Ictis'), at a distance of six days' sail from Britain, 'in an inward direction,' from which the tin comes: to which island the natives make voyages 'in their canoes of wickerwork sewn round with hides.'"<sup>1</sup> Whatever the meaning may be of the phrase "in an inward direction," and from whatever point these natives may be supposed to have commenced their six days' voyage, the important fact remains that the tin was dug up in West Devon and Cornwall, and was stored at some place, which was supposed to have lain at six days' voyage from the mineral district; and it seems reasonable to identify it with the Isle of Thanet, at which the marts were established, from which the merchants made the shortest passage to Gaul. The passage in this view must be taken to mean, that the native boats took a week to pass between the tin districts and the parts visited by Pytheas.<sup>2</sup> The mineral region was described by Posidonius, whose travels have already been mentioned; he drew a lively picture of the inhabitants and the nature of their commerce, which is preserved in the collections of Diodorus. The account of his visit to Cornwall, which he called "Belerium," a name afterwards appropriated

<sup>1</sup> "Timæus Historicus à Britannîâ introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in quâ candidum plumbum proveniat; ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare." Pliny. Hist. Nat. iv. c. 30. Professor Rhys considers it to be clear that this is a mere clerical error for "Ictis." Celtic Britain. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny believed it to be a fable of the Greeks, that the tin was fetched from "islands in the Atlantic," and carried there in the "wicker-boats sewn round with hides," Hist. Nat. xxxiv. c. 16: though such boats were still in use among the Britons in his day, *ibid.* vii. c. 57. Cæsar. De Bell. Civ. i. c. 54.

by Ptolemy to the particular cliff now called Land's End, is to the following effect:—"The inhabitants of that promontory of Britain which is called Belerium are very fond of strangers, and from their intercourse with foreign merchants are civilized in their manner of life. They prepare the tin, working very skilfully the earth in which it is produced. The ground is rocky, but it contains earthy veins, the produce of which is ground down, smelted, and purified. They make the metal up into slabs shaped like knuckle-bones, and carry it to a certain island lying in front of Britain called Ictis. During the ebb of the tide the intervening space is left dry, and to this place they carry over abundance of tin in their waggons. And a very singular thing happens with regard to the islands in these parts lying between Europe and Britain; for at the flood the intervening passage is overflowed, and they seem like islands; but a large space is left dry at the ebb, and then they seem to be peninsulas. Here, then, the merchants buy the tin from the natives, and carry it over to Gaul; and after travelling overland for about thirty days, they finally bring their loads on pack-horses to the outlet of the Rhone."<sup>1</sup> He appears to refer in his last sentence to the junction of the Rhone and Sâone, where the wharves for the tin-barges were erected.

<sup>1</sup> Diod. v. c. 22. It will be noticed that the island is described in such a way as to suggest that it was one of several lying between Britain and Germany, which were only separated from the mainland at high tide. The passage in Mela, as to the islands "*contra Germaniam vectæ*," is important in this connection. Mela. iii. c. 6. Other names which may be connected with Ictis are those of Vectis or the Isle of Wight, those of the Itian port and promontory, the old Irish name of "*Muir-n-Icht*" for the English Channel, and "*Osericta*," a German island, where amber was produced, according to the account of Mithridates. Pliny. Hist. Nat. xxxvii. c. 2.

The port whence most of the traffic went to Gaul must have been at the narrow part of the Channel, as it was in the time of Cæsar. It will be remembered that he made his passage from the Portus Itius, supposed to be the village of Wissant, and that this was not far from Cape Grisnez, which, according to Ptolemy, was known as the "Ician" or "Itian" Promontory. The island forming a peninsula at low water, where the stores of tin were collected, may easily have been the Isle of Thanet, which has only been joined to the mainland in modern times. Bede tells us, that in the 7th century there was a ferry over the estuary between Thanet and Kent, which was nearly half a mile across at high tide, and the broad stream with ferry boats and people fording the passage at low water is depicted on certain ancient maps which belonged to Saint Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury. The estuary, now represented by the slender stream of the Wantsume River, was not completely silted up at any point until the reign of Henry VIII., when a chronicler cited the testimony of eight men then living, who had seen barges and merchant vessels sail at high tide along the whole channel from Richborough to Reculver.<sup>1</sup> There would probably have been no doubt about the identity of the island of "Ictis" with the island lying so nearly opposite to the "Itian Port," if it were not for the silting up of those channels, which in ancient times had made the Kentish islands along the southern bank of the estuary of the Thames to seem like peninsulas at the ebb, while they were true islands at the flood. But as the peculiar circumstances of the case became forgotten, it

<sup>1</sup> Twine, "De Reb. Albion." i. 25. The old map of Thanet in the Appendix was first published by Dugdale in the "Monasticon."

became usual to look for "Ictis" in another direction ; and it is now very frequently supposed to be identical with St. Michael's Mount in Mount's Bay, the only place on the southern coast which, in the present day, corresponds to the details of the original description. But it should be remembered, that from the existence of the submarine forest in Mount's Bay, and the Cornish tradition that in ancient times the neck between the mount and the mainland was never reached by the tide, it is very possible that in the age of Pytheas the present island or peninsula would not have corresponded with the description of the island of Ictis. And this theory is borne out by an old Cornish name for the Mount, which Leland and Carew have preserved, and which they interpret as meaning "the Hoar Rock in the Wood."<sup>1</sup>

Here we may leave the subject of the visit of Pytheas to South Britain, and will pass in the next chapter to what is known of his travels in Germany and the Baltic, and of his celebrated journey into the Arctic Circle.

<sup>1</sup> Carew, *Survey of Cornwall*, 154. For the arguments in favour of the identity of Ictis and St. Michael's Mount, see Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, 220 ; Hawkins, *Tin Trade of the Ancients* ; Smith's "Cassiterides," and De la Beche, *Geology of Cornwall*, 524. Professor Rhys considers that "the people of the south-west conveyed their tin eastwards to some point on the coast, to be there sold to foreign merchants," that place being perhaps the Isle of Thanet. "This view," he says, "would explain Cæsar's singular statement, that British tin came from the inland parts of the country ; but the question of the transit is too difficult for us to settle." He does not think that the Veneti of Cæsar's time traded directly with Devon and Cornwall: "if there were any direct trade in tin between the tin-districts of Britain and the Loire, it must have been utterly unknown to Cæsar, which is not likely to have been the case, had it existed." *Celtic Britain*, 46, 47, 207, 299.

## CHAPTER II.

Visit of Pytheas to Germany and the Baltic.—Criticism by Strabo.—Summary of route.—Pliny's northern geography.—Description of Germany by Tacitus.—The Gothones and Suiones.—The Northern Ocean.—The Æstyî of the Amber Coast.—Obligations of Tacitus to Greek writers.—Route of Pytheas.—Passage to Celtica.—The Ostians or Ostiones.—Their mode of living.—The Cimbri.—The Chauci.—North Germany.—The Hercynian Forest.—Its Fauna in the time of Pytheas.—The reindeer.—The elk.—The urus.—The aurochs.—The country of the Cimbri.—The Guttones.—The Amber Islands.—Extent of commerce in amber—Voyage to Thule.—Discoveries in the Arctic Circle.—Return to Britain.—Passage to Marseilles.—Character of Pytheas.

THE visit of Pytheas to Germany must always be interesting to those who regard the North Sea coasts as the true fatherland of the English people. It is besides of great historical importance, as being the source of all Greek knowledge of the countries beyond the Rhine, with the single exception of the travels of Posidonius, of which some fragments relating to Germany are extant. Even late in the first century after Christ the Romans were forced to rely mainly on the old geographers for information about the regions east of the Elbe, or, in other words, upon the works of Pytheas and his commentators.

Strabo indeed denied boldly that any Greek had penetrated east of the Elbe, and gave the reason for his belief. If they had sailed there, he said, the ships must have come out near the mouth of the "Caspian Sea," which certainly had never happened. He concluded, therefore, that nothing was actually known of those parts of the world, and professed a complete ignorance of the nations who inhabited those northern lands, if, indeed, any people could inhabit a region of such terrible cold.

The general notions of Pytheas about the countries

beyond the Rhine may be briefly summarized as follows, the details of his diary being reserved for closer examination after a notice of certain general statements in the works of Pliny and Tacitus.

A Celtic country, called "Germara,"<sup>1</sup> or by some such name, stretched east from the Rhine to Scythia, and northwards from the "Orcynian forest" to the sea. The coast as far as the Elbe was occupied by the "Ostions," or "Ostiaei": next to them the Cimbri filled their famous Chersonesus: south and east of them dwelt their allies the Teutones. The Cimbric peninsula ran up to the mouth of an immense estuary or gulf, called "Mentonomon," of which the southern shores were occupied by tribes called "Gothones" or "Guttones," as far as the Vistula, which seemed as if it were a branch of the great River Tanais, dividing Asia and Europe, while another river seemed to be not unlike the "Borysthenes." There were several islands near the "Scythian shore," and further out in the gulf, and also beyond its mouth, an immense archipelago stretched from "Scania" to Cape Rubeæ, the northern point of the world. By passing northwards from island to island a traveller would come to Thule, which might itself be an island, or might be part of the unknown Scythian continent. In the neighbourhood of Thule was the Dead or Sluggish Sea, and further still to the north a frozen or encrusted ocean.

<sup>1</sup> The word "Germara" was applied to "a tribe in Celtica, who could not see in the day-time," by Eudoxus of Cnidos, who lived about the time of Pytheas. See *De Mirab. Auscult.* 24, and Stephan. Byzant. *sub voce* "Germara." Pytheas made a river called the 'Tanais' the limit of his northern discoveries, but he seems to have known that it was not really the same as the Don. His journey was, however, frequently described as having extended "from Gades to the Tanais." See Strabo, ii. 104. Lelewel considered that the 'Tanais' of Pytheas was the Elbe.

If we compare this sketch with Pliny's account of the Baltic, or with the more elaborate account of Germany by Tacitus, we shall find that a good deal of knowledge on the subject had been acquired in the first century of our era, which cannot fairly be said to have been borrowed from Pytheas.

Pliny seems to have been acquainted with the great range of mountains which separates Sweden from Norway. "Mount Sevo" (the classical name for the mountains in question), and the promontory of Jutland formed in his notion the horns which encircled a gigantic gulf, the "Sinus Codanus," in which were scattered the Scandinavian islands.<sup>1</sup> "Scandia," he said, "is the most famous of these: one part of it alone contains five hundred settlements, and it seems like another world: then there is 'Eningia,'<sup>2</sup> which is said to be about as large. People say, that from this point round to the Vistula the whole country is inhabited by Sarmatians and Wends: that there is a bay called Cylipenus, with an island at its mouth. Going west, one comes to the Bay of Lagnum, quite close to the Cimbric peninsula: the promontory in which the peninsula ends is called Cartris; it runs a long way into the sea, and is nearly cut off by the waters."<sup>3</sup> On the other side of the promontory the islands begin, of which twenty-three have been reached in the Roman wars, the best known being

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. c. 27.

<sup>2</sup> "Eningia" is taken by Bessell (*Pytheas*, 132), to be Zealand. It is called "Epigia" by the Irish monk Dicuil. It is identified with Finland by Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Septent.* i. 2; and this seems to be most in accordance with Pliny's description. The map of the northern countries in the Appendix is taken from an early edition of Olaus Magnus.

<sup>3</sup> The Liim Fjord. The Bay of Cylipenus may be the Frische Haf at Dantzig.

‘Burchana,’<sup>1</sup> which the soldiers called the Isle of Beans, from a vegetable which they found growing wild : another is Glessaria, or Amber Island, which the natives called Austrania ;<sup>2</sup> but the later Greeks have called all the islands from Jutland to the Rhine ‘Electrides,’ or Amber Islands ; and some say that there are others called Scandia, Dumni, and Bergi, and Nerigo, the largest of all, from which the voyage to Thule is made.”

The description of the same countries by Tacitus is not so accurate in its details, but is perhaps more interesting. His account of northern Germany is interspersed with several anecdotes of travellers and fragments of old Greek tradition. It is remarkable indeed that, though he was an intimate friend of the younger Pliny, Tacitus does not seem to have drawn upon the stores of information about Germany, which Pliny the Elder had collected for a history of the German wars : and it is extremely doubtful whether the great naturalist would have agreed with the details of the account which Tacitus received or compiled “concerning the origin and manners of the whole German nation.” He includes in Germany all the countries lying north of the Danube and west of the line of the Vistula, as far as the Arctic Regions : taking in Bohemia, Silesia, Poland, Pomerania, and a vast number of Slavonian districts besides, over an area about three times as large as that which is now allowed to the Teutonic stock. The case, indeed, is very much as if one should take the modern German Empire, adding Poland and Bohemia and several neighbouring countries, and were then to proceed

<sup>1</sup> The small portion which the sea has not swept away is called the Isle of Borkum.

<sup>2</sup> The island of Ameland, off the coast of West Friesland.

to describe the whole population as having exactly the same laws, customs, and physical appearance.

Tacitus wrote in much the same way of his "Germania," with its heterogeneous crowd of nations.

c. 1. "The German nations," he said, "are divided from Gaul and the Alpine and Illyrian provinces by the Rhine and the Danube, and from the Sarmatian and Dacian tribes either by ranges of mountains or mutual fears of war. Their own boundary is the encircling ocean, which sweeps through broad gulfs and around islands of immense extent."<sup>1</sup>

c. 4. "For myself I agree with those who hold that the peoples of Germany were never crossed with another race in marriage, and that they belong to no one but themselves, and are a pure stock unlike any other in the world. This is the reason that in such a vast multitude of men all have the same bodily character, fierce blue eyes and red hair, and stout bodies, good only for a charge : in fatigue and hard work they have not a corresponding endurance, and they are but little able to bear thirst or heat, though accustomed to cold and hunger by their climate or the nature of the soil."

c. 44. "Beyond the Lygians are the Gothones, who are ruled by kings a little more strictly than the other German nations, but yet not more than is consistent with freedom. Then, close on the ocean, we come to the Rugians and Lemovians. And all these nations may be known by their

<sup>1</sup> The key to the confused geography of the "Germania," as regards Northern Germany, will be found in a comparison of the passages in which he mentions the "Oceanus," or ocean-current, as distinguished from the seas which were crossed or divided by its stream. The Islands of the Suiones, or the Danish Isles and Southern Scandinavia, are described as being actually encircled by "Oceanus."

round shields and short swords, and their loyalty towards their kings. At this point, in the actual stream of the ocean, are the states of the Suiones, whose strength lies in ships as well as in arms and men. Their ships are of an unusual build, being double-prowed, and so always able to run to shore. They are not worked by sails, and have no banks of oars fixed to their sides; but the oars are loose, as in some river-boats, and can be changed about from one side to the other, as occasion requires. They have a great respect for riches, and are therefore under the sway of a single king, to whose rule in this case there are no exceptions of liberty, and whose power rests not on any consent of theirs."

c. 45. "To the north of the Suiones is another sea, sluggish and nigh unrippled, which men believe to be the girdle and frontier of the world, because there the brightness of the setting sun lasts until his rising, so as to pale the starlight: and they are further persuaded that strange sounds are heard by night, and that forms of divine beings and a head crowned with rays are seen. At this point, it is said with truth, the world comes to an end. Here, therefore, on the right-hand shore of the Suevic Sea, we find the Æstyans dwelling by the waves.<sup>1</sup> Their religion and dress are Suevic, their language rather like the British. They worship the Mother of the Gods, and wear the images of wild boars as the symbol of their belief. This serves instead of weapons or any other defence, and

<sup>1</sup> The right-hand shore would according to the usual rule be the eastern end of the sea in question: but in this instance it must be remembered that the reader is supposed to have come to the world's end, and then to turn back toward the inhabited lands. The Æsty in this view would be the ancestors of the English, living near the mouth of the Elbe, along the coast of Schleswig-Holstein.

gives safety to the servant of the goddess even in the midst of the foe. They rarely use iron, but mostly have wooden clubs. They cultivate corn and other fruits of the earth with more patience than usually belongs to the idle Germans. Nay, they even search the recesses of the sea, and are the only people who pick up the amber (which they call *glesum*) in the shallows and along the shore. But, like true savages, they have never inquired or found out what it is, or how produced. And for a very long time it used to lie unnoticed among the other scum cast up by the sea, until our luxury gave it a name among them. Among themselves it is of no use : it is gathered in rough pieces and carried across Europe in shapeless lumps, until at last they receive a price which amazes them. One may suppose, however, that it is the resin of some tree, because in so many pieces are glittering forms of creeping and even winged things, which must be caught when the gum is liquid, and afterwards shut in as the mass becomes solid." Pliny's account is very similar. He considered that the "*glesum*" was a resin, produced in Germany. He says that it was picked up on the shore of "Glessaria," which the natives called "Austrania," and was carried thence for a distance of 600 miles to Carnuntum in Pannonia (not far from the modern city of Vienna).<sup>1</sup> These calculations enable us to fix the site of the "Æsty" of Tacitus, who have been so strangely transferred, on the strength of a similarity of names, to the furthest recesses of the distant Gulf of Riga.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny. xxxvii. c. 2, 3. Carnuntum was the frontier-town of the Empire. Its site is said to be at Petronell, near Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> The "Easte," or Esthonians, sent an embassy to Theodoric the Ostro-goth, thus described by Gibbon, who was amused at the idea of

We may omit for the present his description of the population between the Rhine and the Elbe. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to deal with the account of the Baltic tribes, starting from the Vistula and passing westwards along the shore. In his picture of the "vast gulf," and of the nations which fringed its southern coast, Tacitus certainly seems to have copied passages from the older Greeks. It has even been suggested that the whole account of "Suevia," or, at least, of the northern portions, including the countries of the *Æsty*i and the *Anglii*, with which Englishmen are most concerned, was taken direct from the "*Geographica*" of Eratosthenes, which, as far as the north is concerned, was founded on the observations of Pytheas: and much might be said in favour of the opinion; but the fact must remain doubtful for want of explicit evidence.

We will now examine somewhat more closely the fragments of the diary of Pytheas which relate to the people of those coasts. From some place near "Cantion," probably the port near the mouth of the Thames or about the neighbourhood of Sandwich, to which the Gallic merchants resorted from the "Itian Port," Pytheas crossed

Cassiodorus quoting Tacitus to the rude natives of the Baltic:—"From the shores of the Baltic the *Æstians*, or Livonians, laid their offerings of native amber at the feet of a prince whose fame had excited them to undertake an unknown and dangerous journey of 1,500 miles" (*Decl. and Fall*, c. 39). The learned minister of Theodoric returned a most friendly letter, inviting the "dwellers by the ocean" to keep up their acquaintance with the Court of Ravenna, and giving them an account of the amber "from the writings of one Cornelius," with suggestions for a renewal of the traffic. (*Cassiodorus, Varia. v. 2.*) The historian has not observed that the wild Esthonians would be far outside any possible boundaries of the "*Germania*" of Tacitus.

over to "Celtica," to a point near the mouth of the Rhine which cannot now be identified. The changes which have taken place in the courses of the Rhine and Maas have completely altered the general conformation of the coast of the Netherlands. According to the diary, the passage took two days and a half; and the statement was probably accurate. Strabo scoffed at it, on the ground that, according to his geography, the mouth of the Rhine and the eastern point of Kent were within sight of each other. It will be remembered that the distinction between Gaul and Germany was at that time unknown: the whole country between Brittany and Jutland was treated as part of "Celtica": and "the Gauls" were in like manner thought to include all the races "who lived along the shores of the Ocean as far to the east as Scythia."<sup>1</sup>

The people who then occupied the coast about the mouth of the Elbe were called "Ostiones" by Pytheas, or "Ostiæi" according to the reading adopted by his follower Timæus. Another name for the same people, or perhaps for a neighbouring tribe, is found in the following passage from Stephanus of Byzantium:—"The Ostiones, a nation on the coast of the western ocean, whom Artemidorus called Cossini, and Pytheas called Ostiæi." The name of this nation appears in that of the Estian Marsh,<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Diod. Sic. v. 25. Prof. Rawlinson, "Ethnology of the Cimbri," Proc. Anthropol. Inst. vi. 151 (1876), points out, that the later writers divided Germany from Gaul by a sharp line at the course of the Rhine, and counted all the tribes east of the river as Germans, using the term in a geographical rather than an ethnological sense.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of "Estia Palus" in Mela. iii. c. 2. "Mare quod gremio littorum accipitur nusquam late patet, nec usquam mari simile, verum aquis passim interfluentibus ac sæpe transgressis vagum atque diffusum facie amnium spargitur."

probably in that of the "Æstyî" of Tacitus. Dr. Latham, however, considered the last-named tribes to have been the occupants of the present coast of Prussia and Courland: the reference to the amber trade, in his opinion, "fixes the locality as definitely as Etna would fix Sicily, or Vesuvius Campania." But it will be presently shown that the true story of the amber trade fixes this people in a locality different from either Prussia or Courland; and that they must be transferred to the fens and islands near the mouth of the Elbe, of which mention has already been made.

There is not very much known about the habits of these "Ostians." They occupied the territories of the Frisians and Chauci, and of the other tribes who afterwards took part in the settlement of England; so that we may regard them as having probably been among our ancestors. Their language seems to have been an old form of German, as far as we can judge from the few words which remain. The name of the people is believed to mean "the East-men," and there seems to be sufficient reason for attributing the word "Thule" to their idiom: the celebrated name is said to have Gothic affinities (signifying an "end" or "extremity"), so that we should not attribute it to the Cimbri who guided travellers on the northward journey, though some of the local names mentioned in the voyage to Thule appear to be of Cimbric origin, and to have formed part of a vocabulary akin to the Welsh.

Our traveller, and the writers of the succeeding age who borrowed his picturesque descriptions, gave a pitiable account of the life among the Ostians and the Cimbri. Their time seems to have been consumed in a perpetual struggle with the sea, which they had not yet

learned to confine with dykes and embankments. With a high tide and an inshore wind their homes and lives were always in danger of destruction. A mounted horseman could barely escape by galloping from the rush and force of the tide. The angry Cimbri, it is said, would take their weapons and threaten the gods of the sea: they lost more men in a year by water than by all their wars. Others said that "the Celts practised fearlessness in letting their homes be overwhelmed in the flood, and building them on the same spots as soon as the waves retired"; and "the Celts, who did not fear earthquake or flood," passed into a proverb as early as the time of Aristotle.<sup>1</sup> It is now, of course, well known that the sea has from ancient times been attacking and encroaching upon all the shores between Friesland and Ditmarsh; on one occasion in historical times the devouring force of the German Ocean is said to have drowned all Friesland and destroyed a hundred thousand men. Most of the great inundations of the North Sea have broken into the area of Friesland.<sup>2</sup> Yet Strabo could not believe the fact. Accustomed to a soft and gradual motion of the tide in an inland sea, he thought that the violence of the Northern Ocean must be a fiction. "The regular action of the tides and the limits of the foreshore which they covered must have been too well known to allow of such absurdities. How can it possibly be believed (he wrote) that, where

<sup>1</sup> Ethic. iii. 7; Eudem. Ethic. iii. 1; Ælian, Var. xii. 23. For the passages from Pytheas, Ephorus, and Clitarchus, see Strabo, vii. 293. As to the miserable condition of the Cimbri and Teutones in Ditmarsh and its neighbourhood, see Mela, iii. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The most important floods in this quarter of Europe are described in Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," ch. i. Lelewel, in his Essay on Pytheas, mentions those of A.D. 1200, 1218, 1221, 1277, 1287, and 1362,

the tide flows in twice a day, the natives should not at once have perceived that the thing was natural and harmless ; they would see that it was not peculiar to themselves, but common to all who live by the shores of the ocean." And he put down the story as another proof of the falsehood of the pretended discoverer of Thule.<sup>1</sup>

The account of the Chauci affords the best confirmation of the accuracy of Pytheas. "Twice a day in that country the tide rolls in and covers the land. The miserable natives get upon hillocks or on artificial banks which they have made after finding out how high the water will go. In their huts upon these banks they look like sailors aboard ship when the tide is in, and like shipwrecked men at the ebb ; and they hunt the fish round their hovels as they try to escape with the tide. They have no cattle, and so they cannot live on milk like their neighbours, nor can they even fight with wild beasts when every stick is carried out to sea. They weave fishing-nets out of sea-tangle and rushes ; and they pick up handfuls of mud, which they dry in the wind,—for they have not much sunshine, and so they make a fire to scorch their food, and their bodies too all stiffened by the cold of the north."<sup>2</sup> This picturesque description of the German fen-levels before the erection of their dykes and embankments accords with the physical circumstances of the case and with the fragmentary traditions which are preserved in the criticisms of Strabo.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, vii. 293. He describes "the Sigambri, and Chaubi, and Bructeri, and Cimbri, the Cauci, and Caulci, and Campsiani," and many other coast tribes, whose shifting nomenclature it is now hardly worth while to investigate.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. c. 1.

It is difficult to understand how Tacitus, who must have been familiar with the learning accessible to Pliny, could have drawn the imaginative picture in which he presents the same Chauci as the noblest nation in Germany. "They are neither greedy nor feeble ; but, staying in their quiet homes, they challenge no wars and fear no invading plunderers. And it is the best proof of their courage and strength that they do not insult others to show their superior force. Yet every man's sword is ready, and on occasion they raise an army with a mighty force of men and horses ; but in time of peace their glory is none the less."<sup>1</sup>

Other writers have given very dismal accounts of the German mode of life. Some said that the people were so rough and savage that they would pick the meat off any old skin of an ox or animal killed in the chase ; others thought that they were cannibals : "those who live in the north are the most barbarous, and it is said that some of them eat men."<sup>2</sup> It must be remembered, however, that the last charge is quite unproved, though it was commonly brought against all the tribes which for the time being were beyond the limits of civilization. The Greek horror of uncooked food was often distorted into an accusation of cannibalism against the northern barbarians. The Brahmins of the Rig-Veda brought charges of the same kind against the "goat-nosed" Turanians, who worshipped "mad gods," and kept up no sacred fires : "they eat raw meat, and will even devour men."<sup>3</sup>

We must now return to the journey of Pytheas. It

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Germ. c. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. v. c. 32 ; Strabo, iv. 200. Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. c. 20 ; vii. c. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Müller, Chips from a German Workshop, ii. 328.

was probably during his visit to the Ostians that he first heard anything of the Hercynian Forest. His account was adopted at once by the Aristotelian school of physicists, and was afterwards embodied by Eratosthenes in a geographical work, from which it was long afterwards extracted by Julius Cæsar. The fragment of the traveller's diary formed the material for several chapters of the "Commentaries." They form a valuable record of the knowledge which the Greeks had attained of those remote tribes of Celts who "lived on the shores of the ocean, and were bordered by the mountains of the Orcynian range."<sup>1</sup>

"The Hercynian Forest," in Gibbon's words, "overshadowed a great part of Germany and Poland." It stretched from the sources of the Rhine and Danube to regions far beyond the Vistula. Its relics remain in the Black Forest, the forests of the Hartz, and the woods of Westphalia and Nassau. Only one portion remains in its primeval state : the Imperial Forest of Bialowicza<sup>2</sup> covers 350 square miles of marsh and jungle in Lithuania, and is reserved by a benevolent despotism as the home of the aurochs and the elk. In the days of Pytheas the natural forest stretched eastwards from the Rhine "for more than two months' journey for a man making the best of his way on foot."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from Diodorus, v. c. 32. The original spelling of the name was "Arcynia," or "Orcynia." For old descriptions of the forest, see Strabo, vii. 291, and Hermolaus Barbarus, cited by Olaus Magnus. *Hist. Septent.*, xviii. 1. 35. In Cluver's *Germania Antiqua*, iii. c. 47, will be found an interesting account of "the small and scattered remains of the Hercynian Wood."

<sup>2</sup> See Gibbon's "Decline and Fall," c. 9, and Baron De Brincken's "Mémoire Descriptif sur la Fôret Impériale de Bialowicza" (Warsaw, 1826).

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 26. Tacitus mentions the forest as the home

He does not appear to have visited the forest in person. He collected the native reports of its vast extent, and of the habits of the strange animals which were found there ; and these will now be cited at length from the transcripts which we find in the "Commentaries."

Cæsar first refers to certain fertile districts which were scattered about the forest, and then proceeds to describe the forest itself under the name of the Hercynian Wood, "which I find," he says, "to have been well known to Eratosthenes, and to certain other Greeks, under the name of Orcynia."<sup>1</sup>

"Of this Hercynian Wood the breadth is about nine days' journey for a quick traveller ; for the boundaries cannot be given in any other way, nor did they (*i.e.* the Greek travellers) know how to measure these days journeys. It appears that there are many kinds of wild beasts there which are not seen elsewhere : the following differ most from the common kinds, and seem to be most worthy of mention here."

I. THE REINDEER.—"There is a beast shaped like a stag, with a horn projecting from the middle of its forehead ; it is longer and straighter than any ordinary horn, palmated at the top, and branching into several tynes. The male and female are like each other, and their horns are of the same size and shape."

There is, perhaps, some confusion here between the of the chivalrous Chatti, the ancestors of the modern Hessians. In one of his boldest metaphors the nation is described as "stretching as far as the hills extend, and dwindling by degrees ; and the Forest follows her children until she leaves them on the plain." "*Durant siquidem colles paullatimque rarescunt : et Chattos suos saltus Hercynius prosequitur simul atque deponit*" (Tac. Germ. c. 30).

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 26, 27.

branching horns of the deer and the long spiral tooth of the narwhal, which was long passed off as the unicorn's horn. Ælian and the stories attributed to Aristotle will supply us with several other legends, which are only interesting as far as they confirm the fact that the Greek travellers had reached the north as early as the age of Alexander the Great. The reindeer was said to change colour like the chameleon, and to have a hide impervious to the keenest dart. In each case the exaggeration was founded upon the truth. The deer changes its colour in winter like other northern animals; and jerkins made of its hide were long considered as good as coats of mail. The discoveries in natural history, which resulted from the conquest of Asia, had roused the Greek world to great activity in a science which had till then been neglected. Any fact about a new animal was caught up and passed on, and was often spoiled in the telling.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Ælian's *Nat. Hist.* ii. 17, and *Mirab. Auscult.* 30, where the "tarandus" is described as a beast found among the Scythian Geloni, with a head like a stag, and like an ox in size. It was said to change its colour like the polypus. The same story was told of the African "tarandus," or "parandrus." Solinus, 30. Pliny gets nearer to the proper description. "The tarandus is as big as an ox, with a head not unlike that of a stag, but that it is greater, carrying branched horns, cloven-hoofed, and with hair as deep as that of a bear." Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. c. 34. We are not much concerned with the reindeer in the history of Britain: the Orkneyinga Saga, however, states that in A.D. 1159 the Norsemen hunted "red-deer and reindeer" in Caithness. There may, perhaps, be some doubt whether the statement should not have been confined to red-deer. See *Orkn. Saga.* c. 112, and Dr. Smith's Essay in the 8th vol. of *Proc. Soc. Antiqu. Scotland.* The mediæval writers on Scandinavia made a mistake which is worth remarking. They knew of the reindeer with the "cornua ramosa;" but they could not reject anything stated as a fact by Cæsar; and they solved the difficulty by defining the animal as a three-horned deer. See Olaus Magnus,

2. THE ELK.—“There are also animals called elks (*Alce*). In their figures and spotted skins they are like wild goats; but they are rather larger, and have broken horns, and legs without joints; nor do they lie down to rest, nor if they fall by accident could they get up again. The trees are their resting-places: they lean against them to take a little sleep; and when the hunters have noticed where they resort for this purpose, they either undermine all the trees in that place at the roots, or cut them so far through as to leave only the semblance of a growing tree; and so, when the elks as usual lean against them, they make the tottering tree fall over, and they fall with the tree.”<sup>1</sup>

Hist. Septent. xvii. 26, 28. “Errat Thevetus qui in *Cosmographiâ suâ* unicornem facit rangiferum: errant Olaus Magnus, Gesnerus et Jonstonius, qui tricornem depingunt” (Pontopp. Nat. Hist. ii. 10). Most of the mediæval woodcuts in works on natural history represent the reindeer with three long branching horns.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar’s reference to the Greek authorities for these passages shows that Pliny’s account of the animals in the Hercynian Forest may have been derived from the works of Pytheas. “There are few savage beasts in Germany: howbeit that country bringeth forth certain kinds of goodly great wild beasts. There is a certain beast called *Alce*, very like to a horse, but that his ears are longer and his neck likewise with two marks, by which they may be distinguished. Moreover, in the island of Scandinavia there is a beast called *Machlis* (*mel. lect.* ‘*Achlis*’), not much unlike to the *Alce* above named. Common he is there, and much talk we have heard of him; howbeit in these parts he was never seen. He resembleth, I say, the *Alce*; but that he hath neither joint in the hough nor pasternes in his hind-legs, and therefore he never lieth down, but sleepeth leaning to a tree. And therefore the hunters that lie in wait for the beasts cut down the trees while they are asleep, and so take them. Otherwise they should never be taken, so swift of foot they are that it is wonderful. Their upper lip is exceeding great, and as they graze and feed they go retrograde.” Pliny, Hist. Nat. viii. c. 15. The stratagem of cutting through the trees was first told of the Elephant-hunters on the coast of the Red Sea by Agatharchides. De Mari Rubro. c. 25. Diod. iii. c. 2. Strabo. xvi. 771.

Pausanias described the Celtic elk "as an animal but very rarely seen : according to him it was a beast in size between a stag and a camel, and was gifted with a surprising sense of smell."<sup>1</sup>

3. THE URUS (*Bos primigenius*).—"The third beast," says Cæsar, "is the Urus. It is almost as large as an elephant, but in shape and colour it more resembles the bull. These animals are of great strength and speed, and they never spare man or beast after once catching sight of them. The Germans take great trouble in catching them by pitfalls ; and the young men gain hardness and experience in this laborious kind of hunting. Those who kill most bulls carry back the horns as a glorious trophy of the chase. The Urus cannot be accustomed to mankind or tamed, even if taken very young. The great spread of the horns and their general appearance are very different from those of our domestic cattle. The horns are carefully sought : they are set in silver and used by the Germans at their extravagant feasts."<sup>2</sup>

This seems to be a confused account of two distinct animals, the Aurochs or Zubr (*Bos Urus*) of Lithuania,<sup>3</sup> and

The island in question is called "Gangavia" by Solinus, and "Gravia" by the monk Dicuil.

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, ix. c. 21. In another passage he says that the females were without horns, but that the males had horns "over their eyebrows," *ibid.* v. c. 12. The description is quoted by Hermolaus Barbarus, Cluver. Germ. Antiqu. iii. 217, and Olaus Magnus, Hist. Septent. xviii. 1. The old German name must have been "elg," or some word of the kind. The modern forms are "elenthier," and "els" or "els-dyr" in Danish.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. vi. c. 28. As to the tribute of Urus-hides imposed on the Frisians, see Tacitus, Annal. iv. c. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny's account shows that the Greek travellers were aware of the distinction. "The Bison is maned with a collar like a lion : and the Urus is

the extinct Urus (*Bos primigenius*) which Charlemagne is said to have hunted near his palace at Aachen. The latter animal was akin to the wild cattle preserved in the parks at Chillingham and Chatelherault,<sup>1</sup> and is supposed indeed to have been the original progenitor of all our English cattle except the polled and shorthorned breeds of the Highlands and parts of Wales.

The extinct "Urus" had massive and wide-spread horns, and a very small mane, if we may judge at all by the Chillingham bulls, which have bristles of about an inch in length. But the Wissent, or Aurochs, has very small horns, and a large shaggy mane nearly reaching to the ground. "This Zubr is exceedingly shy and avoids the approach of man. They can only be approached from the leeward, as their smell is extremely acute. But when accidentally and suddenly fallen in with, they will passionately assail the intruder. In such fits of passion the animal thrusts out its tongue repeatedly, lashes its sides with its tail, and the reddened and sparkling eyes project from their sockets, and roll furiously. Such is their innate wildness that none of them have ever been completely tamed. When taken young they become, it is true, accustomed to their keepers, but the approach of other persons renders them furious."<sup>1</sup> There are only a few hundreds of

a mighty strong beast and a swift." (Hist. Nat. viii. c. 15.) The Aurochs, or maned Bison, is also called the Wissent and the Bonassus. For an allusion to the old accounts of the Urus and Elk, see Virg. Georg. ii. 373,—

"Silvestres uri assidue capræque sequaces,  
Illudunt."

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Weissenhorn's Monograph on the "Zubr," cited in Cox's Sketches, Nat. Hist. 1849. See a good description of the animal by Franc. Irenicus, vii. 13, cited by Olaus Magnus, Hist. Septent. xviii. 35, 36: "Barbas

them left, and the permission of the Emperor of Russia under his sign-manual is required before one of them may be killed.

Both animals inhabited Britain at some early period; but the Aurochs is quite prehistoric. The bones of Cæsar's Urus have lately been found in ancient pitfalls which have been excavated in the neighbourhood of Cissbury. The presence of these animals in the pit may be explained by Cæsar's description of the mode of capture. 'Hurdles of gorse were probably arranged on the principle of the wicker hoops in a decoy, and it is easy to see how, by such a plan, eked out perhaps by the firing of heaps of the same useful material, a wild bull, or a herd, might be driven over a pitfall.'<sup>1</sup>

After leaving the country of the Ostians, presumably from a port in the estuary of the Elbe, Pytheas made a voyage of three days and a half to the head of the Peninsula which was then inhabited by the mysterious Cimbri; and the traveller was almost certainly the first to apply to the country the long-remembered name of the Cimbric Chersonesus.

Hardly anything is known of his adventures among the people who were afterwards to become the terror of the world. But soon after his return, Philemon the poet recorded the fact "that the northern ocean was called by the Cimbri 'Morimarusa' or the Dead Sea, from their own country as far as Cape Rubeæ: beyond that cape

*longissimas habent et cornibus breviusculis apparent."* He describes the narrow pits in which they were caught, the sides being constructed of solid beams on account of the strength of the animal.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Rolleston, in *Proc. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1876; *Proc. Soc. Antiqu. Scotland*, ix. 667.

they called the ocean 'Cronium.'"<sup>1</sup> The passage is important, as being the earliest in which the Cimbri are mentioned by name, and also because the local names appear to have a Celtic origin. "*Mor marwth*" is said to be good Welsh for the "sea of death"; and "*mor croinn*," or some similar form, might signify "the frozen sea." In the dearth of information about the ethnic affinities of the Cimbri, small circumstances like these become important for determining the question of their origin.<sup>2</sup>

The Teutones, who afterwards accompanied the Cimbri as friends and allies in their great southward migration, were settled, in the time of Pytheas, in the districts south and somewhat to the east of Jutland. They adjoined the country of the "Guttones," along the Baltic coast; and, according to Pytheas, they made a trade of purchasing from their barbarous neighbours the amber which was collected on the Pomeranian shore.

The Guttones inhabited the whole southern coast of the Baltic or "Gulf of Mentonomon" from Mecklenburg to Courland and Riga Bay. The name was given late in the Middle Ages to the Lithuanian and Esthonian tribes who inhabited the neighbourhood of Königsberg; and it seems to have been used at last in a contemptuous sense, to express the old-fashioned ways of the pagans in those parts, who refused to accept the gospel from the crusading brotherhood of the Teutonic Knights.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. iv. c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Upon the difficult question as to the intermixture of Celtic and German tribes to the east of the Rhine see the discussion on the origin of the Cimbri in Latham's "Germany of Tacitus;" Prof. Rawlinson's "Ethnography of the Cimbri," Proc. Anthropol. Inst. vi. 151 (1876); and Pallman's "Kimbern und Teutoner," Berlin, 1870.

<sup>3</sup> Their name is variously spelled, as Gothones, Gutthones, Guddons,

Pytheas appears to have paid great attention to the question of the amber-trade; and he may reasonably be supposed to have originated a commerce in that article between Marseilles and the country of the Teutones, which must have interfered with the way of trade by Trieste. That the latter traffic was not quite superseded is due to the fact, that the region which supplied Marseilles was distant some hundreds of miles from that which had from ancient times been in direct communication with the Adriatic:

Amber is found in two ways. In Courland, which has always been a principal seat of the trade, the fossil is found in *strata* underground, sometimes extending to a thickness of thirty or forty feet. These *strata* are mixed with a vegetable substance like charcoal and with the branches and stems of the fossil amber-pine.<sup>1</sup> In other parts of the Baltic, and in many places on the North-Sea coasts, the amber is washed up at the high tides and in

&c.; and some even have proposed to identify them with the "Cossini," mentioned by Artemidorus. (Tac. Ann. ii. 62; and Germ. 43, 45.) Latham, as we have seen, identified the Ostians of Pytheas with the "Æstyî" of Tacitus and the "Guttones" of Pliny. This theory rests on a supposed necessity for taking the amber-trade outside Germany, and into the vicinity of Courland. The region beyond the Vistula was a principal source of the later traffic, but was not the only source, as will presently be shown in the text.

<sup>1</sup> Compare a well-known passage in the "Amber Witch": "While she was seeking for blackberries in a dell near the shore, she saw something glistening in the sun, and on coming near she found this wondrous god-send, seeing that the wind had blown the sand away from a black vein of amber" (ch. 9). The note adds, that the dark veins held amber mixed with charcoal, and that "whole trees of amber have been found in Prussia, and are preserved in the Museum at Königsberg." Both passages appear to contain accurate descriptions of the local phenomena.

stormy weather ; and this source of the supply is thought to be due to the disturbance of submarine amber-beds.<sup>1</sup>

The principal district for the tide-washed amber was the coast between the Helder and the promontory of Jutland. From the Rhine to the estuary of the Elbe stretched a chain of islands, called Glessariæ and Electrides by the ancients, which are now much altered in numbers and extent by the incessant inroads of the sea. Here a Roman fleet in Nero's time collected 13,000 lb. of the precious "*glessum*" in a single visit ; and the sailors brought home picturesque accounts of the natives picking up the glassy fossil at the flood-tide and in the pools left by the ebb ; "and it is so light," they said, "that it rolls about and seems to hang in the shallow water."<sup>2</sup>

Pytheas appears to have mentioned the Courland trade as well as the traffic in the amber rolled up by the sea. Philemon at any rate, who copied his works, describes both kinds of commerce in the following passage. He said "that amber was a fossil, and was dug up at two places in Scythia." The supply from one of these places was white and waxy, and this was called *Electrum* ; from the other place came the tawny or honey-coloured variety, which people called *Sualiternicum*. Pytheas, however, believed that the great estuary called *Mentonomon* was inhabited for its whole length of 6,000 stadia by "the

<sup>1</sup> For the distinction between the supplies of tide-washed amber and those from inland pits and quarries, see Humboldt, *Cosmos* (Sabine), ii. 128, and Werlauff's *Ravhandel's Historie* (1835), where the discoveries of Pytheas are discussed.

<sup>2</sup> "*Adeo volubile ut in vado pendere videatur.*"—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. c. 2. It is to this visit that Pliny attributes the Romans' knowledge of the German amber-shore. *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. c. 11. Solinus says that the amber was given to Nero by a German king. *Polyh.* c. 20.

Guttones, a German people," and that at one day's distance from the estuary lay the island of Abalus, where the spring-floods carry the amber. Pytheas himself thought that this substance was the scum of the Encrusted Sea, and said that the natives of those parts used it instead of wood for their fires, and that they also sold amber to their neighbours the Teutones. Timæus believed this, but called the island Basilia : and he tells us that there is an island opposite to Scythia which is called Raunonia, about one day's journey from shore, where the amber is cast up by the waves in the spring ; and Xenophon of Lampsacus added that at the distance of three days' sail from the Scythian coast was an island of immense extent called Baltia, being the island which Pytheas called Basilia.<sup>1</sup>

Diodorus quoted a slightly different version :—" In the Scythian region beyond Gaul there lies an island in the ocean which is called Basilia ; and on this island, and nowhere else in the world, the amber is cast up in great quantities in the spring of the year ; it is collected on the island and carried by the natives across to the mainland opposite."<sup>2</sup>

The island of Abalus, one day's journey from the estuary, may have been, and probably was, one of the great islands near Ditmarsh and the mouth of the Elbe, "the Saxon Islands" of Ptolemy, which in the course of

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. c. 15 ; xxxvii. c. 2. There were ancient relations between Courland and the Greeks of the cities on the Euxine before the days of Pytheas. Humboldt, *Cosmos* (Sabine), ii. 128. The Roman acquaintance with the Courland amber-districts was probably not earlier than the age of the Antonines. The word "Raunonia" looks as if it had some connection with "rav," the Scandinavian name for amber.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. v. 23.

ages have been torn and ravaged by the sea. It is useless indeed to speculate on the exact configuration which these shifting coasts may have shown more than seventy generations ago. But the details of the old description and the distances measured from "the Scythian shore" are sufficient to show that many of these islands belonged to the Baltic, and were situated east of the Sound. The Danish writers indeed, as Werlauff in the "*Ravhandel's Historie*," and other local witnesses, have endeavoured to prove that hardly any sea-washed amber was ever found east of Copenhagen. But this opinion rests on the fact that little is found in that way, or looked for, in our own time. The mediæval authorities are precise about the great fortunes made by the guilds of amber-merchants who had licences from the King of Poland and the Duke of Prussia to collect the storm-tossed treasure "along the Finnish and Livonian seas and the Pruthenic or North-Prussian shore." The Duke of Prussia gained a considerable revenue from a tax on several thousand casks of amber which were yearly collected upon his coast-land.<sup>1</sup>

There was also an ancient British trade in amber with the "Ostians" or Germans of the shore. The traffic was regulated by the Romans in the first years of the Empire, and converted into the source of a trifling revenue.<sup>2</sup> But the exploration of the funeral barrows in the counties south of the Thames has shown that the commerce must have dated from a much higher antiquity. An expert might tell the place of production from the colour and quality of the

<sup>1</sup> Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Septent.* xi. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "The Britons bear moderate taxes on their exports and on their imports from Celtica, which consist of ivory, bracelets, amber, glass, and such-like petty merchandise." Strabo, iv. 278.

discs, beads, and rings which have been found in the Wiltshire *tumuli*. In one instance a necklace of a thousand beads was discovered in the tomb of a chief; in a Sussex grave was found a cup carved from a solid block; and in another excavation a collar formed of two hundred beads and large quadrangular dividing-plates: "The tablets were perforated with a delicacy which indicates the use of a fine metallic borer: the collar when worn must have extended from shoulder to shoulder, hanging half-way down to the waist." Amber was a charm supposed to protect the living wearer from evil influences, and, as we may suppose, to help the dead man in his journey to the world of the dead. Hence the custom of burying one bead at least in the grave, which is generally found attached or lying near the neck of the skeleton: hence the reference in the ancient Welsh poem called the *Gododin*, in which the British chiefs are described with Homeric minuteness:—

"Adorned with a wreath was the leader, the wolf of the holm;  
Amber-beads in ringlets encircled his temples;  
Precious was the amber, and worth a banquet of wine."<sup>1</sup>

The amber found in the graves is of the red transparent kind, and never of the blackish or honey-coloured varieties. The product is found on our eastern coasts, as at Ramsgate and Cromer, and in Holderness, and on some parts of the Scotch coast near Aberdeen; but the great abundance of the remains in the *tumuli*, especially in the southern counties, favours the hypothesis that the main supply was brought from over the sea.

<sup>1</sup> Aneurin's *Gododin*, st. 4. The other instances will be found, with much additional information, in Sir R. Hoare's *Ancient Wilts*, vol. i.; Dr. Thurnam's work on *British Barrows in the Archæologia*, vols. 42, 43; and Wright's, "*Celt, Roman, and Saxon*," 489.

We must now mention the voyage to Thule, which has given rise to such intricate and interminable controversies. "*Pythéas a déjà fatigué des centaines d'écrivains, qui dans l'espace de 2,270 ans l'ont combattu avec acharnement, ou se sont efforcés de l'expliquer et de lui rendre justice.*"<sup>1</sup>

"Ultima Thule," the furthest of the "Britannic Isles," has been identified with all sorts of localities since the time when Pytheas sailed with his Cimbric guides to the country of the midnight sun. The controversy is boundless, and its details are too tedious to be examined at length. But we may select sufficient evidence to show why the story of the journey should be believed, and to justify the selection of Lapland as the northern limit of the expedition.<sup>2</sup>

Most of our information on the subject is derived from Strabo's querulous complaints, added to a few words from the traveller's diary which have been preserved by Cleomedes and Geminus. We will take Strabo's criticism first, and add the other fragments in such order as seems convenient.

<sup>1</sup> Lelewel, Pythéas de Marseille, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Thule has been most commonly identified with Iceland. The earliest passage to this effect is in the *Mensura Orbis* of the Irish monk Dicuil, written about A.D. 825. Gassendi took the same view, and said, "*Et in Islandiâ tropicus pro arctico est,*" adopting the phrase of Pytheas. Columbus, about A. D. 1477, speaks in his journal of "Thule or Friesland" (Iceland), a country with which the Bristol merchants had a thriving trade. Among the writers who have accepted the same theory may be mentioned Adam of Bremen, Saxo Grammaticus, Arngrim Jonas in his *Tract upon Iceland*; Pontanus and Ramus in their descriptions of Northern Europe; Cluver. *Germ. Antiqu.* iii. 39; Mannert. *Geogr.*, i. 83; Bougainville, *Acad. des Insc.*, xix. 147; and Bessell in his *Essay on Pytheas*. We may pass over the old suppositions that Thule was in North Britain or Shetland, and Malte Brun's idle proposal to identify it with the peninsula of Jutland. Among those who have taken Thule to be part of the Scandinavian mainland we may mention the Swedish historians Dalin and Lagerbring, Karl-

Strabo makes the following criticism in his comments on the second book of Eratosthenes.

“Pytheas said, that the furthest parts of the world are those which lie about Thule, the northernmost of the Britannic Isles, ‘where the summer tropic is the same as the arctic circle’: but he never said whether Thule was an island, or whether the world is habitable by man as far as the point where the circles coincided. I should think myself that the northern limit of habitation lies much further to the south; for the writers of our age say nothing of any place beyond Ireland, which is situate in front of the northern parts of Britain, where the savages can hardly live for the cold. I think, therefore, that the limit should be placed at this point. Eratosthenes computed the distance

strom, “Thule Veterum,” and Rudbeck, *Atlantica*, i. c. 19. Before Iceland was known to them, the Byzantine writers were accustomed to identify the Thule of Pytheas with Sweden, and sometimes with the whole peninsula of Scandinavia. For an elaborate description of Thule from the last point of view see Procopius, *De Bell. Gothic.* ii. 14. 15; the passage was translated by Archbishop Magnus, in his history of the Goths and Swedes, and is cited by Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Septent.*, i. c. 5. For part of the passage in question the reader has the advantage of an extract in the words of Gibbon:—“One of the sovereigns (of Sweden), after a voluntary or reluctant abdication, found a hospitable retreat in the palace of Ravenna. He had reigned over one of the thirteen populous tribes who cultivated a small portion of the great island or peninsula of Scandinavia, to which the vague appellation of Thule has been sometimes applied. That northern region was peopled, or had been explored, as high as the 68th degree of latitude, where the natives of the polar circle enjoy and lose the presence of the sun at each summer and winter solstice during an equal period of 40 days. The long night of his absence or death was the mournful season of distress and anxiety, till the messengers who had been sent to the mountain-tops descried the first rays of returning light, and proclaimed to the plain below the festival of his resurrection. And this with the men of Thule is the greatest of all feasts.”—Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 49. See also Jornandes, *De Reb. Getic.* c. 3, and Paulus Diaconus, *De Reb. Langobard.* i. c. 5.

from the Dnieper to the parallel of Thule, which Pytheas affirmed to be 'six days' sail north of Britain,' to be about 1,150 miles. But who in his senses would believe this? For Pytheas, who described Thule, has been shown to be the falsest of men; and the travellers who have seen the British 'Ierne' yet say nothing of this Thule, though they mention other small islands round Britain. Again, a traveller starting from the middle of Britain and going about 500 miles to the north, would come to a country somewhere about Ireland, where living would be barely possible; consequently the still more distant situation which Pytheas assigned to Thule would not be habitable at all; and on what possible theory Hipparchus could fix that measurement between Thule and (the mouth of) the Dnieper I cannot understand."<sup>1</sup>

We have a bare mention of the Scandinavian islands of Bergi, and Nerigo, the largest of them all, "from which men make the voyage to Thule"; and it is perhaps a possible etymology which connects these names with the district of Bergen and the province of Norge, or Norway proper, which ends not far from the city of Trondhjem. It will be remembered that the winding fjords would make it almost impossible for the first travellers to distinguish the promontories and peninsulas of the coast from islands; and that a Greek would be apt to conceive the northern voyage as a passage along the vast Ocean-river threading the outer islands, which were supposed to form a ring round the great central continent. It is easy to imagine the voyage towards the Lapland coast through the long summer-day and the strange level sunshine of the northern night. The ship would be kept as long as possible inside

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, i. 64.

the unnumbered stacks and rock-islets which form "the Skerry-guard" of the coast of Norway. When the arctic circle is crossed, the traveller will reach the mouth of the West Fjord and traverse a tract of open sea. Sailing over the broad gulfs to the towering cliffs of the region that stretches to the north, or looking across to the peaks and fantastic shapes of the Lofoden Islands lying low in the west, the Greeks might well think that they had come to Thule, "the end" or at least the beginning of the end of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Pytheas did not say that this new country was itself an island. It seems likely that he supposed the land to turn from the North Cape to join the continent of Scythia. Nor do we find that he observed any signs of human habitation. The king of Thule and his romantic people, and the felicities of the arctic summer, are the products of later fancy. His attention seems to have been mainly directed to the phenomenon of the midnight sun. "In some places," he said, "the night was three hours long; in others it was two hours long; at last the sun used to rise almost as soon as he had set." Again, "the sun revolved from west to east and shone through the whole of the summer night"; the sun did not rise or set, but only crossed along the horizon. "Where the whole tropic of Cancer was above the horizon the day was a month long; and where only part of the tropic circle appeared, the day was long in proportion." "At the pole itself the day and night are each six months long." And the list of fragments might easily be lengthened, for every astronomer who lived after him endeavoured to record

<sup>1</sup> "Inveniet vasto surgentem vertice Thulen." Avienus. *Orb. Terr.* 760.

or explain something of the phenomena reported by Pytheas.<sup>1</sup>

Two of his phrases, by their obscure and archaic diction, have given rise to repeated controversies. The first is the celebrated saying that "in Thule the summer tropic is the same as the arctic circle," the latter term being used in its old Greek sense to denote the heavenly circle containing all the stars which never dip below the horizon; and in this sense of the term every latitude had its own arctic circle. The meaning of Pytheas was that at some point in the north the sun never set during the summer. The uncouthness of the expression was probably caused by a notion that the tropic of Cancer was a physical line traced by the sun's passage above the horizon.

The second obscurity is contained in the passage preserved by Geminus. "The barbarians used to point out to us the lair or sleeping-place of the sun; for the nights at one place were only three hours long, at another place only two hours," and so on. Several writers have raised unnecessary difficulties by taking the passage to mean, that the barbarians showed Pytheas where the sun set at different times in the year, or that, though the weather was dark, they showed him the true point of sunset, and the like. What the savages meant was plain enough. They had watched the sun's places of rising and setting as they went north, and at last had discovered the spot on the horizon

<sup>1</sup> With the passages collected in the Appendix should be compared the following passage from Priscianus Lydus. "Dicitur autem nox eis fieri usque ad unam horam apud quos arcticus est æstivus tropicus; sicut juxta Thylen insulam scribunt per diem et noctem solem super terram ferri: eos enim qui dicunt semenstem diem noctemque æqualem, aut etiam quædam borealium partium nunquam illuminari solaribus radiis, rationibus aliis demittimus." Solut. ad Chosroen. Priscian. Lyd. (Bywater.) 67.

immediately above the cave or home where the divine spirit or creature lived.<sup>1</sup> There could have been nothing very strange in this to Pytheas, who had himself contested a theory of certain Stoics, that the earth was a kind of enormous animal, whose breathings and spoutings caused the flux and reflux of the tide.<sup>2</sup>

Another passage about a substance resembling the "sea-nettles" or *medusæ*, which in Greek were called "sea-lungs," has become celebrated for its difficulty of interpretation.

"After one day's journey," he said, "to the north of Thule men come to a sluggish sea, where there is no separation of sea, land, and air, but a mixture of all these elements like the substance of jelly-fish, through which one can neither walk nor sail. I have seen the stuff like jelly-fish, but all the rest I have taken on hearsay."<sup>3</sup>

We cannot feel certain as to the nature of this floating and blubber-like mass. The simplest explanation, and perhaps the best, attributes the reference to the rotten and spongy ice which sometimes fills those northern waters.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Homer's "home and dancing-places of the Dawn":

ὅθι τ' Ἡοῦς ἡριγενείης

Ῥοκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἥελίοιο.—Odyss. xii. 4.

"Allen Gestirnen werden bestimmte Stätten, Plätze und Stühle beigelegt, auf denen sie Sitz und Wohnung nehmen: sie haben ihr Gestell und Gerüste. Zumal gilt das von der Sonne die jeden Tag zu ihrem Sitz, oder Sessel niedergeht." (Grimm. Deutsch. Myth. 663.)

<sup>2</sup> This was the opinion of Athenodorus, cited in Strabo, iii. 173. See also Seneca, Nat. Quæst. iii. 15. Mela, iii. c. 1. Solinus. c. 23. The whole subject is discussed by Martin in his 'Notions des Anciens sur les Marées et les Euripes.' (Caen. 1866.) Pytheas seems to have been the first to attribute the tidal movement to the action of the moon. Stobæus. (Gaisford). App. iv. 437. Plutarch. De Placit. Philosoph. iii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, ii. 142.

Others take the matter literally, and refer it to the *medusæ*, so common about Norway and the North Sea, which may have been familiar to Pytheas before he commenced his journey.<sup>1</sup> Gassendi, who took Thule for Iceland, explained the matter as referring to the dense fumes from Hekla. Others take it for a description of cold and clinging fogs ; others, with Malte Brun, as a picture of the quicksands near the northern shores of Jutland.<sup>2</sup>

Many stories were afterwards told about the sluggish waters described by Pytheas, and when the locality of Thule was shifted to Shetland by the Roman writers, it was duly noticed that "the waters are slow, and yield with difficulty to the oar, and they are not even raised by the wind like other seas."<sup>3</sup>

From the description of the "*Mare Pigrum*," which has been already cited from the "*Germania*," and the mention in that place of the divine forms, and the head crowned with rays, and strange sounds heard by night, we may infer that the ancient travellers saw the *Aurora Borealis*. The ray-crowned head may represent the dark segment of

<sup>1</sup> For the abundance of these creatures in Norway, and also in the salt-water lake of Mortaigne, near Narbonne, see Pontopp. Nat. Hist. ii. 182, and Kircher's *Mundus Subterraneus*, ii. 129, there cited. It is, perhaps, worth noticing that the Frozen Sea is or was called by the Norwegians "*Leber Zee*," or "sea of a substance like liver." Pontanus, *Descr. Dan.* 747.

<sup>2</sup> The different opinions are collected and compared in Arvedson's first note, which is printed in the Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 10. "This agrees with the sea on the N.E. of Scotland, not for the reason given by Tacitus, but because of the contrary tides, which drive several ways and stop not only boats with oars, but ships under sail" (Wallace, *Essay concerning Thule*, 31). "The tides in Orkney run with such an impetuous current, that a ship is no more able to make way against them than if it were hindered by a remora." (Wallace, *Orkney*, 4. 7.)

sky enclosed in the electric arch and the meteoric rays which have given the name of the "Merry Dancers" to the flickering Northern Lights.<sup>1</sup>

Pytheas did not, so far as appears, explore any part of the mainland of Thule, nor do we know the point at which he turned his ship for the southward voyage. We must suppose that he never reached the "ruddy-tinged granite" of the cape that looks upon the Polar Sea. All that he actually said was, that beyond the dead sea "Morimorusa" was a sea called "Cronium," covered with a solid crust; and, knowing nothing of the nature of the frozen ocean, he conjectured, as we have seen, that the amber washed upon the coast might perhaps be broken morsels of scum or crust from the unknown sea.

Turning from Thule, they sailed south for six days and nights before they reached the shores of Britain. They probably touched at the Orkneys, of which the three largest were then, or soon afterwards, known as Dumna, Ocetis, and Pomona: the last name has remained till modern times, and from its classical form has been the origin of curious myths as to the fruitfulness of the northern zone. Among the islands to the north of Britain the travellers noticed an extraordinary rush of the tides in tortuous and funnel-shaped channels between the cliffs: if Pliny's quotation<sup>2</sup> is correct, the water rose 80 cubits or

<sup>1</sup> The Aurora is called "the Morrice Dancers" in Shetland. The early writers on northern phenomena published some amusing speculations on the origin of the Aurora. Some took it for the reflection of distant volcanoes, or the refracted image of the sun; and "the celebrated Wolfius described it as immature lightning, or an imperfect tempest." Pontopp. Nat. Hist. i. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. ii. 897. See Buffon, *Théorie de la Terre*. ii. 97, and Humboldt. *Cosmos*. (Sabine) i. 298.

120 feet. This height of the tide is not greater than has been measured in the Bay of Fundy, and it is probably approached in the narrow inlets of the Faroe Isles; but the circumstance is so rare in any part of the world that we must suppose some mistake to have been made in the calculation or in the course of making the extract. We know hardly anything of the remainder of the voyage. He must have skirted the eastern shore of Britain as far as Kent and the neighbourhood of Gaul, landing (as he said) when he could, so as to explore the accessible parts of the island. The expedition returned by the Channel and the Bay of Biscay, as far as the mouth of the Gironde. Pytheas appears to have been unwilling to repeat the tedious journey round Spain; and we may suppose that he accordingly ascended the Garonne, and from the neighbourhood of the modern Bordeaux succeeded in reaching his native city by a journey over-land.

Here ended the voyage of Pytheas. Apart from later criticisms and controversies we know nothing more of his life or works, except that an early scholiast preserved an isolated passage about the volcano of Stromboli from his book on the Circuit of the World.<sup>1</sup>

His discoveries were in the highest degree interesting and important. His reputation at first rose high, and was afterwards unjustly depreciated; but his merits have been fully recognized in modern times. "*Venit mihi Pytheas*

<sup>1</sup> The passage will be found in the Appendix. It embodies the well-known legend about the forges where men left iron ore and a proper sum of money, and next day would find the sword or weapon for which they had bargained with the unseen workmen. The description is terse and picturesque, like everything else that he wrote. "This seems to be the home of Hephæstus, for one hears the roar of fire and a terrible bellowing, and here the sea boils."

*commendandus*," said the scholar Gassendi; and he described the old traveller as "an honest man and a learned, who said what he thought and distinguished what he had seen from matters of guess-work or hearsay."<sup>1</sup> "*Habile astronome* (added Bougainville),<sup>2</sup> *ingénieux physicien, géographe exact, hardi navigateur, il rendit ses talents utiles à sa patrie: ses voyages, en frayant de nouvelles routes au commerce, ont enrichi l'histoire naturelle, et contribué à perfectionner la connaissance du globe terrestre.*"

<sup>1</sup> Gassendi. Opera, iv. 530.

<sup>2</sup> Bougainville, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, xix. 146.

The best sources of information about Pytheas, besides the authors quoted in the text, are the Fragments published by Arvedson at Upsala, in 1824; the Essay on Pytheas by Lelewel, published in Polish (1821), in German at Berlin (1831), and in French at Paris (1836); Mannert's Géographie, vols. i. and ii.; Fuhr's Pytheas (Darmstadt, 1842); Redslob's "Thule" (Leipzig, 1855) and Bessell's Pytheas von Massilien (Göttingen, 1858). We may conclude the subject with a passage selected by Arvedson. "Pytheas war ein Humboldt seines Zeitalters, nur als solcher kann er im Zukunft betrachtet werden. Ein Mann, der schon drei Jahrhunderte vor unserer Zeitrechnung als Mathematiker, Astronom und als Muster der Nachahmung glänzte, verdiente schon durch den Besitz dieser Wissenschaften das grösste Zutrauen, noch mehr, wenn er, entflammt durch Liebe zu diesen, weder Aufwand noch Gefahr scheute, und zur Bereicherung seiner Kenntniss und der Erdkunde, die damals einen wichtigen Zweig der Astronomie ausmachte, sich auf ferne Reisen wagte, die Niemand vor ihm und Niemand nach ihm unter den gebildeten Völkern des Alterthums unternahm. Pytheas war ein Mann, der weit über seinen Zeitgenossen stand, und dem die Himmelskunde nicht weniger zu verdanken scheint als die Erdkunde" (Brehmer, Entdeckungen im Alterthum, ii. p. 345).

## CHAPTER III.

## EARLY GREEK ROMANCES ABOUT BRITAIN.

Imaginary travels based on discoveries of Pytheas.—Their confusion with records of real travel.—Beginning of scepticism on the subject.—Criticism by Dicæarchus.—The acceptance of Pytheas by Eratosthenes.—Euhemerus the rationalist.—The Land of Panchaia.—Argument based on his fictions.—Reply of Eratosthenes.—Criticisms by Polybius and Strabo.—Geographical romances.—Plato's use of the Carthaginian traditions.—Atlantis.—Origin of the stories of monstrous men.—“The wonders beyond Thule.”—The epitome of Photius.—Plot of the romance.—Stories of Germany and Thule.—Of the Germans and the Hercynian Forest.—Stories about Britain.—The legend of Saturn and Briareus.—The Northern Pygmies.—Story preserved by Procopius.—Island of Brittia.—The conductors of the dead.—The communism of Thule.—The King of the Hebrides.—Modern variations of the legend.—Evan the Third and his law.—Mediæval use of the legend.—The romance of “The Hyperboreans.”—Description by Lelewel.—Stories of the Arctic Ocean.—Britain described as “Elixioia.”—The Circular Temple.—The Boread kings.—Solar legends.—A description of the Hyperborean customs.—The suicides of the old men.—Historical weight of the legend.—Family-cliffs and family-clubs.—Barbarous practices of northern nations.—Mention of other romances.—“The Attacori.”—The description of the Fortunate Islands by Jambulus—His accounts of strange kinds of men.—Fictions rejected by Tacitus.

IT is proposed to deal in this chapter with certain romances and volumes of imaginary travel which were based on the discoveries of Pytheas soon after his return from the North. It was a time of excitement and scientific activity. The story of the new world was received with a general enthusiasm; and the popularity of the subject soon led to the publication of geographical romances tricked out and coloured with the fashionable learning. They were not, of course, intended to be treated seriously; but in time they had the effect of obscuring and of almost effacing the Greek knowledge of Britain.

The process will be illustrated in this chapter by extracts from some of these curious works ; and it will be shown that they were the real source of many of the legends and strange traditions which have perplexed historical inquirers.

It need not be supposed that their publication had at first any effect in the way of confusing the popular belief. For a century or more after the termination of the northern voyage, its real incidents were kept apart from the fictions of its imitators. A few criticisms by Dicæarchus did not diminish the general faith in the traveller's accuracy. The great scholars of Alexandria endorsed the popular opinion, and the earliest maps laid down "the parallel of Thule" at that distance from the equator which Pytheas had roughly calculated.

But even in the lifetime of Eratosthenes (B.C. 275 to B.C. 195) we can trace the beginnings of the scepticism which destroyed the credit of the philosopher of Marseilles. The keeper of the great library of Alexandria had cited Pytheas for many statements in his "*Geographica*," of which not many sentences have survived the destruction of the library by fire. But he was already pressed with the new argument, that these old travels could hardly be distinguished from others which were clearly fictitious.

Euhemerus of Messene, the inventor of the system which "rationalised" the current mythology, had lately published an account of the Land of Panchaia, which may still be examined in the indiscriminating collections of Diodorus. This Arabian land was described as the home of the heroes whom the populace worshipped as Zeus and Apollo, and of all the other beings who were counted among the gods of Greece. The fable was a useful vehicle for the

spread of dangerous opinions. The author had merely anticipated the stratagem of Rabelais ; but some were so foolish as to take the falsehood for genuine history.

Others used the occasion to attack the new geographical science. "How," they said, "can these travellers' tales about the North be distinguished from works of fiction ? Here are things which one could not believe, if Hermes himself came down from heaven as a witness ; and why should they be of more account than what the Messenian has told us of his Holy Land ?" But Eratosthenes would only reply, "I trust Pytheas, even where Dicæarchus doubted ; but I think that Euhemerus lies like the man of Berga."<sup>1</sup>

The answer failed to satisfy the later critics. "It would have been better," said Polybius, "if he *had* believed the Messenian ; for he only told falsehoods about one country, but this Pytheas pretended to have been to the world's end, and to have peeped into every corner of the north." And Strabo added, that "Eratosthenes must have been joking," and used the matter as a warning for other men of science. We find him saying of some story related by Posidonius, "This is mere nonsense from Berga, almost as bad as the falsehoods of Pytheas, and Euhemerus, and Antiphanes ; we can excuse it in people whose business it is to tell wonderful stories, but not in a grave philosopher, one of the champions in the arena of science."

<sup>1</sup> Eratosthenica (Bernhardy, 1822), 20, 22. Compare Strabo, ii. 104, and iii. 148. The "man of Berga" was Antiphanes, only known for having published some fictitious travels. The proverbial phrases, *Βεργαῖος ἀνὴρ*, *Βεργαίζειν*, and *Βεργαῖον δολύγημα*, preserve his reputation for mendacity. He is cited by Antonius Diogenes, and by the anonymous author of the "Periplus of Scymnus," who wrote about a century before the Christian era. Didot. Geograph. Græc. Minor. i. introd. 66.

The Greeks had a peculiar skill in the construction of geographical fiction. Every novelist was ready with a sham voyage, or a didactic work in the form of news from Utopia. Lucian's gay burlesque shows the existence of a whole literature of adventures "among monstrous beasts and cruel savages, and in strange forms of life," as curious in their way as his own pictures of travel in the land of the Hippogriffs.

Plato himself, in two of his Dialogues, had used the Carthaginian voyages as material for didactic fiction. The unfinished story of Atlantis shows his knowledge of the oceanic weed-beds and the nature of the minerals to be found in Spain. "The island disappeared, and was sunk beneath the sea; and that is the reason why the sea in those parts is impassable and impenetrable; because there is such a quantity of shallow mud in the way, caused by the subsidence of the island." And he thus described the splendours of the palace of Atlas before the occurrence of the legendary catastrophe: "The entire circuit of the wall they covered with a coating of brass, and the circuit of the next wall they coated with tin, and the third, which encompassed the citadel, flashed with the red light of orichalcum."<sup>1</sup>

The curious subject of these romances of travel will be found to have some bearing on the history of northern Europe. They help to show the level of the knowledge which was current at the date of their publication, and they afford some evidence as to the habits of our barbarian ancestors before the dawn of history. They indicate the real origin of the fables, which amused the Greeks, and

<sup>1</sup> The extracts are from "Timæus" and "Critias," in Prof. Jowett's translation. Plato, Dial. ii. 521, 599, 607.

were afterwards accepted as history by compilers who had lost all sense of historical perspective and were ready to record anything which bore the shape of a tradition. Hence came the travellers' tales of one-footed men, of Germans with monstrous feet and ears, of fantastic kings in Thule, and Irish tribes who thought it right to devour their parents,

“ The cannibals that each other eat,  
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads  
Do grow beneath their shoulders.”<sup>1</sup>

The book called “Wonders beyond Thule” was written by one Antonius Diogenes, who probably lived in Syria in the 2nd century before Christ, though it was the opinion of Photius that the work was written soon after the death of Alexander the Great.<sup>2</sup> It was current as late as the 9th century, when its twenty-four volumes were summarised by the Patriarch Photius, who compressed the works of nearly three hundred authors into one volume to beguile the tedium of a residence in

<sup>1</sup> Pliny's monsters continually reappear in the mediæval records of travel, their locality being shifted, to suit the circumstances of the case, to all parts of Africa, India, and the northern countries. We may study their habits in the pages of the painstaking Mandeville. “In an yle towards the southe dwellen folk of foule stature and of cursèd kynde, than han no heds and here eyen be in here scholdres; and in another yle ben folk of foule fasceon and schapp, that han the lippe above the mouthe so gret, that whan thei slepen in the sonne thei keveren alle the face with that lippe: and in another yle ben folk, that han hors' feet, and thei ben strong and mighty.” We find the same stories in the old Icelandic Sagas. The Norsemen in Labrador, according to an early Saga, met “a onefoot-man of glittering appearance,” who shot one of the Greenland captains, and fled swiftly over the sea.

<sup>2</sup> For the epitome of this work, see Photius. *Myriob.* 355, the *Mélanges* of Chardon de la Rochelle, Dunlop, *Hist. Fiction*, i. 9, Chassang, *Hist. du Roman*, 375.

Bagdad. Our knowledge of the novel is gained partly from this epitome, and partly from the fragments which can be gathered from the later classical writings.<sup>1</sup>

The plot turns on the loves and adventures of a Syrian maiden and Dinias, a traveller from Arcadia, the story of whose lives was recorded in a manuscript which Alexander the Great was supposed to find in their tomb. After a surprising series of events, with which we are not now concerned to deal, the principal personages in the story were assembled in the polar circle with leisure to verify all the astronomical wonders which had been announced to the world by Pytheas. They make friends with the simple inhabitants of Thule: and some of the company pass above that country to the shores of the Encrusted Sea. Here they find themselves in the neighbourhood of the moon, and we owe the preservation of several fragments of the novel to the curiosity excited by their lunar discoveries.<sup>2</sup> The story appears to have contained fanciful descriptions of the whole of the north of Europe. Here was probably the first account of the blue-eyed Germans who could not see by day, and were guided at night

<sup>1</sup> Notices of the work will be found in Porphyrius' Life of Pythagoras, c. 13, in the Scholia on Virgil's Georgics and Lucian's Vera Historia, and in the Letters of Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene, who in the 5th century A.D. wondered "what kind of place that Thule might be, which privileged all its visitors to tell such shameless lies." Synesius, Epist. 148. Chassang thinks that these legends were based on fact. "*Dinias répète des traditions confuses des Lapons, lorsqu'il dit avoir vu au delà de Thule des peuples qui ont des nuits d'un mois, de six mois, et même d'un an.*" *Hist. du Roman*, 381.

<sup>2</sup> As to the supposed nearness of the moon to the northern islands, see Diod. ii. c. 3. Allusions to the same legend will be found in the tract "*De facie in orbe Lunæ*," in Plutarch's Moralia. Plutarch (Wytttenbach), iv. 729, 808.

through the Hercynian gloom by the light of strange luminous birds. Some of the natives of the fens had horses' hooves for feet, and others had flapping and monstrous ears.<sup>1</sup> The northern seas were thought to be full of monsters, which appear in many a subsequent chapter of history, as when the soldiers of Germanicus brought home tales of "fabulous birds, and monsters of the deep, and strange shapes, half-human, half-beast-like," which they had seen off the German shores. Tacitus seems to refer to the same stories when he mentions the animals found in the "Outer Ocean" and the unknown sea beyond.<sup>2</sup> There are several other legends, which, from their context, must be attributed to the same romance. Thus we read of "an isle Ogygian lying far out at sea," five days' sail to the west of Britain, with others lying beyond it, "a little nearer to the rising of the summer sun." The western island is shown by its astronomical description to be one of the islands mentioned by Pytheas :

<sup>1</sup> Mela places these tribes in the islands opposite Sarmatia, which are "peninsulas at low water." Among them were the Oæones, living on birds' eggs, whom Cæsar placed among the wild tribes at the mouth of the Rhine (*De Bell. Gall.* iv. c. 10.), the Hippopodes, and the flapping-eared tribe who more properly belonged to Indian and African legends. *Mela.* iii. c. 6. *Tac. Germ.* c. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Tac. Annal.* ii. c. 24. *Germ.* c. 17. See also the quotation from *Pedo Albinovanus* in *Seneca*, *Suas.* i. 14, relating to the same expedition of Germanicus :

"Jam pridem post terga diem solemque relinquunt,  
Jam pridem notis extorres finibus Orbis  
Per non concessas audaces ire per umbras,  
Ad rerum metas, extremaque litora mundi :  
Nunc illum, pigris immania monstra sub undis  
Qui ferat, Oceanum, qui sævas undique pristis  
Æquoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis."

"the sun sets for less than one hour for thirty days in succession, and this short night is attended with slight darkness, and a twilight glimmering out of the west."<sup>1</sup> Here, we are told, "Saturn was charmed to sleep by Briareus; he was laid in a golden-coloured cave of pumice-stone; birds brought him ambrosia, and genii waited for his commands." We have also descriptions of the men of Thule, feeding in the spring on the herbage with their cattle, on milk in summer, and in the long winter on the store of fruits which they have laid up. We recognise exaggerated versions of stories from Homer and Herodotus, dressed up to suit the Polar latitudes, in the stories of the men who sleep for six months on end, and live at ease like the Lotos-eaters, and of the Pygmies or Lilliputians, opposite to Thule and near Britain, who were a span long, "very short-lived, and armed with spears like needles."<sup>2</sup>

We may here add a legend preserved by Procopius, "a tradition," to use his own words, "very nearly allied to fable, and one which has never appeared to me to be true in all respects." The origin of the fable is unknown, and perhaps the most remarkable thing about it is the continuance of the belief among the fishermen of Holland and Brittany, which has been attested by trustworthy visitors. "In the northern ocean," so ran the tale, "lies the island Brittia, opposite to the mouths of the Rhine, between Britannia and the Isle of Thule." Then follow descriptions of the Roman wall and of other circumstances which show that Procopius took Brittia to be the country which

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (Wytttenbach), iv. 808, in the essay "*De facie in Orbe Lunæ*."

<sup>2</sup> See Eustathius, in *Iliad*. iii. 6, p. 281. Stephan. Byzant. s. v. "Germara."

others call Britain. On the eastern side of the wall all is civilised: but "on the western side it would be impossible for a man to live half an hour." Omitting many of the less important details we will come to the main legend, which the learned Senator could hardly bring himself to believe. "I have frequently heard it," he said, "from men of that country, who related it most seriously, though I would rather ascribe their asseverations to a certain dreamy faculty which possesses them. On the coast opposite to Brittia are many villages inhabited by fishermen and labourers, who in the course of trade go across to the island. They declare that the conducting of souls devolves upon them in turns. At night they perceive that the door is shaken, and they hear a certain indistinct voice summoning them to their work. They proceed to the shore not understanding the necessity which thus constrains them, yet nevertheless compelled by its influence. Here they perceive vessels in readiness, wholly void of men, not however their own but strange vessels; embarking in these they lay hold on their oars, and feel their burden made heavier by a multitude of passengers, the boats being sunk to the gunwale and rowlocks and floating scarce a finger from the water's edge. They see not a single person: but having rowed for one hour only, they arrive at Brittia: whereas, when they navigate their own vessels they arrive there with difficulty even in a night and a day. They say that they hear a certain voice there, which seems to announce to such as receive them the names of all who have crossed over with them, describing the dignities which they formerly possessed and calling them over by their hereditary titles: and if women happen to cross over with them, they call

over the names of the husbands with whom they lived. These then are the things which men of that district declare to take place : but I return to my former narrative.”<sup>1</sup>

There is another curious subject, of greater historical importance than the legend which perplexed Procopius, which seems to have a close connection with the old romance of Thule. The inhabitants of Britain were from the most ancient times accused of an ignorance of marriage, and the institutions by which the family is maintained among civilised people. Whether from the old stories of the Arcadian customs of Thule, or from their levity in matters of marriage and divorce, they were said to live in a state of communism that prevailed in Plato’s republic and was found by More in Utopia. In the work of Solinus we find a picture of the life of a northern island, which connects this accusation with a great number of fanciful stories, which long passed current as genuine history.

“*Es war ein König in Thule.*” The king was taught justice by poverty, and equity by the generosity of his subjects. He had nothing of his own, but his subjects gave him their all, and maintained him at the public expense. The people took it in turn to entertain him at a gratuitous feast. But though he had free-quarters in all his islands, it was feared that he might become avaricious or selfish if he had anything which he could call his own ; and he was therefore forbidden to have a wife or family, though he was provided with temporary companions.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Procop. De Bell. Goth. iv. c. 20. The translation is taken from the Monumenta Historica Britannica. For a modern version of the fable, see Souvestre, *Derniers Bretons*, i. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Solinus, c. 22. See also Rhys, *Celtic Britain*. 55, 56.

Such is the picture of life in the Hebrides, and in Thule a little to the north, which was long accepted as true. The story next appears in a legal form, familiar to the student of Blackstone. In this shape it recounts the oppressions of "Evenus," or "King Evan the Third," or "Evan the Sixteenth," according to various versions, who at some time before the Christian era made a law appropriating the wives of his subjects to himself; but after a quarrel, which lasted for about 1,100 years, the barbarous tribute was, at the request of King Malcolm's Queen, commuted for a money payment. It has been discovered after much research that the ancient king, his law and its repeal, are all equally mythical. But the story remained down to recent times the stock example of the horrors of the feudal system. Every payment made at a marriage was explained as a redemption of some such primitive claim. It might be only a fee to the clergy for their licences and dispensations, or a fine to the lord of the manor to compensate him for the marriage of a vassal or a serf; or the landlord and neighbours might claim a supper, "a fowl and a bottle of wine;" but the payment was continually regarded, and often described in manorial records, as being given in exchange for some right which was thought to have existed "in the heathen times," or before the beginning of the memory of man.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The principal authorities on the subject, besides the appropriate titles in "Ducange," are Grimm, *Deutsch. Alterth.* 384, 444; Grupen, *De Uxore Theotiscâ*; Keysler, *Antiqu. Septent.*; Fischer, *Hochzeite*; Boyer, *Decisiones*; Fléchier, *Les grands Jours d'Auvergne*; De Gubernatis, *Usi Matrimoniali*; local customs collected in the appendix to M. Martin's *Histoire de France*, vol. v., and Bouthors, *Coutûmes locales du Bailliage d'Amiens*; Essays by M. J. J. Raëpsaet, M. Louis Veuillot, and M. Delpit, *Réponse d'un*

The celebrated novel of "The Hyperboreans,"<sup>1</sup> was as remarkable as the romance of Thule for its humourous exaggeration of the contemporary discoveries of Pytheas. It contains a description of Britain which must always be interesting, though its importance is sometimes exaggerated. It has been said that the work of the later Hecataeus is on the subject of ancient Britain "the one voice that breaks the ominous silence of antiquity." But a more accurate estimate of its value may be found in the following extract from the works of an eminent Polish scholar :<sup>2</sup>—

"Hécatee a publié un fameux ouvrage dont le titre décèle une vieille idée poétique rajeunie sous sa plume. Elle devait s'allier aux nouvelles découvertes et y prendre une place éminente au détriment de la science et du bon sens. Hécatee, énumérant tous les êtres mystérieux de la géographie septentrionale, enrichit leur nomenclature d'une rivière scythique récemment trouvée en Orient par le conquérant, qu'il a appelée Paropamisos ; et plus encore des promontoires et des îles Celtiques, qu'il a probablement puisées dans les relations véridiques de Pythéas pour les entrelacer dans les plages superboréennes."

We will not discuss the details of the imaginary geo-

*Campagnard à un Parisien* ; and Schmidt's *Jus primæ noctis*. A list of the light literature of the subject, from a play by Beaumont and Fletcher to the *Folle Journée* and the novels of Collin de Plancy, may be found in an Essay on Manorial Rights by Labessade (Paris, 1878).

<sup>1</sup> The work, Ὑπὲρ τῶν Ὑπερβορείων, is supposed to have been written not long after the death of Alexander the Great by Hecataeus of Abdera. He must be carefully distinguished from the much older Hecataeus of Miletus, who first collected the Hyperborean legends.

<sup>2</sup> Lelewel. Pythéas, 45.

graphy, except to notice that the Polar Sea was called "Amalcium," a name which was afterwards adopted by science, as may be seen in the map of ancient Scandinavia in the Appendix. The traveller's route from the Indian Paropamisus to the Baltic and the German Ocean may be studied in the collections of Diodorus.

Britain appears in this book as "Elixoia," an island about as large as Sicily, lying in the Celtic Ocean in front of the mouths of a mighty river. The climate was so soft that the crops ripened twice in the year. There are several allusions to the insular worship of the sun, the phenomena of the arctic climate, and the habits of the northern savages, which are all deserving of attention, as will be seen from the following extracts from Diodorus and Pliny.

We will first deal with the temple, so often connected with Stonehenge, and with "the Boreads," in whose name has been traced an allusion to the power of the Bards.

"There is in that island a magnificent temple of Apollo, and a circular shrine, adorned with votive offerings and tablets with Greek inscriptions suspended by travellers upon the walls. The kings of that city and rulers of the temple are the Boreads, who take up the government from each other according to the order of their tribes. The citizens are given up to music, harping, and chaunting in honour of the Sun." Every 19th year, we are told (with incidents which remind us of the folk-lore about the dancing of the Easter sun), the god himself appeared to his worshippers about the vernal equinox, and during a long epiphany "would harp and dance in the sky until the rising of the Pleiades."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Diod. ii. c. 3.

Our next extract relates to the "happy suicides," and incidentally to certain barbarous customs which are stated to have prevailed at one time in the Baltic regions.

"Behind the Rhiphœan hills, and beyond the North Wind, there is a blessed and happie people, if we may believe it, whom they call Hyperboreans, who live exceeding long, and many fables and strange wonders are reported of them. In this tract are supposed to be the two points or poles about which the world turneth about, and the verie ends of the heaven's revolution. For six months together they have one entire day, and night as long, when the sun is cleane turned from them. Once in the year, namely at our midsummer, when the Sun entereth Cancer, the Sun riseth with them, and once likewise it setteth, even in midwinter with us, when the Sun entereth Capricorn. The countrie is open upon the Sun, of a blissful and pleasant temperature, void of all noisome wind and hurtful aire. Their habitations be in woods and groves, where they worship the gods both by themselves and in companies and congregations. No discord know they. No sickness are they acquainted with. They die only when they have lived long enough: for when the aged men have made good cheere, and anoynted their bodies with sweet ointments they leape off a certain rocke into the sea. This kind of sepulture is of all others the most happie."

And in another short passage relating to the six months' daylight, we read that "they sow in the morning, reape at noone, at sunseting gather the fruits from the trees, and in the nights they lie close shut up within their caves."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. c. 12.

The story of the old men "tired of the feast of life," is based on a tradition of customs which are said to have once existed in the North. Even in comparatively modern times the Swedes and Pomeranians were accused of killing their old people in the way indicated in the passages quoted above. Perhaps a tribe of poor and hungry men would easily fall into the habit of killing the useless members of the family; and the practice may have survived long after the dreadful necessity had ceased. We find a notice of the tradition in the Saga of Göttrek and Rolf. "Here by our home," says the hero, "is Gillings-rock: we call it the family cliff, because there we lessen the number of the family when evil fortune comes. There all our fathers went to Odin without any stroke of disease. The old folk have free access to that happy spot, and we ought to be put to no further trouble or expense about them. The children push the father and mother from the rock, and send them with joy and gladness on their journey to Odin." The situation of several of these "Valhalla Cliffs" is said to be known in Sweden. The lakes, which stretch below, were called "Valhalla-meres" or "Odin-ponds." "The old people, after dances and sports, threw themselves into the lake, as the ancients related of the Hyperboreans": but if an old Norseman became too frail to travel to the cliff, his kinsmen would save him the disgrace of "dying like a cow in the straw," and would beat him to death with "the family-club."<sup>1</sup> Similar stories are told of the Heruli

<sup>1</sup> Geijer, *Hist. Sweden*, 31, 32. One of the "family-clubs" is said to be still preserved at a farm in East Gothland. As to the Heruli, see Procopius, *De Bell. Goth.* ii. 14, and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 39. As to stories about Icelanders, Westphalians, Slavs, and Wends, see Grimm, *Deutsch. Alterth.*, 486, 489. "Die Kinder ihre albtetage Eltern Blutfreunde

"in the dark forests of Poland"; and among the Prussians "all the daughters except one were destroyed in infancy or sold, and the aged and infirm, the sick and the deformed, were unhesitatingly put to death":<sup>1</sup> practices as remote from the poetry of the Greek description as from that reverence for the parents' authority which might have been expected from descendants of "the Aryan household."

Of some of these Greek novels it is sufficient to know the names and subjects. One Amometus published a poetical description of a nation of "Attacori," living in a sunny country beyond the Himalayan range, which seems to have closely resembled the account of the Hyperboreans, and to have also dealt with the habits of certain cannibal tribes who were supposed to live in the Scythian deserts.<sup>2</sup> Jambulus, a writer who is best known by Lucian's parody, described the inhabitants of the Canaries or Fortunate Islands; but he seems to have known nothing of the real story of the interesting Guanche race. His imaginary voyage may be studied in "Purchas' Pilgrims;" and it will be found that he was responsible for the creation of some of the monstrous kinds of men, whose fantastic

und andere Verwandten, auch die so nicht mehr zum Kriege oder Arbeit dienstlich, ertödteten darnach gekocht und gegessen, oder lebendig begraben, &c." (*ibid.* 488).

<sup>1</sup> Maclear, *Conversion of the Slavs*, 166. Keysler, *Antiqu.* Septent. 148, cites several curious instances of this custom in Prussia from writers of local authority. A Count Schulenberg rescued an old man who was being beaten to death by his sons at a place called Jammerholz, or "woeful wood," and the intended victim lived as the Count's hall-porter for twenty years after his rescue. A Countess of Mansfeld, in the 14th century, is said to have saved the life of an old man on the Lüneberg Heath under similar circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. c. 12.

manners and customs threw so much discredit on the true reports of the first explorers of the world. We may use the words of Tacitus, when he refused to admit the creatures of fancy into his "Germany." "All the rest is legend, as that these people have the faces and looks of men but the bodies and limbs of beasts, and the like: of which matters I know nothing for certain and therefore will leave them alone."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Germ. c. 46.

---

## CHAPTER IV.

Recapitulation.—Later Greek travellers.—Artemidorus.—Posidonius the Stoic.—His travels in Western Europe.—Condition of the Celts in Britain.—Difficulty of framing general rules.—Division of population into three stocks.—British Gauls.—Insular Britons.—Pre-Celtic tribes.—Methods of finding their ancient settlements.—Antiquarian research.—Philological method.—Division of the Celtic languages.—Living forms in Wales, Ireland, Scotland, Man, Brittany.—Dead forms: Welsh of Strathclyde, Pictish, Cornish, Gaulish, the Celtic of Thrace and Galatia.—Originals from which the groups are derived.—Lingua Britannica.—Affinities of Old Welsh—Whether more related to the Irish or the Gaulish.—Theory of the division of the Celtic stock.—Brythonic and Goidelic races.—Origin of the theory.—Similarity of Welsh and Gaulish languages.—The likeness explained.—Arose from independent causes.—The languages not similar at the same time.—Likeness between old forms of Welsh and Irish.—Welsh and Irish at one time united.—Occupation of Britain by a Celtic horde.—Separation of Welsh and Irish languages.—British language distinct from Gaulish.—Practical result of accepting the theory.

WE have dealt, as best we might, with a subject that must always remain obscure. We have seen how Pytheas revealed a new world to the Greeks, and how the story became confused with legend until it seemed no better than an idle fancy, "as if a name and a tale were invented about a country which never had been."<sup>1</sup> By the aid of the ancient criticisms we are able to guess very near to what the traveller said, even where his personal authority cannot now be cited, and wherever his actual words remain we may, of course, feel confidence in the reconstructed history. It is possible, however, that an incident here or there, a Gallic or a German custom, should rather be attributed to Posidonius or Artemidorus, or some

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, 16.

other of the Greek explorers who followed on the track of Pytheas.

Of these later travellers Posidonius is the most important.<sup>1</sup> He seems to have visited every corner of the West, soon after the destruction of the Cimbric horde; and his lively descriptions, first published in his lecture-room at Rhodes, are still among the best authorities for the customs of the peoples whom he visited. He received from the lips of Marius the story of the massacre of the Teutones, and drew that strange and brilliant picture of the barbarian armies which Plutarch has preserved in his biography of the Roman conqueror. We have already taken from Posidonius some parts of his description of Northern Spain, where stood "those mountains of uncoined money heaped up by some bounteous Fortune," where the soil was not so much "rich" as "absolutely made of riches": we have borrowed from the sketches of life in Cornwall, and on the mud-flats of the German shore, which are believed to be fragments of his History; and his authority will be cited again, when we come to consider the manners of the Gauls in Britain. But his work survives only in extracts which cannot now be pieced together. Enough remains to show his enthusiasm of research, and the vividness and elegance of his style: but the loss of his volumes on the Celts and the Germans must always be counted among the great disasters of literature.

From the remains of such ancient descriptions, and from the discoveries of modern research, we shall endeavour to

<sup>1</sup> See Bake's *Posidonius* (Leyden, 1810); and for extracts and anecdotes from the fifty volumes of the "Histories," see Strabo, iii. 217, iv. 287, vii. 293; Diod. v. 28, 30; Athenæus, iv. 153, vi. 233; Eustathius, in *Odyss.* viii. 475, and in *Iliad.* 915.

reconstruct another portion of our history : and we shall seek in this part of the work to collect what is known of the Celts in the South of Britain, at a time when their local differences were not yet merged in the spread of the Roman culture.

The obvious difficulty presents itself, that no single description will suit an assemblage of tribes differing in their origin, language, and customs. We can hardly attribute the population to less than three separate stocks : and it is not improbable, that the most primitive of these may be resolved into several elements. The civilised Gauls had settled on the eastern coasts before the Roman invasions began, and were to spread across the island before the Roman conquest was complete. The Celts of an older migration were established to the north and west and ruled from the Gaulish settlements as far as the Irish Sea ; and here and there we find the traces of still older peoples, who are best known as the tomb-builders and the constructors of the pre-historic monuments.

It is difficult, after the lapse of so many ages, to ascertain the boundaries and limits of the ancient settlements. Something, however, has been learned by the exploration of caves and tombs, by following the lines of old trading-roads, and by tracing old earthworks and boundary-dykes ; and the highest gratitude is due to the numerous scholars who have engaged in these special fields of research. Even more, perhaps, has been gained by the systematic measurement of ancient skulls and skeletons, and the comparison of the scattered ornaments, and implements of stone and metal, which are found in the tombs of the chieftains. But the safest method must consist in the study of the Celtic languages, or of their slight remains, surviving in

“glosses” or marginal interpretations of the words used in ancient manuscripts, in the titles of gods and legendary kings, in the local names of Gaul and Britain, or in fragments of the superscriptions upon altars, coins, and medals.

The philologists have become familiar with the subject of the Celtic tongues. Very little indeed was known about the matter till Zeuss, with wonderful patience, constructed his comparative grammar. The science has now advanced so far, that some of his most striking conclusions seem doubtful in the light of the later evidence; but his methods are still fruitful, and it may be said that his very mistakes are instructive.

The Celtic languages are for the most part dead, and of some even the tradition is now almost forgotten. Those which survive are found in Wales and Ireland, in some parts of the Highlands, in the Isle of Man, and in Brittany. Of those that are dead we may mention, for our own country, the Pictish and the Welsh of Strathclyde, and the Cornish<sup>1</sup> or West-Welsh, which died out in Devon in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and finally disappeared in Cornwall a little more than a century ago. In close connection with these is the living “Brezonec” of Brittany, which may have been carried across the seas by refugees from Britain. There are traditions besides of several western idioms, which may all be classified as Gaulish; a very similar form was once used in Galatia;<sup>2</sup> of some others used in “Celtiberia” we can only know

<sup>1</sup> There were six dialects of Cornish. Many of the words are still in use among the country people. See Williams, *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum*, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> “Galatas . . . propriam linguam, eandemque penè habere quam Treviros, nec referre si aliqua exinde corruerint.”—St. Jerome, *Comment.*

that they were confused by intermixture with the lost languages of Spain.<sup>1</sup>

But several of the languages in this list may be grouped under more general headings. The Old Welsh, for instance, or "*Lingua Britannica*," may be treated as the parent not only of modern Welsh, but of the dialects of Cornwall and Strathclyde, as well as of the idiom which has survived in Brittany. The oldest Irish is found in the same way to be the original not merely of the modern Erse, but also of the Manx, which has been somewhat corrupted by admixture with the Norse, and the Gaelic of the western Highlands: and in like manner the continental dialects might be summed up in one description as having been derived from the oldest Gaulish.

We are concerned here with none but these parent-forms. Taking therefore the oldest known varieties of Welsh, Irish, and Gaulish, and comparing them together, we shall find that they differed widely among themselves, though all bear marks of a common descent from some primitive Celtic original. Comparing them with other Aryan tongues, we find that the Gaulish languages bore a close resemblance to Latin and the cognate Italian dialects. The Irish, on the other hand, seems to be of all the Celtic languages the furthest removed from the Latin.

The question then arises, whether the oldest Celtic spoken in Wales was more like the Irish or the Gaulish,

ad Gal. ii. introd.; Valroger, *Gaule Celtique*, 52. M. Perrot (*Revue Celtique*, ii. 179) shows that St. Jerome is untrustworthy on points of this kind.

<sup>1</sup> As to the lost languages of Spain, see W. v. Humboldt, *Urbewohner Hispaniens* (Berlin, 1821), Hoffmann, *Iberer*. (Leips. 1838), and Luchaire, *Origines Linguistiques de l'Aquitaine* (Paris, 1877).

since those forms are found to differ so widely from each other. Were the Inland Britons, as distinguished from the "Brythonic" or Gallo-British race, more nearly akin to the Irish Gael, or the semi-Latin tribes of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul? The question is of great importance; for, according to the answer received, we shall lose or retain a clue to several historical problems. In the one case, the study of the Irish antiquities will throw light upon those of Britain; but in the other case we must remain in the darkness that has gathered round the history of the Gauls.

The answer has usually been, that the Irish and the Welsh were as far apart and distinct as was possible consistently with the admitted fact, that both were of the Celtic blood. It was said that the original stock was divided into two main families: that the Gaelic branch was represented in the West by the Irish and emigrants from Ireland; while the "Cymric" branch was taken to include both the Welsh and the Gauls, and almost all the other Celts whose presence had been traced in Europe.

It is conjectured, by those who adopt this view, that the Gaels, or Goidels, were the first to arrive, and that of the two main divisions they were the more numerous and the more important swarm. By the names of mountains and rivers their line of march has been traced along what in any case was a Celtic route, from the Steppe to the belts of sand between the Baltic and the Central Forest; the locality of their principal settlements is found near the Rhine and the Moselle; and the lines of their later movements are shown to lie northwards to Britain and eastwards as far as Galatia. The later immigrants are

stated, on the same hypothesis, to have followed a different course. Having arrived at the Alps, they are said to have spread outwards from that centre, downwards to Italy and across the mountains to Gaul and Spain. In course of time, as it has been supposed, some tribes of their company were led or driven to Britain, where they attacked and drove out of the country the long-settled clans of the Gael.<sup>1</sup>

This theory has derived its main support from the belief, that the Irish language differed as radically from the Welsh as it undoubtedly differed from the Gaulish. We are not bound to debate the whole problem of the Celtic dispersion. But it is important for our purpose to consider whether that belief was correct, so far as this country is concerned.

The intimate connection between the Welsh and the Gauls was inferred from the similarity of their languages, especially in those points on which they both differed from the oldest Irish. The earliest Welsh manuscripts were compared with the Gaulish vocabulary, as it has been gathered from proper names and from inscriptions to the local gods; and it was found that the languages possessed a common stock of sounds and letters, as P, TH, and S between vowels, which had been dropped in Old Irish, even if they had ever belonged to its store. But upon a closer examination of the subject it was found that the

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, *Words and Places*, 129, 157, 163; Arnold, *Hist. Rome*, i. 433. Professor Rhys gives the name of "Goidels" to the members of the Gaelic group, which included the Celts of the Gaelic-speaking districts of Ireland, Scotland, and the Isle of Man. The name "Brythons" represents the Celts of eastern Britain, whose language spread into Wales, Cumbria, and parts of Devon and Cornwall. *Celtic Britain*, 3.

deduction was wrong, though the examples appeared to be correct. The resemblance is deceptive, because the common characteristics did not exist in both languages at the same time. The likeness arose from causes which worked independently of each other; and the steps by which the languages arrived at the same stage of growth were separated by long intervals of time. The "Brythonic" tribes, like their kinsmen the Continental Gauls, had used the sounds in question for some centuries before the Goidelic peoples had learned them; and by the time that they were established in Wales, in the fifth or sixth century after Christ, the Gaulish tongue had either ceased to exist, or was so nearly lost in Latin, that it could only be distinguished as a rustic mode of speaking.<sup>1</sup> But it appears that the languages of Wales, and Ireland, during the same centuries, resembled each other in the very points on which they afterwards differed. It is true that the oldest of the Welsh manuscripts are much later than the end of this period of resemblance; and it may be objected, that no sufficient proof could be given of the theory which has found favour with the philological authorities.<sup>2</sup> But the answer lies in the fact that the forms of the ancient Welsh had been recovered

<sup>1</sup> *L'agonie du vieux Celtique se prolongea longtemps sous ces nouveaux maîtres (les barbares).*—De Belloguet, Gloss. Gaul. 49. The instances of late Gaulish, down to the seventh century, are collected in his introduction.

<sup>2</sup> The oldest of the Welsh MSS. is the "Juvenus Codex," assigned to the ninth century. There are poems by several authors describing some of the incidents of the English Conquest; but they survive in versions of which the language has been considerably modernised. See Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. Villemarqué, *Manuscrits des Anciens Bretons*.

from sepulchral inscriptions, containing Latinized proper names and sometimes bearing epitaphs in the same "Ogam character" as is used for the oldest Irish inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

The result of these enquiries has been to establish a presumption of identity between the earliest forms of Welsh and Irish, which renders it highly probable that the nations themselves were once united. There are many indications that at one time they possessed a common stock of religious and social ideas; nor indeed is there any evidence against their original unity, except the fact that their languages became different in form. But "length of time and remoteness of place introduce wonderful changes in a language."<sup>2</sup> In the lapse of centuries many differences would naturally grow up between the nations, separated by the sea and possibly in each case by contact with the peoples whom they found already in possession. One chief difference would of course consist in a gradual divergence of idiom. Every language must continually

<sup>1</sup> The Ogam characters date from about the 5th century A.D.; they are believed to have been invented by Goidels acquainted with the Roman alphabet. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 250. "At one time," says Professor Rhys, "I had a notion that the Ogmic monuments on this side of St. George's Channel represented an early stage of Brythonic speech; but that is a view which I have long ceased to hold." *Archæol. Cambr.* 5th Series, vi. No. 23. The inscriptions are found chiefly in South Wales and South-western Ireland, a few occurring in North Wales and Devon. The Ogam inscriptions in Scotland seem to be of later date. They have not yet been interpreted. See Brash, *Ogam Inscribed Monuments*, c. 15, and Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 251.

<sup>2</sup> Arnold's *Rome*, i. 437. "The Bronze period was long enough to admit of quite as great a differentiation in any single language as that which exists between Gaelic and Cymric at present, or to allow of the importation of one already differentiated dialect in more than one not-recorded invasion."—Prof. Rolleston in "*British Barrows*," 633.

change and shift its form, exhibiting like an organised being its phases of growth, decline, and decay ; and, in the case of these divided peoples, it is hardly to be supposed that their unwritten idioms would follow precisely the same course of phonetic alteration. There is no reason to disbelieve in their original unity, merely because the Welsh either approached or were forced to adopt the "Brythonic" or Gaulish form: it will be remembered that the Welsh itself broke up during the historical period into several different idioms; and this may help us to understand how the change of the older language was effected.<sup>1</sup>

Taking the theory, then, to be sufficiently established for our purpose, we shall now endeavour to put it to a practical use. It will be found, that not only may the British history be illustrated by what is known about Ireland, but that the differences between the Welsh and the Gauls will help us to fix approximately the sites of the Gaulish colonies.<sup>2</sup> There are proper names enough,

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury noticed but a slight difference in his time between Welsh and Breton. "*Linguâ nonnihil a nostris Brittonibus degeneres.*"—*Gesta*. i. 1. Giraldus calls the Breton an old-fashioned Welsh. "*Magis antiquo linguæ Britannicæ idiomati appropriato.*"—*Descr. Cambr.* c. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Rhys disagrees with the theory that the Celtic of the Ogam inscriptions underwent changes in the course of time which shaped it into the dialects called Welsh and Old Cornish. He thinks that the Celts who spoke the language of the Celtic Epitaphs in the 5th and 6th centuries were "in part the ancestors of the Welsh and Cornish people," and that they afterwards changed their language from a Gaelic or "Goidelic" form to a Gallo-British or "Brythonic" form. "In other words, they were Goidels belonging to the first Celtic invasion of Britain, of whom some passed over into Ireland, and made that island also Celtic. At that point, or still earlier, all the British Islands may be treated as Goidelic, except certain parts where the Neolithic natives may have been able to make a stand

---

inscribed on coins or mentioned in the narrative of the Roman wars, to furnish some slight glossary for such a purpose. Nor can one fail to gain some useful knowledge from them by the use of the phonological tests, if it be remembered that the Gaulish immigration was a long and gradual process, and if allowance be made for the carelessness of classical writers in transcribing the barbarian names.

against the Goidels; but at some later period there arrived another Celtic people, which was probably to all intents and purposes the same as that of the Gauls."—*Celtic Britain*, 215.

---

## CHAPTER V.

## THE GAULS IN BRITAIN.

Invasion by the King of Soissons.—Older settlements.—Kingdoms of Kent.—Forest of Anderida.—The Trinobantes—Extent of their dominions.—The Icenî.—The Catuvellaunian Confederacy.—Civilisation of the Gaulish settlers.—Physical appearance.—Dress.—Ornaments.—Equipments in peace and in war.—Scythed chariots.—Agricultural knowledge.—Cattle.—Domestic life.

FIFTY years or more before the Roman invasions began the King of Soissons<sup>1</sup> had extended his rule over the southern portions of our country. The transitory conquest may have increased the intercourse between the Island and the Continent; but the origin of that intercourse must be referred to an older date.

There are signs that an immigration from Belgium had been proceeding for several generations before the age of Divitiacus. There was a striking similarity between the language and manners of the Gauls on both sides of the Straits, the men of Kent in particular being nearly as much civilised as their kinsmen across the water; and there were also such slight differences as would naturally be found in colonies long separated from their parent-states. At a period not very remote from the life-time of Cæsar himself several Belgian tribes had invaded the country for purposes of devastation and plunder; and, finding the place to their liking, they had remained as

<sup>1</sup> “Apud eos (*scil.* Suessiones) fuisse regem, nostrâ etiam memoriâ, Divitiacum, totius Galliæ potentissimum, qui quum magnæ partis harum regionum tum etiam Britannîæ imperium obtinuerit.”—Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* ii. c. 4.

colonists and as cultivators of the soil. Cæsar could recognize the names of several clans, and could point out the continental states from which the several colonies had proceeded.<sup>1</sup> This can no longer be done ; but we may still hope, by such methods as have already been mentioned, to distinguish and identify the situations of the Gaulish kingdoms in Britain. The Gauls of a later generation pushed far to the north and west ; but in Cæsar's age they had not yet advanced to any great distance from the shores of the German Ocean. They were probably not yet established in the East Riding or to the westward of Romney Marsh ; but their settlements were spreading all round the estuary and up the valley of the Thames ; and it seems likely that they had occupied all the habitable districts on the coast between the Wash and the Straits of Dover.

The four kingdoms of the "Cantii" stretched across East Kent and East Surrey between the Thames and the Channel, and the whole south-eastern district was doubtless under their power. But it should be remembered that a great part of this extensive region was then unfitted for the habitation of man. The great marshes were still unbanked and open to the flowing of the tide ;<sup>2</sup> and several hundreds of square miles were covered by the dense Forest

<sup>1</sup> De Bell. Gall. v. c. 14. Compare Pliny's mention of the "Britanni" in Belgium, Hist. Nat. iv. c. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See Prof. Pearson's Historical Maps with reference to the configuration of the coast at this time. With respect to Romney Marsh, which was not reclaimed until long afterwards, see Sir G. Airy's Essay on the Claudian Invasion of Britain. He stated that, if the sluice at Rye were broken, the whole low-lying district as far as Robertsbridge would become a great tidal morass, and that such was undoubtedly its condition in the age of Cæsar.

of Anderida.<sup>1</sup> The Gaulish<sup>2</sup> kingdoms, with their thickly-packed villages and their "infinite number of inhabitants," must have lain to the east of the forest, skirting the sea upon the south and bounded to the north by a wide district of fens and tidal morasses which at that time received the spreading and scattered waters of the Thames.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This forest must at one time have covered most of south-eastern Britain, and was probably connected with the other forests that stretched from Hampshire to Devon. The Andred's-Wold comprised the Wealds of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, taking in at least a fourth part of Kent, "the Seven Hundreds of the Weald," and all the interior of Sussex as far as the edge of the South Downs, and a belt of about twelve miles in breadth between the hills and the sea. Lambarde describes the Weald of Kent as being "stuffed with heardes of deere and droves of hogges," and adds that "it is manifest, by the Saxon Chronicles and others, that beginning at Winchelsea it reached in length an hundred and twenty miles towards the west, and stretched thirty miles in braidth towards the north." *Perambul. Kent*, 209. See Farley's *Weald of Kent*, i. 372; and Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* v. 12, 14. The Gaulish names to be noticed are those of the four kings, Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, and that of the chieftain Lugotorix: upon the coins, those of Epillus and Dubnovellaunus; and compare the local names, *Toliapis* for Sheppey, and *Rutupiæ* for Richborough, which appear in Ptolemy's Tables.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Airy has published a paper on the Claudian Invasion of Britain (*Athenæum*, No. 1683), in which the ancient state of the Thames is carefully described. "Whatever may be the date of the mighty embankments which have given its present form to the river-channel, there can be no doubt that they did not exist in the time of Claudius. Those vast tracts known as the Isle of Dogs, the Greenwich Marshes, the West Ham and Plumstead Marshes (which are now about eight feet lower than high-water), were then extensive slobbs covered with water at every tide. The water below London was then an enormous estuary, extending from the hills or hard sloping banks of Middlesex and Essex to those of Surrey and Kent, with one head towards the valley of the Thames and another head towards the valley of the Lea; and, on the whole, offering a greater resemblance to the Wash, though longer in proportion to its breadth, than to any other place on the English coast."

The Trinobantes, another Belgian tribe, had settled in such parts of the modern Middlesex and Essex as were not covered by the oak-forests or overflowed by the sea. Their western boundary may be fixed in the Valley of the Lea and along the edge of the "Forest of Middlesex," which once spread northwards from the swamp at Finsbury and covered the Weald of Essex.<sup>1</sup> Their northern limit was fixed at the Valley of the Stour, a flat and marshy tract which is thought to have been covered at that time by the sea for a distance of many miles above the termination of the modern estuary.<sup>2</sup>

Above them lay the territory of another Gaulish nation.

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this tribe see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 17, 310, and *Welsh Philology*, 192. For a description of the forest, of which some small remains exist in our own time, see Robinson, *Hist. Hackney*, 38. Dr. Guest describes part of the tribal boundaries in an *Essay on the Origin of London* (*Athenæum*, 1866, No. 2,022). "As the western boundary of the Trinobantes was undoubtedly the marshy valley of the Lea, the question naturally arises, What became of the district between the Lea and the Brent? Here we have the larger part of our metropolitan county unaccounted for. The district was merely a march of the 'Catuvellauni,' a common through which ran a wide track-way, but in which was neither town, village, nor inhabited house."

<sup>2</sup> Sir G. Airy has described the boundary in his *Essay on the Claudian Invasion*. "The Stour, traced upwards from Harwich, presents first a large estuary; secondly, a large marshy valley, which I have seen covered with water for many miles in length, and which probably in the ancient times was estuary." He points out the lines of defence which guarded the Trinobantian country. "In regard to defence from the mouth of the Lea to the mouth of the Stour it was well protected by the estuary and the sea. The Lea is in a wide marshy valley and to its marshes follow those of the Stort. The only part open to easy attack is the space between the Upper Valley of the Stour and the Upper Valley of the Stort; and this, like the gate of a castle, presents the facilities required for sallying out upon the rest of the country." He was referring in this passage to a Roman occupation of Essex; but the description is equally valuable when applied to the earlier invasion of the Trinobantes.

The Iceni, or "the Ecene" (if we name them according to the legend on their coins),<sup>1</sup> had seized and fortified the broad peninsula, which fronted on the North Sea and the confluence of rivers at the Wash, and was cut off in almost every other direction by the tidal marshes and the great Level of the Fens. This region included all the dry and higher-lying portions of the district which was afterward known as East Anglia. On the western side, where a ridge of open country rose between the fens and "the dense woodlands of Suffolk," Icenia<sup>2</sup> was guarded by

<sup>1</sup> We should note the name of the King Prasutagus, which is shown to be Gaulish by the use of the letter "p," and by the position of the "s" between vowels. Several other "unmistakably Gaulish names" are found upon the Icenian coins. Such is "Addedomarus," spelt in some cases with the crossed "d" and with the *theta*: it has been identified with the "Assedomarus" of a continental inscription. Other abbreviated forms are "æsu," "anted," and "anthh"; the last is taken for "Antethrigu," a title found on coins from the West of England. See Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, 193, 194, and *Celtic Britain*, 36, 277. Evans, *Anc. Brit. Coins*, 43, 44. The coins are found in gold and in copper plated with thin leaves of gold. Compare the description, *ibid.* 43, of a discovery of implements for striking spurious imitations of the Macedonian stater. Mr. Akerman first attempted (*Archæologia*, xxxiii.) to map the positions of the tribes by means of the discoveries of buried coins. Applying his method to the Iceni and the Trinobantes, he found that he could mark out a line where coins of the latter people had been found, which environed, if it did not strictly limit, the Icenian country, except where the fens intervened. "The coins of Cunobelin or with the mint-mark of *Camulodunum* have been found not only at Colchester, but also at Debden, Chesterford, Sandy, and Cambridge." See Akerman's essay and map in the *Archæologia*, "Pieces with the letters 'ece' and 'ecen,' which in the opinion of numismatists are coins of the Iceni, have been found at Weston, between Norwich and Dereham, *Numism. Chron.* xv. 98. To this class is assigned a gold coin found at Oxnead, about ten miles from Weston: none such are authenticated as found westward of March in Cambridgeshire." Taylor, *Topogr. East. Counties* (1869), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> For the Icenian boundaries, see Spelman's *Icenia*; Camden's *Britan-*

a rampart and fosse, now called the Devil's Dyke, which in time became the limit between East Anglia and Mercia.<sup>1</sup>

The other Gaulish settlements of Cæsar's age were included in the "Catuvellaunian State,"<sup>2</sup> a central kingdom which had been formed or much extended by the conquests of Cassivellaunus. Though his power was checked in the Roman war, it revived and spread when the legions were withdrawn: and it is difficult for this reason to ascertain the primitive boundaries of the kingdom. They have been traced in part along the northern limit of Middlesex, by following an earthwork called the Grimesditch, "from

nia, 330; Babington, Ancient Cambridgeshire, 59; and Taylor, Topogr. East. Counties, 18, 40, 63, where the district is described as co-extensive with the old Diocese of Norwich. Dr. Evans assigns to this tribe the whole Eastern region (comprising Norfolk, Suffolk, and parts of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire), which was afterwards included in East Anglia. For a description of the fen-district in the eighth century, see the extract from Felix of Croyland in Leland. Cygn. Cantil. 62: and for early instances of draining and inclosure, see Gale, Decem Script. 77, 94; Hallam, Midd. Ages, iii. 362.

<sup>1</sup> "On the marsh-land side of Norfolk another Devil's Dyke, a line of defence like the Cambridgeshire ditches, crossing a dry district between fens, is said to extend with some intermission from Narburgh to Brandon." Taylor, Topogr. East. Count. 40; Babington, Anc. Cambridge, 64.

<sup>2</sup> There are many forms of this name. The form used in the text was adopted by Dion Cassius, and its correctness is shown by an inscription found at Cambeck in Cumberland, "Civitate Catuvellaunorum, &c.," Horsley, xxvii. The people are also called "Catyeuchlani," on the authority of Ptolemy's Tables. In some of the MSS. they are said to be "also called Capellani," a reading which is followed by Nobbe in the edition of 1843. Florus, whose "Epitome" was published not long after Ptolemy's work appeared, calls the British chieftain "one of the Cavelian kings." The name of the state seems to be connected with the Gaulish "catu," signifying war. See *Revue Celtique*, i. 32. All the forms of the word are of an essentially Gaulish character; and this may also be said of the name "Cassii" and "Cassivellaunus." Compare the continental names, "Vercassivellaunus," and "Vellaunodunum."

Brockley Hill to the woodland of the Colne Valley, and thence to the Brent, and down the Brent to the Thames."<sup>1</sup> But we have little else to guide us, except the knowledge that the state in question included the site of Old Verulam, and that the "Cassii" seem to have left traces of their name in Cashiobury and the Hundreds of Cashio in Hertfordshire.

Though the earlier "Brythonic" settlers were nearly as much civilised as their continental neighbours, they are reported to have been simpler in their ways, perhaps because they had not as yet gained wealth by a conquest of the mineral districts. They had not even learned to build regular towns, though their kinsmen in Gaul had founded cities with walls and streets and market-places. What they called a town, or "*dunum*," was still no more than a refuge for times of war, a stockade on a hill-top or in the marshy thickets.<sup>2</sup> When peace was restored, they returned to their open villages built of high bee-hive huts with roofs of fern or thatch, like those which might be seen in the rural parts of Gaul.<sup>3</sup> These "wigwams" were made of planks and wattle-work, with no external decoration except the trophies of the chase and the battle-field: for a chief's house, it seems, would be adorned with the skulls of his enemies nailed up against the porch among the skins and horns of beasts. The practice was described by Posidonius as prevailing "among the northern nations"; and he con-

<sup>1</sup> Guest, "Origin of London" (*Athenæum*, 1866, No. 2,022). A great many earthworks are known as Grimsditches, Grimsdykes, and by similar names; and it is probable that they often represent the course of old tribal boundaries. See Dr. Guest's explanation of the matter in his "Early English Settlements," and compare *Archæologia* (Salisbury, 1849).

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* v. 21, and vii. 3, 14, 28, 42, 58.

Strabo, iv. 297.

fessed that, though at first disgusted, he soon became accustomed to the sight. The successful warrior would sling his enemy's head at his saddle-bow ; and the trophies were brought home in a triumphal procession, and were either nailed up outside, or in special cases were embalmed and preserved among the treasures of the family.<sup>1</sup>

As they had but recently settled in the island, we may suppose that in features and *physique* they resembled their kinsmen on the continent. If the inference be correct, it follows that they differed in several respects from the Britons of the preceding migration. All the Celts, according to a remarkable consensus of authorities, were tall, pale, and light-haired ;<sup>2</sup> but, as between the two stocks in question, we learn from Strabo that the Gauls were the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iv. 302 ; Diod. Sic. v. c. 29. For the prevalence of the habit among the Bretons, see Valroger, *Gaule Celtique*, 301. For similar habits among the Celts generally, see Sil. Ital. Punic. xiii. 482 ; among the Irish, *Revue Celtique*, ii. 261, D'Eckstein's "Catholique," and Martin, *Hist. France*, i. 35 ; among the Boii, Livy, xxiii. 24 ; among the Lombards, Warnefrid, ii. 28, Gibbon, *Decl. and Fall*, c. 45 ; among the Scandinavian nations, Keysler, *Antiqu. Septent.* 363, citing the "Atla-Mâl," and the stories in the *Heimskringla* of Mimir's head, and of "Malbrigd with the buck-tooth," *Ynglinga-tâl*, c. 4. Harald Haarfagre's Saga, Laing, *Sea-kings of Norway*, i. 218, 291, and Robertson, *Early Kings of Scotland*, i. 46. The Museum of Aix contains bas-reliefs representing Gaulish knights carrying home the heads of their enemies : and on a coin of the Æduan Dubnorix "*le chef tient à la main une tête coupée.*" Napoléon, *Vie de César*, ii. 36, 361.

<sup>2</sup> See Livy, xxxviii. 17, 21 ; Lucan, *Phars.* ii. 108 ; Amm. Marc. xv. 10. "Πλεονάζοντες μόνον ἄγριότητι μεγέθει καὶ ξανθότητι." Eustath. ad Dionys. on the passage, "λεῦκά τε φῦλα νέμονται." Compare the Gauls on the shield of Æneas, golden-haired and decked with gold,

"Aurea cæsaries ollis atque aurea vestis,  
Virgatis lucent sagulis. Tum lactea colla  
Auro innectuntur."—Virg. *Æn.* viii. 659.

shorter and the stouter of limb, and with hair of a paler colour.<sup>1</sup> The accuracy of the old descriptions of the Gauls, (so far, at least, as concerns the kings and the chieftains,) has been ascertained by comparing the figures that remain upon monuments and medals, and by an examination of the skeletons from Gaulish tombs in France. The women, especially, were singularly tall and handsome; and their approximation to the men in size and strength is the best evidence that the nation had advanced out of the stage of barbarism. If we may trust Ammianus Marcellinus, who had a personal knowledge of the people, the women were more formidable opponents than the men; on a quarrel arising between her husband and a stranger, the Gaulish woman would throw herself into the fight, like a fury, with streaming hair, and would strike out with her huge snowy arms or kick, "with the force of a catapult."<sup>2</sup>

The men and women wore the same dress, so far as we can judge from the figures on the medals of Claudius. When Britannia is represented as a woman the head is uncovered and the hair tied in an elegant knot upon the neck; where a male figure is introduced, the head is covered with a soft hat of a modern pattern. The costume consisted of a blouse with sleeves, confined in some cases by a belt, with trousers fitting close at the ankle, and a tartan plaid fastened up at the shoulder with a brooch. The Gauls were expert at making cloth and linen. They wove their stuffs for summer, and rough felts or druggets for winter-wear, which are said to have been prepared with

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iv. 278. Tacitus, Agric. c. 11.

<sup>2</sup> "Quum illa . . . ponderans niveas ulnas et vastas, admistis calcibus, emittere cœperit pugnos ut catapultas tortilibus nervis excussos."—Amm. Marc. xv. 12. See Athenæus, xiii. 8.

vinegar, and to have been so tough as to resist the stroke of a sword.<sup>1</sup> We hear, moreover, of a British dress, called *guanacum* by Varro, which was said to be "woven of divers colours, and making a gaudy show."<sup>2</sup> They had learned the art of using alternate colours for the warp and woof, so as to bring out a pattern of stripes and squares. The cloth, says Diodorus, was covered with an infinite number of little squares and lines, "as if it had been sprinkled with flowers," or was striped with crossing bars, which formed a chequered design. The favourite colour was red or a 'pretty crimson:' "such colours as an honest-minded person had no cause to blame, nor the world reason to cry out upon."<sup>3</sup>

They seem to have been fond of every kind of ornament.<sup>4</sup> They wore collars and "torques" of gold, necklaces and bracelets, and strings of brightly-coloured beads, made of glass or of "a material like the Egyptian porcelain."<sup>5</sup> A ring was worn on the middle finger, at the time

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. viii. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Strutt, Chron. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxii. 1: "Behold the French inhabiting beyond the Alpes have invented the means to counterfeit the purple of Tyrus, the Scarlet also and the Violet in graine: yea, and to set all other colours that can be devised, with the juice onely of certaine herbs" (Holland, ii. 115). Then follows the sentence quoted in the text. For the other passages, see Diod. Sic. v. c. 30; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xvi. c. 18; Pausanias, x. 36. See also Logan's Scottish Gael. i. c. 6, for an account of the ancient Highland dress, and of the manufacture of tartan in the Hebrides. "Bark of alder was used for black; bark of willow produced flesh-colour. *Crotil geal*, a lichen found on stone, was used to dye crimson, and another called *Crotil dubh*, of a dark colour, only dyes a philamot."

<sup>4</sup> Diod. Sic. v. c. 27; "*Les Gaulois portaient des colliers, des boucles d'oreilles, des bracelets, des anneaux pour les bras en or et en cuivre, suivant leur rang, des colliers en ambre,*" &c. (Napoléon, *Vie de César*, ii. 30).

<sup>5</sup> *Archæologia*, xliii. 499. The glass is thought to have been brought from the Alexandrian factories. It is unlikely that it could have been made in

with which we are dealing; but in the next generation the fashion changed, and that finger was left bare while all the rest were loaded.<sup>1</sup>

A chief dressed in the Gaulish fashion must have been a surprising sight to a traveller. His clothes were of a flaming and fantastic hue; his hair hung down like a horse's mane, or was pushed forward on his forehead in a thick shock, if he followed the insular fashion. The hair and moustaches were dyed red with the "Gallic soap," a mixture of goat's fat and the ashes of beechen logs. They decked themselves out in this guise to look more terrible in battle; but Posidonius, when he saw them first, declared that they looked for all the world like Satyrs, or "wild men of the woods."<sup>2</sup>

The equipment of the Belgians in war<sup>3</sup> has been often

Britain, because the natives were as yet unable to make bronze (Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* v. 12), and glass-making is said to be the concomitant of the manufacture of that metal. "The *scoriæ* from the bronze-furnaces are in fact a kind of glass, a silicate of soda, coloured blue or green by the silicate of copper." Figuiér, *Prim. Man* (Tylor). As to the green glass found in Scandinavian tombs, and attributed to a commerce with Phœnicia, see Nilsson, *Stone Age* (Thoms), p. 82.

<sup>1</sup> "Galliæ Britannæque in medio (annulum) dicuntur usæ. Hic nunc solus excipitur; ceteri omnes onerantur, atque etiam privatim articuli minoribus aliis" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. c. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Diod. Sic. v. c. 28; Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* v. 13. "Demens imitare Britannos, Ludis et externo tincta nitore caput" (Propert. *Eleg.* ii. 18, 23). "Prodest et sapo, Galliarum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis: fit ex sebo et cinere. Optimus fagino et caprino." (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxviii. c. 12.) The Germans used the same wash or dye, which was called "Spuma Batava" (Mart. *Epig.* viii. 23). "Caustica Teutonicos accendit spuma capillos" (*ibid.* xiv. 26). "Flavus color bellum minatur, ceu cognatus sanguini" (Clemens. *Pædagog.* iii. 3). The subject of the hair-dressing of the northern nations is discussed with much detail in the 4th part of Grupen, "De Uxore Theotiscâ."

<sup>3</sup> For the Gaulish weapons, see Diod. Sic. v. c. 30; Strabo, iv. 197.

and minutely described. The shield was as high as a man. The helmet was ornamented with horns and a high plume, and was joined to the bronze cheek-pieces, on which were carved the figures of birds and the faces of animals in high relief. The cuirass was at first of plaited leather, and afterwards was made of chain-mail or of parallel plates of bronze. For offence they wore a ponderous sabre, and carried a Gaulish pike, with flame-like and undulating edges "so as to break the flesh all in pieces." In addition to the bow, dart, and sling, the ordinary missile equipment, they had some other weapons of which the use is more difficult to explain.

Strabo mentions, for instance, a kind of wooden dart<sup>1</sup> used chiefly in the chase of birds, which flew further than any ordinary javelin, though it was thrown without the aid of the "casting-thong." The "*mataris*" was another missile, of which the nature is now forgotten. It may be the weapon which is depicted on some Gaulish coins, where a horseman is seen throwing a lasso to which a hammer-shaped missile is attached. And if the supposition is correct, it will explain many obscure passages in ancient writings, where the weapon is described as returning to the hand of the person who cast it.<sup>2</sup>

"*Le Musée de Zurich possède une cuirasse gauloise formée de longue plaques de fer. Au Louvre et au Musée de Saint-Germain il existe des cuirasses gauloises en bronze. . . . La cotte de mailles (était une) invention gauloise.*" (Napoleon, *Vie de César*, ii. 34.

<sup>1</sup> "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ γρόσφῳ ἑοικὸς ξύλον, ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἐφιεμένον, τηλεβέλωτερον καὶ βέλους ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὀρνέων χρῶνται θήρας. Strabo, iv. 197.

<sup>2</sup> The *mataris* is described in the same passage of Strabo, *Ματαρίε πάλτον τι εἶδος*. Cicero mentions it as a weapon of the Gauls (*Ad Herenn.* iv. 33). The coins mentioned in the text are copied in the *Revue Celtique*,

The "scythed chariots," or "covini," should be noticed in this connection. They seem to have been low two-wheeled carts, drawn by two or four horses apiece, on which a number of foot-soldiers, or rather dragoons, could be carried within the enemy's line. The captain or driver of the chariot was in command of the party. The cha-

i. 7, where they are connected with the worship of Dis Pater, and of the Etruscan *Charu* or Charon. The weapons which returned to the thrower were the club of Hercules, which was supposed to be attached to a lasso: see Servius on Virg. *Æn.* vii. 741, "Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateiam": the hammer and the "anvil" of Thor, which returned to the places from which they were thrown: the club and the hand-stone of the "Dagda," a chief figure in the Irish mythology: the golden ball, or "apple," used as a weapon of this kind according to the legend of Fionn's Enchantment, *Revue Celtique*, ii. 196; the iron balls which have been found in late Celtic tombs, which are marked with grooves for attachment to the string; and, according to the authorities next-mentioned, the javelin of Cephalus and the *aquifolia* described by Pliny. The interest of the question lies in the fact that these reflexive missiles are sometimes confused with the Australian *boomerang*, which if skilfully cast will wheel back in the air to the thrower; and several strange ethnological theories have been founded on this supposition. See Ferguson's Essay on the Antiquity of the Boomerang, *Trans. Roy. Ir. Acad.*, 1838; and Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, 327. They treat the "cateia," or spear as having been connected in some way with the Australian implement. The minor authorities cited are the line of Virgil above mentioned, Festus, *sub voce* "Clava," the "pandâ cateiâ" of Silius Ital. *Punic.* iii. 274, "torquens cateias" in Val. Flacc., *Argon.* vi. 83, *Amm. Marcell.* xxxi. 7, and a passage from the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville, which is chiefly remarkable for its omission of the thong mentioned by Servius. "Clava est qualis fuit Herculis, dicta quod sit clavis ferreis invicem religata, et est cubito semis facta in longitudine. Hæc est cateia, quam Horatius Caiam dicit. Est genus Gallici teli ex materiâ quam maxime lentâ: quæ jactu quidem non longe, propter gravitatem evolat, sed ubi pervenit vi nimîâ perfringit. Quod si ab artifice mittatur, rursus redit ad eum qui misit. Hujus meminit Virgilius, dicens 'Teutonico ritu etc.' Unde et eas Hispani 'Teutones' vocant." Isidore *Orig.* xviii. c. 7. "On a remarqué que l'Espagnol dit encore Chuzon, pour un grand javelot; mais ce mot n'est autre, je pense, que le Basque Chuzoa." De Belloguet, *Gloss. Gaul.* 209.

rioteers drove at full gallop along the enemy's front and sought to confuse his ranks by the noise of the charge and the danger of being run down, or of being injured by the scythes attached to the chariots. The soldiers of each party meanwhile hurled darts down as they passed, and, when they saw an opportunity, leaped out and engaged in a fight hand-to-hand. The drivers in the meantime drew off and formed a line, behind which their men could rally in case of need. These tactics appear to have been peculiar to the British Gauls, the Inland Britons being accustomed to rely upon their infantry, and the Continental Gauls being fonder of the cavalry arm. The Romans were not so much impressed with the use of the bronze-scythes, which they must have often seen in Gaul, and probably in their Eastern campaigns, as with the novelty of the whole manœuvre and the wonderful skill of the drivers. "They could stop their horses at full speed on a steep incline, or turn them as they pleased at a gallop, and could run out on the pole and stand on the yoke, and get back to their place in a moment."<sup>1</sup>

The British Gauls appear to have been excellent farmers, skilled as well in the production of cereals as in stock-raising and the management of the dairy. Their farms were laid out in large fields, without enclosures or fences;

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* iv. 33; Tac. *Agric.* c. 12; Mela, iii. c. 3; Juvenal, iv. 126. Compare Lucan,—

"Optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frenis,  
Et docilis rector rostrati Belga covini."

(*Pharsalia* i. 425.)

The scythed chariots were common in Gaul, and their remains have not unfrequently been found in the tombs of the Gaulish chieftains. They are said to have been used in Persia, and may have been introduced by the Greeks of Marseilles.

and they had learned to make a permanent separation of the pasture and arable, and to apply the manures which were appropriate to each kind of field. We find no trace of a co-operative husbandry, such as was afterwards established in the English settlements. The plough was of the wheeled kind, an invention that superseded the old "over-treading plough," held down by the driver's foot, of which a representation in bronze has been discovered in Yorkshire.<sup>1</sup>

They relied greatly upon marling and chalking the land. "The same soil, however, was never twice chalked, as the effects were visible after standing the experience of fifty years."<sup>2</sup> The effect of the ordinary marl was of even longer duration, the benefit being visible in some instances for a period of eighty years. Pliny said that he never knew a case where the marling required to be repeated. But the process needed some care; for the marl had to be mixed with salt, and scattered thinly over the grass, or ploughed into the arable with a proportion of farm-yard manure; and even then the effects were hardly noticeable for a year or two.<sup>3</sup>

Their stock was much the same as that which their

<sup>1</sup> For the invention of the wheeled plough, see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xviii. c. 18. With respect to the figure mentioned in the text, see Wright, "Roman Celt and Saxon," 256. The figure was found at Piersebridge, and is said to be in Lord Londesborough's collection.

<sup>2</sup> Arthur Young, *Annals* (1793), xxii. 547, 553, where the whole subject is discussed with reference to Pliny. The chalk-marl was called "argenteria"; the lime-marl, a stonier kind, was known by the Gaulish name of "acaunu-marga." After the intercourse with Gaul became more constant, other varieties of marl came into use, as "the red, dove-coloured, sandy, and pumice-like varieties." (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. c. 4.)

<sup>3</sup> "Alioquin novitate, quæcunque fuerit (marga), solum lædat, ne sic quidem primo post anno fertilis." (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvii. c. 4.)

successors used for many years afterwards; for there can be little doubt, that almost all our domestic animals had been brought to this country from the East by the races that preceded the Celts. The exceptions are the domestic fowl, the pigs descended from the wild swine, and the cattle of the Urus type. Their horses, or ponies as we should rather call them, were used apparently for food, as well as for purposes of draught. Their cattle were of two varieties: some were of the small Welsh breed (*Bos Longifrons*) which is called "the Celtic short-horn," and others of the Kyloe or Argyllshire variety, which is hardly to be distinguished from the wild cattle of Chillingham, the descendants of *Bos Primigenius*. It has been doubted whether the sheep was known in these islands before the Roman invasions, chiefly because it is difficult to distinguish its remains from those of the goat. But the latest discoveries are in favour of the theory, that the goat had been to a great extent superseded by the sheep as early as the beginning of the British Age of Bronze.<sup>1</sup>

With the aid of these details we can form a reasonably clear idea of the outdoor life of the people. And we are not without information concerning their social practices; for Posidonius has left us the description<sup>2</sup> of a Gaulish banquet, which will help to explain the state of society among the Gauls who had settled in Britain. The traveller was delighted at the antique simplicity of his hosts, and amused at their Gallic frivolity and readiness for fighting

<sup>1</sup> On this part of the subject, see Prof. Rolleston's essay on the Prehistoric Fauna, in "British Barrows," 730, 750. As to the domestic fowl, *ibid.* 730; the pig, *ibid.* 737; the sheep, *ibid.* 740; as to *Bos Primigenius*, *ibid.* 743.

<sup>2</sup> Athen. iv. 151, 153; Strabo, iv. 277; Diod. Sic. v. c. 31; Eustath. in Iliad. iii. 271, viii. 321, pp. 915, 1606.

at meal-times. "They were just like the people in Homer's time." Not till after the feast might the stranger be asked his name and the purpose of his journey. But they differed from the Greek warriors in some ways, according to the minuter critics : for they thought a cut from the haunch to be the best part of the animal ; even the Germans, their neighbours, had lost the heroic fashion, and roasted the joints separately instead of taking "long slices from the chines of pork" ; and besides, he said, they drank milk, or wine unmixed with water. The guests sat on a carpet of rushes, or on skins of dogs and wolves, not far from the pots and spits of the fireplace ; or they would sometimes sit in a circle on the grass in front of little tables,<sup>1</sup> on which the bread was set in baskets of British work. There was always plenty of meat, both roast and boiled, of which they partook "rather after the fashion of lions," for they would take up the joint and gnaw at it ; but if a man could not get the meat off, he would use his little bronze knife, which he kept in a separate sheath by the side of his sword or dagger. They drank beer and hydromel, which was carried about in metal beakers or jugs of earthenware ; and the boys were always busy at taking it round, because the guests only drank by little mouthfuls, "pouring the beer through their long moustaches like water through a sieve or a funnel." The minstrels sang<sup>2</sup> and the harpers

<sup>1</sup> Compare the little tables of the Germans, "*Sua cuique mensa*," Tacitus, Germ. c. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Posidonius did not sufficiently appreciate the bards. "The Celts (he said) take about with them a sort of parasites to sing their praises in public" (Strabo, iv. 277 ; Diod. Sic. v. c. 31). Compare the description of the Irish minstrels in Froissart's Chronicle. A knight of the court of Richard the Second was appointed to look after four Irish kings. "When they were seated at table, they would make their minstrels and principal

played, and as the company drank they bowed to the right, in honour of their god. The guests sat in three rings,—nobles, shield-bearers, and javelin-men, all in order of their precedence, and everyone of whatever rank had his full share of the meat and drink. If the warriors quarrelled about their helping of food, or on any matter of precedence, they would get up and fight the question out to the death; and in more ancient times the strongest man would seize the joint and defy the company to mortal combat. If no duel occurred during the meal, the guests were entertained with a sword-play,<sup>1</sup> or sometimes a man would die to amuse the rest. The careless Gaul would bargain for a reward to be paid to his friends, and then would lie down on his long shield and allow his throat to be cut or his body to be transfixed with a lance.

servants sit beside them, and eat from their plates and drink from their cups. They told me that this was a praiseworthy custom of their country, where everything was in common. I permitted this to be done for three days; but on the fourth I ordered the tables to be laid and covered properly, placing the kings at a high table, the minstrels at one below, and the servants lower still. The kings looked at each other and refused to eat, saying that I had deprived them of their old custom in which they had been brought up." (Froiss. Chron. iv. c. 84.)

<sup>1</sup> For the German quarrels at meals, see Tac. Germ. c. 22. For the sword-play, *ibid.* c. 24. "They have but one kind of show, and they use it at every gathering. Naked lads, who know the game, leap among swords and in front of spears. Practice gives cleverness, and cleverness grace: but it is not a trade, or a thing done for hire; however venture-some the sport, their only payment is the delight of the crowd."

## CHAPTER VI.

## CELTS AND NON-CELTIC TRIBES.

The population outside the Gaulish settlements.—Insular Celts.—Pre-Celtic tribes.—How classified.—The Stone Age.—Bronze Age.—Iron Age.—Evidence of sequence in use of metals.—Special evidence as to Britain.—Remains of Palæolithic Age.—Britons of the Later Stone Age.—Tombs of the kings.—Cromlechs—Rites and superstitions connected with them—Examples.—Stories of Wayland's Smithy.—*Trous des Nutons*.—Classification of barrows—Chambered and unchambered varieties—Their contents.—Physical characteristics of the Tomb-builders.—The nature of their society.—Lake dwellings.—Survival of the neolithic race.—Legends of Irish bards.—The Firbolgs.—Black Celts.—The Silures—Their character and habits.—Commencement of Bronze Age—On the Continent—In Britain.—Tribes of Finnish type—Contents of their barrows—Implements—Ornaments—Their agriculture—Nature of their society.

THE Gaulish settlers had become so nearly civilized that they were ready to adopt the fashions of the South, almost as soon as they felt the approach of the Roman power. Their fitful spirit yielded in advance; and their conquerors observed with contempt "how soon sloth following on ease crept over them, and how they lost their courage along with their freedom." Henceforth we shall have to do with the history of bolder races, as much excelling the Gauls in the vigour and ingenuity of their defence, as they fell short in matters of culture and refinement.

The districts undisturbed by the new colonies were held by the Celts of the earlier immigration, save where the remoter or less desirable regions may have been retained by tribes surviving from the ages of stone and bronze. We shall be concerned later with the history of the

Celtic tribes ; but we must begin by analyzing in the first place the more primitive elements, of which the presence is still to be observed in portions of the modern population.

The periods of pre-historic time, so far as relate to the growth of our own society, are usefully distinguished by the transitions from the possession of polished flint and bone to that of bronze, and afterwards of iron. The date at which a metal or alloy became known to particular peoples must have depended in each case on a variety of local circumstances. No one speaking generally for all the world could tell whether the working of iron preceded or followed the manufacture of bronze. The existence of the alloy implies a previous knowledge of the components. Copper "celts" are found in Ireland and Switzerland, and copper axes in Scotland, Italy, and Hungary :<sup>1</sup> while the word "axe" itself is said to be phonologically the same as an old Celtic name for copper ; so that we may conclude that the invention of bronze was the result of an attempt to harden the edges of the weapons of pure copper. As to tin again, no remains have been found of its use in a pure state, except a few beads, coins, and knife-handles, of comparatively recent times ; but we are not without evidence that it was used in Central Asia many centuries before the Christian Era. Its Eastern name implies that it was introduced to supply the place formerly given to lead, which was anciently called "Kazdir" ; its western names, such as "stan" and "stagnum," have come from some unknown tongue.

These calculations would take us back to the vast antiquity of the Asian Empires. But if the inquiry is

<sup>1</sup> Westropp, *Prehist. Phases*, 71 ; Wilde, *Catal. Roy. Irish Acad.*

confined to our own country, and the neighbouring coasts from which its population has been from time to time derived, we shall find that the "age of polished stone," when no metals were known but gold, was succeeded suddenly and abruptly by a period distinguished by the number and variety of its weapons, tools, implements, and 'jewels of bronze'; and that several centuries must have elapsed before the art of working in iron prevailed.

The nations of pre-historic Britain may be classified according to a system derived from the history of the metals. The oldest races were in the pre-metallic stage, when bronze was introduced by a new nation, sometimes identified with the oldest Celts, but now more generally attributed to the Finnish or Ugrian stock. When the Celts arrived in their turn, they may have brought in the knowledge of iron and silver; the Continental Celts are known to have used iron broad-swords at the Battle of the Anio in the fourth century before Christ, and iron was certainly worked in Sussex by the Britons of Julius Cæsar's time; but as no objects of iron have been recovered from our Celtic *tumuli*, except in some instances of a doubtful date, it will be safer to assume that the British Celts belonged to the Later Bronze Age as well as to the Age of Iron.

We shall now deal in order with what is known of these several kinds of men, following as far as may be the course of their immigration from the East. We shall collect the most striking results of the inquiries into their ancient customs, so that having thus cleared the ground we may form some useful estimate of the influence which can be attributed to their descendants.

We need not describe in detail the relics of the palæo-

lithic tribes, who ranged the country under an almost arctic climate, waging their precarious wars with the wild animals of the Quaternary Age. The searching of their caves and rock-shelters, and of the drifts and beds of loam and gravel, in England and the neighbouring countries, has brought to light great numbers of their flint-knives, hammers, and adzes, and instruments for working in leather. The beads and amulets, and the sketches of the mammoth and groups of reindeer which have been found in the French deposits, show that they were not without some rudiments of intelligence and skill ; and, at any rate, they could trap and defeat the larger carnivorous animals. We cannot gain a clearer notion of their life than that which is given by the picture of the Fennic tribes of whom Tacitus said, that they attained the most difficult of all things, to be "beyond the need of prayer." "They are wonderfully savage (he said) and miserably poor. They have no weapons, no horses, no homes : they feed on herbs and are clad with the skins of beasts ; the ground is their bed, and their only hope of life is in their arrows, which for lack of iron they sharpen with tips of bone. The women live by hunting, just like the men ; for they accompany the men in their wanderings and seek their share of the prey : and they have no other refuge for their young children against wild beasts or storms, than to cover them up in a nest made of interlacing boughs. Such are the homes to which the young men return, in which the old men take their rest."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Germ. c. 46. Good descriptions of the palæolithic societies will be found in Figuier's "Primitive Man" (Tylor) and in "*L'Homme pendant les Ages de la Pierre*," by Dupont (Paris, 1872). Prof. Rolleston aptly cited, in a late Address to the British Association, the complaint of Job against the

No continuity of race can be proved between these savages and any tribe or nation which is now to be found in the West of Europe. We shall therefore pass to the Neolithic Age, on which so much research has been of late years expended, that we can form some clear idea of the habits of the people of that time, of the nature of their homes, and even of their physical appearance.

The most important relics of that period are the great mounds or "Tombs of the Kings," the vaults and tribal sepulchres, which remain still buried in earth or denuded as "cromlechs" and standing-stones, all round the British Islands and along the opposite coasts, from Brittany in one direction to the inner regions of the Baltic in the other.

The mounds have been in most cases disturbed by early treasure-hunters, or by persons searching for saltpetre, or farmers who required the mould for the purposes of agriculture. The massive structures of stone, which were thus laid bare, have been the subject of all kinds of fanciful theories about serpent-worship and the ritual of the Druids; and in former ages they were generally regarded with superstitious feelings, "fears of the brave and follies of the wise," which now only linger among the most ignorant peasantry. Their names are of such forms as the Giant's Grave and the "Fairy Toote,"<sup>1</sup> "Hob o' th' Hurst's

people of the lower races, "whose fathers he would have disdained to set with the dogs of the flock." "Fleeing into the wilderness in former time desolate and waste, to dwell in the clefts of the valleys, in caves of the earth and in rocks; among the bushes they brayed; under the nettles they were gathered together." (Job xxx. 1, 3, 6, 7.)

<sup>1</sup> An important and interesting account of the exploration of the long barrow called the Fairy Toote, at Nempnet, near Bath, by Mr. T. Bere in 1789, will be found in the *Gent. Mag.* 1789-1792, vol. lix. 1. 392, and 2. 602; lxii. 2, 1082, 1188.

House," the Pixy Rocks and Odin's Stone ; or in some cases they recall the legend of the dragon which hides the enchanted treasure. In France the names are of the same kind, or arise from the story of some legendary god or hero, as Roland or Gargantua, or of some precious object buried there, as at the *Dolmen des Pierres Turquoises*. The uncovered long barrows of the Province of Drenthe, in Holland, are known as *Hünebedden*, or Giants' Beds, and the chambered mounds of Denmark as *Fettestuer*, or abodes of giants.

A few examples may be selected from the abundant literature of this subject, to illustrate in the first place the nature of the rites which took place at the funeral mounds, after their original purpose was forgotten ; and secondly, to show how these barrows became connected with the ancient story of " Robin Goodfellows that would mend old irons in those Æolian isles of Lipari," of which one version has been quoted from a fragment of the writings of Pytheas.

The first instance is taken from the life of the Apostle of Germany. When St. Boniface began the conversion of Friesland, at the beginning of the eighth century, he found that one of the megalithic tombs in the Province of Drenthe had been turned into an altar for human sacrifices. The wild Teutons "sent to Woden" any stranger who fell into their hands, making him first creep through the narrow openings of the stones that supported the "altar." The latter practice was observed till late in the Middle Ages, "especially when they caught a man from Brabant"; but the bloodthirsty offering was abolished by the influence of the saint.<sup>1</sup> Monuments of this kind are known to

<sup>1</sup> This little-known story may be found in Keysler, *Antiqu. Septent.* 41, in the Tract upon Stonehenge. It is cited from Schoenhovius, *De Origine*

have been used as altars in Holstein and in places near the mouth of the Elbe; and a celebrated Ordinance of Carloman, promulgated in A.D. 743, forbade the Franks to continue the rites which they performed "upon the stones."<sup>1</sup> The way in which the cromlechs were regarded by the Celts in Britain may be inferred from the archaic superstitions which survive among the Bretons of the *Léonnais*, a district chiefly colonised by emigrants from Britain, where the peasant-women make offerings for good fortune in marriage to the fairies and dwarfs who are believed to haunt the graves.

The other example relates to the cromlech called "Wayland's Smithy,"<sup>2</sup> at Ashbury, in Berkshire, so named

et Sedibus Francorum; Matthæus, *Analecta*, i. 36. It may be useful to collect some of the references to ancient writings which notice the Continental 'long barrows.' Some will be found in the *Baltic and Northern Newsletters* (published in Latin) for 1699, 1700, 1702. The altar near the Elbe was described by *Ristius*, *Colloqu. Menst. Dial.* 6; others in Holstein by *Torkill Arnkiel*, *De Religione ethnicâ Cimbrorum*; *Wormius*, *Monum. Dan.* i. 8; *Schaten*, *Hist. Westphal.* vii. 486; *Hamcon*, *Frisia*, 76; *Van Slichtenhorst*, *Geldersse Geschieden.* 78. For the pyramidal *tumulus* at Mentz, see *Schedel*, *Chron. Nuremberg*, 39, and *Tenzel*, *Colloqu. Menst.* (1698), 270. A catalogue of early tracts upon the subject is given by *Keysler*, pp. 110, 113.

<sup>1</sup> "Quæ faciunt supra petras." See the *Indiculus Superstitionum*, among the Ordinances of the Merovingian kings.

<sup>2</sup> For "Wayland's Smithy," see Dr. Thurnam's tract in the *Wilts. Archæol. Mag.* vii. 321; *Archæologia*, xliii. 205; and Akerman's account, *Archæologia*, xxxii. 312; Hoare's *Anc. Wilts.* ii. 47; and the notes to Sir W. Scott's *Kenilworth*. Aubrey's description in his still unpublished *Monumenta Britannica* was as follows: "About a mile from White Horse Hill, on the top of the hill, are a great many great stones, which were layed there on purpose; but as tumbled out of a cart, without any order; but some of them are placed edgewise." He added, after a visit to the place, that "the sepulchre was 74 paces long and 24 broad," and was like "the rude stones" of the cromlech called Y Leche at

after the hero Weland, the Vulcan of the Teutonic mythology. The monument consists of a ruined chamber, of some remains of a gallery, and of a second chamber to complete the cruciform plan, which were all at one time buried in the earth and surrounded by a ring of stones, or "peristalith" of an oblong form. It is a Long Barrow of the type which is common in the neighbouring districts of North Wilts. "At this place" (so the legend runs) "lived formerly an invisible smith, and if a traveller's horse had lost a shoe upon the road, he had no more to do than to bring the horse to this place, with a piece of money, and leaving both there for some little time, he might come again and find the money gone, but the horse new shod." A similar story is said to be current in Oldenburg, where an invisible smith called the Hiller shod horses in a

Caer-Gebi, near Holyhead: "and this great sepulchre called Wayland Smith is not unlikely to be a great and rude monument of Hengest or Horsa, for in their countrey remain many monuments like it." Compare Lambarde's account of the Kentish cromlech called Kits Coty House, near Aylesford: "The Britons returning from the chase erected to the memorie of Catigern, as I suppose, that monument of foure huge and hard stones, which are yet standing in this parish, pitched upright in the ground, &c. For I cannot so much as suspect, that this should be that which Bede and the others do assigne to be the tomb of Horsa." (Peramb. Kent, 409.) The oldest mention of "Wayland's Smithy" implies that it had been long uncovered. King Edred, in A.D. 955, granted an estate at Compton Beauchamp, of which the boundaries were marked by certain barrows called Hilda's Lowe, and Hwittuc's Lowe, "and along to the wide gap east of Welandes Smithan." (Kemble, Codex Dipl. v. 342.) See *Veland le Forgeron*, Depping (Paris, 1833), and Singer's edition (Pickering, London, 1847). King Alfred made a curious allusion to the legend in his translation of Boethius: "Who knows now the bones of the Wise Weland, under what barrow they are concealed?" For a list of places taking their names from the demi-god, see Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 350.

cavern, if a proper fee was left upon a neighbouring stone. The country people living near the remains of an "altar," or long barrow, in Ditmarsh, were accustomed in like manner to leave some gift at the standing-stones in the hope of finding a present of money, when they came to search the recess.<sup>1</sup> In the Belgian caves, which are called "*Les Trous des Nutons*," a kind of dwarfs, like "metal-men," were supposed to shoe the horses, or to repair the broken articles of metal, which the villagers deposited for the purpose with a gift of cakes, of which the *Nutons* were especially fond; "*mais, un jour, les villageois auraient mêlé des cendres à la pâte; les Nutons indignés se seraient empressés de quitter ces lieux, et n'y auraient plus reparu.*"

The tombs of the Neolithic Age in England are of two kinds, distinguished by the absence or presence of a stone vault or a series of such vaults. The huge unchambered mounds of Dorset and South Wilts are thought to have been built as tribal graves by the earliest of the immigrants from Asia. They are built for the most part in picturesque

<sup>1</sup> An account of this barrow is cited by Keysler from the Baltic Newsletter, 1699, p. 286; Antiqu. Septent. 44. For the Oldenburg custom, see Dr. Thurnam's tract mentioned in the preceding note. Prof. Boyd Dawkins refers to a story from Elbingrode, in the Hartz Mountains, where the dwarfs were asked to lend metal vessels for weddings; then the applicants retired a little way, "and when they came back, found everything they desired set ready for them at the mouth of the cave; when the wedding was over they returned what they had borrowed, and in token of gratitude offered some meat to their benefactors." (Cave-hunting, p. 2, from Behren's *Hercynia Curiosa*.) The story of the *Nutons*, in some parts of Belgium called *Lutons*, *Sottais*, and *Sarrasins*, and the references collected for its illustration, will be found in Dupont's *L'Homme pendant les Ages de la Pierre*, 241. Compare the legend of similar magical loans at the Stone on Borough Hill near Frensham, Surrey. Keightley, Fairy Myth. 295.

and striking situations, whence they might be seen from far and wide ; “Salisbury Plain is guarded by a series of such Long Barrows, which look down on its escarpments like so many watch-towers” ; and the same care in the choice of positions for the *tumuli* may be observed on the Yorkshire Wolds. The Vaulted Tombs, or the ruined remains of their chambers, are found in many parts of the South of England, in North Wales, and in the North of Scotland ; and the closest similarity in construction is observed in barrows at places so far apart as Gloucestershire and the extremity of Caithness, the earthen mounds being in each case held together by two or three parallel walls, built inwards in a heart-shaped curve on the side of the entrance-passage. Some Scotch tombs of the same age retain this last peculiarity, but in other respects resemble the circular tombs of Scandinavia ; and examples of the same type may be found in Brittany and in the Channel Islands, in the “Giants’ Chambers” of the Scilly Isles, the Maes Howe pyramid in Orkney, and the great chambered barrows of New Grange and Dowth on the banks of the Boyne.

These tombs, except in districts where the fashion of cremation prevailed, are usually found to contain the fragments of a great number of skeletons, huddled together and disordered, as if there had been temporary or provisional burials while the monument was in course of construction. It is seldom that relics of any great importance are found in British barrows of these early types. The list of discoveries includes a few delicate leaf-shaped arrow-heads, and some other articles of horn and polished stone, and fragments of black hand-made pottery ; and there are occasional deposits of bucks’ horns, the tusks of

boars, skulls of oxen, and the bones of geese or bustards, which seem to have been thrown into the graves by the guests at the funeral banquets.

From the bones which have been taken from the tombs, and from the ancient flint-mines uncovered in Sussex and Norfolk, the anatomists have concluded that the Neolithic Britons were not unlike the modern Eskimo. They were short and slight, with muscles too much developed for their slender and ill-nurtured bones; and there is that marked disproportion between the size of the men and women, which indicates a hard and miserable life, where the weakest are over-worked and constantly stinted of their food. The face must have been of an oval shape, with mild and regular features: the skulls, though bulky in some instances, were generally of a long and narrow shape, depressed sometimes at the crown and marked with a prominent ridge, "like the keel of a boat reversed."

Of their way of living we can judge in part by the character of their implements and weapons, and in part by the bones of animals found in the refuse-heaps of the fishermen's villages, or in the mountain-caves, or about the lacustrine settlements. They had certainly passed out of the mere "hunter's life"; and were possessed of most of the domesticated animals.<sup>1</sup> According to a prevalent

<sup>1</sup> They seem to have had no chickens, but the skeleton of a goose was found in a long barrow at Stonehenge, with bones of a stag and of a short-horned ox. *Archæologia*, xliii. 183. Prof. Rolleston states, that no one, with the evidence properly before him, "can doubt that the goat, sheep, horse, and dog, were imported as domesticated animals into this country in the earliest neolithic times." (*British Barrows*, 750.) And though the natives may have trapped and tamed the young of the *Urus* and wild swine, it appears by the authorities already quoted, that the *Bos Longifrons* and the

theory, first suggested by Professor Nilsson with regard to the "gallery graves" of Denmark, the vaulted tombs were copied from subterranean houses, constructed to supply the want of natural caves. It has been doubted indeed in many cases, whether the "Picts-houses" in Scotland, and the Irish "*Clocháns*" which resemble them, were tombs or subterranean houses; and near one of the long barrows in Gloucestershire "there were formerly several underground circular dwellings, of which one still remains, furnished with recesses and seats, which can hardly be regarded as other than the abodes of the people by whom the barrow itself was constructed";<sup>1</sup> and pit-dwellings of a similar kind have been explored at Highfield, near Salisbury, and in other parts of England. But on the whole there is a lack of convincing evidence, that any of these earth-houses were used as the homes of the neolithic men. Most of them are too narrow and ill-ventilated to serve for anything but a store-house or a granary; and even in the cases where this objection is not applicable, we must remember, that the Germans made artificial caves of this sort as late as the age of Tacitus. "They are wont to dig caves underground, which they

Asiatic breed of swine were certainly possessed by the Britons of the Stone Age.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xliii. 223; Nilsson, *Primitive Inhab. Scandin.* 132, 152. For the Picts-houses, see *Archæologia*, xxiv. 127; and Logan's *Scottish Gael*, ii. 10, 12. The Highfield pits are described by Mr. Stevens, in "Flint Chips," as being "single or in groups communicating with each other": they are of a beehive form, ranging in diameter from  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet to 7 feet: "in some exceptional cases they measure as much as 14 feet." "The makers have studied the properties of the chalk, for they have enlarged their dome-like dwellings, when possible, beneath the looser gravel."

cover with heaps of manure : this makes a refuge in winter, and a storehouse for the crops ; because in these places the hardness of the frost is easier to bear, and when an enemy invades he ravages the open country, while the hiding-places either remain unknown, or escape discovery from the very necessity of searching for them.”<sup>1</sup>

More authentic remnants of the dwellings of the Neolithic Age have been discovered in the Welsh and English lakes, and in some of the meres and “broads” of Norfolk. The villages seem to have been raised on piles or on heaped-up fascines of faggots and brushwood, in the fens or over the reaches of shallow water in the lakes, with galleries leading to the land for the daily passage of the cattle. The lake-dwellings of the Stone Age were always near the shore, but it seems that in the Bronze Age a greater skill or boldness was acquired ; and by using whole trees for supports, and by piling up stones for a foundation, the villages were built over the deep water at a safer distance from the land. The heaps of stone were sometimes raised above the surface of the water, as in the “Crannoges,” or artificial islands of the Scotch and Irish lakes: a mass of fern and boughs was sunk into the mud and covered with layers of logs and stones, and the whole structure was upheld and bound together by a stockade of joists and beams. Of the numerous descriptions of this kind of lacustrine settlement the best is still the picture which Herodotus drew of the villagers on the Roumelian Lake. “Platforms supported on tall piles stand in the middle of the lake, and are approached from the land by a single narrow bridge. At first the piles which bear up the platforms were fixed in

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 16.

their places by the whole body of the citizens; but since that time the custom which has prevailed about fixing them is this: they are brought from a hill called Orbelus, and every man drives in three for every wife that he marries.<sup>1</sup> Now the men have all many wives apiece, and this is the way in which they live. Each has his own hut, wherein he dwells, upon one of the platforms; and each has also a trap-door giving access to the lake below; and their wont is to tie their baby children by the foot with a string, to save them from rolling into the water."<sup>2</sup>

As the Romans advanced westwards in their British conquests they observed that certain tribes were different in manners and appearance from the Gaulish and the Insular Celts; and they were led, by a mistaken estimate of the vicinity of Ireland to Spain, to account for this fact by the hypothesis of a Spanish migration. "Who were the original inhabitants of Britain" (said Tacitus, in a passage

<sup>1</sup> "*Le détail est aussi plus curieux qu'encore aujourd'hui dans la vallée de Luchor existe en France un usage analogue. L'arbre de St. Jean est dû par le dernier marié de l'année, qui est tenu d'aller le chercher dans le montagne, et de le dresser à ses frais sur la place publique.*" Bertrand, *Archéol. Celtique*, introd. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Herod. v. c. 16. The following is an interesting description of a hut found at a depth of 16 ft. in the Drunkellin Marsh. "Its area was about 5 ft. squ. and its height 10 ft.; it included two stories, each about 4½ ft. high. The roof was flat, and the hut was surrounded by a fence of piles, doubtless intended to separate it from other adjacent huts, the remains of which are still to be perceived. The whole construction had been executed by means of stone instruments, a fact that was proved by the nature of the cuts that were still visible on some of the pieces of wood. Added to this, a hatchet, a chisel and an arrow-head, all made of flint, were found on the floor of the cabin, and left no doubt on this point; this was in fact a habitation belonging to the Stone Age."—Figuier, *Prim. Man* (Tylor), 231; Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, 31.

which evidently reports the personal opinion of Agricola), "and whether they sprang from the soil or came from abroad is unknown, as is usually the case with barbarians. Their physical characteristics are various, and from this conclusions may be drawn. The red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point clearly to a German origin. The high complexion of the Silures, their usually curly hair (*colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines*<sup>1</sup>), and the fact that Spain is the opposite shore to them, are evidence that Iberians in some earlier age crossed over and occupied those parts."

The Irish bards played upon the similarity of such local names as Braganza and Brigantes, Hibernus and Iberia, Galicia and Galway; and it became an article of faith among their countrymen, that the island was discovered soon after the Flood by three Spanish fishermen<sup>2</sup>; and it appears by the Book of Invasions, "and particularly by

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 11. The phrase is ambiguous and has been variously interpreted as referring to a light red-faced and curly-haired people, or to a race with "*les cheveux raides et cassants, le teint clair et coloré*," or to a swarthy race with short frizzly hair, "*le teint olivâtre, les cheveux crépus*": Jornandes expands the passage in the latter sense. "*Sylorum colorati vultus, torto plerique crine et nigro nascuntur, . . . qui Hispanis a quibusque attenduntur similes.*" (De Getar. Orig. c. 2.) This is probably the correct interpretation.

<sup>2</sup> For the bardic traditions, see Keating's History of Ireland, and O'Flaherty's Ogygia. These wild legends are not unfrequently pressed into the service of the theory, that the dark population in parts of the British Islands and the Basques of the Pyrenees are descended from a common stock. For the theory that the Irish were Basques (*Basclenses* or *Navarri*), see Geoff. Monm. iii. c. 12, and Henry of Huntingdon, i. 11. For the modern discussion, see Huxley's Critiques and Addresses, 134, 167; Boyd-Dawkins, Cave-hunting, 225; "The Basque and the Kelt," Journ. Anthropol. Inst. v. 5; Webster, Basque Legends; Bladé, *Etudes*, 217, 537; and M. Martin in the proceedings at the *Congrès Celtique* (St. Brieuc), p. 171.

that choice volume called the *Leabhar dhroma Sneachta*, which was written before St. Patrick arrived in Ireland," the Milesians were settled in Spain before they expelled the Fairy Race from the Green Isle "in the year when Moses was buried in a valley in the land of Moab."

Some think, adds the legendary historian, that the hero Ith "discovered the island in a starry winter night": but it appears that the inhabitants of both countries were known to each other long before, in consequence of Eochaid, the last king of the Feru-Bolg, having married the daughter of the King of Spain.<sup>1</sup> The Milesian invasion is supposed to have been the consequence of the murder of this hero by the Tuatha-Dé-Danann, a race of magicians who have since degenerated into the rulers of Fairy-land.

What is most noticeable about these legends, so far as they bear on the subject of modern discussion, is the fact that no Spanish origin is attributed to the Feru-Bolg, or Fir-Bolgs, who are identified in many other traditions with "the old stock," the short and swarthy people of the western and south-western parts of Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keating, *Hist. Ireland*, 265.

<sup>2</sup> See O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, pt. iii., c. 11, and the history of the Tribes of Hy-Many (*Ir. Arch. Soc.* 1843), p. 85. The "arch-chiefs" of the O'Kellys had the power to increase the rents of the "men of the plain of the old stock" at their pleasure. "The remnants of the Fir-Bolgs are the hereditary servitors of the Hy-Many." (*Ibid.* 87.) See, however, *ibid.* 9, 10, 11, the description of the power of Cian, a Fir-Bolg soldier, in the midst of the O'Kelly's country, and the description of a dark-haired chieftain, Eoghan O'Madden, "a griffin of the race of Conn the Hundred-fighter"; he is called the Lion of Birra, and the Hawk of the Shannon: "a large man of slender body, with a skin like the blossom of apple-trees, brown eyebrows, black curling hair, long fingers, and a cheek like the cherries" (*ibid.* 133).

Whether or not the Fir-Bolgs of Irish tradition can be connected with the pre-Celtic tribes, it is clear that in many parts of Ireland there are remnants of a short and black-haired stock, whose tribal names are in many cases taken from words for the Darkness and the Mist, and whose physical appearance is quite different from that of the tall light Celts.<sup>1</sup> The same thing has been observed in the Scottish Highlands, and in the Western Isles, where the people have a "strange foreign look," and are "dark-skinned, dark-haired, dark-eyed, and small in stature."<sup>2</sup> And it is a matter of familiar knowledge, that in many parts of England and Wales the people are also short and

The editor adds, that the Fir-Bolgs were never driven out of the Barony of Ballintober, "and the chief portion of the inhabitants are distinguished from the Milesian race by their jet black hair and small stature" (*ibid.* 90).

<sup>1</sup> "The enslaved tribes of Hy-Many for servitude are the Dealbhna from the Ford on the Shannon to where the River Suck springs from the well." (*Ibid.* 83.) This tribe, the editor adds, were generally called Dealbhna Nuadhat. See O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, pt. iii. c. 82. This is a reference to Nuadha or Nudd, the ancient god of the sea. Mr. Fitzgerald quotes a number of tribal names of the same kind, *e.g.* the Corca-Oidce and Corca-Duibhne, the children of darkness and the night-folk, and a western tribe called Hi Dorchaidhe, people of darkness, whose territory was called "the night-country." Ancient Irish (Fraser, 1875). Compare Wilde, *Ethnol. Anc. Irish*, 6, 7, and Girald. *Conquest of Ireland*, ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> McLean, *Highland Language and People*, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* vii. 76. "In these respects the Highland people bear a strong resemblance to the Welsh, the South-western English, the Western and South-western Irish." (*Ibid.*) Campbell, *West Highland Tales*, iii. 144, speaks of the short, dark natives of Barra: "Behind the fire sat a girl with one of those strange foreign faces which are occasionally to be seen in the Western Isles, a face which reminded me of the Nineveh sculptures, and of faces seen in St. Sebastian. Her hair was as black as night, and her clear dark eyes glittered through the peat-smoke. Her complexion was dark, and her features so unlike those who sat about her, that I asked if she were a native of the island, and learned that she was a Highland girl."

swarthy, with black hair and eyes, and with heads of a long and narrow shape. This is found to be the case not only in the ancient Siluria (comprising the modern counties of Glamorgan, Brecknock, Monmouth, Radnor, and Hereford), but in several districts in the eastern fen-country, and in the south-western counties of Cornwall and Devon, with parts of Gloucestershire, Wilts, and Somerset. The same fact has been noticed in the midland counties, in districts round Derby, Stamford, Leicester, and Loughborough, where we might have expected to find nothing but a population with light hair and eyes, and where "the names of the towns and villages show that the Saxon and Danish conquerors occupied the district in overwhelming numbers."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Rolleston, in "British Barrows," 679. "As regards the earlier of the two pre-historic races, we have in this country dolicho-cephaly combined with low stature and dark complexion in a very considerable number of our population. The fact of the existence of this stock, or we may perhaps say of its survival and its re-assertion of its own distinctive character in the districts of Derby, &c., was pointed out in the year 1848 by the late Prof. Phillips, at a meeting of the British Association at Swansea. More extended observations, but to the same effect, are put on record by Dr. Beddoe, in Soc. Anthropol. London, ii. 350" (*ibid.*). General Pitt Rivers has lately described his discovery of the remains of a remarkably small race of Romanised Britons, buried "in the pits and ditches" of Cranborne Chase, in Dorset. "It was known," he says, "by an examination of the long barrows that a long-headed race of small stature, whose average height is estimated at 5 feet 6 inches, inhabited Britain in the Stone Age"; but he has now discovered numerous remains of a race of Britons whose stature did not exceed 5 feet 2.6 inches for the males, and 4 feet 10.9 inches for the females. Professor Rolleston also describes the short, dark, round-headed stock in South Germany. As to Belgium, it was ascertained by a Government inquiry in 1879, that the people of the Walloon Provinces (and of the French Coast as far as Boulogne) are of an exceptionally dark type, attributed to a survival of the pre-historic population. The Bretons are mostly dark, with short and broad heads, except in the *Léonnais*, which was colonised by Celts from Britain.

These facts render it extremely probable that some part of the Neolithic population has survived until the present time, with a constant improvement no doubt from its crossing and intermixture with the many other races who have successively passed into Britain; and this fact gives a particular interest to everything which can be definitely ascertained about the special characteristics of the "Silurians."

Their ferocious courage appears in the history of their desperate wars with Rome. No disaster or loss of leaders was sufficient to break their obstinate spirit; and the Roman generals, accustomed to the frivolity of the Gauls and the "wild inconstancy" of the ordinary Britons, vowed in vain "to extinguish the name of the Silures."<sup>1</sup> Solinus has left an account of the primitive simplicity of their manners in an age when Britain, for the most part, was familiar with the continental culture. "A stormy sea," he said, "divides the Silurian island<sup>2</sup> from the region held

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Annal. xii. 33, 39. Compare the account by Giraldus of the people of Monmouthshire. "It seems worthy of remark, that the people of what is called Venta are more accustomed to war, more famous for valour, and more expert in archery, than those of any other part of Wales." He then gives examples of their skill in archery, and adds, "What more could be expected from a *balista*? Yet the bows used by this people are not made of horn, ivory, or yew, but of wild elm; unpolished, rude and uncouth, but stout; not calculated to shoot to a great distance, but able to inflict very severe wounds in close fight." Girald. Cambr., Itin. Wall. ii. c. 4. The translation is taken from Wright's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Solinus, c. 24. The sea dividing the "island of the Silures" from the opposite coast is intended for the Bristol Channel. We do not hear of the name "*Sylina Insula*" being applied to the Scilly Isles until the time of Sulpicius Severus, who lived in the fifth century. (Sulp. Sev. ii. 65.) Pliny makes the Silurian country extend as far as the coast nearest to Ireland. (Hist. Nat. iv. c. 30.) The Damnonia of Solinus included Devon and Cornwall.

by the Damnonian Britons. Its natives still keep to their ancient ways. They will have no markets nor money, but give and take in kind, getting what they want by barter and not by sale. They are devoted to the worship of the gods; and men and women alike show their skill in divination of the future."

The sepulchral discoveries show that at some early time these Neolithic tribes were alone in their possession of Britain; and that afterwards they were invaded by the men of a different race, who had already seized the dominion of the opposite coasts from Sweden to the Atlantic promontories. The people of this second race had advanced to Finisterre before they had learned the use of any kind of metal: their tall skeletons and short round skulls are found, mixed with the relics of the older race, in chambered barrows where no article of bronze was ever seen, though the pendants of turquoise and green *callais*, and the hatchets made of jade and other precious eastern stones, attest the existence of a commerce with the nations that had metals at command. But suddenly, and without the appearance of any tentative or intermediate forms, the tombs are discovered to contain bronze weapons of a fine manufacture, as if the course of a new trade had been directed towards the north.<sup>1</sup> So far however as

<sup>1</sup> There is a bronze dagger in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at Copenhagen, of which the design is very familiar to the readers of antiquarian treatises; it seems to indicate the source from which the bronze was brought to Scandinavia. The handle is in the shape of a man, of a southern or eastern type, carrying a vessel with a handle arched above it. The figure seems to represent a slave. The body is slender, the aspect soft and childish, and the hair close-cropped. The dress is a short kilt fastened by a belt; and the ornaments are monstrous ear-rings and a double necklace of beads.

Britain itself is concerned, we know nothing of the second race before they had become accustomed to the use of bronze. Their appearance in this country seems to have been coincident with the introduction of the metal ; for all the graves where it is found contain their remains, either alone or in company with those of the Neolithic people ; but where the bones of the Stone-Age men are buried by themselves, no trace of the metal weapons has ever yet been discovered.

The invaders were tall men of the fair Finnish type that still prevails so largely among the modern inhabitants of Denmark and in the Wendish and Slavonian countries. They differed remarkably from the straight-faced oval-headed men who are identified with the Celts, the Germans of pure blood, and the "Anglo-Saxons" of our early history. They were large-limbed and stout, the women being tall and strong in proportion, as in a community where life was easy and food cheap. The men seem to have been rough-featured, with large jaws and prominent chins, and skulls of a round short shape, with the forehead in many cases retreating rapidly, as if there were need of an occipital balance to carry off the heaviness of the large lower jaw. "The eyebrows of these powerful men" (says Prof. Rolleston<sup>1</sup>), "if developed at all in correspondence with the large underlying frontal sinuses and supra-orbital

<sup>1</sup> British Barrows, 644. He cites similar descriptions given by Dr. Thurnam of the round-headed people of the Bronze Age in the South-west of England. "We have in certain parts of Great Britain and Germany, light hair and complexion combined with considerable stature and with dolichocephaly, so as to preserve for us what excavations, combined with measurements and with traditions, entirely justify us in speaking of them as the Teutonic or Germanic type. Secondly, we have the same hair, complexion, and stature, combined with brachy-cephaly, in the Finns, in the Danes, in

ridges, must have given a beetling and even forbidding appearance to the upper part of the face, while the boldly outstanding and heavy cheek-bones must have produced an impression of raw and rough strength and ponderosity entirely in keeping with it. Overhung at its root, the nose must have projected boldly forwards, not merely beyond the plane of the forehead, but much beyond that of the prominent eyebrows themselves."

We have still some remaining indications of the course of the conquest. General Pitt Rivers states that "in the Yorkshire Wolds unmistakeable traces are seen of the landing and subsequent operations of an united people, extending for miles into the interior of the country."<sup>1</sup> They seem to have mingled peaceably in these parts with the people of the older settlements; for the round barrows of the Bronze Age in this quarter contain almost an equal proportion of long-shaped and short-shaped skulls; and it is reasonably argued, that this is evidence that the new occupants agreed and intermarried with the people of the older type, especially as skulls have not unfrequently been found which appear to combine the characteristics of these different kinds of men. In other parts, and especially in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, the invaders appear to have expelled the older tribes; for no mixed forms have

some Slavs, and in many of not the least vigorous of our own countrymen. Thirdly, hair, complexion, and stature, all alike of just the opposite character, may be found combined with brachy-cephaly in South Germany, and in some other parts of the Continent, as for example in Brittany." (*Ibid.* 680.) "The elongated and fairly well-filled Anglo-Saxon cranium is the prevalent form amongst us in England in the present day." (*Ibid.* 646.) Compare Thurnam's "Crania Britannica," and Guibert, "Ethnologie Armoricaïne," in the Proceedings at the *Congrès Celtique* (St. Brieuc).

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, xlii. 52.

hitherto been found in the multitudinous graves which are crowded round the ruins of the temple ;<sup>1</sup> and those remains which have been discovered can be attributed definitely either to the age of the long barrows or to that of the people who built their round tombs in crowds on every spot which had been sacred among the older race.<sup>2</sup>

The round barrows are found in almost every part of England. They vary slightly in form, being for the most part bowl-shaped in the north, and also in parts of Somerset ; in Wiltshire and Dorset they are mostly oval or shaped like a bell or a circular disc.<sup>3</sup> Taken as a whole, they contain many evidences of a considerable advance in culture. The pottery is very much finer than any which is found in the tombs of the Stone Age, and occurs not only

<sup>1</sup> General Pitt Rivers described in his Presidential address before the British Association (Bath, 1888), twenty-six skeletons found in Cranborne Chase ; "the head-form approached that of the neolithic long-barrow people, with a probable admixture of either Roman or bronze-age types."

<sup>2</sup> This has been observed with respect to the groups of barrows near Kits Coty House, at Avebury, in Anglesea, and in fact in almost every part where the long barrows, or their ruins, have been found. There are indications at Stonehenge, that the people of the Bronze Age were the actual constructors of the temple on a site which had previously been selected as a burial-ground for the chieftains of the neolithic tribes. Dr. Thurnam states, that two of the round barrows near Stonehenge appear to be contemporary, or very slightly posterior, to the date of the circle itself. "In digging down to their base chippings and fragments not merely of the *Sarsens* were found, but likewise of the blue felspathic hornstones foreign to Wiltshire which assist in the formation of the megalithic structure." (*Archæologia*, xliii. 306.)

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Thurnam mentions conical barrows in Norfolk and Sussex "which are really campaniform," and disc-shaped barrows on the Sussex Downs. The shapes vary most in Wiltshire, as will be seen by the accounts in Sir R. Hoare's magnificent work on Ancient Wilts. "The comparative rarity of the more elaborate types of *tumuli*, even in counties the nearest to Wiltshire, is very remarkable. The bowl-shaped barrows abound on

in shards and fragments, but in vases, perfect though still hand-made, and in urns, "incense-cups,"<sup>1</sup> drinking-cups, and food vessels of various kinds. Among the hammers, gorgets, and wrist-pieces of stone, which are sometimes ornamented with gold, and the heads of javelins and arrows which were manufactured according to the ancient pattern, bronze implements are interspersed in great variety; and the miniature axes and hammers, made out of precious materials and deposited at the burial of the dead, appear to indicate the notion of symbolical and spiritual offerings. The ornaments buried in these graves were made of glass-beads or amber; or, according to the nature of the locality, were worked in jet or some other bitumenised substance. All round the alum-shale beds near Whitby the true jet was extensively used for this purpose; and the complex necklaces have been described as consisting of rows of beads, with dividing-plates marked with punctures "arranged saltire-wise and in chevrons"; or a simpler collar was formed with cylinders of thin plates of jet, graduated and

the Mendip Hills, and on the noble Ridge-way between Dorchester and Weymouth." (*Archæologia*, xliii. 303.) The disc-shaped graves contain such a profusion of ornaments of amber, glass, and jet, that they are thought to be the burial-places of women, especially as these objects are rare in barrows of the other varieties. (*Ibid.* 294; Hoare, *Anc. Wilts.* i. 166, 207.)

<sup>1</sup> The perforated vessels called "incense-cups," which have been taken for pots, lamps, and perfume-burners, are now regarded as having been used at the solemnity of burning the body, for conveying lighted embers to kindle the funeral pile. The drinking-cups are occasionally of shale, amber, and even of thin plates of gold. A food vessel, from a barrow at Goodmanham on the Yorkshire Wolds, has fluted bands, which are said to resemble the patterns on ancient Etruscan vases. (See *British Barrows*, 81, 99, 286; *Archæologia*, xliii. 359, 388.)

strung side by side in the form of a flexible necklace.<sup>1</sup> Where this material did not exist, analogous substances were used for making the ornaments, as Kimmeridge shale in Wilts and Dorset, or lignite from the Devonshire beds, or Cannel coal in Shropshire. Some few of the articles of adornment, beads, cups, earrings, and thin plates to be fastened on the dress, were made of the native gold, or rather of the mixed gold and silver which the smiths had not yet learned to separate; and though the patterns as a rule were copied from the rough designs upon the pottery, the style of the workmanship was excellent. The plates of metal were hammered over engraved moulds of wood, or the back was "tooled in the manner of *repoussé* work"; and the separate pieces were skilfully dove-tailed or riveted together without the use of any kind of solder.<sup>2</sup> Many other kinds of ornament have been from time to time

<sup>1</sup> The true jet is chiefly found in the neighbourhood of Whitby; but small deposits have been discovered at Cromer, at Watchet in Somerset, and in the beds of the Aberthaw lias on the opposite Glamorganshire coast. The finest examples of the ornaments have been found in Sutherland and in the district round Holyhead. The most abundant examples are seen in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Northumberland; the most southern locality where a specimen of the worked jet has been found is Soham Fen, in Cambridgeshire. (See Dr. Thurnam's account, in the *Archæologia*, xliii. 514, 517, 532.)

<sup>2</sup> These ornaments are found chiefly in places where the native gold was worked, as in Cornwall and Devon, parts of North and South Wales, Cumberland, Lanarkshire, Sutherland, and several parts of Ireland. The Danes of the Bronze Age were equally skilful in gold-work. Worsaae, *Prim. Inhab. Denm.* (Thoms) 138. Compare the account given by Herodotus of the Massagetæ, a nation living in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea:—"They had no iron or silver, but plenty of gold and copper: their lances and axes were of copper, and their caps and belts were decorated with golden ornaments." (Herod. i. c. 215.)

discovered in the *tumuli*; such as ivory pins and beads, and crescents made of the wolf's teeth and boars' tusks which were perforated and worn as charms; and necklaces of *Dentalium*, the shell called the Ear of Venus, and nerite-shells, and the joints of the fossil sea-lily that are known as "St. Cuthbert's beads."<sup>1</sup>

The exploration of these barrows has produced a great body of evidence to illustrate the life of the Bronze-Age Britons. It is clear that they were not mere savages, or a nation of hunters and fishers, or even a people in the pastoral and migratory stage. The tribes had learned the simpler arts of society, and had advanced towards the refinements of civilised life before they were overwhelmed and absorbed by the dominant Celtic peoples. They were, for instance, the owners of flocks and herds; they knew enough of weaving to make clothes of linen and wool, and without the potter's wheel they could mould a plain and useful kind of earthenware. The stone "querns" or hand-mills, and the seed-beds in terraces on the hills of Wales and Yorkshire, show their acquaintance with the growth of some kind of grain; while their pits and hut-circles prove that they were sufficiently civilised to live in regular villages.

At what time and by what process they became incorporated with the Celtic peoples must remain altogether uncertain. Where the rule of cremation has prevailed it is difficult to distinguish their ornaments and weapons from those of the Celtic type; and even where a round-headed population still actually survives, it is usually hard

<sup>1</sup> Anc. Wilts, i. 114, 202. Dr. Thurnam describes a Dorsetshire barrow containing a perforated boar's tusk, and an urn at the feet of the skeleton containing the burnt bones of a fox or badger. (*Archæologia*, xliii. 540.)

to separate it from the stock of the latter Danes. It is clear, however, that the older Bronze-Age tribes remained in some parts of the country as late as the period of the Roman invasion ; and it seems probable that the further labours of philologists will confirm the theory that the languages of the Celts in Britain were sensibly influenced by contact with the idioms of those Finnish tribes who were the earlier occupants of the country.

---

## CHAPTER VII.

## PRE-CELTIC ETHNOLOGY.

Beginning of the Historical period.—Theories of British Ethnology.—Fair and dark races.—Iberian theory.—Aquitaniens.—Diversity of Iberian customs.—Basques.—Origin of Milesian legends.—Mr. Skene's view as to the Silures.—Ethnological table.—Survivals of the pre-Celtic stocks.—Evidence from language and manners.—Comparison of Aryan customs.—Local names.—Personal names.—Abnormal words and constructions.—Classical notices—Vitruvius, Tacitus, Herodian, Dion Cassius.—Caledonians and Picts.—Rock-carvings and sculptured stones.—Customs of succession.—Coronation-rites.—Relics of barbarism in mediæval Connaught and Wales.

IT has been claimed for the Bronze-Age men that their civilising influence was as important in the north of Europe as that of the Celts in the west.<sup>1</sup> We have seen, indeed, that before the beginning of history they had learned something of the arts of agriculture, and had introduced the knowledge of the useful metals. Coasting about the narrow seas they had occupied long stretches of land between the forest and the shore, and tracking the rivers backwards from their estuaries had built their camps on the open downs and wolds, or in the glades and clearings in the woods. We have seen that in our own country they were forced into contact with the people of a more primitive age, dark slight-limbed Silurians, and the dusky tribes who were called 'the children of the night.' Some, according to their fortune in the wars, were driven by the new invaders into the western woods and deserts; others

<sup>1</sup> See Worsaae. *Primitive Inhab. Denmark* (Thoms), 135, 136.

were able to hold their own until in course of time the two races became fused and intermixed.

It is the object of this chapter to collect what is known about their descendants within the historical period. We shall endeavour to distinguish between the traces of the tall Finnish race and those of the more primitive settlers. It must remain impossible in many cases to separate the old forms of language and traces of primeval customs which are due to one or another of the prehistoric societies; but it will still be useful to deal collectively with the various traces of their presence, and to estimate what allowance is to be made for the continuance in an Aryan nation of foreign and primitive elements.

We have chosen the simplest of the theories propounded in a long debate. We have seen traces of at least two nations established in these islands before the era of the Celtic settlements. Some prefer to include in one wide description all the fair tribes of high stature with red or golden hair and blue or grey-blue eyes; and they count as true Celts all of that kind who were neither Danes nor Germans. Some class together in the same way all the short peoples with black hair and eyes, whether pale-skinned or ruddy in complexion, calling them Iberians on account of their supposed affinity with the dark races remaining in the south of Europe. All the tall, round-headed and broad-headed men are described together as comprising "the van of the Aryan army," with whom became intermingled tall and dark red-haired men from Scandinavia, and fair people of Low-German descent. All the short and dark races, whether long-headed or round-skulled, are treated as descendants of a primitive non-Aryan stock, including "the broad-headed dark Welsh-

man and the broad-headed dark Frenchman," and connected by blood not only with the modern Basque, but with the ancient and little-known Ligurian and Etruscan races.

It has sometimes been stated, that the resemblance of the dark British type to the ancient Aquitanians is one of "the fixed points in British ethnology." But when we examine the grounds for the assertion, we find that there is hardly any affirmative evidence in its favour. To learn anything of the Aquitanians we must go to Strabo's account of their country. We find a meagre notice of a score of little tribes living near the coast between the Garonne and the Pyrenees. "They differ," said the geographer, "from the Gaulish nation both in physical appearance and in language, and they rather resemble the Iberians:" and, from Agricola's remark about the Silures, we must suppose that Strabo referred to their swarthy complexion and dark and curly hair. But when we turn to his more minute description of the various Iberian tribes, we find nothing to help us to a clearer notion of what Aquitanians or Silures were like.

The nations of the Peninsula differed from each other on such important points as language, religion, and government. Each province had a grammar and alphabet to itself. Some had no gods at all: others sacrificed hecatombs of goats, horse, and men to a god of war; the Celtiberians and their neighbours to the north danced all night at the full moon in honour of "a nameless god"; some would cut off their captives' right hands, and offer them as oblations at the altar. In some tribes men danced singly to the sound of the flute and trumpet; others preferred the fashion of dancing in a huge ring, men and

women together. Some wore "mitres" in battle, others caps of sinews knotted together, and others used the helmet with a triple plume. According to Strabo, "they married like the Greeks." We should rather say that they lived under the "Mutter-recht," which some have thought to be a relic from an Amazonian stage of society. For among the Iberians, as among the ancient Lycians, the women were exalted above the men. The wife governed the family; the daughters inherited the property, subject to dowries for the sons on marriage; the name and pedigree were traced from the mother's side; the inferiority of the father was marked by the curious symbolism of the *Couvade*, the mother going to work in the fields, while the husband and child were carefully nursed at home. All these abnormal circumstances should be taken into account by those who assert the identity of the Iberians with the Britons of the Silurian type. Several of the customs above described have left distinct traces in the usages which still prevail in the region of the Pyrenees. But at present there seems to be no point of connection between them and anything which was ever observed in this country.

The test of language has been applied, but with equally little success. On the assumption that the modern Basque has a connection with one or another of the Iberian dialects, some have sought to correlate the British local names with similar words in Basque. "Britannia" has been derived from a locative "*Etan*," and "Siluria" from "*Ur*," a word for water. The roots "*Il*" and "*Ur*" occur in old Spanish appellatives, and have been seen in some of the names of rivers and islands in Scotland. But it still seems to be agreed that nothing can be made of the matter. The Basque language is ancient in structure, but modern in its

vocabulary, which is borrowed for the most part from Celtic, Latin, and Spanish. The language itself is only known in a modern form, and the leading philologists have agreed that it is a helpless task to compare its root-words with the "non-Aryan *residuum*" which may be found by a close examination of the Celtic vocabulary.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it will be proper to mention with more detail the ethnological theory which has been based upon the Irish legends. The punning fancies of monks and bards have been dignified with the name of a tradition; but they should rather be regarded as the inferences of ignorant men puzzled to account for the form of an unknown name or a fragment coming down from some lost mythology.

Let us take as an example the story of the Milesian invasion of Ireland. We have already noticed the grotesque incidents recounted in the "Book of Invasions." The nomenclature of the legend is modern. One of the heroes is buried at St. Michael's Rock, and the wife of another in a churchyard near Tralee; the harbour of "Inbher Slainge," where the ships were wrapped in a Druidical mist, retained its ancient name of "*Moda*," or "*Modonus*," from the time of Ptolemy till after the death of St. Adamnan, six centuries afterwards. The whole story is mediæval in every point; yet we are asked to give weight to the fact that "every peasant in the barony can relate the landing of the Milesians," or to the Irish habit of fixing some story of a Fenian or a fairy battle as having happened near a stone-circle or the ruins of a megalithic tomb.

Any one who has read Keating's "History of Ireland" will perceive how the bards played on the words "*bolg*,"

a bag, "*domhnoin*," deep, and "*gái*," a spear. The Firbolgs were the "men of the bag": the Greeks had subjected them in Thrace to great hardship and slavery, obliging them to dig earth and raise mould, and to carry it in leather-sacks and place it on rocks to make a fruitful soil; and it was out of the sacks that they made the hide-bound boats for travelling to the Irish Sea. With the like futility the name of the Damnonians was derived from the pits which they dug in the Thracian hills to get mould for the "men of the bag"; and the title of the "Fir-Gaillian," another of the legendary tribes, was taken from the long spears that they bore for the protection of their brethren as they worked. We have been told by persons of great learning and power of research that "it is not difficult to recognise in this tradition the people who worked the tin by digging in the soil and transporting it in bags to their hide-covered boats"; and it is added, that the "traditions" of the physical appearance of the early Irish colonists will lead us to the same conclusion.<sup>1</sup>

If we ask for the source of these last-named traditions, we are referred to the "Genealogies" of MacFirbis, an old bard who wrote at the end of the 17th century. O'Curry<sup>2</sup> cites passages to the following effect from the strange rambling preface. The white-skinned warriors, brown-haired, bounteous and brave, are the descendants "of the sons of Miledh in Erin." "Every one who is fair, revengeful, and big, and every plunderer, and every musical person and professor of music and entertainment, and all who are adepts in Druidism and magic, these are the children of the Tuatha Dè Danann in Erin." But every

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 177.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. *Materials for Irish History*, 223.

peasant who listened to the history knew well enough, or thought he knew, that the fair revengeful tribe had fled to the secret palaces inside "the fairy-hills"; for there were no mortal affinities in the Tribe of Gods, or "*Plebs Deorum*," as their early worshippers had called the personified powers of nature. Let us pass, however, to the picture of "the men of the bag, the pit, and the spear," to judge for ourselves whether it fairly represents, as we are told, the Silures of the Severn Valley, and "the lowest type of the Irish people." "Every one who is black-haired and a tattler, guileful, tale-telling, noisy, and contemptible, every wretched, mean, strolling, unsteady, harsh, and inhospitable person, every slave, and every mean thief, these are the sons of the Fir-Bolg, of the Fir-Gailiun, and of the Fir-Domhnan in Erin."

On the other hand, we are told that the black cloaks and goats' beards of the men in the Tin Islands are to be taken in a non-natural sense. "They seem to be an exaggerated and distorted representation of the darkness of the complexion, and the curled hair attributed to the Silures." Cornwall itself is turned into an archipelago of Hesperides lying out at sea away from the Damnonian shore; and the plain words of the old Greek travellers are twisted into these obscure meanings to suit Camden's geography, and to preserve the apparent value of "notions prevailing among the people themselves of their ethnology, their supposed descent, and their mutual relation to each other."<sup>1</sup>

We have shown our reasons for rejecting the authority of such false traditions. But it would not be proper to

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 167, 179.

pass from the subject without noticing the ethnological table which has been constructed by those who attach a real importance to the existence of these ancient rumours. The following may be taken as a fair summary of the classification in question.<sup>1</sup> In the Neolithic Age a people possessing the physical characteristics of the Iberians had spread at one time over the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. Their representatives were (*a*) the tin-workers of Cornwall and the Scilly Islands: (*b*) the tribe of the Silures in South Wales: and, (*c*) the people called the Firbolgs in the legendary history of Ireland. These tribes were invaded by the people of the round-headed skulls, otherwise called the Celtic Race. They were divided into two chief branches, marked respectively by their Gaelic and British forms of language, both branches having originally belonged to one stock. Each of these great branches is taken to have been further subdivided, the Gaelic branch including (1) a fair-skinned, large-limbed, and red-haired race, represented in Britain by the people of the interior, (2) the Tuatha Dè Danann of the legendary history of Ireland, (3) the 'Cruithnigh,'<sup>2</sup> a name

<sup>1</sup> See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 164, 226, 227.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Irish legends, it was in the reign of Eireamhnón the Milesian, that the Cruithnigh, or Picts, "a people from Thrace," landed at Wexford Harbour, but were driven to the neighbouring Caledonian shores. The chief interest in the story lies in the clue which it affords to the methods of its manufacture. These Picts are called the children of Gleoin Mac Ercol, or in other words, the children of Gelonus the son of Hercules, and they were named *Agathyrsi*. These are obvious allusions to Virgil's "Pictosque Gelonos," *Georg.* ii. 115, and to the painted *Agathyrsi* of Herodotus. Latham quotes a passage from a tenth-century *Life of St. Vodoal*, which places the matter beyond a doubt. "The Blessed Vodoal was sprung from the arrow-bearing nation of the Geloni, who are believed to have come from Scythia. Concerning whom the poet

applied to the Picts of Scotland, and to the people who preceded the Scots in Ulster, and (4) a fair-skinned, brown-haired race, represented by 'the Milesians' and afterwards called the Scots. The British branch may be taken to include the people 'resembling the Gauls,' who spread over the whole of the districts which were formed into the Roman province. They included the people who afterwards talked Cornish as well as those whose language appeared in later times as the Welsh.

We have preferred the view that the dark tribes were descended from a people or peoples of unknown affinities, established in both islands as early as the Neolithic Age, and that the fair round-headed tribes came from a people related to the Finnish nations of the Baltic; and there seems to be evidence that, though the lineage of these latter tribes has never been completely traced, they were at any rate distinct from the fair oval-headed men, "*la race aryenne à tête allongée*," to which belonged the true Celts and the kindred stocks in Scandinavia and Germany.<sup>1</sup>

We shall endeavour to show the presence down to late times of societies deriving their origin from these pre-Celtic stocks, partly by the evidence of the eye-witnesses who have left accounts of their manners and physical appearance, and partly by an examination of those points of language and local custom which the best authorities on those subjects have taken to be survivals from the earliest inhabitants of Britain.

writes, '*pictosque Gelonos*,' and from that time till now they are called Picts." Ethnol. Brit. Isles, 256. Compare the "*sagittiferi Geloni*" of *Æneid*. viii. 725. The name 'Cruitnigh' refers to the custom of tattooing.

<sup>1</sup> *Congrès Celtique* (St. Brieuc, 1867), 358. Compare "British Barrows," 646, 656, 712; *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 432, xlii. 175, 460; Proc. Royal Inst. 1870, p. 118.

As to language, we must trust to those who (in the words of Professor Rhys<sup>1</sup>) are engaged in the laborious but not impossible task of deciphering "the weather-worn history" of the Celtic tongues. By the help of well-established rules of phonology the search for the origin of the verbal and grammatical forms in Welsh and Irish has already been carried out with great success : "some of the most stubborn words of the vernacular have been forced, one after another, to surrender the secrets of their pedigree;" while others can only be explained on the theory that they came from some source alien to every language in the Aryan or "Indo-European" family.

As to the proof from anomalous customs and usages, we must still be in the main indebted to the labours of philological scholars. It has been discovered by the patient comparison of the surviving Aryan vocabularies, that the primitive ancestors of the Indo-German or Indo-Celtic nations, before their dispersion into the eastern and the western groups, had attained to what may be fairly called a high standard of civilisation. The picture of their society has been traced by the skilful author of the Indo-German Lexicon from the words for their customs and family relationships, their homes, habits, food, and incidents of daily life. They are shown to have been organised in communities framed on the model of the patriarchal household. They had adopted the system of regular marriage, a family religion, and a method of agnatic descent through males which was connected with their piety and reverence for the dead. In the household the father was the king and priest, but the wife ruled her own department and bore office in the family government.

<sup>1</sup> Lectures on Welsh Philology, 6, 89.

Outside the household the gradations in rank between the chief and his noble kinsmen, and down to the servants of the clan, were marked with the strictest accuracy. The people had made great progress in the arts of industry : they built their timber houses with doors and windows, and knew how to fence the homestead against wild-beasts, to harness the horse for draught and the oxen for work at the plough. Their name for the moon, "the measurer," shows that they divided their years and months by her periods. They met in common meals by the family hearth, where the meat and pulse were cooked in cauldrons, and the offerings and libations were made to the sacred fire ; and such was the importance that they paid to these details, that in most of the derivative languages the eating of uncooked meat has supplied epithets of loathing and disdain for outcast and barbarian men.

But when we examine the condition of some of the tribes in Britain, we shall find some that remained late into the historical period far lower than the level of the Aryan culture, resembling rather those rude Esthonian hordes, wanderers of the Baltic coasts and the forests beyond the Vistula, to whom the notion of the family and the state and the benefits of social order were things which were hardly known. In such an inquiry we shall derive assistance from the mediæval writers, who were quick to notice the "evill and wilde uses," which were foreign to their own experience. Spenser was one of the first to give a philosophical account of the matter. His "View of the State of Ireland" shows that he well understood the importance of a comparison of abnormal customs and beliefs in tracing the descent of nations. He was desirous of showing how much the Irish had borrowed

“from the first old nations which inhabited the land”: and he saw that in the absence of authentic tradition much might be gained by the study of archaic usages, “old manners of marrying, of burying, of dancing, of singing, of feasting, of cursing”; and though some of his theories have ceased to be instructive, the value of his instances has still remained unimpaired.

We must deal in the first place with the vestiges of the unknown languages, in local and tribal names, in sepulchral inscriptions, and in those idioms and grammatical or verbal forms which are thought to bear signs of the alien influence. It is unfortunate that the selected tests, the occurrence of the letter “p,” and the use of the “s” between vowels, should fail us in England itself; but the mark, which denotes the existence of non-Celtic tribes in the districts which the Gauls did not occupy, becomes ambiguous in a place where the local names may have been given by a colony or a regiment from the Continent. The presence of the “Parisii” in Holderness, of the Belgians in Wilts and Somerset, and the title of “Belisama,” borrowed from a Gaulish goddess for the name of a river in Lancashire, must render vain for those parts of the country the application of the phonological rule, however sure we may feel for other reasons that the non-Aryan elements existed among the dark Lancastrians or in the mixed populations of the wolds and the western hills.

We must choose those remoter districts which may be taken as free from the Gaulish influence, as the Grampian Hills, the Irish town “*Isamniun*,” the river “*Ausoba*” falling into Galway Bay, and the country of the “*Erpeditani*” surrounding the waters of Lough Eirne.

One of the regions inhabited by the tribes in question

included, as it seems, the wild tracts of Kintyre and Lorne and the distant island of Lismore, not far from the Irish coast. All these places took their name from the "Epidii," whose language may have influenced the language as far as the districts of "Lucopibia," in Wigtonshire, and "Epeiacum," a place which is represented by the modern Ebchester.

Another such district may be found in North Wales, where a secluded tribe bore the same name as one of the dark-skinned clans on the banks of the Shannon. This was the country of the Gangani, who were perhaps the same as the "Cangi," of Tacitus. They held the high lands round Snowdon, of which the mediæval proverb said that "the pastures of Eriri would feed all the herds in Wales." There is some uncertainty as to the position of their principal river. The "Tisobius" may have been the Conway, running down from Bettws-y-Coed to the Great Orme's Head, or it may have been the sandy estuary by Pont Aberglasslyn which receives the waters flowing westward from Snowdon. In the latter case, the "Promontory of the Gangani," which is shown upon Ptolemy's map, would be the long neck of land that forms the northern limit of Cardigan Bay. Very little is known of the ancient history of the tribe. The brief sentences of Tacitus imply that the natives showed a tameness of spirit inconsistent with the reputation for courage and skill in the use of the spear for which their posterity were celebrated. The army of Ostorius invaded their country in the march to the Irish Sea; the tribal pastures were ravaged, and a great head of cattle driven in; but the people would not venture on an open resistance, and at most attempted a few insignificant ambushes.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Ann. xii. 32.

The country last described seems to have formed one station in a range of non-Aryan districts, which included the bleak region round "Octapitarum," or St. David's Head, Anglesea and Man, some of the western islands, and in Ireland the parts about Dublin, and at least a portion of Munster. The opinion is based on the prevalence of certain typical names which appear to be related to words of a Silurian origin. The forms "Menapia" and "Menevia" are applied, with trifling variations, to the City of St. David's, the Isle of Man, the Menai Straits, and the coast between Dublin and Wicklow; and we can hardly attribute their occurrence to any contact with the "Menapii" of the coast of Flanders. Then there are parallel forms, as "Mona" and "Mynyw," which in several instances are given to the same Menapian districts. The Isle of Man is called indifferently "Monapia," or "Mona," or "Manaw"; in Ptolemy's Tables it appears as "Mona-oida." Anglesey is "Mon" or "Mona," and its channel was known as the Menevian Strait. The Scottish Isle of Arran is Ptolemy's Island of "Monarina." It is held by competent authorities that all these words are connected with such names as Monmouth or "Mynwy" on the Monnow River, and "Mumhain" or Momonia, the ancient title of Munster: and Professor Rhys has concluded that they are all alike "vestiges of a non-Aryan people whom the Celts found in possession both on the Continent and in the British Isles."<sup>1</sup>

Something has also been learned from the evidence of personal names, occurring in early epitaphs or in other kinds of inscriptions, or found in lists and pedigrees of kings, or in the mythological tales and legends which pass

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, 181, 182. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 69.

for history. Hundreds of names might be found in these various repositories which cannot be made to correspond with the ordinary rules prevailing in the Aryan tongues. We may take such examples as the names of Conn, Gann, and Sreng, from the mythical history of Ireland; or Grid, Ru, Wid, and the like, from the list of the Pictish kings, or the epitaph of Nudd the Damnonian which was found on his tomb at Yarrow. But it is laid down by the philologists that the ancient personal names in a pure Aryan language were always formed by the composition of two distinct ideas; a man would be called by such a name as "white-head," or "god-given," or "wolf of war," but not by such simple titles as "white," "gift," or "wolf." Hence came the similarity in structure of such words as Caturix the lord of war, Theodorus and Devadatta, Hathowulf, Bronwen of the fair bosom, Talhaearn of the iron brow. And even where monosyllables are used as proper names, as "Gwyn," white, or "Arth," the bear, we are assured that they can be traced back to a double form which has suffered compression or elision. It is only when an Aryan language has been influenced by contact with an alien form, as Latin by Etruscan, that the system of nomenclature is changed. But such unmeaning monosyllables as those above selected bear no such traces of existence in the compound form, and must therefore be supposed to have come from a non-Aryan source. There are said, moreover, to be double names in the Irish and Welsh inscriptions which indicate their foreign origin by the very methods of their composition. "They are quasi-compounds fashioned after non-Celtic models." Such are the double words which in effect are merely patronymics, and those by

which a man was designated as "the slave" of a favourite god.<sup>1</sup>

A few old words are found imbedded in the Celtic languages which seem to have been derived from an earlier source, as "*cimb*," a word for silver, preserved in Cormac's Glossary, *fern* meaning "good," and *ond* for a "stone," and *lon*, when used in the sense of 'an elk' in the legends of Wales and the Scottish Highlands.<sup>2</sup>

It is of more importance to observe that a Finnish idiom has been traced in several of the British languages. The Welsh, for example, is said to show signs of contact with a grammar in which the verb and the noun were as yet used indiscriminately: the inflection of the Welsh prepositions, "erof" for me, "erot" for thee, and the like, has been lately connected with a Magyar usage; and the same Ugrian influence has been seen in the incorporation or infixing of the pronoun in the verb which occurs in the early forms of Welsh and Irish, and to some extent in the more modern dialects of Brittany.<sup>3</sup>

We must pass to the written evidence for the fact that the fair race, presumably established in these islands in the Bronze Age, lived on in some parts of the country, and maintained their primitive usages, long after a higher standard of culture had been introduced by the Celts. That such tribes were known to the Romans admits of no

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks of Professor Rhys on the subject of such names as "Mogh-Nuadhat," the slave of Nudd, "Mogh-Néid," the slave of Néid the Irish god of war, or as "Mael-Brigd, the servant of Brigid, and Mael-Umi, the servant of the bronze." *Celtic Britain*, 262. *Welsh Philology*, 426.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of some of these words, see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 270.

<sup>3</sup> Sayce, *Science of Language*, i. 85. Compare the discussion on "The Basque and the Kelt," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, V. i. 26.

reasonable doubt. "There are men in the North," said a writer of the Augustan age, "who have huge limbs, and are full-blooded and white-skinned, with grey eyes and long, straight, red hair."<sup>1</sup> These may well have been the descendants of the great-statured, round-headed men whose remains have been found both in Denmark and Yorkshire, buried in the canoe-shaped chests of oak which are known as the "monoxylic coffins."<sup>2</sup> But we can hardly suppose that Vitruvius was thinking of the Celtic or German nations, whose appearance was perfectly familiar to the writers of that time. They had at least heard of "the yellow Britons," and had seen Belgians with light-

<sup>1</sup> "Sub Septentrionibus nutriuntur gentes immensis corporibus, candidis coloribus, directo capillo et rufo, oculis cæsiis, sanguine multo." Vitruvius, vi. 1. See Camden's *Britannia* (Gough), xxi. Compare Strabo, iv. 200; vii. 290; Arnold's *Rome*, i. 441.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of the Gristhorpe interment, Worsaae's *Prim. Antiqu. Denmark*, introd. xiii. and p. 96:—"The bones were much larger and stronger than those of a more recent date, exhibiting the lines and ridges for the attachment of the muscles with a degree of distinctness rarely, if ever, witnessed at the present day. The most remarkable portion was the head, which was beautifully formed, and of extraordinary size. The skeleton measured 6 feet 2 inches." The body had been wrapped in a skin, and was turned with the face towards the east. The coffin contained a bronze spear-head, some flint weapons, and several curious ornaments of horn or walrus-tooth; by the side of the skeleton lay a basket of bark, sewed together with sinews, and containing the remains of food deposited as a votive offering; and the coffin also contained a quantity of vegetable substance, which appeared to be the decomposed remains of the leaves and berries of the mistletoe. On the breast was laid "a very singular ornament, in the form of a double rose of riband with two loose ends," composed of a substance resembling thin horn, "but more opaque and not at all elastic." The remains were deposited in the Museum at Scarborough. A similar interment was discovered in 1827, near Haderslev in Denmark: the coffin contained some long locks of brown hair, and several weapons and implements of bronze, with a very thick woollen cloak edged with a fringe of threads. Similar discoveries have been made in Suabia.

brown hair, and Germans with their pale locks twisted into knots and curls.<sup>1</sup>

Everyone must be reminded, by the description of these tall, red-haired men, of the Caledonians as drawn by Tacitus, and his Germans "with their fierce blue eyes, and huge bodies only fit for a sudden exertion." He may have borrowed and misapplied the words of the passage of Vitruvius; but, whether this be so or not, it is clear that he was mistaken in attributing a German origin to the people of the Grampian range, and it appears highly probable that they were descended from one of the nameless nations who had preceded the advance of the Celts.

They appear in Herodian's sketch as naked savages, tattooed with the strange shapes of beasts and birds, of which the remembrance is preserved in Claudian's fine allusion to "the figures fading on the dying Pict." They passed their days in the water, swimming in the northern estuaries, or wading with the stream as high as the waist.<sup>2</sup> Dion Cassius adds, with his characteristic vivacity, that they would hide in the mud for days together, with nothing but their heads out of the water. As late as the third century after Christ they had hardly become familiar with the use of iron; for they wore it in collars and bands on their necks and loins, and regarded it in the place of gold as an ornament and a sign of wealth. In their wars they used chariots drawn by mountain-ponies, which could

<sup>1</sup> Compare Strabo, iv. 278; Lucan's "Flavis mista Britannis," *Pharsal.* iii. 78; and the well-known passage of Juvenal:—

"Cærule quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam

Cæsariem, et madido torquentem cornua cirro?"—*Sat.* xiii. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Herodian, iii. 14; Dion Cassius (*Xiphiline*), lxxvi. 12. Compare Oppian's *Ἀγρία φῦλα Βρετάννων αἰολονώτων*, *Cyneget.* i. 470; Claudian, *Bell. Getic.* 417; Solinus, c. 24.

hardly excel the speed of the troops on foot. They seem to have been scantily armed; they had not even the clumsy Celtic broad-sword, but fought with target and dagger, and a short pike with a clattering ball of bronze on the shaft to frighten the enemy with its noise.

Dion Cassius gave a pitiful account of their squalid and barbarous ways. They have, he said, no towns, or fields, or houses, but roam on the wild and waterless mountains, or in deserts and marshy plains. Their scanty subsistence was gained in hunting, though they got some small supplies of food from their herds and flocks; and they eked it out with herbs, with fruit and nuts, and even with the bark of the trees in the forest. They had discovered a satisfying root, an earth-nut<sup>1</sup> of a sweet cloying taste, which could be dried and made into a kind of bread; and of this (said Dion) if they eat a piece as large as a bean, they neither hunger nor thirst. With a superstition like that of the Eskimo they refused to taste fish, though they had an abundant supply within reach; and it has been noticed, that though the ancient Irish were fish-eaters, there were certain parts of the country, as well as some Highland districts, where "the Saxons" were despised and disliked for the practice; and it has been suggested that this abstinence was a religious observance, "derived from some ancient colonists from Asia."<sup>2</sup>

They lived naked and barefooted, in a savage communism, without any organisation of State or family; and even the wives and children were regarded as the property of the horde. Their only merit, if we trust the Greek

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be the *Conopodium Deandatum*, or ordinary "pig-nut": another "pig-nut," called *Carum Bulbocastanum*, is found chiefly on chalk soils.

<sup>2</sup> Bonwick, *Anc. Irish*, 73. Compare Ware, *Antiquit. Hibern.* c. 22; Campion, *Tract on the Ancient Irish*, 25, 113.

description, was a neglect or an ignorance of the practice of infanticide, which is treated by the classical historians as an unexpected and startling instance of natural virtue.

We hear but little in later times of these strange and wild communities. It seems to be clear, however, that they became merged or included in the Pictish nation, and it may be hoped that something more will be learned about them when the Pictish sculptures are interpreted. The materials for one part of the inquiry may be roughly classified as follows.

In various parts of Sweden and Denmark there are inscriptions and rock-carvings of the Bronze Age, cut out on the faces of smooth cliffs, or on the pillars and capstones of the megalithic tombs. In the case of the *tumulus* at Tegneby, in Zealand, from which the earth has not been long removed, there are pictures of war-canoes, and crosses contained in circles which seem to be intended for chariot-wheels.

Some of these rocks (especially those at Tegneby, Kivik, and Axevalla in Sweden) contain pictures of the Bronze-Age men pursuing their labours by sea and land. We can distinguish a sea-fight with long lines of war-canoes, like those of the South Sea Islanders, little boats crossing a shallow reach, cattle and chariots driven through still waters, bowmen and spearmen, and tall naked men fighting with bronze axes fastened to long handles.<sup>1</sup> We have elsewhere the sketch of a man driving a chariot through a pasture where sheep are feeding, a swordsman leading a string of captives, and rows of hooded figures draped in long black robes. These pictures help us to realise the life of the tribes described

<sup>1</sup> Montélius, *Civilisation of Sweden* (Woods), c. 2.

by Herodian; but the more important point is, that some of the same stones contain characters, as if from some unknown alphabet, like those which have been found in the British Isles, and in several of the tombs in Brittany.

After clearing away a large tumulus at Aspatria, near St. Bees, a vault was found which contained a gigantic skeleton. It is said that the man must have been something over 7 feet high. The comparatively late date of the interment was shown by the finding of an iron sword, with the hilt inlaid with silver flowers, a gold buckle, a snaffle-bit, and a battle-axe. But the stones were marked with the crossed and dotted circles,<sup>1</sup> and other figures which appear on the older monuments.

A comparison of the impressions collected from stones in Scotland, from the tombs near the Boyne and on the Witches' Hill at Lough Crew, and from Gavr Innis, and other celebrated "dolmens" in Brittany, leads to the conclusion that they were all due to one race of men who used these signs as an alphabet. There are also cases in England, such as the rock-carvings in Northumberland and Cumberland, and in Wales, such as those at "St. Iltyd's House" in Brecknockshire, which belong to the class in question. The most noticeable signs are the "plumed hatchets," the stone-axe, hearts, shamrocks, crosses, and circles with projecting spikes, and lines crossing a central stem and enclosed in a *cartouche*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These signs, as well as one resembling a mirror or hand-glass, are found among the land-marks used in the annual division of lot-meadows, both in Ditmarsh and in some of the English counties. The country-people called them "the hare's-tail, the duck's-nest, and the peel or doter." Williams, Land of Ditmarsh, *Archæologia*, xxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> See Fergusson's "Rude Stone Monuments," and Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland."

The sculptured stones of Scotland are found on the coasts and islands from Aberdeen to Shetland, and in some of the caves in Fifeshire. Some of them appear to be of mediæval date. They are covered with the symbols of some forgotten heraldry, such as eagles and dragons, wormknots, conventional figures of the elephant, dogs or sea-snakes fighting. Some of these have also been found on the Scandinavian monuments. There may be some connection between this symbolism and the tattoo-marks of the ancient Picts, "the shapes of the heavenly bodies, and of all kinds of beasts and birds," of which we read in Herodian; but the subject is too obscure for any positive statement to be hazarded. The figures of the comb, mirror, and brooch, can be explained as denoting the objects buried with the dead, as seems to have been first noticed in Wallace's *Description of the Isles of Orkney* (1693). As the work is rare, it may be well to extract the passage :—"At the west end of the mainland, on the top of high rocks above a quarter of a mile in length, there is something like a street, all set in red clay, with a sort of reddish stones of several figures and magnitudes, having the images of several things, as it were, engraven upon them; and, which is very strange, most of these stones, when they are raised up, have that same image under, which they had engraven above. Likewise, in the Links of Tranabie in Westra have been found graves in the sand, in one of which was seen a man lying with his sword on the one hand and a Danish axe on the other; and others that have had dogs, and combs, and knives buried with them."

Such is the principal evidence for the theory that the Bronze-Age tribes, the "dolmen-builders," and construc-

tors of the great stone-circles, can be distinguished in some parts of Britain down to a time which we may call recent, having regard to the scope of our inquiry. On this part of the subject we will only add a few details of customs which have been observed in Scotland and Ireland and which cannot easily be correlated with anything that is known to be of Aryan origin.

The first example relates to the rule of succession to the Pictish Crown, which was noticed by Bede in the opening chapter of his history, and which has been elucidated by Mr. Skene's investigation of the names occurring in the several dynasties down to the time of the venerable historian. It was the custom in Pictland, as the saying went, that the kingdom should come from women rather than men. The dignity, it seems, never went from father to son ; but when the king died, the crown went to his next brother, or in default, to his sister's son, or in any event to the nearest male relation claiming through a female, and on the female side. The list contains no instance of a son bearing his father's name, or of the same name belonging to both father and mother ; and the only fathers of kings of whom any account has survived are certainly known to have been foreigners, the one a prince of Strathclyde and the other a grandson of the English king of Northumbria. We have instances here of the rules, that brothers shall inherit in the place of sons, that blood-relationships shall only be traced in the female line, and that it shall not be lawful for a woman to marry within her domestic tribe, which prevail among the savage peoples of Polynesia and the rudest of the Asian aborigines. It is not sufficient to suggest, with Mr. McLennan, that the Celts were lax in their morals, and may have found it expedient that the

children's claims should always be traced through the mother.<sup>1</sup> He has carried, as he has said, the line of human progress far back towards brutishness. But there is an abundance of positive evidence that the Aryan nations had established the "agnatic system," by which the family was confined to males and unmarried women descended from a patriarchal ancestor, even before the divisions began which brought the Celts into Europe. The Picts in the North, and the Spartans in the South, may have ignored the system of descent through males on which civilised society was based ; but it is easier in each case to believe in the persistence of customs belonging to an older people, than to suppose that a section of the civilised race had retained or revived the practices which their ancestors had already forgotten when encamped on the banks of the Oxus.

We rely for our next instance on a story from Giraldus Cambrensis,<sup>2</sup> which has been vehemently denied by writers upon Celtic history, but is supported by independent testimony from the chronicles of the Pictish kingdom. The story is generally told as if it must necessarily relate to the great family of the "Hy Nyall," whose kings were crowned at Tara. But Giraldus only said that in one part of their dominions was a nation that practised a barbarous rite in their mode of electing a king. A white mare, or a cow by another account, was sacrificed in the midst of the people : the candidate was forced to crawl in on all-fours, and to lap the broth and taste the flesh, with

<sup>1</sup> M'Lennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, 101, 145 ; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 233 ; Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 153.

<sup>2</sup> Girald. *Cambr. Topog. Hibern.* iii. 25. See *Campion's Tract on Ancient Ireland*, and *Ware, Antiqu. Hibern.* ii. 64.

several degrading ceremonies. That some similar practice long remained among the Picts is known from the words of a contemporary chronicler; for David the First of Scotland, who led the Scottish and Pictish forces to the Battle of the Standard (A.D. 1153), was said to have been so disgusted at the customary rites of subservience that the bishops could hardly persuade him to accept the kingly office.<sup>1</sup> It is a common usage among savages to impose an ordeal upon an elected chief, either to test his courage and steadfastness, or to assert symbolically some claim of original equality with the man to whom they are about to submit. But no such humiliating observance could have been claimed from the Celtic or the Teutonic princes, who asserted a diviner right to represent the purest blood of the race as the kindred of the elemental gods or the children of Woden or Saxnoth. We know in fact how different were the rites observed at the enthronement of the Celtic and Scandinavian kings. Surrounded by his nobles the elected prince was placed on a coronation-stone, as the seat on the Rock of Doon, the "stone of destiny" at Tara, the "Moor-stone" of Upsala, the stone-chair of the Danish kings at Leire, and the seat of sandstone, called "*la pierre de Escose*," in the Abbey Church at Westminster.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Unde et obsequia illa, quæ a gente Scottorum in novellâ regum promotione more patrio exhibentur, ita exhorruit ut ea vix ab episcopis suscipere cogeretur." Ailred's Chronicles, Twysden, 348. See Robertson, Scotland under her Early Kings, i. 36.

<sup>2</sup> The value attached to the stone brought by Edward the First from Scone was due in a great measure to the legend of "Scota the fairy-princess." In the 'Process of Baldred Bisset against the figments of the King of England,' compiled in 1301, the maintainers of Scottish independence argued, that Scota, 'the daughter of Pharaoh,' having gone first to Ireland, sailed to Scotland, taking with her the royal seat, which (with other

The chiefs sat or stood on other stones, sometimes arranged in a circle of twelve and surrounding the chair of honour. The people applauded, as the kneeling bard or "sennachie" recited the royal pedigree; and the ancient ceremony was completed in Christian times by anointment and consecration.

Many very strange customs existed in Spenser's day among the Northern Irish and some of the Highland tribes, "such wild uses," as he said, that he could only compare such men to the "Tartarians" and people round the Caspian Sea. For those Scythians, "when they would binde any solemn vow or combination amongst them, used to drink a bowle of blood together, vowing thereby to spend their last blood in that quarrell, and even so do the wild Scots and some of the Northern Irish. The Scythians used to sweare by their king's hand; and so do the Irish use now to sweare by their lord's hand, and to forswear it they hold it more criminall than to sweare by God. The Scythians also used to seethe the flesh in the hide, and so do the Northern Irish. The Scythians used to draw the blood of the beast living, and to make meat thereof, and so do the Irish in the North still."<sup>1</sup>

insignia of the Kingdom of Scotland) the King of England had carried away. Skene, 'Coronation Stone.' *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries*, vii. 68. *Chron. Picts and Scots*, 280. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 283. See also Keysler, *Antiqu. Sept.* 25, 30; Bonwick, *Anc. Irish*, 50. For the Scandinavian examples, see Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Sept.* viii. 1, Keysler, *Antiqu. Sept.* 93, and Scheffer, *Upsalia*, c. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Spenser's "View," &c., 82, 99. Compare the customs mentioned in *Campion's Tract on Ancient Ireland*, and in *Ware's Antiquitates Hibernicæ*. "As a ratification of a league they drink each other's blood, which is shed for the purpose: this custom has been handed down to them from the rites of the heathen." *Girald. Cambr. Topogr. Hibern.* iii. 22. For the "Abyssinian" practice of using the living animal for food, see Logan, *Scott.*

We will take our next example from Giraldus.<sup>1</sup> The adventure of a ship's crew, in what was called in the 12th century the unexplored expanse of the Sea of Connaught, is told in the very words of the men who saw the naked yellow-haired savages. "Some sailors told me," said the traveller, "that being driven by a storm into that sea they lay for shelter off a small island, and when the storm abated they saw at no great distance the outline of an unknown coast." Soon afterwards they noticed a small canoe approaching them, made of wattled sticks covered over with hides of beasts. In it were two men without any clothing, except broad belts of skin round their waists: they had "long yellow hair, like the Irish, falling below their shoulders and covering most of their bodies." Finding that these men were from some part of Connaught, and could speak the Irish language, the sailors took them on board. The men were found to be pagans, who had never even heard of Christianity: they had never before seen a ship, and everything indeed that they saw appeared to excite their surprise. "Bread and cheese being offered to them, they refused to eat, not knowing what they were. They said that they lived entirely off flesh, fish, and milk, and never wore clothes, except sometimes the skins of beasts in case of a great necessity. They knew nothing of the measurement of the month or the year, and the Gael. ii. 112. Compare the classical description of the customs of the "Concani" in Spain:—

"Visam Britannos hospitibus feros,  
Et lætum equino sanguine Concanum."

Horat. Carm. iii. 4, 33.

"Nec qui, Massageten monstrans feritate parentem,  
Cornipedis fusâ satiariis, Concane, venâ."

Silius Ital. Funic. iii. 360.

<sup>1</sup> Topogr. Hibern. iii. 26.

names of the days of the week were matters entirely beyond their conception."

We may conclude this part of the subject with a few instances of peculiar usages, long continuing in the districts about the frontier of Wales, which can hardly be referred to any other origin than the persistence of ancient habits among the descendants of the Silurian tribes. We need not dwell on such facts as that the country-people of Anglesea or St. David's, or of the legend-haunted Vale of Neath, were prone to believe in fearful goblins, in magical wells, and rocks that spoke or flew by night, in half-human snakes, and "stones of contention" at which the domestic animals would dance and fight as if possessed by a demon. The strangeness of the "lower mythology" prevailing in Wales and Brittany might afford some evidence in favour of its pre-Celtic origin. But no country in Europe is free from those gross superstitions which seem to indicate an underworld of barbarism and remnants of forgotten nations not yet penetrated by the culture of the dominant races. We find instances of a more special and localised kind in the peculiarities noted by Giraldus among the brown-skinned and black-haired people, whom he called "Dardanians," thinking that their forefathers had fled before the Greeks upon the plains of Troy, but in whom more modern ethnologists have recognised the remnants of the Neolithic tribes.

We may observe, for instance, his account of the Silurian Soothsayers, who were found only in the districts that were held by the dark-skinned race. "There are certain people there," (he said,) "whom you will never find anywhere else: when consulted upon any doubtful event, they roar out violently, and are beside themselves and as it were

possessed by a spirit." When roused from their ecstasy they seemed to be waking from a deep sleep, and until they were violently shaken they did not return to their proper senses. One might compare with this account, and with the similar suggestions of Solinus, the story which was told of the gathering at St. Almedha's Fair. A little to the east of Brecknock is a hill where the people of the country-side assembled at an annual feast. There, said Giraldus, you might see them, in the dance which goes round the churchyard, leaping about, or falling to the ground in a trance, or mimicking the actions which they had wrongfully committed upon holydays. "You might see one man putting his hand to the plough, and another goading on the oxen, and lightening their labour with his rustic song: one would be working like a shoemaker, and another as a tanner. You might see a girl with a distaff, drawing out the thread and winding it round the spindle, another walking and sorting the threads for the web, and another in the act of throwing the shuttle and seeming to weave the cloth; but when they were brought into the Church and led to the altar with their offerings, you would be astonished to see them awake and suddenly come to themselves."<sup>1</sup>

In the same connection we may mention the "Cursingwells," where the jealous and disappointed might imprecate destruction, as at the Altar of the "Mount of Cursing," on the basket and store of their neighbour, "the fruit of his body and the fruit of his field." It was thought that by performing the rites of an impious service, by casting in a pin or a pebble inscribed with the enemy's name, the spirit

<sup>1</sup> Girald. Cambr. Itin. Cambr. i. c. 2; Descr. Cambr. i. c. 16.

of the well would cause the victim to pine and die unless the curse should be willingly removed.<sup>1</sup>

Our last example of these abnormal usages shall be taken from the superstition of the Sin-eater, which certainly prevailed in Herefordshire, though it may be doubtful whether it extended to the neighbouring parts of Wales. "In the County of Hereford," said Aubrey, "it was an old custom at funerals to hire poor people who were to take upon them the sins of the person deceased. The manner was that, when the corpse was brought out of the house and laid upon the bier, a loaf of bread was brought out and delivered to the Sin-eater over the corpse, as also a Mazard-bowl of maple-wood full of beer which he was to drink up, and sixpence in money, in consideration whereof he took upon him *ipso facto* all the sins of the defunct and freed him or her from walking after they were dead."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Wirt Sikes in his work upon Welsh

<sup>1</sup> St. Elian's Well in Denbighshire is described as "the head of the Cursing-wells." A full description of the ceremonies will be found in Mr. Wirt Sikes' Collection, *British Goblins*, 355. Among the authorities cited are *Cambrian Pop. Antiq.* 247, and *Archæol. Cambr.* 1st Ser. i. 46. Compare Souvestre's account of the Chapel of *Notre Dame de la Haine* at Tréguier in Brittany. "*Une chapelle dédiée à Notre-Dame de la Haine existe toujours près de Tréguier, et le peuple n'a pas cessé de croire à la puissance des prières qui y sont faites. Parfois encore, vers le soir, on voit des ombres honteuses se glisser furtivement vers ce triste édifice placé au haut d'un coteau sans verdure. Ce sont des jeunes pupilles lassés de la surveillance de leurs tuteurs, des vieillards jaloux de la prospérité d'un voisin, des femmes trop rudement froissées par le despotisme d'un mari, qui viennent là prier pour la mort de l'objet de leur haine. Trois 'Ave,' dévotement répétés, amènent irrévocablement cette mort dans l'année.*" *Derniers Bretons*, i. 92. It is said that "cursing-stones" were known in Devonshire and in parts of Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Aubrey, in the "Remains of Gentilisme," published by the Folk-lore Society; Sikes, *British Goblins*, 325; Hone, *Year-book*, 858. "I remember," says Aubrey, "one of these Sin-eaters, he was a long, lean, ugly,

Folklore, cited an apposite passage from Schuyler's *Travels in Turkestan*: "One poor old man seemed constantly engaged in prayer. On calling attention to him, I was told that he was an '*iskatchi*,' a person who gets his living by taking on himself the sins of the dead, and thenceforth devoting himself to prayer for their souls: he corresponds to the Sin-eater of the Welsh border."<sup>1</sup>

lamentable poor rascal, and lived in a cottage on Ross highway. This ceremony, though rarely used in our days, yet by some people was observed in the strictest days of the Presbyterian government."

<sup>1</sup> Sikes, *British Goblins*. Schuyler, *Turkestan*, ii. 28.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CUSTOMS OF INHERITANCE AND FAMILY RELIGION.

Customs foreign to Celtic and Teutonic usage.—Anomalous laws of inheritance.—Borough-English.—*Maineté*.—*Junger-Recht*.—Various theories of their origin.—Their wide extent.—Primitive forms in Wales and Shetland.—In Cornwall and Brittany.—Distribution of Junior-right in England.—South-eastern district.—Danish towns.—Customs of Kent.—Of Sussex.—Neighbourhood of London.—Manor of Taunton-Deane.—Distribution on the Continent.—North-western France and Flanders.—“Theel-boors” of East Friesland.—Germany—Bornholm—Russia.—Attempts to explain the custom.—Comparison with early forms of primogeniture.—“Principals” or *Préciput*.—Eldest daughter.—The Law of the Sword.—Glanville.—Bracton.—Old primogeniture customs in the *Pays de Caux*.—Ireland.—Norway.—Athens.—Religious origin.—Priesthood of the eldest.—Laws of Manu.—The domestic religion and its survivals.—The fire.—The remembrance-bowl.—Household spirits.—Feast of All Souls.—“*Brande Erbe*.”—Theory of analogous origin of the Junior-right.—Early extension of Ural-Altaic peoples.—Mongolian and Ugrian junior-right.—Tchudic household superstitions.—The Mandrake.

ONE might collect a large assemblage of English country customs having no apparent affinity to Celtic or Teutonic usages, some living still in remote and simple districts, some dying and some dead, but all important and interesting to the student of ancient history. There are ceremonies of an old idolatry and relics of the worship of animals which will be more conveniently considered in a chapter devoted to mythology. Others are mere remnants of old codes and dooms of powers and principalities that have long since been merged in the modern kingdom; and for some no origin can even be guessed.

We shall confine our attention for the present to that anomalous class of usages, which in England are commonly

called Borough-English and are known abroad by such names as *Maineté* and *Jüngsten-Recht*. The English name is taken from a local word used in a trial of the time of Edward III. It appears from the report in the Year-book for the first year of that reign that in Nottingham there were then two tenures of land, called *burgh-Engloyes* and *burgh-Frauncoyes*: "and the usages of these tenures were such, that all the tenements whereof the ancestor died seised in *burgh-Engloyes* ought to descend to the youngest son, and all the tenements in *burgh-Frauncoyes* to the eldest son as at the common law."<sup>1</sup> It is said that Nottingham remained divided as late as 1713 into the English-borough and the French-borough, the customs of descent remaining distinct in each; and even at the present time there are similar customs in that neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

The law-courts take official notice of the strict custom of borough-English, by which the benefit is confined to the youngest son, and the name ought not in theory to be applied to any other usage. There are, however, many analogous rights additions and enlargements springing out of the original custom, by which a preference or pre-eminence in birthright is secured to remoter heirs. Such a custom establishes a new principle which is ever ready to extend itself until a new check is devised; and there are at any

<sup>1</sup> Yearbook, 1 Edw. III. 12 a; Robinson's "Gavelkind," Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> Corner, in his essay on "The custom of Borough-English in Sussex," notices the prevalence of the custom in Scrooby and the Soke of Southwell in Nottinghamshire. The custom in the last-named district was as follows:—If a tenant had children by two or more wives, the youngest son of the first wife, or in default of sons her youngest daughter, took the family inheritance. If lands were purchased during a subsequent marriage, the youngest son of that marriage succeeded to the purchased lands. Complete Copyholder, 506; Hazlitt, Tenures of Land.

rate scores, if not hundreds, of little districts in England where the right has extended to females,—the youngest of the daughters or, as the case may be, the youngest sister or aunt being preferred above the other coheiresses.

These extensions of the custom are all called “borough-English” by analogy to the principal usage, but they should be classified under some more general name. It is not easy, however, to find the appropriate word. We have a choice between “ultimogeniture,” the awkward term proposed by the Real Property Commissioners of the last generation, and such foreign forms as *Jüngsten-Recht*, and *Fuвеigneurie*, which can hardly be excelled for simplicity, or one must coin a new phrase like juniority or junior-right.

Every kind of explanation has been offered to account for the origin of these customs. To some they have appeared unnatural, to others they seem so simple that they might have been expected to grow up in every quarter of the world. But hitherto all the explanations appear to have been unsuccessful; and it may be that the problem is not only difficult but insoluble. The subject, however, is so interesting and so important to the comparative history of society, that it seems to be worth while to deal with the discussion once more, or at least to collect some of the materials which may hereafter be used for the solution of the long-standing difficulty.

If we are to describe the area from which we must collect examples of the junior-right, we shall find that it has flourished not only in England, and in most parts of Central and Northern Europe, but also in some remote and disconnected regions with which our subject is not at present concerned. We shall find it occurring among

Ugrian tribes about the Ural Mountains, in Hungarian villages, and in Slavonic communities; and we might trace its presence in Central Asia, on the confines of China, in the Punjab,<sup>1</sup> in the mountains of Arracan, and even, it is said, among the New Zealand Maoris. It is plain that we must to some extent restrict the scope of our inquiry. We shall find reason later for extending it over a wider tract comprising the regions in the North and East of Europe and the neighbouring parts of Asia. But our attention will for the present be mainly directed to the Celtic countries and to those of the western peoples with whom the English nation is connected.

We have not as yet found examples of this exceptional law either in Scotland or in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> In the Shetland Isles, however, it was the practice, from whatever source derived, that the youngest child of either sex should have the dwelling-house when the property came to division.<sup>3</sup>

The custom appears in Wales in what was probably its most primitive form. According to the laws of Hoel the Good, dating from the tenth century at latest, the inherit-

<sup>1</sup> 'In all enquiries into the origin and developement of rural institutions in the Punjab, the Kángra District has special importance and interest. Among the Kanets of Koth Sowúr (in this district) the custom was, that the *Vands*, or separate holdings, were indivisible. If a man died possessed of one *Vand* only, it went to his *Kanna léta*, or youngest son; if he held two, the other went to the next youngest.' Tupper, Punjab Customary Law, 182, 183. Compare the customs of the Frisic Theel-lands, *post*, 192.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the question, whether a preference of the youngest, similar in kind to the custom of borough-English, can be traced in the old Irish family settlements, see Maine, Hist. Earl. Inst. 210, 216, 223; Senchus Mor. ii. *lv.* 279; iii. *cxl.* 333, 493; McLennan, Studies, 452. As to Hungary, see Kövy, Summ. Juris. Hungaric. s. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Wallace, Description of Orkney, 91.

ance was to be so divided that the homestead, with eight acres of land and the best implements of the household, should fall to the youngest son. The different editions of these laws are contained in the Dimetian Code for South Wales, and in the Venedotian Code for "Gwynnedd" or the northern parts of the principality. Both are to the same effect as regards the point in question; but the former is the more precise and best adapted for quotation:—"When brothers share their patrimony" (so ran the enactment or statement of custom) "the youngest is to have the principal messuage (*tyddyn*), and all the buildings and eight acres of land, and the hatchet, the boiler, and the ploughshare, because a father cannot give these three to anyone but his youngest son, and though they are pledged yet they can never become forfeited: then let every son take a homestead with eight acres of land; and the youngest is to divide, and they are to choose in succession from the eldest unto the youngest."<sup>1</sup> But the rule only applied to estates comprising at least one inhabited house; and on dividing a property of any other kind the youngest son was entitled to no exceptional privilege.

The privilege of the youngest existed in other Celtic

<sup>1</sup> *Leges Walliæ*, (Dimet. Code), ii, 23, (*Venedot. Code*), ii, 12, 16. Mr. J. A. Corbett, in his edition of Rice Merrick's *Book of Glamorgan*, refers to the suggestion that this preference of the youngest might have led to a regular Borough-English Tenure, and says "though this tenure is the usual one for customary lands in the Vale of Glamorgan, I do not know of its existence in the Hills, and in the Manor of Coity, which is divided into Coity Wallia and Coity Anglia, the descent of customary lands in the first was to sons equally, and in the second to the youngest son. I think it probable that Borough-English was introduced from England, perhaps from being the most convenient custom for tenants in villeinage." (*Morganniæ Archaïographia*, 148.)

districts, as in parts of Cornwall and Devon, in Flanders,<sup>1</sup> and in several extensive lordships in Brittany. We have no means of estimating its original influence in the last-named region; for, when the customs of the province were codified by the feudal lawyers, the nobles set their faces against the abnormal usage; and we are told that in the seventeenth century the area in which it survived was almost daily diminishing.<sup>2</sup>

The distribution of the junior-right in England requires a more particular notice. The custom was most prevalent in the south-eastern districts, in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey,

<sup>1</sup> See the customs of Lille:—" *Du droit de Maisneté. Par la coutûme, quand père ou mère termine vie par mort, délaissant plusieurs enfans, et un lieu manoir et heritage cottier venant de son patrimoine, au fils maisné appartient droict de maisneté audit lieu et héritage. Pour lequel il peut prendre jusques à un quartier d'héritage seulement au moins si tant ne contient le dit lieu: avec la maîtresse chambre, deux couples en la maison, la porte sur quatre esteux, les porchils carin fournil et colombier, s'ils sont séparéz, le burg du puich, et tous arbres portant fruicts et renforcez, et autres choses réputées pour héritages, &c. En déffaut de fils la fille maisnée a pareil droict en faisant recompense telle que dessus.*" *Coutûmier Général*, ii. 901. Compare the similar customs of Cassel, *ibid.* i. 699.

<sup>2</sup> The districts affected by the custom are enumerated in the *Coutûmier Général*. They included the Duchy of Rohan, the Commandery of Pallacrec, and the domains of the Abbeys of Rellec and Begare. The peculiar descent was an incident of the servile tenure known as *Quévaïse*. "*L'homme laissant plusieurs enfans légitimes, le dernier des mâles succède seul au tout de la tenue à l'exclusion des autres, et à défaut des mâles la dernière des filles.*" *Usance de Quévaïse Art. 6; Cout. Gén. iv. 407.* "*En succession directe de père et de mère, le fils juveigneur et dernier né desdits tenanciers succède au tout de la tenue, et en exclut les autres, soient fils ou filles.*" *Usance de Rohan, Cout. Gén. iv. 412.* "*Vers Corlay il y a une usance, telle qu'elle se pratique en quelques endroits du Duché de Rohan, sçavoir est le droit de Quévaïze, auquel le dernier né, soit fils ou fille, demeure seigneur de tout l'héritage. Es terres dépendantes de l'Abbaye du Rellec l'on observe la mesme usance qu'audit Corlay, sçavoir est le droit de Quévaïse, qui journellement s'altère en droit convenancier.*" *Usage de Cornouaille, Cout. Gén. iv. 410.*

in a ring of manors encircling ancient London, and to a less extent in Essex and the East-Anglian district. There are few examples in Hampshire, but further west a great part of Somerset in one continuous tract was under the law or custom in question. In the Midland counties the usage was comparatively rare, at the rate of two or three manors to a county ; but it occurred in four out of the five great Danish towns, viz. ; in Derby, Stamford, Leicester, and Nottingham, as well as in other important boroughs, as Stafford and the City of Gloucester. To the north of a line drawn between the Humber and Mersey the usage appears to have been unknown.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Corner gives the following instances:—"The custom is much more extensive than is generally supposed. In Cornwall I have found one manor subject to it ; in Derbyshire the town of Derby ; in Devon two manors ; in Gloucestershire the city of Gloucester, where it governed the descent of freeholds." In Hampshire, where the custom is called 'cradle-holding,' he found nine manors subject to it ; in Herefordshire four ; in Hertfordshire one ; in Huntingdonshire three ; in Leicestershire one ; in Lincolnshire the town of Stamford ; in Middlesex sixteen manors ; in Norfolk twelve ; in Northamptonshire one. "In the town of Nottingham this customary mode of descent is now unknown, but it exists at Scrooby and Southwell, and in three other manors in the county ; in Shropshire in three ; in Staffordshire in part of the borough of Stafford and two manors. In Suffolk there are thirty, in Surrey twenty-eight, in Sussex 140 manors, and in Warwickshire two, in which the custom of borough-English is the law of descent." "Borough-English in Sussex," 13, 14. Some of the districts here counted as simple manors are in reality Sokes, comprising in each case a number of subordinate manors. He only noticed one instance in Kent, whereas the custom at one time ran throughout the whole county. The manors of Pencarne and Liswery in Monmouthshire, and the manors of Coity and other lordships in the Vale of Glamorgan, should be added to the foregoing list. Mr. Charnock found the custom prevailing in the following places in Essex, viz., at Alresford, Boxted Hall, South Bersted, Chesterford, Chishall, Dedham Hall, Beaumont, Maldon, Wivenhoe, Wikes, Wrabness, Walthamstow, and Woodford, where the custom is extended to younger brothers. *Manorial Customs of Essex*, 9.

It will be sufficient to examine two or three of the most important districts. We shall consider the character of this local law as it anciently existed in Kent, and as it is found in Sussex, in the vicinity of London, and as far to the west as the Valley of Taunton Deane.

Every one knows that most of the land in Kent is subject to the "Custom of Gavelkind," or in other words that on the death of a landowner who leaves no will his sons will inherit equally, without any preference of the eldest. There are other qualities attached to lands of this tenure which need not be here discussed. But there was at one time a custom throughout the county, which is described in the local codes with considerable minuteness of detail, by which a distinct birthright was secured for the youngest of the customary heirs. We shall quote the entire passage from the thirteenth-century Custumal.

1. "If any tenant in gavelkind die, having inherited gavelkind lands and tenements, let all his sons divide that heritage equally. And if there be no male heir, let the partition be made among the females in the same way as among brothers. And let the messuage (or homestead) also be divided among them, but the hearth-place shall belong to the youngest son or daughter (the others receiving an equivalent in money), and as far as 40 feet round the hearth-place, if the size of the heritage will allow it. And then let the eldest have the first choice of the portions and the others afterwards in their order."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> a. "*Si ascun tenant en gauylekende murt, et seit inherité de terres e de tenementz in gauylekende, que touz ses fitz partent cel héritage per ouele porcioun. Et si nul heir madle ne seit, seit la partye fait entre les females sicome entres les frères. Et la mesuage seit autreci entre eux départi, mes le astre demorra al puné [ou al punée], e la value seite de ceo livré a chescun des*

The next paragraph relates to the case where several houses had been built within the inclosure or curtilage of one homestead: and here again the youngest heir enjoyed a "junior-right," being allowed in each house the principal fire-place, on making contribution to the rest as before.

2. "In like manner as to other houses which shall be found in such a homestead, let them be equally divided among the heirs, foot by foot if need be, except the cover of the hearth which remains to the youngest, as was said before: nevertheless, let the youngest make reasonable amends to his co-parceners for their share by the award of good men."<sup>1</sup>

These, it is added, were among the usages of the Kentishmen "before the Conquest, and at the Conquest,

*parceners de cel héritage a xl. pes de cel astre, si le tenement le peut suffrir. Et donkz le eyné [frère] eit la primere electioun, e les autres après per degré.*" The reading followed is that of the copy belonging to Lambarde the antiquarian, which was admitted in evidence to prove the customs of Kent, in the case of *Launder v. Brookes*, in the reign of Charles I., Cro. Car. 562. See Lambarde, *Peramb. Kent*, 549; Robinson's *Gavelkind*, 355. The words within brackets are omitted in Tottel's printed edition of the "*Consuetudines Kanciæ*," 1556, and the MS. at Lincoln's Inn, which are considered to be of inferior authority.

<sup>1</sup> *b. Ensement de mesons que serront troues en tieus mesuages, seient departye entre les heirs per ouele porcioun, ceo est asavoir per peies sil est mistier, sauue le couert del astre, que remeynt al puné ou al punée sicome il est auandist, issi que nequedont que le puné face renable [reasonable] gré a ces parceners de la partye que a eux appent par agard de bone gentz.*" The word "*astre*" is often used in old documents for the hearth, and for the dwelling-house. Bracton, ii. 85; Coke upon Litt. 8 b.; Liber Assisarum, 23. A provincial use of the word in the latter sense in Shropshire is noticed by Lambarde, *Peramb. Kent*, 563. See "*Tenures of Kent*," 171. Other instances are found in the local idioms of Montgomeryshire, and in many parts of the West of England, where "*Auster-land*" is that which had a house upon it in ancient times.

and ever since until now.”<sup>1</sup> The practice of preferring the youngest, however, has in this county been for a long time obsolete.

The principle of “junior-right” prevails so generally upon copyhold lands in Sussex that it has often been called the common law of the county; and in the Rape of Lewes the custom in fact is nearly universal.<sup>2</sup> A comparison of the manorial usages will show the following results. The privilege is usually extended to the heirs in remote degrees; the youngest of the sons, daughters, brothers or sisters, uncles or aunts, or male and female collateral relations, being entitled to the customary preference. When there are several kinds of tenure the benefit of the custom is confined to the more ancient. In some places, for example, there are two kinds of copyhold land, the one called “Bond-land” and the other “Soke-land.” In such cases the custom is confined to the Bond-land; and in some manors the privilege of the youngest is lost if his predecessor were the owner of Soke-land at the time of his coming into the Bond-land. “Some of these customs are very strange” (said a learned writer<sup>3</sup>), “such as that of the manor of Wadhurst, where there are two sorts of copyhold tenures; and the custom is, that if

<sup>1</sup> “*Ces sont les usages de gavylekend, e de gavylekendeis en Kent, que furēnt devant le conquest e en le conquest e totes houres jeskes en ça.*” This conclusion is only found in the best copy of the Custumal.

<sup>2</sup> See Corner, “Custom of Borough-English in Sussex.” The customs of 140 manors are collected in this useful work, which was reprinted from the 6th volume of the Sussex Archæological Collections. There is another list of the Sussex customs among the collections for that county preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Nelson, *Lex Maneriorum*, citing the observations of Chief Justice Anderson, in *Kemp v. Carter*, 1 Leonard, 55.

the tenant was first admitted to Soke-land and afterwards to Bond-land the heir-at-law should inherit both; and if he was first admitted to Bond-land then his youngest son should inherit both; but if he was admitted to both at the same time, then his eldest son should take the whole." There is a similar usage in the manors of Framfield and Mayfield, where in each case the written collection of customs forms a valuable repository of ancient law. In those districts, and in many others in the neighbourhood, the copyhold lands which have been reclaimed from the forest-waste are known as "Assart-lands." The distinction between them and the more ancient holdings appears in the following extract:—"If any man or woman be first admitted to any of the Assart-lands and die seised of Assart-lands and Bond-lands, then the custom is that the eldest son be admitted for heir to all, and if he or she have no son, then the eldest daughter likewise. And if the said tenant be first admitted to Bond-land, the youngest son or youngest daughter shall be heir to all his customary lands."<sup>1</sup>

In Pevensey also there are three different tenures of freehold lands, of which the first goes to the common-law heir, and the others to the youngest son, and in other parts of the same county, as in the manor of Plumpton, and on the lands "between the watch-crosses at Boxgrove," there are freeholds that are subject to the customary rule.

<sup>1</sup> At Rotherfield the custom is still more intricate. There are three kinds of land, Assart, Farthing-land, and Cotman-land. To the first the eldest son is heir: to the second the youngest son, and in default of sons the youngest daughter; and the Cotman-lands descend to the youngest son, but failing a son are divided among all the daughters.

In the cluster of manors round London there are several varieties of the custom. Its benefit in Islington and Edmonton was confined to the youngest son; at Ealing, Acton, and Isleworth, it extended to the brothers and male collateral heirs; and in a great number of instances the privilege was given to females as well as to males in every degree of relationship.<sup>1</sup> These variations are of no very great importance, the custom being modified in all parts of the country by the rule, that special proof must be given of any extension of that strict form of borough-English for the benefit of the youngest son of which alone the courts have cognizance. It is of greatest interest to observe, that in several places near London "it is the custom for the land to descend to the youngest, if it is under a particular value, as five pounds; but if it is worth more, it is parted among all the sons."<sup>2</sup>

We have shown the existence of a wide district, extending along the whole line of the "Saxon Shore," from the Wash to the neighbourhood of the Solent, and taking in the whole of the seven south-eastern counties, in which the anomalous custom is known to have especially prevailed. We shall now turn to that extensive district in Somerset which is known as the Manor of Taunton-Deane. Throughout this large tract of country, which extends over no less than twenty-six parishes, the custom of preferring the youngest has survived in a peculiarly definite form. The manor is perhaps best known for its strange exaggeration of the law of dower: "If a tenant dies seised of copyholds of inheritance, his wife ought to inherit the

<sup>1</sup> As at Fulham, Putney, Sheen, Mortlake, Battersea, Roehampton, Wimbledon, Wandsworth, Down, Barnes, and Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> Real Property Commission, 1st Report; Evidence, p. 254.

same lands as heir to her husband, and to be admitted thereto to hold the same to her and her heirs for ever." But we are more concerned here with the case in which the tenant dies without leaving a widow to inherit. In that case, says the Custumal, "if he hath more sons than one, the youngest hath used to inherit the same as sole heir to his father : and so likewise of daughters, if he die without issue male, the youngest daughter ought to inherit the same as sole heir to her father. But if he has neither wife nor son nor daughter, then the youngest brother is to inherit, and if he has no brother then the youngest sister ; and if he has neither brother nor sister, then this is a rule in the said custom that the youngest next of kin . . . ought and hath used to inherit and hold the lands to him and his heirs for ever."<sup>1</sup>

When we pass to the Continent, we find examples too numerous to be mentioned in detail : but their distribution will appear sufficiently from the following general list:—

*a.* The Junior-right existed, under the names of "*Maineté*" and "*Madelstad*," and in forms ranging between the descent of the whole inheritance and the privileged succession to articles of household furniture, in Picardy, Artois, and Hainault, in Ponthieu and Vivier, in the districts round Arras, Douai, Amiens, Lille and Cassel, and in the neighbourhood of St. Omer.<sup>2</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Shillibeer, Customs of Taunton Deane, 42 ; Locke, Customs of the Manor of Taunton, 2 ; Watkins, Copyholds, App. 12 ; Collinson, Hist. Somerset, iii. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Bouthors. "*Coutûmes locales du Bailliage d'Amiens*," (Amiens, 1853). The following is a list of the customary districts in Picardy and Artois, described by M. Bouthors : "Adinfer, Arras, Bavaincourt, Blairville, Brontelle, Callien, Croy, Gouy, Guémappes, Hebuterne, Hornoy, Lignières, Rassery, Rettembes, Rézencourt, Selincourt, Warlus, Wancour."

same custom has been noticed at Grimberghe in Brabant.<sup>1</sup>

b. Similar customs were prevalent in many parts of Friesland. The most noticeable of these was the "*Fus Theelacticum*," or custom of the "Theel-lands," doles, or allottable lands, at Norden in East Friesland, not far from the mouth of the Ems. The "Theel-boers" of this district continued even in the present century to hold their allotments under a complicated system of rules designed to prevent an unprofitable subdivision of estates. An inherited allotment was indivisible: on the death of the father it passed intact to the youngest son, and on his death without issue it fell into the possession of the whole community.<sup>2</sup>

See Corner, Borough-English in Sussex, 13; Merlin, Répertoire, s. v. "*Maineté*"; Ducange, s. v. "*Maineté*"; and the Flemish Customals of Lille and Cassel. The word "*madelstad*," as there used, seems to signify "*manoir*," or "principal dwelling-house." M. Bouthors classifies the customs as follows:—(1) *Privilège du puiné, maisné fils, ou maisnée fille, sur certaines successions*: Coutûmes i. 177, 199, 384, 389, 406, 428; ii. 269, 272, 274, 305, 389. (2). *Choix d'un manoir*, ii. 219, 277, 366, 517. (3). *Chef-lieu ou principal manoir*, i. 167, 182; ii. 419, 432, 495, 615, 617. (4). *La maison des père et mère, appelée Quief-mez*, ii. 622. (5). *Restrictions. Le maisné prend la moitié, &c.*, ii. 286, 366, 498, 505, 622, 666, 700. (6). *Préciput mobilier, Choix de trois pièces de ménage, &c.*, ii. 420, 432. We may add one or two examples from the Coutûme de Saint Omer:—"Quand le trépas du dernier vivant est advenu . . . le fils maisné peut, comme en Bredenarde, avoir le manoir ainsi que l'avoit le dernier vivant, en grandeur de cinq quarterons de terre, &c. Et là ou il n'y a nul fils, le droit appartient à la fille puisnée." (Audruic), p. 253, 265. "*Le fils moins âgé peut retenir le manoir qu'avoit le dernier vivant desdits père et mère de la grandeur de cinq quartiers de terre, &c.*" (Bredenarde), p. 147, Append. xiii.

<sup>1</sup> "*C'était le plus jeune fils qui héritait de la propriété paternelle dans le Pays de Grimberghe en Brabant.*" Bastian, Rechtsverhältniss. 185.

<sup>2</sup> "*Es ist gleichwohl ein grosser Unterschied zwischen Erb-Theelen und angekauften Theelen, welches aus nachfolgenden Exempel leichtlich zu vernehmen. Hat ein Vater in einem Theel ein Erb-Theel und hat*

c. Another set of instances may be taken from local customs, now superseded by the Civil Code, in Westphalia and those parts of the Rhine provinces which were under the "Saxon Law," and in the Department of Herford near Minden, of which the natives claim to belong to the purest Saxon race. So strong, we are told, is the hold of the custom on the peasants that "until quite recently no elder child ever demanded his legal obligatory share: the children acquiesced in the succession of the youngest, even if no portions were left to them, and never dreamed of claiming under the law of indefeasible inheritance; and even if the peasant died without making the usual will the children acquiesced in the passing of the undivided inheritance to the youngest son."<sup>1</sup>

d. A fashion of a similar kind has been noticed in Silesia and in certain parts of Bavaria, where the laws of succession failed to break down the time-honoured privilege of the youngest, his rights being preserved by a secret settlement or by the force of local opinion.<sup>2</sup>

zugleich viele Söhne und der Vater stirbet so behält der jüngste Sohn die Erb-Theele für sich allein, als des Vaters jüngster Erbe, die andern Brüder aber mögen als eheliche Erben ein jeder ein Theele, so bald sie sich verheurathet, und eher nicht angreifen und Bauren-Recht thun und verrichten. Hat er aber ein Kauff-Theel, und verstirbet, so könnten die Kinder, so viel deren sind, ein jeglicher einen ganzen Theel, wie vorhin von denen Erb-Theelen vermeldet, nicht angreifen, sondern dann dividiren sie einen Theele unter sich allein." Wenckebach, *Fus Theelacticum Redivivum* (1759), p. 69. See Edinb. Rev. (1819), vol. xxxii. for an article on the Frisian Customs, and Robertson, *Early Kings of Scotland*, 253, 266. But the rules are difficult of comprehension, except by the light of the cases and references contained in Wenckebach's elaborate treatise.

<sup>1</sup> Foreign Office Report on Tenures of Land, 1869, i. 235, 424 (Harris-Gastrell).

<sup>2</sup> See the Report on Tenures, i. 79, ii. 133, as to a similar practice in certain districts in Würtemberg.

e. There are properties, called "*Hofgüter*," in the Forest of the Odenwald and in the thinly populated district to the north of the Lake of Constance, which cannot be divided, but descend to the youngest son, or in default of sons to the eldest daughter. Many examples might be found in Suabia, in the Grisons, in Elsass and other German and partly German countries, where old customs of this kind still influence the feelings of the peasantry, although they have ceased to be legally binding.<sup>1</sup>

f. There is no sign of the Junior-right in Denmark or on the Scandinavian mainland. But the youngest son has his privilege in the Island (once the Kingdom) of Bornholm, an outlying appendage of the Danish Crown: and the traces of a similar right have been observed in the territory of the old Republic of Lübeck.<sup>2</sup>

g. In the south and west of Russia it is becoming the fashion to break up the joint families and to establish the children in houses of their own; and it is said that the youngest son is regarded in such cases as the proper successor to the family dwelling-house. In the northern provinces, however, the ordinary rule of primogeniture is preferred.

The general similarity of the customs which we have found alike among Celts, Germans, and Slavonians, must lead to the belief that they had their origin in some such

<sup>1</sup> Report on Tenures, i. 94. For other instances see Ducange, *s. v.* "*Maineté*," "*Locum habuisse in familiâ Hochstatanâ auctor est Guicciardinus in Descriptione Belgii.*" "*In Corvei erbt der jüngste Sohn das Haus. Im Hofe Or folgte der älteste, im Hofe Chor der jüngste Sohn.*" Grimm, *Alterth.* 475. For Elsass, see Bastian, *Rechtsverh.*, 185; and as to Altenburg, see Götting. *Gelehrt. Anz.* (1865), 453.

<sup>2</sup> Report on Tenures, i. 94.

common principle as that the youngest son has a special interest in the place which the parents have inhabited. But so capriciously is the belief distributed, and in such widely separated areas, that it seems almost impossible to ascertain the lines along which it has passed, or the centres from which it has radiated. The explanations which have been put forward are too narrow to cover the facts; and on a wider survey, which has only of late years become possible, we are forced to surrender the arguments that formerly found a sufficient origin for the custom in the principles of the English law.

We need not repeat the stories which passed current a century ago, accounting for the preference of the youngest by the tyranny of heathen lords, by wild tales of barbarism, and fantastic legends of Thule. Nor need it be supposed that (in the words of a learned antiquary) "the custom was caught we know not how, and by the name may seem to have been brought in by some whimsical odd Angle that meant to cross the world."<sup>1</sup> Nor do we attach importance to that passage in the preface of Thomas de Walsingham where he derives the Northern practice from an age before the taking of Troy.<sup>2</sup> The reason advanced by Littleton "had a greater air of probability," and it may be taken as the best exposition of the arguments which a lawyer might employ, if engaged in supporting the custom. For it is true, no doubt, that "the youngest son after the death of his parents is least able to help himself and most likely to be destitute of other support; and therefore (as we are told) the custom provided for his maintenance by

<sup>1</sup> N. Bacon, *Laws of England* (1739), 66; Corner, *Custom of Borough-English*, 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Blackstone, *Comm.* ii. 2, 6; Walsingham, *Ypodeigma Neustriæ*, 1.

casting the inheritance upon him.”<sup>1</sup> The commentator added that this would appear to be the true reason, if one considered where the practice had prevailed; for in an ancient borough a tradesman could expect no more than a competent maintenance and a convenient habitation; “as he was not rich himself, he could not bring up his sons to idleness, but found it most for his own ease and their benefit to send them out into the world advanced with a portion of his goods; but as the youngest son was last in turn he was the child, if any, left unadvanced at the death of his father, and therefore the custom prudently directed the descent of the real estate, generally little more than the father’s house, where it was most wanted.” And where the usage prevailed in country districts, it was easy in the same way to account for it by the poverty of the tenants; “being men of the meanest sort and condition, below the hopes of breeding their sons to be gentlemen, the elder sons applied themselves to husbandry, or obtained farms for themselves on the same hard terms as before; and the small advantage of the father’s tenement was left to descend to the youngest son, as a mean support of his infancy.”<sup>2</sup>

Sir Henry Maine has connected the growth of the right with the prerogative of the father, as head and master of the family. The unemancipated son would be preferred in the inheritance “according to ideas which appear to have once been common to the Romans, to the Welsh and Irish Celts, and to the original observers, whoever they were, of the English custom.”<sup>3</sup> Others have traced it, by

<sup>1</sup> Littleton’s Tenures, 167, 211; Year-book, 8 Edw. IV., 19 a.

<sup>2</sup> See Robinson on “Gavelkind,” Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> Maine, Early Hist. Inst. 224.

a similar train of thought, to a practice observed by Tacitus. It was not the German habit for anyone to bear arms before his capacity was approved by the State. A chieftain, in a public meeting, or the father or one of the kinsmen, invested the boy with a spear and shield. That was their way of coming of age, the first step towards honour. "Up to that time the boy was regarded as part of a household, but afterwards as a member of the commonwealth."<sup>1</sup> It is assumed, but without much reason, that this entitled a young man to be supported in future by the state; and that in general the youngest son alone would remain in a subordinate position as part of his father's household. While there was land enough to spare, the emancipated children would, on this theory, be independent; and, by the time that all the lands had been distributed, the right of the youngest must be supposed to have risen in dignity, and his brothers to have lost their inheritance, merely because the elder brothers among their ancestors had originally received an allotment.

When we look to the words of Tacitus,<sup>2</sup> it seems far more probable that the Germans of his day divided the inheritance among all the sons, with some reservation of a birthright or extra share for the eldest. A privilege of this kind has often been secured by the custom of a district to the eldest son or daughter; the house and a plot of land "as far as a chicken could fly," or particular articles of furniture, were exempted from the usual partition.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Germ. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Germ. cc. 18, 20, 32.

<sup>3</sup> In France the customary privilege was called "*Vol du chapon*." "*Gentilhomme qui n'a que des filles, les doit partager également; mais l'aîné outre sa portion aura la maison paternelle et le vol du chapon.*" Établiss. St. Louis, i. 10.

Notwithstanding the affection displayed for the sister's children, a man's own sons, said Tacitus, succeeded to the whole of his property; and if there were no sons, the next in degree to inherit were the brothers and the uncles on both sides. So we are told that the wife's portion of cattle and armour was left to descend to her sons; and it was only in one tribe that the war-horse was given to the son who was most distinguished for bravery, instead of passing as an heir-loom to the eldest according to the German fashion.

It is in the history of primogeniture that we must look for the origin of the privilege of the youngest. The rights of the eldest have been gathered from many sources; but at present we shall not stop to consider how the right of the eldest heir to the kingdom was established in the Middle Ages, or by what steps an artificial rule of inheritance was extended by the feudal lawyers. The point of importance for our argument is that an ancient custom of primogeniture or benefit of eldership prevailed in many parts of England before the feudal system was invented.

In Bede's *Life of St. Benedict* a passage occurs, which shows that some such privilege was even in his day reserved to the eldest son "as the first-fruits of the family," when a heritage came to be divided according to the laws of Northumbria.<sup>1</sup> In some parts of Westphalia, it is said, the descent of the peasants' holdings has always been from the father to the eldest son. In parts of Würtemberg it is usual for the eldest son to succeed to the farm, even in his father's lifetime, the father usually retiring to a cottage on

<sup>1</sup> "Quomodo terreni parentes, quem primum partu fuderint, eum principium liberorum suorum cognoscere, et ceteris in partiendâ suâ hereditate præferendum ducere solent." Bede, *Vita S. Bened.* s. 11.

the same property.<sup>1</sup> In certain districts of our own country the birth-right took the form of a succession to the house, or the best of the houses, or the best of each kind of furniture. In the district of Archenfield, between Hereford and Monmouth, where the old local codes show a curious mixture of Welsh and English customs, the house and lands were divided between the sons on the death of their father: but there is this difference, says an ancient record of their laws,<sup>2</sup> that certain *principals*, as they call them, pass to the eldest as heirlooms, and are not subject to partition, such as the best bed and furniture, the best table and the like, all which the men of Archenfield retain as derived to them from great antiquity even before the Norman Conquest. In the same way by the custom of the Hundred of Stretford<sup>3</sup> in Oxfordshire the eldest son was entitled to keep for his "principals" the best article of each kind of chattel, as the best waggon and plough, the best table and chair, the best of the chests and cups and platters. A right of this kind was very common in France, where the benefit of the eldest was known as the *Préciput*.

The preference of the eldest daughter in the succession to the cottages and copyhold tenancies in several English districts appears to indicate the survival of some ancient

<sup>1</sup> Report on Tenures, i. 235-427. Compare Grimm's account; "Die oldeste sohne weren neger bi den lande te bliven." Loener, Hof-Recht. s. 49. "Noch heut zu Tag pflegt bei manchen Erbschaften der älteste Sohn oder die älteste Tochter einige Stücke voraus zu empfangen." Deutsch. Alterth. 475. For an Indian parallel to the Würtemberg usage, see Punjab Customary Law, ii. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Rot. de Quo Warr. 20 Edw. I. Blount's Tenures, 165. Hazlitt, Tenures of Land, s. v. "Irchinfield."

<sup>3</sup> Coke, First Inst. 18 b.

leaning towards primogeniture, independent in its origin from the feudal rule that certain dignities, offices, and castles, held by "the law of the sword," should be inherited by the eldest co-heiress.<sup>1</sup> The traces of such a custom are found in the Isle of Man, in the extensive domains of Castlerigg and Derwentwater in Cumberland, at Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland, at Weardale in Durham, and in several parts of the Southern and Midland Counties.<sup>2</sup> At Tynemouth it was the local law that the eldest daughter surviving her parents should take the father's estate for her life. And in some of the southern manors the primogeniture of females is not confined to daughters, but extends in some places to the eldest sister or aunt, and elsewhere to relations in more distant degrees.

A similar distinction between the feudal rule and the ancient rustic custom may be found in the writings of the great jurists who explained the nature of the English common law.

We should first consider a remarkable passage from

<sup>1</sup> Bracton, *De Legibus*, ii. 76; Coke, First Inst. 165 a.

<sup>2</sup> For the custom in the Isle of Man, see Camden's *Britannia*, 1454; King, *Descr. Isle of Man*; *Statutes of the Isle of Man*, 1643, 1703, 1777. For the Northern Counties, see Nicholson and Burn, *History of Cumberland and Westmorland*; and see also *Real Prop. Comm.* 3rd Rep. App. 4; Kenny, *Primogeniture* (Cambridge, 1878), 39. For the custom of Tynemouth, see Robinson, *Gavelkind*, c. 2, and his appendix. The lists of customs in Watkins on *Copyholds*, and Hazlitt's *Tenures of Land*, and Coke, *First Institute*, 140 b., should be consulted as to similar usages in the following list of manors: Bray in Berkshire, Marden in Herefordshire, Cashibury and St. Stephens in Hertfordshire, Middleton Cheney in Northamptonshire, Chertsey Beaumont, Farnham, Worplesdon, and Pirbright, all in Surrey; the same usage appears at Cheltenham, according to the oldest edition of the customs, and at Framfield in Sussex, where it applied only to "Assart Lands."

Glanville which appears to have been equally applicable to the state of England and Scotland in the twelfth century. Glanville took, in the first place, the case of a knight or a tenant by military service. To such the new Norman law was applicable, and the firstborn son succeeded to the whole of his father's property. But if the estate was held by a money-rent or by the rendering of agricultural services, which was called a tenure in socage, the custom of the district was left to determine whether the inheritance should pass to all the sons, or to the eldest, or to the youngest son. "If he were a free-socman, the inheritance in that case will be divided among all the sons according to their number in equal shares, if the socage tenement were partible by ancient custom; the chief messuage was, however, reserved for the firstborn son in honour of his seniority, but only on the terms of his making compensation to his other brothers from the rest of his property. But, if it were not anciently partible, then by the custom of some places the firstborn son will take the whole inheritance but by the custom of others the youngest son is the heir."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Cum quis hæreditatem habens moriatur, si unicum filium hæredem habuerit, indistincte verum est quod filius ille patri suo succedit in toto. Si plures reliquerit filios tunc distinguitur utrum ille fuerit miles seu per feodum militare tenens, an liber sockmannus. Quia si miles fuerit vel per militiam tenens, tunc secundum jus regni Angliæ primogenitus filius patri succedit in totum, ita quod nullus fratrum suorum partem inde de jure petere potest. Si vero fuerit liber sockmannus tunc quidem dividetur hæreditas inter omnes filios quotquot sunt per partes æquales, si fuerit socagium illud antiquitus divisum; salvo tamen capitali messuagio primogenito filio pro dignitate æsneciæ suæ, ita tamen quod in aliis rebus satisfaciatur aliis ad valentiam. Si vero non fuerit antiquitus divisum, tunc primogenitus secundum quorundam consuetudinem totam hæreditatem obtinebit; secundum autem quorundam consuetudinem postnatus filius

In the course of the century following, the rule of primogeniture was extended in several directions. The King claimed a prerogative of abolishing such laws and customs as diminished the strength of the kingdom, or at least to change them by his special grace in the case of a deserving and faithful follower; and the right was freely exercised in Kent, both by the King and by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the privilege was delegated, until it was disallowed in part by the judges in the reign of Edward II., and soon afterwards became wholly obsolete.<sup>1</sup>

hæres est. Item si filiam tantum unam reliquerit quis heredem, tunc id obtinet indistincte quod de filio dictum est. Sin autem plures filias, tunc quidem indistincte inter ipsas dividetur hereditas, sive fuerit miles sive sockmannus pater earum, salvo tamen primogenitæ filiæ capitali messuagio sub formâ præscriptâ.”—Glanv. vii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> The question was discussed in Gatewayk’s Case, commenced in 6 Edw. II. and adjourned into the Common Pleas; 9 Edw. II. C. B. Rot. 240; Rot. Cart. 4 Edw. I. No. 17. The Charter on which the case turned will be found in the *Abbreviatio Placitorum*, in Robinson’s Gavelkind, c. 5, and in the Tenures of Kent, 369. This “notable record” contains a plea, that the tenure of the land was changed to knight-service by the grant of the lord, confirmed by the King, and ought therefore to descend to the eldest son: the King wrote a letter to the judges informing them of his prerogative, but apparently without much effect; and in the course of his letter he quoted at length the following charter granted by Edward I.:—

“Edwardus, Dei gratiâ . . . archiepiscopis &c. et fidelibus suis salutem. Ad regiæ celsitudinis potestatem pertinet et officium, ut partium suarum leges et consuetudines, quas justas et utiles censet, ratas habeat, et observari faciat inconcussas; illas autem, quæ regni robur quandoque diminuerent potius quam augere aut conservare videntur, abolere convenit, aut saltem in melius apud fideles suos et bene meritos de speciali gratiâ commutare: cumque ex diutinâ consuetudine, quæ in comitatu Kanciæ quoad divisionem et partitionem terrarum et tenementorum, quæ in gavelikendam tenere solent, frequenter acciderit, ut terræ et tenementa, quæ in quorundam manibus integra ad magnum regni subsidium et ad victum multorum decenter sufficere solent, in tot partes et particulas inter cohæredes postmodum distracta sunt et divisa, ut eorum nulli pars sua saltem sufficere

There are indications that such a right was claimed by some of the barons without a special licence from the Crown. It appears at any rate that Simon de Montfort granted a charter dated in 1255 "whereby as a great favour to his burgesses of Leicester, at their earnest supplication and for the benefit of the town, and with the full assent of all the burgesses, the Earl granted to them that thenceforward the eldest son should be the heir of his father instead of the youngest, as was then the custom of the town."<sup>1</sup> But the same effect was afterwards obtained over a great part of the country by the more simple method of reversing the old presumption that primogeniture was a local exception to the ordinary rule of partition, and

possit ad victum: Nos obsequium laudabile dilecti et fidelis nostri Johannis de Cobham, quod nobis gratanter exhibuit, gratiâ speciali et honore prosequi volentes, concedimus eidem et præcipimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris ut omnes terræ et tenementa sua quæ ad gavelykendam in feodo tenet et habet in comitatu prædicto ad primogenitum suum vel alium hæredem suum propinquiorem post ipsum, sicut et illa quæ per serjantiam tenet vel per servitium militare, integre et absque partitione inter alios inde faciendâ descendant, et eidem et ejus hæredibus sub eâdem lege, salvis in omnibus capitalibus dominis suis servitiis et consuetudinibus, aliisque rebus omnibus quæ ad eos de dictis tenementis pertinere solent imperpetuum remaneant; præsertim cum in nullius præjudicium cedere videatur, si circa terras et possessiones, quas aliis extraneis licenter concedere posset, ad ejus instantiam et consensum successionis suæ modum commutemus. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quod omnes terræ et tenementa, quæ prædictus Johannes in gavelykendam in feodo tenet et habet in comitatu prædicto, ad primogenitum suum vel alium hæredem suum propinquiorem post ipsum, sicut et illa quæ per serjantiam tenet vel per servitium militare, integre absque partitione inter alios inde faciendâ descendant, et eidem et ejus hæredibus sub eâdem lege, salvis in omnibus capitalibus dominis suis servitiis et consuetudinibus, aliisque rebus omnibus, quæ ad eos de dictis tenementis pertinere solent, imperpetuum remaneant, sicut prædictum est. His Testibus, &c." Dated May 4th, 4 Edw. I.

<sup>1</sup> Corner, Custom of Borough-English, 12.

by requiring special proof of the existence of a custom to exclude the eldest son.

In the time of Bracton, whose treatise was finished about the end of the reign of Henry III., the old customs of primogeniture (as opposed to the Norman usage), appear to have been confined to those more privileged holdings of the peasants, which were then known as "villein-socage," and which in many cases developed afterwards into a kind of copyhold.<sup>1</sup>

The same kind of custom occurred in Normandy, not only in the fiefs held by military service, but in the case also of the farmers and cottagers, whose eldest sons might retain their parents' homesteads. By the special usage of the *Pays de Caux*, and of certain districts in Picardy, the eldest son had exclusive or almost exclusive rights from a period of unknown antiquity.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Si liber socmannus moriatur pluribus relictis et participibus, si hæreditas partibilis sit et ab antiquo divisa, quotquot erunt habeant partes suas æquales; et si unicum fuerit messuagium, illud integre remaneat primogenito, ita tamen quod alii habeant ad valentiam de communi. Si autem hæreditas non fuerit divisa ab antiquo, tunc tota remaneat primogenito. Si autem socagium fuerit villanum, tunc consuetudo loci est observanda; est enim consuetudo in quibusdam partibus quod postnatus præferatur primogenito, et e contrario."—Bracton, *De Legibus*, ii. 76; Fleta, v. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> "Le fils aîné au droit de son aînesse peut prendre et choisir par précipu tel fief ou terre noble que bon lui semble." Coutûme de Normandie, 337. "S'il n'y a qu'un manoir roturier aux champs, anciennement appelé Hébergement et Chef d'Héritage, en toute la succession, l'aîné peut avant que faire lots et partages, déclarer en justice qu'il le retient avec la court clos et jardin, et baillant récompense à ses puisnés." *ibid.* 356. "L'aîné faisant partage . . . peut retenir par précipu le Lieu Chevels . . . anciennement appelé Hébergement, soit en ville ou en champs, de quelque estendue qu'il soit, &c." Usage local de Bayeux, *Coutumier Général*, iv. 77, 78, 64. "Demeurant le manoir et pourpris en son intégrité au profit de l'aîné, sans qu'il

There are other relics of the same ancient system to be found among the Celtic, Teutonic, and Scandinavian peoples. In Ireland, for example, "the cattle and land were equally divided, but the house and offices went in addition to his own share to the eldest son."<sup>1</sup> And so in Norway, under the "Odal-law," every freeholder, according to Pontoppidan, had vanity enough to think himself as good as a noble: "and this law consists" (he said) "in having from time immemorial the right of primogeniture united with the right of redeeming the land from purchasers, which has always existed in Norway."<sup>2</sup> If we turn to the ancient world we find that at Athens the eldest son took the father's house as an extra share by virtue of his "Presbeia" or privilege of eldership.<sup>3</sup> In like manner by the Laws

*en puisse être disposé a son préjudice, ny qu'il soit tenu en faire récompense ausdits puisnez."* Succ. au Bailliage de Caux, *ibid.* 74. "On a peu de lumière (says Richebourg, in his learned note on the last-cited passage), touchant l'origine des Coutûmes du Bailliage de Caux. Ce qui paroist plus vrai-semblable est que le Pays de Caux, séparé du reste de la Province de Normandie par la rivière de Seine, faisoit partie de la Gaule Belgique; car c'étoit cette rivière qui distinguoit la Gaule Celtique de la Belgique. Et comme ces peuples étoient diffèrents dans leurs mœurs, que par les Coutûmes des Belges, qu'ils avoient tirées des Allemands leurs voisins, tout l'héritage demouroit à l'ainé, les Cauchois qui faisoient partie des Belges avoient aussi conservé le même usage. On voit en effet que dans la Province voisine du Pays de Caux, qui est la Picardie, laquelle étoit aussi de la Belgique, la condition des aisnez y est avantageuse. Les Cauchois, quoique réunis sous un même Souverain avec la reste de la Normandie, continuèrent d'en user comme auparavant."

<sup>1</sup> Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 80, 82; O'Curry, *Manners of the Ancient Irish* (Sullivan's introd.), clxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Pontoppidan, *Nat. Hist. Norway*, ii. c. 10, s. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Demosth., *Pro Phormione* 34; and see De Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, 92. The most ancient Roman customs are unknown, owing to the Revolution in B.C. 450, which resulted in the establishment of the Laws of the Twelve Tables.

of Manu the eldest son was entitled to a double share.<sup>1</sup> The sons were directed to divide the patrimony; but before the partition they were all under the rule of the eldest, as M. De Coulanges showed in '*La Cité Antique*.'

As to the origin of these customary rights we shall find the best and the earliest explanation in some passages of the laws of Manu. The eldest son, it was said, had his very being for the purpose of accomplishing the rites of the family religion, of offering the funeral cake, of providing the repasts for the spirits of the dead. The right of pronouncing the prayers belongs to him who came into the world the first. "A man must regard his elder brother as equal to his father. . . . By the eldest, at the moment of his birth, the father discharges his debt to his own progenitors: the eldest son ought therefore before partition to manage the whole of the patrimony."

Sir Henry Maine drew a distinction between such "customs of the tribe" and that strict modern form of primogeniture which he has traced to the power of the chieftain. Taking primogeniture in the sense of an exclusive succession of the eldest son to property, he finds no sign of its existence before the irruption of the barbarians into the provinces of the Roman Empire. It was unknown, he said, to the Hellenic and the Roman world. "Even when the Teutonic races spread over Western Europe, they did not bring with them primogeniture as their ordinary rule of succession: the allodial property of the Teutonic freeman, that share which he had theoretically received at the original settlement on their domain of the brotherhood to which he belonged, was divided

<sup>1</sup> Laws of Manu, ix. 105, 106, 107, 126. See also the whole section on "*Le droit d'Aïnesse*," in c. 6 of "*La Cité Antique*."

at his death, when it was divided at all, equally between his sons or equally between his sons and daughters.”<sup>1</sup>

There is no necessary opposition between this statement and the theory of M. De Coulanges. The former deals with that official primogeniture which became the bond of the feudal society, a prerogative of the King, or of the chief or the manager of an undivided household, over a demesne belonging to him in a special sense and descending as an appanage of office to his successors. The other is confined to the old customs of the Aryan household, connecting the position of the eldest son with the duty of guarding the hearth and performing the family rites. From the latter source is traced the wide-spread local usage that the eldest son should take his father's dwelling-house when a property fell into partition. There is nothing perhaps which marks more distinctly the inherent difference between these forms of primogeniture than the fact, that in the local customs it is not usually a double share or a larger value which is given to the eldest son, but the peculiar privilege of retaining the hearth-place on condition of making compensation to the other heirs.

We need not repeat the details of the domestic religion. It is enough to observe that in the East and the West, in the ancient and modern world, we find abundant traces of the worship of the deified ancestors, as household gods to whom the father offered prayers and fragments from the common meal, and for whom the mother of the household maintained the perpetual fire. The spirits of the dead

<sup>1</sup> Maine, *Early Hist. Inst.*, 198. The admission of the daughters to inherit by the Visigoths, and some other Teutonic nations, must apparently be ascribed to the influence of the Roman Law.

fathers were thought to haunt the hearth as well as the ancestral tomb, and to bring prosperity or plagues upon their race, according to the observance or neglect of the daily offerings of meat and drink, and of the annual oblations at the Feast of the Dead.<sup>1</sup>

The private religion of the Celts, of the Germans and Scandinavians, and of the kindred nations to the eastward, appears in each case to have been charged with an antique symbolism which can only be referred to some similar worship of the dead, and to services performed in their honour at the hearth, or by the family grave. A few of these superstitions deserve a more particular mention. We will select in the first place those relating to the veneration for the fire, and afterwards a few examples relating to funeral rites and the propitiation of the household spirits.

The Scottish and Irish chronicles are full of instances of the use of prayers and ceremonies on the lighting of fires and candles, of the special sanctity of the fire-place, so that the "trampling of the cinders" was the worst of indignities for the household, and of the prohibition to take fire from a cottage when the owner is attacked with illness. With this we may compare what Pennant saw at christening-feasts in the Highlands, where the father placed a basket of food across the fire and handed the infant three times over the food and the flame.<sup>2</sup> One might also recur to the "heirship-ales" and solemn feasts described in the

<sup>1</sup> Maine, *Anc. Law*, 191; De Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, 33, 71; *Revue Celtique*, ii. 486.

<sup>2</sup> Pennant, *Tour in the Highlands*, iii. 46; O'Curry, *Manners of the Anc. Irish*, intr. 278; Spenser, *State of Ireland*, 82, 99; Wood, *Anc. Irish*, 170; Logan, *Scott. Gael*. ii. 337; Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 51.

Northern Sagas, where it was necessary, before the high-chair was ascended, that the loving-cup or "remembrance-bowl" should be drunk in honour of the dead, after passing the goblets backwards and forwards through the fire in the centre of the hall or the temple. The Princess Hildegonda, in one of the most lifelike of these histories, makes ready at her father's command to carry the ale round to the Vikings. She takes the silver cup and bows as she begins the ceremonies ; and drinks "Health to all Ylfing men : this cup to the memory of Rolf Kraka." In a later form of the rite the honour of the loving-cup was transferred from the dead ancestors to St. John or St. Gertrude, or a prophet or archangel chosen as the patron of a family or a drinking-guild. We see the point of transition in the story of the Vikings of Jomsburg. King Swend of Norway was giving a "succession-feast" after the death of King Harold his father, "and hē sent word to the Vikings to come to drink the funeral ale for their fathers at the feast which he was giving." The king's high-seat was on the middle of a bench, and other benches were ranged round the central fire ; the ale was passed round in great bowls and was handed through the flame ; the first day of the feast, before King Swend went up into his father's seat, he drank the bowl to his father's memory, and made a solemn vow to go with his army to England, and from this heirship-bowl all drank who were at the feast ; then the largest horn that could be found was filled and drunk for the chiefs of the Vikings ; when that bowl was emptied all men drank another to Christ's remembrance, and a third to the memory of St. Michael.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Enn er that minni var afdruckit, thà scylldi drecka Cristz-minni aller

The subject might be illustrated by reference to a multitude of superstitions connected with the family fire-place, the reverence for the snake, the cricket, and moths flying round the light, the "Welcome, Grandfather!" of the Russian peasant when the fire raked from the old stove is brought to the new home of the family,<sup>1</sup> and the household fairies for whom the hearth must be swept and food and water left by night. It is probable that all the household spirits, the Brownies and Pixies, the Irish "Pookas and Leprachauns," the long-locked "Gruagach" for whom the Highland girls leave bowls of milk on the "gruagach-stones," are shadows or reminiscences of gods dethroned. Burton's list of their labours will suffice for our purpose.<sup>2</sup>

In almost every family in Iceland, said his ancient authors, they had some such familiar spirits, and they were common in many places in France. "Paracelsus reckons up many places in Germany where they do usually walk in little coats some two feet long. A bigger kind there is of them called hobgoblins and Robin Goodfellows that would in those superstitious times grind corn for a mess of milk, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery work, to draw water, dress meat, or any such thing." These were the "Portunes," whom Gervase of Tilbury professed to have

menn. Hit thríðia var Michíals minni, oc drucko that allir. Enn eptir that drack Sigvalldi Jarl minni föðor sins," &c. Olaf Tryggvasson's Saga, Heimskr. vi. c. 39. Compare the following Sagas in the same work, i. c. 41; iv. c. 16; vii. c. 113; Keysler, Antiqu. Septent. 357, 359; Jomsviking Saga, c. 27. Grimm mentions the survival of "minne-drinking" as a religious rite in some parts of Germany: a chalice of wine was blessed by the priest and handed to the congregation to drink as *Johannis-Segen*, "St. John's Blessing;" Deutsch. Mythol. 52.

<sup>1</sup> Ralston, Songs of Russia, 120, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Anatomy of Melancholy, i. pt. 2, p. 125.

known in England.<sup>1</sup> They are described as little old men with patched coats, who help in the housework and warm themselves by the fire when the family have left the room. They are represented in another form by Milton's "lubber-fiend," by the Yorkshire "Boggart," the Luridan in the Orkneys, the German "Heinzelmänner" and Kobolds, the "Nisseys" of the Danish and Norwegian farms, and the "old man of the house" to whom the Swedish peasant sets out an annual dole of cloth and tobacco and a shovelful of clay.<sup>2</sup>

The ancient ritual survives in its strongest form in those annual observances on the Feast of All Souls which were common at one time to Celts, Germans, and Slavs, and which still survive in a modified form in almost every part of Europe. Among the Slavs, as we are told,<sup>3</sup> a yearly feast is held for the dead, to which the departed souls are actually believed to return: "silently little bits of food are thrown for them under the table," and people have believed "that they heard them rustle and saw them feed on the smell and vapour of the food." In Brittany, says Mr. Tylor, the crowd pours into the churchyard at evening, "to kneel bareheaded at the grave of dead kinsfolk, to fill the hollow of the tombstone with holy water or to pour libations of milk upon it: in no household that night is the cloth removed, for the supper must be left for the souls to come to take their part; nor must the fire be out, where they will come to warm themselves."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gerv. Tilbur. *Otia Imperialia*, Script. Rer. Brunov. i. 980. A translation and many illustrative passages will be found in Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*, 285.

<sup>2</sup> Keightley, 147; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 473, 492.

<sup>3</sup> Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 60.

<sup>4</sup> Tylor, *Prim. Cult.* ii. 34. "*Les mets sont laissés sur la table: car une*

Some notice appears to be due to the Northern custom of setting aside particular lands for bearing the expense of a funeral. If a man had no descendant or kinsman to give him proper burial, he might leave his estate as *Brande Erbe*, or "burning-land," for an endowment to meet the expense of the funeral pyre or the burial; and the friend who accepted the gift, and undertook to perform the necessary ceremonies, was allowed to count the land as part of his "Odal-land," or privileged family-estate.<sup>1</sup> This certainly looks as if there was a distinct connection between the ideas of inheritance and of performing the family ceremonies, just as among Hindoos "the right to inherit a dead man's property is exactly co-extensive with the duty of performing his obsequies," and as in ancient Rome an inheritance could not be distributed under a will "without a strict apportionment of the expenses of these ceremonies among the different co-heirs."<sup>2</sup>

By such indications we are led to the conclusion that the oldest customs of inheritance in England and Germany were in their remote beginnings connected with a domestic religion and based upon a worship of ancestral spirits, of which the hearth-place was essentially the shrine and altar;

*superstition touchante faite croire aux Bretons qu'à cette heure ceux qu'ils regrettent se lèvent des cimetières, et viennent prendre sous le toit qui les a vu naître leur repas annuel.*" Souvestre, *Derniers Bretons*, i. 11. "On en voyoit plusieurs . . . qui mettoient des pierres auprès du feu . . . afin que leurs pères et leurs ancêtres vinssent s'y chauffer à l'aise." *Revue Celtique*, ii 485.

<sup>1</sup> Robertson, *Early Kings*, ii. 323. These endowments were replaced in Christian times by the numerous gifts in "francalmoigne."

<sup>2</sup> Maine, *Anc. Law*, 191. "Les dieux qui conférèrent à chaque famille son droit sur la terre, ce furent les dieux domestiques, le foyer et les mânes. La première religion qui eut l'empire sur leurs âmes fut aussi celle qui constitua chez eux la propriété." De Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, 71.

and we are brought to the further conclusion that the old form of primogeniture, by which the eldest got the advantage of the father's house, had come down from a people who thought it right, that the eldest son should take the lead in the domestic priesthood, and in the performance of the funeral and commemorative ceremonies.

The question may be worth proposing, whether the before-mentioned Celtic, German, and Slavonic forms of the Junior-right may not have been derived from some other domestic religion, based on the worship of ancestors and a consequent reverence for the hearth-place, but belonging to a people who saw no natural pre-eminence in the eldest. It may be impossible to prove the existence of a race with such religious views in Europe within the historical period. But there is evidence which tends in that direction; and it should be remembered that the ethnologists have only lately begun to enquire into the history of the peoples who spread outwards from the Ural and Altai Ranges, into their possible identity with the men of the Bronze Age in Northern Europe, and the traces which they may have left on the languages and customs of the modern world. It seems to be certain that some great proportion of the population of the Western Countries is connected by actual descent with the pre-Celtic occupants of Europe; and it must be regarded as highly probable that one branch or layer of these earlier inhabitants ought to be attributed to that Ugrian stock, which comprises the Quains, Finns, Magyars, Esthonians, Livonians, and several kindred tribes whose territories abut upon the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Volga. It is said that a case can be made out for an early extension

of the Livonians, or Liefs of Courland, and of certain Esthonian races, as far west as the Oder and possibly as far as the mouth of the Elbe: and we have seen that at one time some branches of the Finnish race may have reached as far west as the Atlantic shores. On the other side of the world all these nations are connected by blood with the Mongols of Central Asia.<sup>1</sup>

Among these widely-separated nations we find a continual recurrence of the rule that the youngest son ought to inherit his father's dwelling-place. As early as the days of Père Du Halde it was known that the custom prevailed among the Mongols of the Chinese Empire.<sup>2</sup> In Hungary it was the law of the country districts that the youngest

<sup>1</sup> M. De Mesö-Köwesd, in the Report on the French Scientific Expedition to Russia, Siberia, and Turkestan (*Les Bachkirs, Les Vépès, &c.*, iii. c. 3), has provisionally classified the Altaic peoples as follows: They form, he says, a family of the Mongolic peoples, and are subdivided into several stocks, one of which comprises the four divisions of the "Ugro-Finns." These four divisions are distinguished as follows: *a.* Finns of the Baltic, or Western Finns; *b.* Eastern Finns; *c.* the Finns of the Volga; and *d.* the Ugrians properly so-called. The Baltic Finns are further divided into two principal classes, viz. Carelians, including the Scandinavian and Bothnian Quains and the "Suomis" of the Baltic coast; and Tchuds, including the Esthonians, the Livonians, and the almost lost "Cours" of Courland, the "Vôtes" in the provinces of Novgorod and St. Petersburg, and the "Vépès" or Northern Tchuds, living mostly in the neighbourhood of the Lakes Ladoga and Onega. For evidence of the identity of the Bronze Age men with tribes between the Amoor and Volga, see Aspelin, *Ant. Nord. Finno-Ougriens* (Paris, 1879), i. 45, 77.

<sup>2</sup> "Utdschigin (Feuerhüter) hiess der jüngste Sohn bei den Mongolen, als erbend." Bastian, *Rechtsverh.* 185. See also Götting. Gelehrt. Anzeig. (1865), 453, and Heidelb. Jahrb. (1864), 210. For the story of the preference of the youngest among the Scythians, see Herod. iv. 5, 10; Bergmann, "*Les Gètes*" (Paris, 1859), 82; and as to Prester John, "*fratrum suorum minimus*," see Alberic. *Trium Fontium.* ii. 508. The latter instances may be connected with the well-known preference of the youngest in the fairy tales.

son should inherit the father's house, making a proper compensation to the other co-heirs for the privilege. Among the Northern Tchuds, although the chief of the family can delegate his power to the eldest or youngest son, or even to a stranger if he so pleases, yet the house in which he lives must go to the youngest son at his death.<sup>1</sup>

We find traces among the same peoples of a worship of ancestors connected with a respect for the family hearth.<sup>2</sup> The following extract from the French report on the peoples of Central Asia relates to the Northern Tchuds, who maintain the privilege of the youngest son in its simplest and most usual form. "*L'esprit de la maison est un farfadet, lutin bienfaisant qui se tient derrière le poêle. Si on laisse tomber du feu dans le foin, il l'éteint. Quand on construit une nouvelle maison, on l'invite à demeurer avec vous. On prend à cet effet de la cendre dans le poêle et on l'emporte dans la nouvelle maison. Quand on ouvre la porte de la nouvelle maison, on doit entrer du pied droit et jeter un pain noir dans la chambre. Ensuite on fait entrer un coq, et si le coq chante c'est un bon signe, cela signifie que le lutin est là et qu'il prendra soin des nouveaux arrivés.*"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Report of M. De Mezö-Kövesd to the French Government (*Les Bachkirs, les Vêpses*, iii. 81, 82). "*Le grand-père ou l'aïeul est le chef absolu de la famille. Il peut se faire succéder comme chef de famille par le cadet de ses fils, si l'aîné ou les autres lui déplaisent pour une raison ou une autre . . . Le père de famille a le droit d'instituer comme son héritier qui bon lui semble parmi sa famille, mais la maison qu'il habite doit appartenir au plus jeune des fils.*" For the Hungarian law, see Kovy, *Summa Juris Hungarici*. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Keightley, *Fairy Mythol.* 488. Compare Burton, *Anat. Melanch.* i. pt. 2, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> De Mezö-Kövesd (*Les Bachkirs, les Vêpses, &c.*) iii. 84. Compare Mr. Lang's *Essay on the Folk-lore of France*, *Folk-lore Record*, i. 101.

When further information is obtained about the obscure history of the Finns and their influence upon Western Europe, it may become possible to prove that the custom of descent to the youngest flowed as naturally from their primitive institutions as the old custom of primogeniture from the position which was given to the eldest in the service of the family religion.

Meanwhile it should not be forgotten that there was one magical possession, an idol of domestic superstition in mediæval German households, which is said to have passed at the father's death to the youngest son upon condition that he performed certain heathenish rites in relation to the father's funeral. The "mandrake," a plant with broad leaves and bright yellow flowers and with a root which grew in a semi-human form, was found beneath the public gallows and was dragged from the ground and carried home with many extraordinary ceremonies. When secured, it became a familiar spirit, speaking in oracles if properly consulted and bringing good luck to the household in which it was enshrined.<sup>1</sup> We are not concerned with the mystical powers of Mandragoras, which was the *Fée Magloire* and "Hand of Glory" of the later magicians who mistook the meaning of the word. But it is very

"The beliefs connected with the dead are of the ordinary kind. The mattress on which any one dies is to be burned. . . . In some places in the Department of the Vosges the ashes are allowed to lie on the ground all night, and if in the morning the trace of a footstep is found among them it is supposed that the dead has returned. When one adds to these beliefs the custom of sacrificing a cock when a family takes possession of a new house, it is plain that remains of very early 'animistic' and religious ideas survive among the peasantry."

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 1153; *Rechts-Alterth.* 475; *Deutsche Sagen*, No. 83; Roth, *De Imagunculis Germanorum.* 1737. The nature of the worship of the mandrake appears very clearly in Keysler's account

important for our purpose to observe, that the idol, or "Galgen-männlein," became the property of the youngest son on condition that he buried with the body a morsel of bread and a piece of money according to the old pagan practice. If the youngest son died in his father's lifetime, the question arose whether the eldest son could take the "Alraun" or mandrake; and it was said that the domestic idol would fall into his share, if he had fulfilled the ceremony of the bread and money on the occasion of his younger brother's funeral.

of an idol of this kind which was preserved in his time in the collection of Dr. Heinsius. *Antiqu. Septent.* 506. A specimen may be seen in this country in the Museum of the Royal College of Surgeons. Keysler prints a letter from a citizen of Leipzig to his brother in Livonia, dated in 1575, in which after discussing his brother's bad fortune in every matter of his household he proceeds as follows:—"So habe ich mich nu von deinetwegen ferner bemühet und bin zu den Leuten gangen, die solches gehabt haben, als bey unsern Scharff-Richter, und ich habe ihn dafür geben als nemlich mit 64 Thaler und des Budels Knecht ein Engels-Kleidt zu Drinckgeldt solches soll dir nu lieber Bruder aus Liebe und Treue geschencket sein, und so soltu es lernen wie ich dir schreib in diesen Brieve wen du den Erdman in deinen Hause oder Hofe überkümest so lass es drey Tage ruhen ehe du darzu gehest, nach den 3 Tagen so hebe es uff und bade es in warmen Wasser, mit dem Bade soltu besprengen dein Vieh und die Sullen deines Hauses do du und die deinen übergehen so wird es sich mit dir woll bald anders schicken, und du wirst woll wiederum zu den deinen kommen wen du dieses Erdmänneken wirst zu rade halten und du solt es alle Jahr viermahl baden und so offte du es badest so solt du es wiederum in sein Seiden Kleidt winden und legen es bey deinen besten Kleidern die du hast so darffstu Ihnen nicht mehr thun u.s.w. Nun lieber Bruder dis Erdmänneken schicke ich dir zu einem glückseeligen neuen Jahr und lass es nicht von dir kommen das es magk behalten dein Kindes-kind hiemit Gott befohlen."

## CHAPTER IX.

## THE BRITONS OF THE INTERIOR.

Physical condition of the country—Misrepresented by Roman orators—Its state under Agricola, the Plantagenets and Elizabeth—Absence of genuine early descriptions—Sources of the statements of Bede—Notice of British pearl-fisheries—Comparison of the accounts of Ireland—The picture of Britain by Gildas—True sources of information—Special records—Allusions of writers on general history—Giraldus, Aneurin, Pliny—The Celtic races of Northern and Western Britain—Little affected by the English invasions—The evidence from language of uncertain value—The tribes of the South-West—Their superior culture—Their foreign trade—Description of their ships—Western tribes of low civilisation and mixed blood—The Silures—The Dobuni of the Cotswolds—The Cornavians—The Ordovices of North Wales—Their mixed descent—The Central Tribes—The name "Coritavi" applied to several distinct races—Notices by Strabo and Cæsar—The ruder tribes migratory—The confederated tribes of the North—Their success in war—The story of Queen Cartismandua—She rules a Brigantian tribe—Commands the Brigantian army—The Brigantians compared with the Irish by Tacitus—Their life at home and in the field.

WE turn from the speculation on the origin of these ancient customs to collect what is known about the Britons of the Interior before they adopted the Gaulish fashions, or were drawn by Agricola's policy, step by step, to "the lounge, the bath, and the banquet" and all that provincial refinement which was but a disguise of their servitude. We shall endeavour to describe their manners and habits of life; but it will be necessary in the first place to take some general view of the physical condition of the country.

It was a land of uncleared forests, with a climate as yet not mitigated by the organised labours of mankind. The province in course of time became a flourishing portion of

the Empire ; the court-orators dilated on the wealth of "Britannia Felix" and the heavy corn-fleets arriving from the granaries of the North ; and they wondered at the pastures almost too deep and rich for the cattle, and hills covered with innumerable flocks of sheep "with udders full of milk, and backs weighed down with wool." The picture was too brightly coloured, though drawn in the Golden Age. It is certain that the island, when it fell under the Roman power, was little better in most parts than a cold and watery desert. According to all the accounts of the early travellers the sky was stormy and obscured by continual rain, the air chilly even in summer, and the sun during the finest weather had little power to disperse the steaming mists. The trees gathered and condensed the rain ; the crops grew rankly, but ripened slowly, for the ground and the atmosphere were alike overloaded with moisture. The fallen timber obstructed the streams, the rivers were squandered in the reedy morasses, and only the downs and hill-tops rose above the perpetual tracts of wood.

It is difficult to measure the slow advance of agriculture. We know that at one time the wolves swarmed in Sherwood and Arden, the wild boar roamed in Groveley, and the white-maned Urus was hunted in the northern forests. The work of reclaiming the wilderness began in the days of Agricola. The Romans felled the woods along the lines of their military roads ; they embanked the rivers and threw causeways across the morasses, and the natives complained that their bodies and hands were worn out in draining the fens and extending the clearings in the forests. In the course of centuries the woodlands shrank to a mere fraction of their former extent. The ground

was required for corn and pasture, the trees were consumed for fuel, or used in building or in making the charcoal required for the mineral furnaces ; and the hill-sides were kept bare, as sheep-farming increased, by the neglect to fence and protect the coppices. The area of cultivation was continually increasing ; yet even under the later Plantagenets there were no less than sixty-eight royal forests, besides thirty which had been converted into private chases ; in each was included " a territory with great woods for the secret abode of wild beasts " ; and it is estimated that even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth one-third of England was in waste.

The trees grew so thickly that some districts could hardly be traversed or penetrated. The Forest of Dean was described as " very dark and terrible " by reason of its shades and cross-ways. Sherwood, said Camden, was anciently set with trees whose entangled branches were so twisted together that they hardly left room for a man to pass. In the Warwickshire Arden it was said even in modern times, that a squirrel might leap from tree to tree for nearly the whole length of the county. Denbighland in the 15th century was one immense forest from the Dee to the wilds of Arvon 'among the Snowdonian Hills.' And great districts in all parts of the country are shown by mediæval records to have produced no profit to their owners, except a little herbage, a few hawks' nests, "honey nuts and hips," (for to such small matters do the foresters' accounts extend,) "hares, cats and badgers, and vermin of that kind."

There is no trustworthy account of the ancient condition of the inland districts. It is possible indeed that large tracts of land may have long remained unexplored. The

original settlements would of course be clustered round the estuaries, and the later colonists would occupy the interior valleys, following as much as possible the course of the rivers, and avoiding the thick woods and the "watery lengths" of moor.

The general statements on this point of Bede and his mediæval imitators appear to be based upon no original authority. They are evidently founded on a few allusions in the classical writings, and these in their turn upon the reports of merchants who were only familiar with the coast. A part of Bede's description<sup>1</sup> relates only to the relics of the Roman dominion, the vineyards and baths at the Hot Wells, the remains of cities and scattered forts, the iron-works, and mines of copper and mixed silver and lead. The rest would be more useful for our purpose if we had reason to believe it correct. Some parts of the picture, however, are true enough. Britain was rich in corn and trees, and fit for the pasturing of herds and flocks; it abounded with birds, and the rivers were covered with waterfowl and well-stored with eels and salmon. He added that whales seals and dolphins were continually taken; but the statement is probably a mere reminiscence of Juvenal's simile.<sup>2</sup> We are told of a great abundance of shells. Among them were "the clams and mussels, producing not only the pure white pearls, but others of the finest quality in all kinds of colours, some pink or purple, some as blue as jacinth, and others as green as grass." The truth seems to be that the pearl-fishery was a thorough failure, so that

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Henry of Huntingdon: "*Capiuntur et sæpe delphines et balenæ: unde Juvenalis (Sat. x. 14), Quantum delphinis balæna Britannica major.*" *Hist. Angl.* i. c. 1.

men hardly believed in the British origin of the corslet which Cæsar suspended in the Temple of Venus.<sup>1</sup> "The British Ocean," said Tacitus, "produces pearls, but they are of a dusky and livid hue : some think that those who collect them have not the requisite skill, since in the Red Sea the living animal is torn from the rocks, while in Britain they are gathered just as they are thrown upon the shore. I would rather believe that the pearls have a natural defect than that Romans were wanting in keenness for gain."<sup>2</sup>

According to Bede there was almost too great an abundance of the whelk, or *murex*, which produced the scarlet dye ; "and the lovely tint never fades in the sun or the rain, but becomes more beautiful with age." But it is not known that the shell-purple was ever made in Britain, "nor is it likely that the simple blood of a shell-fish, however beautiful at first, could have proved a lasting dye." It has been thought that both the purple and the scarlet dyes were fixed by a preparation of tin in grains<sup>3</sup>; and there may have been some manufacture of this kind in Roman Britain.

The accounts of Ireland were of the same vague and inaccurate kind ; and on this point we may fairly adopt the criticism of Giraldus.<sup>4</sup> "The island is rich in meadows

<sup>1</sup> "Uniones . . in Britannia parvos atque decolores nasci certum est : quoniam Divus Julius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templo ejus dicavit ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intelligi." Pliny, Hist. Nat. ix. c. 57. Compare Suetonius, Jul. Cæs. 47. The story begins to be exaggerated in Solinus, Polyhist. c. 53. Ælian calls the British pearls "golden-coloured, and with a dull and dusky surface." Hist. xv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Hawkins, Tin Trade of the Ancients, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Girald. Cambr. Topogr. Hibern. i. c. 6. He adds, that in Bede's time there were possibly a few vineyards there, and that St. Dominic of Ossory,

and pastures, in milk and honey, and also in wine though not in vineyards. Bede indeed says that it does not lack vineyards, while Solinus and Isidore affirm that there are no bees. But with all respect for them they might have written just the contrary, that vineyards do not exist there, and that bees are found in the island. . . . Bede also affirms that Ireland is famous for the hunting of stags and wild goats, whereas it is a fact that it did not anciently possess any wild goats and is still without them."

Another very old account of Britain may be read in the History of Gildas ; but its details are quite inconsistent with the actual historical evidence. "The island of Britain lies in almost the utmost corner of the earth : it is poised in the divine balance in which the world is weighed, and stretches from the south-west towards the pole. . . . It is enriched by the mouths of two noble rivers, the Thames and the Severn, two great arms by which foreign luxuries were of old brought in, and by other rivers of less importance. . . . The plains are spacious : the hills set pleasantly and adapted for the best of tillage : the mountains are admirably fitted for the seasonable pasturing of the cattle. The many-coloured flowers spread like a beautiful carpet beneath the feet of men. Britain stands like a bride adorned in her jewels, decked with bright springs and full rivulets wandering over snow-white sands, and the clear rivers, as they murmur by, offer rest and slumber to the travellers reclining on their banks." The passage is interesting so far as it discloses the method of the writer, who appears to

as some said, introduced bees long after the time of Solinus. They were probably very scarce until the disappearance of the yew-forests, which would have been prejudicial to bee-culture.

have strung together the "jewels five-words-long" which Ausonius had thought to be appropriate to his Idyll on the scenery of the Moselle.<sup>1</sup> But as a picture of Ancient Britain it is clearly of no practical use.

To gain a clear notion of the primitive condition of Britain we should study the history of embanking and inclosure, the records of the monasteries, and especially those of the Benedictine monks who "swarmed like bees" in every desert, and the descriptions by mediæval witnesses of the unreclaimed regions in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. The subject can only be made clear by minute local research; but one may learn much meantime by observing the slight allusions made by old writers while dealing with a more general kind of history. From Asser, for example, we hear something of the great forest in Somerset<sup>2</sup> which the Britons called "*Coet Mawr*," of that wood of Berroc, "where the box-tree grows in

<sup>1</sup> Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, s. 1. Compare Ausonius,

"Telluris medio quæ pendet in aere Libra est,  
Et Solis Lunæque vias sua libra coercet.  
Libra die somnique pares determinat horas,  
Libra Caledonios sine litore continet æstus."

De Ratione Libræ, 29.

And for a great deal of the imagery which Gildas has applied to Britain, see his Idyll on the Moselle.

"Lucetque latetque  
Calculus, et viridem distinguit glarea muscum.  
Nota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis,  
Quum virides algas et rubra corallia nudat  
Æstus, et albentes concharum germina baccas,  
Delicias hominum locupletum, quæque sub undas  
Assimulant nostros imitata monilia cultus."

Mosella, 66.

<sup>2</sup> "In the seventh week after Easter Alfred rode to the Stone of Egbert in the eastern part of the wood that is called Selwood, which in Latin is *Silva Magna* and in British *Coet Mawr*. Here he was met by all the neighbouring

abundance," from which Berkshire was thought to derive its name, and of the Cave-houses of Nottingham which the Welsh called "*Tig-ogobauc*." Whoever, again, may have been the author of the chronicle attributed to Ingulf, no doubt has been cast on the story of Richard of Deeping, who made a "garden of delight" out of the "horrible fens of Croyland." The History of Ely tells of the great meres which "begirt the island like a wall." Two thousand square miles of fen were given up to wild beasts and birds, stags, roes, and goats in the groves, and "geese, coots, didappers, ducks and water-crows more than man could number, especially in the winter and at the moulting-time." Lesley speaks of the hunting of the mountain-bull in the vast Caledonian Forest. Giraldus describes the great herds of wild hogs in Ireland, the abundance of capercailzies, or "wild peacocks," as they were called from the brightness of their plumage, the immense flights of snipe and woodcock, "multitudes of quails and clouds of larks singing praises to God."<sup>1</sup>

The wildness of the country is shown by many slighter signs, as by the occurrence of beaver-dams, where the beavers "defended their castles" in vain against the sharp poles of the well-armed hunters:<sup>2</sup> it is implied in Aneurin's picture of the British chief in his coat of the speckled skins of young wolves, and in Pliny's story of the fondness of the Britons for the meat of the sheldrake, which is now rather an unfrequent visitor of our coasts.<sup>3</sup>

folk of Somerset, Wilts, and Hampshire, who had not for fear of the pagans fled beyond the sea." Asser, *Life of Alfred*, under the year 878.

<sup>1</sup> Girald. *Cambr. Topog. Hibern.* i. c. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Girald. *Cambr. Itin. Camb.* ii. c. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Aneurin, *Gododin.* st. 90. Pliny describes the bustard, capercailzie,

This part of the subject may be appropriately closed with a sketch from a work in which all the descriptions are based on the authority of the ancient writers. The time of year is the end of the summer, when the oats and rye were reaped and the lawns and meadows round the homesteads had been mown. "The cattle are on the downs or in the hollows of the hills. Here and there are wide beds of fern or breadths of gorse, and patches of wild raspberry with gleaming sheets of flowers. The swine are roaming in the woods and shady oak-glades, the nuts studding the brown-leaved bushes. On the sunny side of some cluster of trees is the herdsman's round wicker house with its brown conical roof and blue wreaths of smoke. In the meadows and basins of the sluggish streams stand clusters of tall old elms waving with the nests of herons: the bittern, coot, and water-rail, are busy among the rushes and flags of the reedy meres. Birds are 'churning' in the wood-girt clearings, wolves and foxes slinking to their covers, knots of maidens laughing at the water-spring, beating the white linen or flannel with their washing-bats: the children play before the doors of the round straw-thatched houses of the homestead, the peaceful abode of the sons of the oaky vale. On the ridges of the downs rise the sharp cones of the barrows, some glistening in white chalk or red with the mould of a new burial, and others green with the grass of long years."<sup>1</sup>

We have endeavoured to give a general description of the physical aspect of the country, and we may now proceed to consider the manners and institutions of the and sheldrake in the same chapter. "Quibus lautiores epulas non novit Britannia, chenerotes fere ansere minores." Hist. Nat. x. c. 29.

<sup>1</sup> Barnes, Notes on Ancient Britain, 53.

Celtic tribes of the interior districts. The story of these Gaelic peoples more nearly concerns ourselves than the scanty traditions of Picts and Silurians, or even the fuller history which we possess of the civilised Gaulish settlers. The Gauls lived mostly in the south-eastern half of England,<sup>1</sup> and their posterity must have been expelled or destroyed with comparatively few exceptions in the later wars of massacre. The English may be credited with turning out their enemies "as completely as it has ever been found possible for invaders to do." Some of the natives must have remained in the cities and fortified places, which long continued undisturbed: a few of the greater chiefs may have purchased security for their people, "especially in the districts appropriated by the smaller bands of adventurers": and multitudes of the Celtic women must have been retained in marriage or servitude.<sup>2</sup> But it is admitted that to the north of the Trent, and throughout the Western Counties, the character of the population suffered no such overwhelming change. The signs of the Celtic element in the nation are apparent in the tone and even in the idiom of some of the provincial dialects, in the names of our rural geography, and in the words of daily life used for common and domestic things;

<sup>1</sup> Professor Rhys has estimated that about one-half of what is now England belonged in the time of Julius Cæsar to tribes of Gaulish origin, "that is, all east of the Trent, the Warwickshire Avon, the Parret, and the Dorsetshire Stour, excepting a Brythonic peninsula reaching as far as Malmesbury, and widening perhaps to the south to take in Wareham." *Welsh Philology*, 185. Against this exception he sets the Cornavii, whose territory seems to have consisted of a strip of land "running from the neighbourhood of the Worcestershire Avon, along the eastern bank of the Severn, and continued in a sort of an arc of a circle dipping into the sea between the Dee and the Mersey." *Celtic Britain*, 219, 224.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 62.

and some have even distinguished the presence in our literature of a bright colouring and a romantic note, which they ascribe to an abiding Celtic influence.

Judging by the distribution of local names we can trace the Gaelic or "Goidelic" settlements in almost all parts of Britain and Ireland. The Ptolemaic map of Britain (Map VI.) will furnish sufficient examples of similar or identical names appearing in widely separated districts. But care must be taken to distinguish between the forms which belong to the Gaelic idioms and those which are either ambiguous or clearly to be traced to a Gaulish source. We know, for instance, that the Britons of the interior had no towns before the commencement of the Roman invasions; and we can therefore attach but little importance to the fact that "Lindum" was the name of the places which are now called Lincoln and Linlithgow, or to the appearance of a "Venta" among the Icenî, at Winchester in the territory of the Belgæ, and at "Venta Silurum" in Monmouthshire.<sup>1</sup>

The same caution is required in dealing with the words for such natural objects as mountains and promontories, or with the river-names which are so continually repeated, such as "Stour" "Avon" and "Dee," or "Alaunus" and "Alauna," which are found in every quarter. In such cases it is clear that words belonging to several nations

<sup>1</sup> The "Venta Icenorum" seems to have been at or near Caistor in Norfolk. The name of the "Venta Belgarum" is preserved in the word "Winchester." The Silurian "Venta" gave a name not only to "Caer-Went" but to several divisions of Monmouthshire. Leland, for instance, divides the county into Low Middle and High Vinceland: "the principal town of Low Gwentland is Chepstow about two miles from Severn shore." Compare Guest's *Early English Settlements in the Archæologia* (Salisbury. 1849), and Taylor, *Topogr. Eastern Counties*, 4, 22.

might have been derived from some common Celtic source. A cape might be called "the Height," or a stream "the Divine," in a number of cognate dialects, without our being able to trace the name with certainty to an insular or a continental language.<sup>1</sup> The safer method lies in the comparison of national names. We find "Cantæ" in Ross-shire and "Cornabii" in Caithness: there were "Vennicones" in Forfarshire and "Vennicnii" on the Western Coast of Ireland; and the Brigantes appear in Wexford as well as in the great British kingdom which stretched from the Lothians to the line of the Humber and Mersey. There were Damnonians, or "Dumnonians," not only in Cornwall and Devon but all over Central Scotland, from the sea above Galloway to the mouth of the Tay.<sup>2</sup> The limits of a third Damnonia can be traced in the midland and western parts of Ireland. The Kings of Connaught and the famous dynasty of Tara traced their descent from the "Fir-Damnann," whose remembrance has survived in old Celtic names for the Malahide River near Dublin and the Damnonian Peninsula on the western coast of Mayo.<sup>3</sup> Another home of the race was founded

<sup>1</sup> Many of the names of hills and promontories are taken from a word meaning "high." It appears in O. Welsh as *uchel*, in O. Irish as *uasal*, and in Gaulish as *uxel* in compound words. Compare the British form in such names as *Ocelum* for Flamborough Head, *Tunnocelum* for Bowness, Ochiltree and the Ochil Hills, with the Gaulish *Uxella*, the *Uxellodunum* near Carlisle, and a place with an identical name in Gaul. Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* viii. 32; Rhys, *Lectures*, 181. For the names of rivers see Rhys, *Welsh Philology, Revue Celtique*, i. 299, ii. 1. Joyce, *Irish Names*, 434.

<sup>2</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 127; Robertson, *Early Kings of Scotland*, ii. 231.

<sup>3</sup> Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba* (Reeves), 31. Robertson, *Early Kings of Scotland*, ii. 355, 388.

in a later age when the exiles from Britain carried the old names,

“Et parvam Trojam simulataque magnis  
Pergama,”

to the wild district between the shore of Brittany and the Forest of Brocéliande.<sup>1</sup>

It will be useful to give separate descriptions of several of the principal nations, since it is clear that the difference in their local circumstances must have prevented them from attaining to any uniform standard of culture.

We shall first deal with the Western Tribes, the Damnonians of Devon and Cornwall, and their neighbours the “Durotriges,” who have left a vestige of their name in the modern “Dorchester” and “Dorset.” Their territory may be taken as extending from the Land’s End to the Belgian frontier in the neighbourhood of the Southampton Water. Their eastern limit stretched from the New Forest to the neighbourhood of “Ischalis,” or Ilchester, and to the great marshes in which the stream of the Parret was lost in those early times. The lines of old sea-beaches about Sedgmoor, the remains found far inland of “islands where the sands were drifted and a shingle beach thrown up,” and the Roman antiquities found in the embankments and silt of the marshes, show that much of the land has been reclaimed within the historical period.<sup>2</sup> It is probable that these Damnonian tribes were isolated from their eastern neighbours by a wide march of woods and fens. It may be that these natural causes helped to

<sup>1</sup> Valroger, *Gaule Celtique*, 288; De Coursons, *Hist. Bret.* i. 200; Halléguen, *Armorique*, i. 17; *Revue Celtique*, ii. 74.

<sup>2</sup> De la Beche, *Geology of Cornwall*, 421, 422.

preserve for them that superiority of culture which distinguished them from the inland tribes.

Diodorus has shown us that these southern nations had been taught to live "in a very hospitable and polite manner" by their intercourse with the foreign merchants. Some of their ports and markets can even now be identified. The discovery of a huge "knuckle-bone" of tin, dredged up near Falmouth in 1823, marks the station on the Truro River called by Ptolemy "the Outlets of Cenion"; a deposit of weapons and gold coins at Oreston in Plymouth Sound shows the position of the ancient "Tamara"; and the emporium at "Isaca" cannot have been far from the site which the Romans selected for their permanent camp at Exeter. The course of the metal-trade may be indicated by the names of places on the coast-road leading eastward from the Exe, as Stansa Bay and Stans Ore Point in Hampshire. The Greeks came for minerals, the Gauls for furs and skins and for the great wolf-dogs which they used in their domestic wars. There must have been many other sources of information by which the natives could learn what was passing abroad. There were students constantly crossing to take lessons in the insular Druidism; the slave-merchants followed the armies in time of war, the pedlars explored the trading-roads to sell their trinkets of glass and ivory, and the travelling sword-smiths and bronze-tinkers must have helped in a great degree to spread the knowledge of the arts of civilised society.

The Damnonians had the advantages of trade and travel. It appears from a passage in Cæsar's Commentaries that their young men were accustomed to serve in foreign fleets, and to take part in the Continental wars. The

nation had entered into a close alliance with the "Veneti," or people of Vannes, whose powerful navy had secured the command of the Channel. A squadron of British ships took part in the great sea-fight which was the immediate cause of Cæsar's invasion of the island; and his description of the allied fleet shows the great advance in civilisation to which the Southern Britons had attained. "The enemy," he said, "had a great advantage in their shipping: the keels of their vessels were flatter than ours and were consequently more convenient for the shallows and low tides. The forecastles were very high and the poops so contrived as to endure the roughness of those seas. The bodies of the ships were built entirely of oak, stout enough to withstand any shock or violence. The banks for the oars were beams of a foot square, bolted at each end with iron pins as thick as a man's thumb. Instead of cables for their anchors they used iron chains. The sails were of untanned hide, either because they had no linen and were ignorant of its use, or as is more likely because they thought linen sails not strong enough to endure their boisterous seas and winds."<sup>1</sup> We

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* iii. 9, 13; Vegetius, *De Re Milit.* iv. 37. See Hawkins, *Tin-trade of the Ancients*, 50. We may compare the description of the boats which at various times have been found in the silt at Glasgow. "Two were built of planks, and one was very elaborately constructed. It was 18 feet in length. Its prow was not unlike the prow of an antique galley: its stem, formed of a triangular piece of oak, fitted in exactly like those of our day. The planks were fastened to the ribs partly by singularly-shaped oaken pins and partly by what must have been nails of some kind of metal; these had entirely disappeared, but some of the oaken pins remained. In one of the canoes a beautifully polished axe of green-stone was found, and in the bottom of another a plug of cork which could only have come from the latitudes of Spain, Southern France, or Italy." Lyell, *Antiquity of Man*, 48.

are told by Vegetius that the ships and their sails were painted blue for the purpose of making them less conspicuous at a distance.

We say nothing about the Belgæ, the neighbours of the Damnonians to the eastward, because they were a Gaulish people whose conquests may have been of a date later than the age of Julius Cæsar. We therefore pass to the Silurians across the Severn Sea, to the "Dobuni" of the Cotswolds and the Vale of Gloucester, the "Coritavi" of the central region, and the great confederacy of the Brigantes.

These tribes do not appear to have shared in the culture which the Damnonians had gained from their intercourse with foreigners. What little commerce they undertook was carried on in frail "curraghs," in which the peoples of the western coast were so bold as to cross the Irish Sea. Boats of that kind are still used in Ireland with the substitution of tarred canvass for the original covering of bull's hide. The method of building these boats appears from an anecdote of Cæsar's Spanish campaign. Being in want of vessels for transport, we are told that he remembered the pattern of the canoes which he had seen on the British rivers. The keel and principal timbers were cut from thin planking and nailed together: then the sides were filled in with basket-work of willows or hazels plaited in and out, and the whole was covered with stout coats of hide.<sup>1</sup> There are figures on the tessellated pavements,

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Civil.* i. 54; Solinus, *Polyhist.* c. 24. Compare Lucan:—

"Primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvam  
Texitur in puppim, cæsoque inducta juvenco  
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.  
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus  
Navigat Oceano."—*Pharsal.* iv. 131.

found at Lydney Park in Gloucestershire, which show the British fishermen paddling in little coracles about the mouth of the Severn, and one figure "enveloped in a hooded frieze mantle" is drawn in the act of catching a large salmon which he is pulling into the leather canoe. These native boats are still to be seen in use upon the Dee: "they were made of wicker, and were not oblong or pointed, but rather triangular in shape, and were covered both inside and outside with hides."<sup>1</sup>

These tribes were probably of a mixed race, if we may judge from the persistence of the Silurian features among the modern population of the district. Their neighbours the "Ordovices," from whom the Cornavians were separated by the shifting waters of the Dee,<sup>2</sup> are now thought to have been a "Brythonic" people, who intruded into the district of Powys, and eventually spread as far westward as Cardigan Bay.<sup>3</sup> They are sometimes described as holding all North Wales: but this is inconsistent with what is known of their physical appearance as well as with the plain words of a passage in the *Life of Agricola*. 'A tribe of the Ordovices' in the year A.D. 78, had destroyed a regiment of cavalry which was quartered upon their territory. The general made haste to collect an

<sup>1</sup> Girald. Cambr. Descr. Cambr. i. 18. He adds that "when a salmon thrown into one of these boats struck hard with its tail, it would upset the boat and endanger both the vessel and navigator." See King's Roman Antiquities of Lydney Park.

<sup>2</sup> "The inhabitants of these parts (says Giraldus) assert that the waters of this river change their fords every month, and as it inclines more towards England or Wales they can prognosticate which nation will be successful or unfortunate during the year." Itin. Cambr. ii. c. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 81, 218, 302. See also, De Belloguet, *Ethnog. Gaul.* 263, and Giraldus *Cambrensis*, Descr. Cambr. i. c. 6, and ii. c. 15.

army and at once made war upon the whole nation of which the tribe formed part; the Ordovices abandoned the flat country and retired into their mountains, but were followed and defeated by the Romans, and we are told that "almost the whole nation was put to the sword." Immediately afterwards Agricola determined to attack the people of Anglesea: and it is clear from the words of Tacitus that the new undertaking was regarded as dangerous and important, so that we can hardly suppose that the army was dealing with a mere residue or fragment of the nation which had been so nearly exterminated.<sup>1</sup>

Passing from the western districts we come to a central region bounded on the south by the Gaulish kingdoms and on the north by the Brigantian territories, and belonging to a mixed assemblage of tribes who became known under one name as the nation of the Coritavi.<sup>2</sup> They consisted in part of Celtic clans and in part of the remnants of a ruder people. The mixture of races is distinctly shown in the pictures which Cæsar and Strabo drew of the rude aborigines of the interior.

"The men," said Strabo, "are taller than the Celts of Gaul: their hair is not so yellow and their limbs are more loosely knit. To show how tall they are I may say that I saw myself some of their young men at Rome, and they were taller by six inches than any one else in the City; but they were bandy-legged and had a clumsy look."<sup>3</sup> Their customs, he said, were in part like those of the Celts

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 18.

<sup>2</sup> In Ptolemy's time their principal towns were in the neighbourhood of the modern Lincoln and Leicester. "Next to the Cornavii are the Coritavi whose towns are Lindum and Rhage (or Ratæ)." See Map VI.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, iv. 278.

and in part more simple and barbarous, a remark which can only be interpreted as referring to a mixture of races. Some were quite ignorant of agriculture and did not know anything of the management of a garden : and some could not even make cheese, though their supply of milk was abundant.

Cæsar's description is to much the same effect. "Most of the inland people grow no corn at all, but live off meat and milk, and are clad in the skins of beasts."<sup>1</sup> They disfigured themselves with woad, and this fashion seems to have survived in the districts conquered by the Gauls. The men used it as a war-paint, staining their faces and limbs blue and green to look more ghastly and terrible : they thought perhaps, like the savages on the Vistula, that an enemy could never withstand an army of such grim aspect.<sup>2</sup>

Long after Cæsar's time the Romans observed that some of the British tribes were too careless to trouble themselves with agriculture,<sup>3</sup> as if they had no patience to wait for the turn of the seasons, and preferred to trust to the chances of war for food and plunder.

The Celts in the midland districts may have lived in

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. v. c. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Germ. c. 43 ; Mela. iii. 3 ; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxii. c. 12. Compare the "Virides Britannos" of Ovid, Amor. ii. 16, 39 ; the "Cæruleum Saxona" of Sidonius, viii. 9 ; and the vermilion-painted Goths described by Isidore of Seville, Orig. xix. 23 ; Græphen, De Uxore Theotiscâ, 173 ; Robertson, Early Kings, ii. 225. The woad-plant, called *vitrum* from its use in the manufacture of glass, has properties like those of indigo. "The herb usually yields a blue tint, but when partially de-oxidated it has been found to yield a fine green ; the black colour was a third preparation, made by the application of a greater heat." Herbert, Britannia after the Romans, lvi.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. Ann. xiv. c. 38.

permanent villages, raising crops of oats or some rougher kind of grain for food, and weaving for themselves garments of hair, or of coarse wool, from their puny many-horned sheep. But the ruder tribes, who subsisted entirely by their cattle, would naturally follow the herd, living through the summer in booths on the higher pasture-grounds, and only returning to the valleys to find shelter from the winter-storms. There is a line of dry chalk-downs running transversely from the Yorkshire Wolds to the coast of Dorset. "This is the region of the *tumuli*, and on its surface are seen the foundations of the British huts. On the hills are their long boundary-fences; below the edges of the hills rise innumerable bright streams, and by these springs no doubt were the settled habitations."<sup>1</sup>

To the north of the Coritavi stretched a confederacy or collection of kingdoms to which the Romans applied the single name of "Brigantia." We first hear of these confederated states about the year A.D. 50, when their combined territories extended on one coast from Flamborough Head to the Firth of Forth, and on the other from the Dee or Mersey to the valleys on the upper shore of the Solway. "A line," says Mr. Skene, "drawn from the Solway Firth across the island to the Eastern sea exactly separates the great nation of the Brigantes from the tribes on the north, the 'Gadeni' and the 'Otadeni': but this is obviously an artificial separation, as it closely follows the line of Hadrian's Wall: otherwise it would imply that the southern boundary of these barbarian tribes

<sup>1</sup> Relations of Archæology (Phillipps), in the 39th vol. of the Archæological Journal.

was precisely on a line where nature presents no physical demarcation."<sup>1</sup>

The people seem to have been comparatively rich and prosperous. They were so eminent in war that they repeatedly repulsed the advance of the Imperial legions. Seneca boasted that the Romans had bound with chains of iron the necks of the blue-shielded Brigantes: but it was long before the turbulent mountaineers were actually subdued, and even in the second century they seem to have preserved some remains of their ancient liberty. Pausanias, writing at that time, has noticed one incident of a forgotten war, and tells us how the Emperor Antoninus "cut off more than half of the territory of the Brigantes," because they had attacked a tribe who were living under the protection of Rome.<sup>1</sup>

The story of Queen Cartismandua is the best illustration of the character and habits of her people. The luxury of her court may have had no existence except in the fancy of Tacitus: but the barbarian queen was doubtless rich in her palace of wicker-work, in a herd of snow-white cattle covering the pastures of the royal tribe, an enamelled chariot, a cap or a corselet of gold. She was the chief

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 71. When Antoninus advanced the limit of the province to the Firths of Forth and Clyde he was said to have taken land from the Brigantes. Pausan. viii. 43. The chief tribes of the Brigantians appear to have been the "Setantii," whose port was not far from Lancaster, the "Gadeni" and "Otadeni" of Cumberland and Northumberland and the districts immediately to the north, the "Selgovæ" extending along the northern shore of the Solway as far as Nithsdale, and the "Gabrantovici" of the North Riding of Yorkshire.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, viii. 43. The Brigantes had invaded the lands of the "Genuni," a people who are identified by Professor Rhys with the Attacotti, who appear later as the Picts of Galloway. *Celtic Britain*, 90, 220.

of one of the many tribes of which the Brigantian nation was composed. In a time when every valley had its king, with an army of villagers, an ale-house council, and a precarious treasure of cattle gained and held by the law of the strongest, it was seldom possible for the nation to unite in any common design, even for the purpose of resisting the peril of a foreign invasion. The gathering of a national army was an affair of meetings, and treaties, and solemn sacrifices to the gods. When the sacred rites were fulfilled, the blood tasted, and the rival deities and chieftains united by a temporary bond, the noblest and bravest of the tribal leaders was chosen as a war-king or general in command. But as often as not the treaty failed and the clans fought or submitted as each might feel inclined. "Our greatest advantage," says Tacitus, "in dealing with such powerful nations is that they cannot act in concert : it is seldom that even two or three tribes will join in meeting a common danger ; and so while each fights for himself they are all conquered together."<sup>1</sup>

Cartismandua was of such noble blood that she was chosen to lead the national armies. She was married to Venusius, the chieftain of a neighbouring tribe, who was himself remarkable for his skill in the arts of war ; but the alliance seems in no way to have diminished her domestic power, and she still made wars and alliances on her own account. The queen was far-seeing enough to understand the hopelessness of a contest with Rome. She knew that a firm and extended sovereignty, and a share of the plunder which seemed like unbounded riches, would be secured to her as the price of submission.

Caractacus, the Gaulish prince who for nine years

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 12.

had led the armies of the West, sought refuge in the Brigantian territory. The queen entrapped him with all his family and delivered them in chains to the invaders. Caractacus was carried to Rome and shown to the people with a pomp of which the details are still preserved. First came his officers and body-guard carrying his jewels and collars, the harness of his horses and chariot-trappings, and the treasures which he had gained in the wars. Next came his brothers, and his wife and daughter, and lastly the chieftain himself; and it was observed that he alone was calm and proud while the others were weeping and praying for their lives.

Cartismandua attained the height of fame when it was allowed that she had gained a triumph for Cæsar. But her arrogance increased with her riches, and she began to think herself exempt from the laws of her tribe and nation. Her husband was cast off for an armour-bearer, and in the civil war that followed she lost her crown and country. She held out against the army of Venusius until her Roman allies could arrive, and even succeeded with a savage skill in capturing her husband's family as hostages; but the kingdom was lost after a long and doubtful struggle, though the queen herself was rescued. We hear little more of the Brigantes from that time until they adopted the Roman customs, and ceased to be distinguishable from the foreign population which was collected round the camps and fortresses on the line of Hadrian's wall.<sup>1</sup>

Tacitus, or perhaps Agricola, who was fond of discussing with him the projects for the conquest of Ireland,

<sup>1</sup> For the story of Cartismandua, see Tac. Ann. xii. c. 36; Hist. iii. c. 45, and compare Agric. cc. 12, 24.

thought that the Brigantes were very like the Irish in their character and habits of life.<sup>1</sup> We find in the 'Polyhistor' of Solinus a sketch of an Irish home which will enable us to understand what Tacitus intended. "It is," he said, "a surly and a savage race. The soldier in the moment of victory takes a draught of his enemy's blood and smears his face with the gore. The mother puts her boy's first food for luck on the end of her husband's sword and lightly pushes it into the infant's mouth with a prayer to the gods of her tribe that her son may have a soldier's death. The men who care for their appearance deck the hilts of their swords with the tusks of sea-beasts, which they polish to the brightness of ivory: for the glory of the warrior consists in the splendour of his weapons."<sup>2</sup> We seem to see the Brigantian soldier with his brightly-painted shield, his pair of javelins and his sword-hilt "as white as the whale's-bone": his matted hair supplied the want of a helmet, and a leather jerkin served as a cuirass. When the line of battle was formed the champions ran out to insult and provoke the foe; the chiefs rode up and down on their white chargers, shining in golden breast-plates. Others drove the war-chariots along the front, with soldiers leaning out before their captain to cast their spears and hand-stones: the ground shook with the prancing of horses and the noise of the chariot-wheels. We are recalled to the scenes of old Irish life which so strangely reproduce the world of the Greek heroes and the war upon the plains of Troy. We see the hunters following the cry of the hounds through green plains and sloping glens: the ladies at the feast in the woods, the

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Solinus, Polyhist. c. 24.

game roasting on the hazel-spits, "fish and flesh of boar and badger," and the great bronze cauldrons at the fire-place in the cave. The hero Cúchulainn passes in his chariot, and brandishes the heads of the slain. He speaks with his horses, of the 'Gray Macha' and the 'Black Sainglend,' like Achilles on the banks of Scamander.<sup>1</sup> The horses, in Homeric fashion, weep tears of blood, and fight by their master's side: his sword shines redly in his hand, the "light of valour" hovers round him, and a goddess takes an earthly form to be near him and to help him in the fray.

<sup>1</sup> See the "Death of Cúchulainn," abridged from the Book of Leinster, by Mr. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, iii. 175; the legend of Fionn's Enchantment, by Campbell, *ibid.* i. 174; and the story of the Princess Deirdre in "Loch Etive and the Sons of Uisneach." For the names of the horses of Cúchulainn, see Rhys, Hibbert Lectures, 1886, 440.

## CHAPTER X.

## RELIGION.

Religion of the British tribes—Its influence on the literature of romance—Theories about Druidism—The Welsh Triads—Their date and authority—Legend of Hugh the Mighty—Mythological poems of the Bards—Taliessin—Religion of the Gauls—Its nature—The greater gods—*Dis Pater*—The mode of reckoning by nights—The Gaulish Mercury and Minerva—The worship of Belenus—Adoration of plants—Teutates—Camulus—Taranis—Goddesses and helpmates of gods—Local deities—The Mothers—Giants—Origin of Druidism—Druidism in Britain—Scottish and Irish Druids—The nature of their ceremonies—Their magic—Position of the Druids in Gaul—Their philosophy—Human sacrifices—Relics of the practice—Its traces in Britain and Ireland—Slaughter of hostages—Sacrifices for stability of buildings—Doctrines of the Druids—Their astronomy—Metempsychosis—Disappearance of Druidism—The Roman provinces—Ireland and Scotland—Other remains of British religions—How preserved—In legends of saints—In romance—General character of the religion—Nature of the idols—Superstitions about natural phenomena—Mirage—Sunset—Mineral springs—Laughing-wells—Worship of elements—The Irish gods—The Dagda—Moon-worship—Degradation of British gods—Their appearance as kings and chiefs—The fabulous history—Heroic songs—Principal families of gods—Children of Dôn—of Nudd—of Lir—Legend of Cordelia—Bran the Blessed—Manannán Mac Lir—Ritual—Relics of Sun-worship—Fire-worship—Rustic sacrifices—Offerings of animals to saints—Sacred animals—Prohibition of certain kinds of food—Claims of descent from animals—Totemism—Origin of these superstitions.

THE religion of the British tribes has exercised an important influence upon literature. The mediæval romances and the legends which stood for history are full of the “fair humanities” and figures of its bright mythology. The elemental powers of earth and fire, and the spirits which haunted the waves and streams, appear again as kings in the Irish Annals or as saints and hermits in Wales. The Knights of the Round Table, Sir Kay and Tristram and the bold Sir Bedivere, betray their mighty origin by the attributes which they retained as heroes of romance. It

was a goddess, "*Dea quædam phantastica*," who bore the wounded Arthur to the peaceful valley.<sup>1</sup> "There was little sunlight on its woods and streams, and the nights were dark and gloomy for want of the moon and stars." This is the country of Oberon and of Sir Huon de Bordeaux. It is the dreamy forest of Arden. In an older mythology it was the realm of a King of Shadows, the country of "Gwyn ab Nudd,"<sup>2</sup> who rode as Sir Guyon in the Faerie Queene,

"And knighthood took of good Sir Huon's hand  
When with King Oberon he came to Fairyland."

The history of the Celtic religions has been obscured by many false theories which need not be discussed in detail. The traces of revealed religion were discovered by the Benedictine historians in the doctrines attributed to the Druids: if the Gauls adored the oak-tree it could only be a remembrance of the plains of Mamre; if they slew a prisoner on a block of unhewn stone, it must have been in deference to a precept of Moses. A school pretending to a deeper philosophy invented for the Druids the mission of preserving monotheism in the West.<sup>3</sup> In the teaching of another school the Druids are credited with the learning

<sup>1</sup> Girald. Cambr. Spec. Eccles. c. 9; Itin. Cambr. i. c. 8.

<sup>2</sup> "Gwyn ab Nudd" was the Welsh fairy-king. See Guest's *Mabinogion*, 263. In the curious story of "Kilhwch and Olwen" we find him described as "Gwyn the son of Nudd, whom God has placed over the brood of devils in Annwn, lest they should destroy the present race." (*Ibid.* 241.) He is represented as a warlike spirit, or battle-god, in a dialogue cited from the *Myvyrian Archæology*, i. 165. "Gwyn son of Nudd, the hope of armies, legions fall before thy conquering arm, swifter than broken rushes to the ground."

<sup>3</sup> "*Les Druides ne nous apparaissent que dans la splendeur de Dieu.*" Réynaud, *L'Esprit de la Gaule*, 5. Leflocq. *Mythol. Celt.* 49.

of Phœnicia and Egypt. The mysteries of the "Thrice-great Hermes" were transported to the northern oak-forests, and every difficulty was solved as it rose by a reference to Baal and Moloch. The lines and circles of "standing-stones" became the signs of a worship of snakes and dragons. The ruined cromlech was mistaken for an altar of sacrifice, with the rock-bason to catch the victim's blood and a holed-stone for the rope to bind his limbs.

The Welsh Triads became the foundation of another theory. They profess to record the exploits of a being called Hugh the Mighty, who led the Kymry from the Land of Summer to the islands of the Northern Ocean. If the legend had not been accepted by M. Martin and other French historians as containing the echo of a real tradition, we might disregard it as completely as the adventures of the Irish in Egypt or the prophecies of the dreamer Merlin. We may expect that the mythical history will soon fall back into oblivion ; but meanwhile it seems necessary to give some short account of the story itself and of the controversy respecting its origin.

The date of the historical Triads has been approximately fixed by the form of their language and by other internal evidence.<sup>1</sup> Although some few are found in poems of the twelfth century, it is clear that they mostly belong to the period between the Conquest of Wales and the rebellion of Owen Glendower. His bard "Iolo the Red" was the chief compiler of the history of Hugh the Mighty, whom the Welsh call "Hu Gadarn." The

<sup>1</sup> Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, 169, 429, 493 ; Turner, *Hist. Anglo-Saxon*, i. c. 2 ; Skene, "Four Ancient Books of Wales," and "Celtic Scotland," i. 172 ; Valroger, *Les Celtes*, 395.

principal collection is preserved in the Red Book of Hergest in the library of Jesus College at Oxford, and the preceding contents of the book show that this collection was made after the commencement of the fourteenth century. The Triads failed to attract much attention in England until their publication in the *Myvyrian Archæology* in the early part of this century. They were soon afterwards translated into English, and were published by Probert as an appendix to his "*Ancient Laws of Cambria*." They became famous for a time when Sharon Turner in England, and Michelet in France, vindicated the historical character of the ancient British poems; but they seem to have since relapsed into neglect, though a few speculations are hazarded from time to time as to the origin of the word "*Lloegria*," or the position of "*the Hazy Sea*."<sup>1</sup>

The legend of Hugh the Mighty certainly contains direct allusions to the Welsh mythology, but in the main it is a travesty of the life of the Patriarch Noah, tricked out with such scraps of learning as a bard might have gathered in a library. It is confused by an intermixture of the exploits of Hugh of Constantinople, a paladin of romance who took part in the adventures of the legendary armies of Charlemagne.

The language of some of the poems would suggest that Hugh the Mighty was a solar god. His chariot is described as "*an atom of glowing heat*": he is said to be greater than all the worlds, "*light his course and active*,

<sup>1</sup> "*Môr Tawch*" may mean the "*Hazy*" or the "*Dacian*" Sea, the latter word being taken in the sense of "*Danish*." If the last interpretation is correct, the date of the Triad in which the phrase occurs will be fixed about the twelfth century. Stephens, *Literature of the Kymry*, 428.

great on the land and on the seas"; and his two great oxen are bright constellations in the firmament.<sup>1</sup>

In the first age of the world he instructed the Kymry in the arts of agriculture, poetry, and government. When the earth was destroyed by fire and water he saved a remnant of men and animals in his ark. The monster that caused the deluge was dragged from the waters by the sacred oxen: the enchanter "Gwydion" sets a rainbow in the sky as the sign of a covenant with mankind. The Kymry are settled at first in "Deffrobani," which can only be intended for "Taprobane," the classical name of Ceylon; but the scribe has added in a note, "this is where Constantinople stands." The Kymry are followed by the Lloegrians from Gascony, whose name is probably derived from that of the River Loire, and by the "Brythons" from the shore of Armorica. Three "refuge-seeking tribes" take shelter in the Highlands and the Isle of Wight; and there are allusions to the Caledonian Forest, and to the ancient floods which overwhelmed the Cimbri. We read of three invading tribes, the Picts, the Coranians of the eastern coast, and the Saxons, in whose arrival the secular tragedy culminates. "The crown of monarchy" is wrested from the Kymry: the Lloegrians unite with the German invaders, "and of the Lloegrians who did not become Saxon there remain none but those who inhabit Cornwall and the Commote of Carnoban."<sup>2</sup>

The Welsh bards retained a stock of tropes and allusions which derived their origin from the ancient British paganism. There was enough reality for the purposes of an

<sup>1</sup> Nash, *Taliesin*, 307; Guest's *Mabinogion*, 284.

<sup>2</sup> This district is described in the *Triads* as being "in the Kingdom of Deira and Bernicia."

ode or sonnet in the Enchanter "Gwydion," who fashioned a woman out of flowers of the oak, and of the broom and meadow-sweet, the Giant "Ogyrfen," and "Aerfen" the fierce goddess of the border-stream "where the blowing Bala Lake fills all the sacred Dee." Even in our own literature it is "Jupiter who gives whate'er is great, and Venus who brings everything that's fair." But it would be absurd to treat the Bards who used the conceit as conscious worshippers of a sun-god, the followers of a deified patriarch, or the custodians of traditional secrets descended from the age of the Druids. "The minstrels were plain, pious, and very ignorant Christians, who believed in nothing worse than a little magic and witchcraft."<sup>1</sup> The songs ascribed to Taliessin have been called the romance of metempsychosis. A Druidical dogma of the transmigration of souls is thought to lie hidden in the poet's account of his wonderful transformations, but as often as not they are merely borrowed from Ovid, or adapted from the Arabian Nights. The wars of the dwarfs and elves are mistaken for a presentment of the religion that prevailed in Britain at the commencement of the Roman Conquest. But an examination of these celebrated poems will show that, though they are full of mythological allusions, they contain nothing which can be treated as a real tradition of doctrine. They seem to have been founded in several cases on some myth of the moon and shadows. The fairy Kerridwen makes war upon the prince of the dwarfs. In one form of the story the fairy becomes an old witch, and the dwarf is a boy who watches the boiling cauldron. Three drops of the liquor of knowledge are tasted by

<sup>1</sup> Kennedy, *Irish Fiction*, 311; Skene, "*Four Ancient Books of Wales*," i. 16.

Gwion. Pursued at once by the hag, "he changed himself into a hare and fled, but she transformed herself into a greyhound and turned him; and he ran towards the river and became a fish, and she in the form of an otter chased him under water till he was fain to become a bird of the air": and so on in a series of adventures imitated from those which appear in the Arabian tale of the "Second Royal Calender."<sup>1</sup> The first part of the legend appears in slightly different forms in the Irish stories of Finn mac Cumhal, and also among the adventures of Sigurd in the Song of the Nibelungs. The poet, or school of poets, who wrote under the name of Taliessin, borrowed incidents and allusions from every kind of literature. The fairy becomes the Muse of Poetry and her cauldron is the fount of inspiration. At another time she resembles the *Madre Natura*, or "the Witch of Atlas," and turns, according to the minstrel's fancy, from a princess to a "black screaming hag" or a demon of the air. The dwarf becomes the poet himself or an idealised figure of his mind, flying with the swiftness of thought through distant times and on the confines of space. He sees Lucifer fall from heaven and Absalom hanging in the oak-tree: he was in the Chair of Cassiopeia before Gwydion was born, and stayed for ages in the court of a goddess inhabiting the Northern Crown. He was with Nimrod and Alexander: he describes Behemoth and the oxen of the goddess who guarded the streams of the Dee: he takes the character of an ancient prophet, predicting the invasions of Britain; "their Lord they will praise," he cried, "their speech they will keep, their land they will

<sup>1</sup> Nash, Taliesin, 180, 182; Stephens, Literature of the Kymry, 170.

lose, except wild Wales.”<sup>1</sup> And yet through all changes he still claims to be Taliessin, “the prince of song, and the chief of the bards of the West.”

The figures of all times and countries pass in a strange procession, and we recognise among them several beings who were worshipped as gods in Ireland and Western Britain. But we shall find nothing about the Druids; their very name had been forgotten for centuries before the modern travesty of their doctrines was propounded under the title of “Bardism.” Nor again will anything be found about the Gaulish gods whose rites were transported to Britain, at first by the Belgian settlers, and afterwards by Roman soldiers. For them we must rely on the classical descriptions, obscure and scanty as they are, wherever the patient research of the Continental scholars has failed to bring fresh life into the almost forgotten tradition.

It will be convenient to deal separately with the main divisions of the subject. Some account will first be given of the religions of Ancient Gaul. We shall treat in the next place of the Druids and the character of their teaching, and we shall afterwards try to collect what is known about the nature of the British paganism.

The religion of the Gauls appears to have borne a general resemblance to that of the British tribes.<sup>2</sup> It has become known by the sketch in Cæsar’s Commentaries, by Pliny’s chapters on magic and a few scattered allusions of the Latin poets, and in an even greater degree by the modern comparison of the inscriptions upon ruined altars and of legends or observances in which some fragments of

<sup>1</sup> Nash, Taliesin, 162, 304.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 11.

the old creed have been by chance retained. A figure of Roland in the market-place, the cakes at the village-fair impressed with the sign of Gargantua, the miracles recurring at the shrines which replaced the heathen temples, the processions, the dances, and the devotions of the peasantry, have all helped in their turns to explain the nature of the old beliefs. When the Church took possession of the temples and sanctuaries of paganism, the heathen rites were often preserved under Christian names. The older religion survived in the dedication-feasts, the January-fires, the May-games and the Midsummer-fires, the garlands set by the fountains, and the sacrifices made at favourite shrines to avert sterility, or to procure good fortune in marriage.<sup>1</sup>

The Roman writers have left us little definite information on the subject. They seem to have felt a natural contempt for the superstitions of their barbarous neighbours. Cicero, for example, was a friend of the Druid Divitiacus; yet he did not think it necessary to record the result of their curious discussions. Julius Cæsar was himself a Pontiff, and published a book upon divination, but he noticed the foreign religions only so far as they were connected with public policy. He does not mention the British religion at all; and as to the German beliefs he merely observes that they seemed only to recognise those gods whose benefits were obvious to the senses. We owe his short sketch of the Gaulish Pantheon to the fact that, for practical purposes, it was the same as that of the Roman world : so that it was clear that, if Druidism could

<sup>1</sup> See the article on the gods of the Allobroges by M. Vallentin, *Revue Celtique*, iv. 2, the same writer's work on the local deities of Vocontium (Grenoble, 1877), and Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois* (Paris, 1879).

be abolished, the new province would easily fall into the official forms of belief.

The public or national faith should be distinguished from the private religion of the tribe, and also from the worship of those local gods to whom particular woods or streams were sanctified. The "greater gods" were revered under various titles by every nation in Gaul. A Pluto reigned in darkness, and a Jupiter in heaven. Mars was the "lord of war": Apollo, Mercury, and Minerva, brought precious gifts to mankind.<sup>1</sup>

The Gauls were taught by the Druids to call themselves the children of Pluto, and the parable may have referred to the idea that all things came from Chaos. Cæsar attributed to this belief their practice of reckoning by nights instead of days. A birthday, or the first of the month or year, was considered to begin at sunset on the previous evening. The habit was common to all the northern nations, and seems to have been a natural consequence of the measurement of time by the moon. The Gauls began their months on the 6th night after the moon was new, and just before her face was half-full.<sup>2</sup> The year began with the same phase of the satellite, and so also did the cycle of thirty years. It follows from this that the year consisted of thirteen lunar months, falling short of the true solar year by about one day. In the course of about twenty-nine years they would have apparently gained a month on the solar year: and, in order to make the solstices and equinoxes fall within the appropriate lunar months, it became necessary to intercalate a whole month, or to repeat the thirteenth month in the last year of the cycle.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 17; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. c. 98.

The Gaulish "Mercury" and "Minerva" were the most human of all their deities. The one presided over roads, markets, and boundaries, and was imagined to be the discoverer of all the sciences<sup>1</sup>: the other taught mankind their useful arts and labours, to spin and weave, to work in the smithy, to sow and till the ground.<sup>2</sup> The goddess was worshipped in Britain under the title of "Belisama," and a relic of her ritual is found in the region of the river Ribble in Lancashire, to which the later Gaulish settlers gave the name of their favourite goddess.

Next in dignity to the merchants' god came the god of the healing powers, in whom the Romans saw the radiance and majesty of Apollo. The lines in which Ausonius described the Temple of Belenus at Bayeux, and the remains of statues found at Bath, show that his worship was connected with solar rites. This was the case, at any rate, after the establishment of the state religion. But he seems at first to have represented the health-giving waters and herbs themselves, and to have been worshipped under a multitude of local names wherever such things were found. He was the "Borvo" of the boiling springs which have given the name of Bourbon to so many places in France, the "Grannus" of the wells at Aix-la-Chapelle, the "Belisa," whose shrine stood at Aquileia by the side of the Fountain of Belenus.<sup>3</sup> The ceremonies observed

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the worship of Mercury under his Gaulish names of Dunates, Vasso, Visucius, and Marunus, see Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*, and Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois*, 9, 10. Some of the temples of the god are described in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. c. 18; Minuc. Felix, 49; Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* i. 30; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Ausonius, *Profess.* 4, 10; Herodian, viii. 7; Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 24; Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois*, 10; Valroger, *Les Celtes*, 145.

in gathering the herbs and simples are recounted by Pliny in his Natural History. The service at the cutting of the mistletoe seems to have come from a time at which the thing itself had been worshipped. The plant when growing upon the oak was thought to be a panacea, or "all-heal." Its infusion cured sterility in cattle, the pounded leaves healed sores, and it was used in other forms in cases of epilepsy and poisoning. Its appearance on the sacred tree betokened the presence of the god. The service took place on a holiday at the beginning of a month. A Druid clothed in white, with a chaplet of oak-leaves on his head, cut the plant with a golden sickle, shaped like the moon when six nights old, and caught it in a long white cloak. As it fell the sacrifices began, and the company burst out into prayer. A banquet followed, and at last the mistletoe was carried home on a waggon drawn by two snow-white bulls which had never felt the yoke.<sup>1</sup>

The club-moss<sup>2</sup> (*Selago*) was a *fétiche* of another kind. The man who carried the divine object was secure against all misfortune: and blindness could be cured by the fumes of its spores dried and thrown upon the fire. It had to be gathered with a curious magical ceremony. The worshipper was dressed in white: he must go to the place barefoot and wash his feet in pure water before approaching the plant. No metal might be used in taking it, but after offerings of bread and wine it was snatched from the

<sup>1</sup> "*Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.*" Pliny, Hist. Nat. xvi. c. 95; Keysler, "*De visco Druidum*," Antiqu. Septent. 304.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxiv. c. 4; Villemarqué, Barzas Breiz. 62, 76. The club-moss or *Lycopodium Selago* is said to be still used in Cornwall in cases of incipient blindness. Davies identified it with a plant which the Welsh called "grâs Duw" or "the grace of God." Brit. Myth. 274, 280. Compare Grimm. Deutsch. Mythol. 1158.

ground with a thievish gesture, the right hand being darted under the left arm. The Breton peasants are said to retain their respect for the plant. They call it "*l'herbe d'or*," and the lucky finder still follows the fashion of his ancestors; "*pour le cueillir il faut être nu-pieds et en chemise: il s'arrache et ne se coupe pas.*" The "*Samolus*,"<sup>1</sup> or water-pimpernel, was a specific against murrain in swine and cattle. The finder was required to go to the place fasting and to pluck the stalk with his left hand, and then without looking back to carry it at once to the drinking-troughs; and there were many other herbs which were thought to be gifts from Belenus, as the henbane or "insane root," which the Gauls used for their poisoned arrows, and the "*Beliocanda*" which the Greek physicians made up into poultices for wounds.<sup>2</sup>

An obscure passage in the *Pharsalia* has preserved the names of three gods who cannot be identified with certainty. The poet speaks of the grim "*Teutates*," of "*Hesus*," with his bloody sacrifices, and of "*Taranis*" whose altars were as cruel as those of the Scythian *Diana*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The botanical name for this plant is *Samolus Valerandi*. It is akin to the primrose.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxiv. c. 4. For an account of the henbane, "*Belinuntia*" and "*Apollinaris Insana*," see Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxv. c. 17; Dioscorides, iv. 69, 115; or *Hyoscyamus Niger*, which was called "*Belisa*."

<sup>3</sup> See Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 445:

'Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro  
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hesus,  
Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitor ara Dianæ.'

The Scholiast of Lucan took Hesus for Mercury, "since he is worshipped by merchants," and Taranis for the Northern Jupiter. The recent researches of M. Mowat, as pointed out by Prof. Rhys in his *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, appear to identify Hesus, or Esus, with Silvanus, or some equivalent agricultural divinity. Taranis in the new theory becomes a goddess, perhaps the companion of Esus. The identity of Teutates appears to

Very little is known as to their attributes. Even Teutates has been identified with several deities in turn. He was probably the war-god, worshipped under many names, for whom the piles of spoil were heaped in the market-place and the altars ran with the blood of captives killed as thank-offerings.<sup>1</sup> Many ingenious attempts have been made to connect the name of the god with the names of places in England. It has been identified with those of several British saints, as St. Teuth and St. Tydew; the ill-spelt vocabulary of the Ravenna Geographer has been ransacked to find words which might in their original form have been applied to the temples; and every "toot-hill" or "Tothill" has been imagined to represent the site of a shrine or a statue of the martial god.<sup>2</sup> The name "Teutates" seems to have been seldom used in this country, where the deity was better known as "Camulus," a word which appears on British coins in connection with warlike emblems, and is used as a compound in the names of several forts which were erected in the Roman province.<sup>3</sup>

be proved by the inscription "Marti Toutati," found in Hertfordshire in the year 1748. Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 84.

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. vi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of these saints, see Iolo MSS. 421; Rees, British Saints, 515, 600; Pearson, Hist. Engl. i. 19. Mr. Pearson selects the words "Corio-tiotav" and "Neme-totacio," from the Ravenna Geographer's list as probable sites of the temples of Teutates. "Toot-hill" means nothing more than a hill, a lump, a curl. "In that medewe is a litylle toothille with toures & pynacles all of gold." Mandeville, Travels, c. 36. "Tutuli. . . capilli matronarum convoluti et in altum congesti." Grunten, De Uxore Theotiscâ. 164.

<sup>3</sup> As examples we may take the names of *Camulodunum*, *Camunlodunum* or *Cambodunum* (Slack, in Yorkshire), and *Camulosessa*, a place which is only mentioned by the Ravenna Geographer.

Taranis seems to have been worshipped by the Britons,<sup>1</sup> under titles derived from words for fire and thunder, as the summer-god who brought the rain and sunshine, and dispensed the fruits of the earth. Taranis corresponds, in power and attributes, to the Red-bearded Thor of Scandinavia and the Thunder-god to whom the Esthonians prayed "that their straw might be red as copper and the grain as yellow as gold," and who was transformed by the Slavonians into the Prophet Elijah, driving in the tempest with a chariot and horses of fire, and able to withhold the rain and dew or to blacken the heavens with clouds and wind.

The names of a host of minor deities appear in the inscriptions or are vaguely preserved in the country legends. The greater powers had each his wife or help-mate. The goddesses of the healing springs were honoured as the companions of Apollo. "Rosmerta" shared the altars of Mercury, and the war-god was attended by Furies like those of the Irish mythology.<sup>2</sup> Divine beings, or half-divine, mediated everywhere between mankind and heaven. The sea-nymph of the Breton shore is still revered under the name of St. Anne. Melusina's fountain, Sabrina's throne beneath the "translucent wave," and "Bovinda" in her palace by the clear-running Boyne, are

<sup>1</sup> The Irish *Dinn-Senchus* mentions "*Etirun*, an idol of the Britons." The name *Taran* appears in the Welsh legendary tales, Guest's *Mabinogion*, 251. For a description of *statuettes* found in France, supposed to be figures of Taranis, see Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois*, 11, 22, where a reference to the same name is found in the inscriptions "*Deo Taranucno*" and "*Iovi Taranuco*."

<sup>2</sup> "*Nemetona*," a Gaulish war-goddess, has been identified with "*Nemon*," one of the battle-furies who appear so constantly in the Irish mythological tales, *Revue Celtique*, i. 39.

figures showing the nature of the worship that was paid to the streams. The mountains were dedicated to airy powers: the Pennine Jove ruled on the Mont St. Bernard, and "Arduinna" in the Forest of Ardennes. Every village was protected by the "mothers," or guardian spirits, who appear in mediæval legends as the White Ladies, the "three fairies," the "weird sisters," and wild women of the woods. Their worship was common to the Celts and Germans, and it is uncertain to which race we should attribute the numerous inscriptions and images which were set up in their honour by the soldiers of the Roman regiments in Britain. It has been observed, however, that the inscriptions found in England are always to "the mothers" in general terms, while the Continental examples are usually distinguished by some local epithet; and so it is concluded that the soldiers who erected the altars in Britain were worshipping the guardians of their foreign birth-places.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the minor deities reappear as giants in nursery-tales and legends; and it seems probable that most of the gigantic figures which adorned the mediæval processions were connected with the worship of some local god. The festivals of Gargantua in Normandy and Poitou imply a pagan origin for the giants "Gurgunt" and "Goemagot," who appear in the fabulous histories of Britain.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wright, "Roman Celt and Saxon," 347. The best British example is that of the three figures found at Ancaster. The goddesses are seated on chairs, and hold baskets of fruit and flowers. See as to the "mothers" in Gaul and Germany, Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 401, and Keysler's elaborate discussion of the subject, *Antiqu. Septent.* 369. For similar superstitions in Scandinavia, see Olaus Magnus, *De Gent. Septent.* iii. c. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See the article "*Sur le vrai nom de Gargantua*," *Revue Celtique*, i. 136, and the legends of the Cornish giants in Geoffr. *Monm. Hist. Brit.* i. 16; Keysler, *Antiqu. Septent.* 209.

We have described the chief figures in the Gaulish Pantheon, and we have now to attempt the more difficult task of defining the nature of Druidism. The system is believed to have been invented in Britain, and its abnormal character might make it easy to suppose that it was devised by the wild Silurians.<sup>1</sup> We may infer that it existed among the Belgian colonists from Cæsar's statement, that the Gauls in Kent differed but little in their way of living from their kinsmen across the Channel. We know from the words of Tacitus that a college of Druids served a temple in Anglesea. The soldiers of Paulinus were amazed at a wild procession; the British ranks opened and a band of women marched out, looking like stage-furies with their floating hair and the blazing torches in their hands; on their right and left stood the Druids with hands uplifted and calling down vengeance from heaven. But they were soon "rolled in their own fires:" the sacred groves were destroyed, and the altars levelled to the ground.<sup>2</sup>

Our traditions of the Scottish and Irish Druids are evidently derived from a time when Christianity had long been established. These insular Druids are represented as being little better than conjurors, and their dignity is as much diminished as the power of the king is exaggerated. He is hedged with a royal majesty which never existed in fact. He is a Pharaoh or Belshazzar with a

<sup>1</sup> "The doctrine is thought to have been invented in Britain and to have been carried over to Gaul; and at the present time those who wish to gain a more precise knowledge of the system travel to that country for the purpose of studying it." Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 30. The allusion to the Furies is evidently a reminiscence of the Iberians described by Strabo, and of the Iberian origin which Agricola had invented for the Silurians.

troop of wizards at command ; his Druids are sorcerers and rain-doctors, who pretend to call down the storms and the snow, and frighten the people with "the fluttering wisp" and other childish charms. They divine by the observation of "sneezing and omens," by their dreams after holding a "bull-feast," or chewing raw flesh in front of their idols, by the croaking of their ravens and chirping of tame wrens, or by the ceremony of licking the hot adze of bronze taken out of the rowan-tree faggot. They are like the Red Indian medicine-men or the "Angekoks" of the Eskimo, dressed up in bulls'-hide coats and bird-caps with waving wings. The chief Druid of Tara is shown to us as a leaping juggler with ear-clasps of gold and a speckled cloak ; he tosses swords and balls in the air, "and like the buzzing of bees on a beautiful day is the motion of each passing the other."<sup>1</sup>

We need not suppose that the Druids in Gaul were exactly like their insular brethren. The latter seem to have been more expert in magic. "Britannia to this day," said Pliny, "celebrates the art with such wondrous ceremonies that it seems as if she might have taught the Magi of Persia."<sup>2</sup> The Gaulish Druids were more cultivated. They knew the Greek modes of reckoning and were probably acquainted by hearsay with the doctrines of Pythagoras. They had gained a political supremacy ; their judgments were taken as the voice of the gods, and they were themselves exempt from all earthly service. They were like ecclesiastics of the mediæval type, and men of

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, Lect. 9, 10 ; Cormac's Glossary, 94 ; *Revue Celtique*, i. 261 ; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. c. 21 ; Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 13 ; Valer. Max. ii. c. 6 ; Ammian. Marcell. xv. 9.

the highest rank were eager to belong to their order. According to Dion Chrysostome the Druids were obeyed by the kings, who served them in the great palaces where they sat on their golden thrones.<sup>1</sup> The Druids of Strabo's description walked in scarlet and gold brocade and wore golden collars and bracelets; but their doctrines may have been much the same as those of the soothsayers by the Severn, the Irish "medicine-men," or those rustic wizards by the Loire, whose oracle was a sound in the oak-trees, and whose decisions were rudely scratched upon the blade-bone of an ox or sheep.<sup>2</sup> These men assumed to be interpreters of the designs of Heaven; and they even used a sacred jargon which passed for the language of the gods. "They tamed the people as wild beasts are tamed"; so runs the famous description, which can only be ascribed to Posidonius. The Druids and their subordinates foretold the future by the flight of birds and the inspection of victims offered in sacrifice. The Druids of Mona used to slay their captives, and tell fortunes from the look of their bodies. The Druids would devote a man to the gods and strike him down with a sword; and as he fell they would gather omens from his mode of falling and convulsive movements, and from the flow of blood which followed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 49; Strabo, iv. 275.

<sup>2</sup> In the comedy of "*Querolus*," adapted in the 4th century from the *Aulularia* of Plautus, the discontented hero, is bidden by the familiar spirit to go to the banks of the Loire. "Vade, ad Ligerim vivito. Illic jure gentium vivunt homines: ibi nullum est præstigium; ibi sententiæ capitales de robore proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus; illic etiam rustici perorant et privati judicant; ibi totum licet." The response is, "Nolo jura hæc silvestria." *Querolus*, ii. 1. See Havet's edition of "*Le Querolus*," p. 217.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. v. c. 31; Strabo, iv. 277; Tac. Ann. xiv. 30.

The Romans were familiar with the idea of human sacrifice. The State had often been saved by such means in obedience to the sacred oracles. But they were astonished at the recklessness of the Gaulish massacres. The slaughter was continuous, though no Sibyl had spoken and the nation had fallen into no universal danger. If any person of importance were in peril from disease or the chance of war, a criminal or a slave was killed or promised as a substitute. The Druids held that by no other means could a man's life be redeemed, or the wrath of the gods appeased; and they went so far as to teach that the crops would be fertile in proportion to the richness of the harvest of death.<sup>1</sup> It became a national institution to offer a ghastly hecatomb at particular seasons of the year. In some places the victims were crucified or shot to death with arrows; elsewhere they would be stuffed into huge figures of wicker-work, or a heap of hay would be laid out in the human shape, where men, cattle, and wild beasts, were burned in a general holocaust. The memory of the public sacrifices seems to have been preserved by the Irish proverb, in which a person in great danger was said to be "between two Beltain fires." In the Highlands, even in modern times, there were May-day bonfires at which the spirits were implored to make the year productive; a feast was set out upon the grass, and lots were drawn for the semblance of a human sacrifice; and whoever drew the "black piece" of a cake dressed on the fire was made to leap three times through the flame.<sup>2</sup> In many parts of France the sheriffs or the mayor of a town burned baskets

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, iv. 275; Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See Cormac's Glossary, under "Beltene." *Revue Celtique*, iv. 193; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 579.

filled with wolves, foxes, and cats, in the bonfires at the Feast of St. John; and it is said that the Breton villagers will sacrifice a snake when they burn the sacred boat in honour of St. Anne.<sup>1</sup>

The Welsh and Irish traditions contain many other traces of the custom of human sacrifice. Some of the penalties of the ancient laws seem to have originated in an age when the criminal was offered to the gods. The thief and the seducer of women were burned on a pile of logs or cast into a fiery furnace; the maiden who forgot her duty was burned or drowned, or sent adrift to sea.<sup>2</sup>

A human victim was offered in times of disaster and pestilence. A sacrifice of this kind is mentioned in a description of one of the fairs which were held at the tombs of the Irish chieftains. A god is invoked at sunrise to stay the plagues that afflict the land, and afterwards the "hostages" are brought out and a captive prince is immolated. It appears that prisoners were also

<sup>1</sup> "*C'était en beaucoup d'endroits en France l'usage de jeter dans le feu de la Saint-Jean des mannes ou des paniers en osier contenant des animaux, chats, chiens, renards, loups. Au siècle dernier même dans plusieurs villes c'était le maire ou les échevins qui faisaient mettre dans un panier une ou deux douzaines de chats pour brûler dans le feu de joie. Cette coutume existait aussi à Paris, et elle n'y a été supprimée qu'au commencement du règne de Louis XIV.*" Gaidoz, *Esquisse de la Religion des Gaulois*, 21.

<sup>2</sup> O'Curry, *Manners of the Ancient Irish*, introd. cccxxii.; *Liber Landavensis*, 323; Guest's *Mabinogion*, 282. Compare the custom formerly observed by the miners on the Mendip Hills. "Whoever among them steals anything, and is found guilty, is thus punished: he is shut up in a hut and then dry fern furzes and such other combustible matters are put round it, and fire set to it: when it is on fire the criminal, who has his hands and feet at liberty, may with them (if he can) break down the hut and get free and be gone. This they call Burning of the Hill." Camden, *Britannia* (Gibson) 185.

killed at the funeral games. A remarkable passage in the "Book of Ballymote" tells us how one of the kings brought fifty "hostages" from Munster. The conqueror died of his wounds before he reached the palace of Tara. When the funeral-mound was raised, and his name inscribed on the tomb, "the hostages, whom he brought from the south, were buried alive round the grave, that it might be a reproach to the Momonians for ever."<sup>1</sup>

It has been a common superstition in almost all parts of Europe that a new building can only be made secure by sprinkling the foundation with a child's blood or by walling up a girl alive in the masonry. The custom was altered in Christian times to the burial of a horse or lamb under the foundation-stones of a church, or the sacrifice of a fowl when the building of a house began, and in some such forms as these the practice still survives in the East of Europe. In ancient times a human life was almost invariably required.<sup>2</sup> The mason in the Greek legend builds his bride into the wall that the king's palace may stand. The Carthaginians, in Plutarch's story, are said to have drowned the victim's cries with a noise of flutes and trumpets, the buried child's attention being distracted with

<sup>1</sup> The first story is from the description of the Fair of Tailté, in the old topography called the "Dinn-Senchus." O'Curry, *Manners of the Ancient Irish*, ii. 222, introd. cccxxv. dcxl. For the extract from the Book of Ballymote, see *ibid.* cccxx. Mr. Sullivan adds that the reproach consisted in treating the Munster nobles as if they were dependants or slaves. "It may be also that putting them to death in this way, and burying them round him as they would have sat in fetters along the wall of his banqueting-hall consecrated them to perpetual hostageship even among the dead."

<sup>2</sup> Compare 1 Kings xvi. 34. "In his days did Hiel the Bethelite build Jericho: he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub," and see the reference in the same passage to Joshua's prophecy. Josh. vi. 26.

caresses, or gifts of toys and sweetmeats, until the last stone was ready for closing the aperture.<sup>1</sup>

The tradition is preserved in those household stories which tell how the first living being that crosses the new bridge, or enters the house, is devoted to the spirit who has helped the builders; but the fiend is usually cheated by the sending of a dog or cat across the fatal line.

Examples of this kind of sacrifice are found in the History of Nennius and in the Irish mythical tales. King Vortigern is represented as choosing a site on Snowdon for a castle which might be safe against the barbarian Saxons. The king collected all the materials for building, but they disappeared as often as they were brought to the chosen spot. Vortigern seeks from his magicians a remedy for this waste of labour, and they reply, "You must find a child born without a father, and must put him to death and sprinkle with his blood the ground where the castle is to stand."<sup>2</sup> A somewhat similar rite is mentioned in an Irish story called the "Courtship of Becuma." A queen who has incurred the displeasure of the gods becomes the wife of Conn the Hundred-fighter. A blight comes over the country and there is a dearth of corn and milk: the Druids assign the cause of the famine

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 40. "To make Liebenstein Castle impregnable, there was walled-in a child, whom its mother for base gold had parted with; while the masons were at work, says the story, it sat eating a roll, and calling out, 'Mother! I can see you,' then, 'Mother! I see a little of you still,' and when the last stone was let in, 'Mother! I see nothing of you now.'" *Ibid.* 1095. (Stallybrass, 1142.) Bechst. *Thuring. Sagen.* 4. 157. Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, ad finem: see also the instances mentioned in the *Revue Celtique*, vi. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* s. 40. Compare the account of building the stone fort in the "Book of Lecan." "The top of the house of the groaning hostages one stone closed." O'Curry, *Manners of the Anc. Irish*, ii. 9.

to a crime which the queen had committed, and announce that it can only be removed "by slaying the son of an undefiled couple and sprinkling his blood on the door-posts and over the land of Tara."<sup>1</sup> A still more striking example appears in the Life of St. Columba. In the fabulous story of the building of the church at Iona the Saint addresses his followers in words which point to the notion of a human sacrifice. "It is good for us that our roots should go under earth here : it is permitted that one of you should go under the clay of this island to hallow it." Odrán rises and offers himself to his master. "If thou shouldst take me," he said, "I am ready." The Saint readily accepted the offer, and we are told that thereupon "Odrán went to heaven."<sup>2</sup>

It is not necessary to inquire minutely into the secrets of the Druidical doctrine. The laws which they administered are forgotten. Their boasted knowledge of ethics only provokes a smile. We are told that they concerned themselves with astronomy, the nature of the world and its proportion to the rest of the universe, and the attributes and powers of the gods. One or two of their dogmas have been accidentally preserved. 'The world' (they said) 'can never be destroyed : but the elements are at war, and Fire and Water will prevail in the end.'

The Gauls had once believed, like their Latin neighbours, in a shadowy existence of the dead in some Hades or Elysium fashioned after the type of the present world.

<sup>1</sup> The story is taken from the "Book of Fermoy." O'Curry, Mann. Anc. Irish, introd. cccxxxiii. See also the instances from the Welsh Triads in Guest's Mabinogion, 381.

<sup>2</sup> Myth. Notes by Whitley Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 201 ; Cormac's Glossary, 63. Other instances are collected in "Three Irish Glossaries," xli. ; Herbert, "Irish Nennius," xxv. ; Reeves, Life of St. Columba, 203.

They used to cast on the funeral-pyre whatever things the dead man had loved, so that his spirit might enjoy them in the world to come ; and at the end of the funeral his favourite slaves and dependants were burned alive on the pile to keep their master company. But in the time of Julius Cæsar the Druids had learned or invented a totally different doctrine. They endeavoured to persuade their followers that death was but an interlude in a succession of lives. In this or in some other world the soul would find a new body, and lead another human life, and so onwards in an infinite cycle of lives ; and their people, they thought, could hardly fail in courage, when the fear of death was removed. "One would have laughed," said a Roman, "at these long-trousered philosophers, if we had not found their doctrine under the cloak of Pythagoras."<sup>1</sup>

The continuance of the Druidical hierarchy would have been plainly inconsistent with the government of a Roman province. But we do not find that the order was abolished by any process of law either in Gaul or Britain. We are told indeed by Pliny, that the "swarm of prophesying quacks" was suppressed in the reign of Claudius ; but the statement seems only to relate to the abolition of the human sacrifices on which their principal authority had depended. They long maintained the pretence of dragging a victim to the altar, and of symbolising the desire of the gods by the infliction of a ceremonial wound. But the gods themselves went out of fashion. They were either

<sup>1</sup> Valer. Max. ii. c. 6 ; Diod. v. c. 28 ; Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 13, 18 ; Mela, iii. 2. Compare Lucan's phrase :—

"regit idem spiritus artus  
Orbe alio : longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ  
Mors media est."—*Pharsal.* i. 451.

merged in the greater splendour of the Roman deities, or fell into obscurity as the objects of a rustic superstition. The servants of Belenus might call themselves Druids to their Gaulish congregation; but in the view of the State they were ordinary priests of Apollo. A few Druids of the old school took refuge in the forests of Armorica, but their religion as a system became extinct, and at last we find its titles assumed by every old witch in the countryside. A "female Druid" warned Alexander Severus, crying out in Gaulish as the Emperor passed, "Go your ways to be beaten and never trust your soldiers"; and Diocletian used to tell how his future glory was discerned by a "Druidess," at whose inn he was billeted as a private soldier.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear that the class of Druids remained in Ireland and Scotland until the people were converted by the Christian missionaries. The lives of St. Patrick and St. Columba are full of their contests with the royal magicians, who are called "Druids" in the native chronicles. St. Patrick's hymn contains a prayer for help "against black laws of the heathen, and against the spells of women, smiths, and Druids." The saint lights the Paschal flame, when 'the king and his Druids' were beginning their sacrifices at the Beltain Feast in Tara; and he is tried for a breach of the law that every light in the kingdom must be rekindled by a flame from the sacred bonfire. At another time he preaches at a fountain which the Druids worshipped as a god. The Chief-Druid, with nine subordi-

<sup>1</sup> Lampridius, "Alexander," 60; Vopiscus, "Carinus," 14. See also Mela, iii. 2; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxx. 4; Suetonius, "Claudius," 25; and the article, "*Comment le Druidisme a disparu*," by M. De Coulanges, *Revue Celtique*, iv. 37.

nates robed in white, comes out "with a magical host" against him. The Druid of a Pictish king threatens to impede Columba's voyage; "I can make the winds unfavourable, and cause a great darkness to envelope thee"; and the Picts of Ireland had magicians of the same kind "to scorch them with incarnations."<sup>1</sup>

After the conversion of Ireland was accomplished the Druids disappear from history. Their authority may have been transferred, without much alteration, to the abbots and bishops who ruled the "families of the saints." Their pre-eminence in matters of law may have passed in Ireland to the "Brehons," or hereditary lawyers, though there is no positive evidence that such a succession took place.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the traditions of Druidism the remains of the British religions must be investigated by the same methods as those which have been used to restore the knowledge of the gods of Gaul. We shall find relics of the old creed in heroic poems and in the nursery tales: the ritual of ancient sacrifices has sometimes survived among the usages of the peasantry, and even the lives of the saints will be found to contain incidents which are obviously of a pagan origin.

The names and attributes of mythological beings appear in the pedigrees of the "holy tribes" of Wales, and in the romance of Irish hagiology. We are told how one saint created a miraculous spring on the "Hill of the

<sup>1</sup> Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 111, 114; Usher, *Trias Thaum.* 125; *Confess. S. Patric.* apud Bolland. (March), i. 533, 536; Betham, *Antiqu. Restit.* ii. app. v.; Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, i. 21, ii. 21. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Henry Maine's observations on this theory, *Hist. Early Instit.* 28, 31, 32, 35; Gaidoz, *Esquisse de la Religion des Gaulois*, 17.

Sun," which became St. Michael's Mount : others were the owners of wandering bells and flying rocks, and of trees and animals which could never be hurt or destroyed ; and some of them were accused of being fierce and gloomy beings, ever ready to smite their enemies with monstrous kinds of vengeance.<sup>1</sup> The heads of the saintly families have ancestors and descendants who bear the names of Celtic gods and heroes. The saints Brychan and Dubricius were ascribed to the kindred of the "maniac kings," whose flocks were the stars in the firmament, and who seem in reality to have been the figures of a constellation or a sign in some ancient zodiac : they were the two oxen of Hugh the Mighty, transformed into beasts for their pride, "a yoke of horned cattle in the plough, one on either side of the high-peaked mountain."<sup>2</sup> The goddess of love was turned into St. Brychan's daughter : and as late as the 14th century lovers are said to have come from all parts to pray at her shrine in Anglesea, and to cure their sorrows at her miraculous well.<sup>3</sup>

A god of fire appears in mediæval romance as "blessed Kai," the seneschal of King Arthur's court. "Very subtle was Kai : when it pleased him he could make himself as tall as the highest tree in the forest, and so great was the heat of his nature that when it rained hardest whatever he carried became dry, and when his companions were coldest it was as fuel to them for lighting their fire."

A more singular example of this kind is found in the

<sup>1</sup> See the lives of Cadoc and Carannog, Rees, *Brit. Saints*, 358, 397, and Girald. *Cambr. Topogr. Hibern.* ii. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Guest's *Mabinogion*, 229, 236, 281.

<sup>3</sup> Sikes, *British Goblins*, 350.

confusion between St. Bridget and an Irish goddess whose gifts were poetry, fire, and medicine. The saint became the Queen of Heaven, and was adored as "the Mary of the Gael": but almost all the incidents in her legend can be referred to the pagan ritual. Her worship was like that which Pytheas discovered in the "Celtic Island," or that described by Solinus in his picture of Minerva's temple at Bath, where the goddess "ruled over the boiling springs, and at her altar there flamed a perpetual fire which never whitened into ashes, but hardened into a stony mass."<sup>1</sup> The symbol of St. Bridget is a flame, representing the column of fire which shone above her when she took the veil. The house where she dwelt was said to have blazed with a flame which reached to heaven. The sacred fire was maintained for ages in her shrine at Kildare; it was extinguished in the 13th century, but was soon renewed: and it remained alight until the suppression of the monasteries. Each of her nineteen nuns had charge of it for a single night, and on the twentieth evening the nun in attendance said "Brigit! take care of your own fire, for this night belongs to you." The women might take the bellows or a fan to increase the flame, but might not use their breath. The shrine was surrounded by a brushwood fence, within which no male might enter on pain of a miraculous vengeance. The saint was called "the greatest of eaters" and the "woman of the mighty roarings": her

<sup>1</sup> Solinus, c. 24; Geoff. Monm. Hist. Brit. ii. c. 10. A full account of the temple will be found in Lyson's *Reliquiæ*, and in Collinson's History of Somerset. The titles of the goddess were "Sulivia," "Sulina," and "Suli-Minerva." She is thought to have been connected with the "Sulfæ" or sylphs, "*une foule de Sulèves, la petite monnaie de l'ancienne Sulivia*," who were worshipped in the district of Chamonix. De Belloguet, Ethnog. Gaul. 240.

sacred animals were an undying falcon and goats which never brought forth young.<sup>1</sup>

We shall examine the general character of the religion before proceeding to the description of particular gods, and shall close the subject with such an account of its ritual and ceremonies as can be gathered from actual tradition, or from a comparison of the pagan observances which have been noticed in Scotland Wales and Ireland.

When the Britons became civilised they built temples, and set up statues of their gods: but when we first hear of them their religion seems to have been free from this kind of display. Gildas speaks of the grim-faced idols which stood in his day on the mouldering city-walls, and it is not long since the statues of gods might be seen built up into the masonry of the gateways at Bath.<sup>2</sup> These figures were apparently of Roman workmanship, but the costume and the mode of dressing the hair, and some of the emblems in their hands, show that they must have been intended as representations of the native deities. St. Patrick found the Irish worshipping an idol called "Black Crom," whose festival about the beginning of August is even now called "Cromduff Sunday." "There were twelve idols of stone around him, and himself of gold": and by another account his statue was covered with gold and silver, and

<sup>1</sup> Girald. Camb. Topogr. Hibern. ii. 34, 35; Whitley Stokes, "Three Middle-Irish Homilies." See the notes in Todd's Irish Nennius, and the description in Cormac's Glossary of the "Three Brights" who were the goddesses of poetry, smith-work, and medicine. For Bridget's sacred oak-tree at Kildare, see the *Revue Celtique*, iv. 193, and as to the connection of her name with the superstition of the "Cursing-stones," *ibid.* 120.

<sup>2</sup> Gildas, Hist. s. 4. For a description of these statues see Hearne's Leland, Itin. ii. 63, 64, 65, and Camden's Britannia (Gibson), 88.

the twelve subordinate deities were ornamented with plates of bronze.<sup>1</sup>

Before the Celts used images a tall spear-oak was a sufficient emblem of the Thunderer :<sup>2</sup> they recognized the presence of a god in the brightness of the sky, the stirring of the bubbles in the spring, or the loneliness which oppressed them in the forest. They easily transformed natural objects into deities. The brimming rivers were "Mothers" bringing food and abundance of riches. The whirling eddy concealed a demon, the lake was ruled by a lonely queen, and every well and grotto in the forest was haunted by its fairy or nymph. They saw the palaces of Morgan la Faye in the mirage and the coloured clouds at sunset, and believed that on the "blue verge of the sea" were the shores of the Land of Youth, of O'Brasil the Island of the Blest, and of the "green isles of the flood" which vanished at the fishermen's approach. The earthly paradise was always on the sea-horizon; it was set by different tribes in Somerset, in the Isle of Man, and in fabulous countries off the Irish Coast. The inhabitants of these homes of summer were a divine race of the pure Celtic type, "long-faced yellow-haired hunters" and goddesses with hair like gold or the flower of the broom.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The "Crom-cruach" is described in the "Dinn-Senchus" and in Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick. See also the *Revue Celtique*, i. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀγαλμα δε Δὼς κελευκὸν ὑψηλὴ δρύς. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 38; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xvi. c. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Queen "Medb," who ruled all the "spirits of the glens," is described in the Irish legends as "a beautiful pale long-faced woman with flowing golden hair upon her." The Princess Edain had hair "like red gold or the flowers of the bog-fir in summer." O'Curry, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, iii. 190; Sullivan's Introd. lxxiv. The Irish O'Brasil "the isle of the blest" was drawn in some of the mediæval maps as a

To a childish people the wrath or favour of Heaven is seen in every strange appearance of nature. The rough-bearded comet is the sword of God, the meteors are stars fighting in the heavens. "There is some divine trouble in earth or in air." A mist creeps about the weed-beds of the lake and is taken for an ærial city set round with gardens and pastures. When the holy well becomes turbid, or its waters streaked with red from a vein of ore, the credulous worshippers are convinced that it runs with milk or wine, or is turned into a river of blood. The flat shores of an estuary are covered with string-like seaweeds which glitter at sunset like the surface of broad scarlet pools, a haze looms out at sea in a time of heat, or the waves at night are lit with phosphoric flame: and all these natural phenomena are accepted as miracles or messages from the gods.<sup>1</sup> The springs and intermittent "winter-bournes" which rise suddenly at certain seasons

country lying to the west of Ireland. (See Map X.) According to O'Curry, its inhabitants were thus described by the fairy-messenger who carried away an Irish queen:

"O Béfinn! wilt thou go with me  
To a wonderful land which is mine?  
The hair there is as the blossom of waterflags,  
Of the colour of snow is the fair body:  
There will be neither grief nor care,  
White the teeth, and black the brows,  
Pleasant to the eye is the number of our hosts  
With the hue of the fox-glove on every cheek."

<sup>1</sup> St. Winifred's Well at Holyhead was supposed to have sprung from the spot where the head of the saint was thrown down: "the stones are covered with blood, the moss smells as frankincense, and the water cures divers diseases." There are a great number of similar legends about wells in Wales and Ireland. See Girald. Cambr. Topogr. Hibern. i. c. 7, and Itin. Cambr. ii. c. 9; Sikes, *British Goblins*, 345; Farrer, *Primitive Manners*, 306.

in the chalk-districts were thought to be harbingers of pestilence and famine. In times of trouble every movement of the elements was watched with wonder and alarm. Even the Roman armies were infected by these superstitions. Tacitus has recorded a long list of omens which foreboded the rebellion of Boudicca: "a murmur was heard in the council-house and a wailing noise in the theatre; in the estuary of the Thames men saw the likeness of a sunken town; the high sea was tinged with blood, and as the tide went down what seemed to be human forms were left upon the shore; and all these things were of a nature to encourage the Britons, while the veterans of the garrison were overwhelmed with fear."<sup>1</sup>

There are many mineral-springs which can be excited to "laugh" or break into bubbles by throwing in some little object of metal, and others which are troubled when pieces of bread are cast on their surface.

This seems to be the origin of those practices of divination, by which the name of a thief was discovered by an offering of bread at the fountain, and of all those superstitions about "pin-wells" which prevail so extensively in Wales and Scotland. There are also wells in England which the country-girls never pass without making the customary offering.<sup>2</sup> There is often a "rag-bush" by

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Ann. xiv. c. 32. The description points to the occurrence of a severe earthquake in the neighbourhood of Colchester.

<sup>2</sup> Farrer, *Primitive Manners*, 306; Hazlitt's *Tenures of Land*, 151. Compare the account of the children's sport in Brocéliande, by M. De Villemarqué, *Revue de Paris* (1837), xli. 47: "*Ris donc, Fontaine de Berendon, et je te donnerai une épingle.*" See Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 562, and Guest's *Mabinogion*, 67. For an account of the "laughing-wells" in Cornwall, see De la Beche, *Geology of Cornwall*, 517, and as to the Scottish

the well, on which bits of linen or worsted are tied as a gift to the spirit of the waters. The present is always of a symbolical kind and of small value, as an egg, a coin, or a crooked pin. The antiquity of the ceremony is proved by the classical descriptions of the money glittering in the clear pool of Clitumnus and the sacred tanks which hid "the gold of Toulouse": and Gregory of Tours has left us a picture of the villagers feasting by a Gaulish lake, and throwing to the water-gods "scraps of cloth and linen, and locks of wool," with little cakes of wax and figures of loaves and cheeses.<sup>1</sup>

The principal deities of the Britons' gods may be grouped according to their connection with the elemental powers. "A blind people," said Gildas, "paid divine honour to the mountains, wells, and streams." Their altars were pillars of stone, inscribed with emblems of the sun and moon, or a beast or bird which symbolized some force of nature. They bound themselves by vows to the heavens and the earth, to day and night, to the rain, the dew, and the wind.<sup>2</sup>

The father of the Irish Olympus was the lord of the heavens who ruled the air and the weather. He was called "the Dagda," which is said to mean 'the good god.' We are told that he was "greyer than the grey mist":

pin-wells, see Logan's *Scott. Gael.* ii. 345, and Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, 151.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 8; Strabo, iv. 287; Diod. v. c. 9; Gregory of Tours, *Gloria Confess.* c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Gildas, *Hist.* s. 4; Petrie's "Tara," 169. Cormac's Glossary explains the word "*indelta*" as an altar carved with the sign of an element, "*verbi gratiá, figurá solis.*" Gregory of Tours noticed the same practice among the Gauls: "*Sibi silvarum atque aquarum avium bestiarumque et aliorum quoque elementorum finxere formas.*"—*Hist. Franc.* ii. c. 10.

his cauldron was the vault of the sky and his hammer was the thunderbolt.<sup>1</sup> He is attended by a company of divine artificers, and by a physician who healed all disease. His son "Lug," a personification of the Sun, was master of all the sciences. Among his other children were Ængus Mac Oc and the fiery Brigit and "sun-faced Ogma" the patron of writing and prophecy.<sup>2</sup>

The moon is said to have been worshipped as the queen of heaven and mother of the gods. Her gloomy rites were tainted with death and slaughter. Her sacrifices were offered upon the hills at Midsummer, and at the winter-feasts, when the spirits of the dead were propitiated.<sup>3</sup> In one form she was a battle-goddess and leader of the Furies and Choosers of the Slain. Like Pallas at the slaying of the suitors she sits in the form of a bird to watch the rush of the battle. The fancy of the Irish transformed the birds which fed on carrion into goddesses like grey-necked crows; and in the moon shining on the battle-field they

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, Hibbert Lectures, 1886, 154, 644. Thor is considered to be his "Norse equivalent," *ibid.* 645.

<sup>2</sup> For the connection between Ogma and Ogmios, "the Gaulish Hercules," see Lucian's account of the latter god: "This old Hercules was drawing a large number of people after him whom he seemed to have bound by the ears with slender chains of gold and amber made like beautiful necklaces." Lucian (Bekker), vii. 23. Rhys, Hibbert Lectures, 1886, 14, 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue Celtique*, iv. 189, 194. As to the worship of the Moon in Brittany see the extracts from the life of Nobletz, *ibid.* ii. 484: "*C'estoit dans ces mesmes lieux une coustume receüe de se mettre à genoux devant la nouvelle lune et de dire l'Oraison Dominicale en son honneur.*" Compare also Camden's account of the Irish: "I cannot tell whether the wilder sort of the Irishry yield divine honour unto the Moon; for when they see her first after the change commonly they bow the knee and say over the Lord's prayer, and so soone as they have made an end they speake to the Moone with a loud voice in this manner, 'Leave us whole and sound as thou hast found us.'" Camden, *Britannia* (Gibson), 1415.

saw both the Queen of the Night and a lean bird-like demon gloating over the bodies of the slain. The "red-mouthed, sharp-beaked crows" fluttered and screamed in the confusion of the fight, and came at night "with satyrs and sprites and devils of the air" to tear the dead and the wounded.<sup>1</sup>

The gods of Britain suffered the common fate of their kind, and were changed into kings and champions or degraded into giants and enchanters. The great "Belinus" shrinks to the form of a mortal conqueror. According to the mythical histories he marched to the siege of Rome when "Gabius and Porsena" were consuls; he devastated Gaul and Dacia; he built Caerleon upon Usk, which in a later age was to be known as the City of Legions; and "he also made a gate of wonderful design in Trinovantum upon the banks of the Thames which the citizens to this day call Billings-gate, after his name, and over it he built a prodigiously large tower, and under it a haven for ships."<sup>2</sup> Most of the gods of war were converted into heroes, who fought under Arthur's banner against the heathen of the Northern Sea. They march with the hosts of Urien and die on the field of Cattraeth. If we turn to Aneurin's famous poem we see them fighting in the ranks

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Celtique*, i. 32; ii. 489. The Dinn-Senchus contains a notice of "Néid, the god of war among the pagan Gaidel, and Nemon his wife." The Irish "Badb" or battle-fury seems to have been a personification of the hooded crow. The other furies were Nemon, who "confounded her victims with madness," Macha who revelled on the bodies of the slain, and the moon-goddess or "Mórrigu" who incited warriors to brave deeds, but appeared sometimes in the form of a demon. "Over his head is shrieking, A lean hag quickly hopping, Over the points of their weapons, and over their shields."—*Revue Celtique*, i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffr. Monm. Hist. Brit. iii. c. 10.

like the Olympians round the body of Patroclus. They are disguised as mortal warriors; but we recognise a divine form in Gwydion "the Eagle of the Air"; it is a war-god who leads the herd of Beli "the roaring Bull of battle"; it is a goddess in the likeness of Aphrodite who "leaves the foaming billows" and takes her share in the ruin of Britain. The poet never mentions "Owain" or his father, the Prince of Reged, without some allusion to the army of ravens which rose as he waved his wand and swept men into the air and dropped them piecemeal to earth. A battle-goddess is adored before the fight begins: "the reapers sang of war, war with the shining wing": Pryderi leads his army from a land of shadows and enchantments; the ravens hover round the head of the Giant Eidiol; and "Peredur" with his magic spear, Gwyn the fairy-king, Manannán the sea-god, and a host of other divine beings, take part in the legendary conflict.<sup>1</sup>

There seem to have been three principal families, the children of "Dôn" and "Nudd" and "Lir," whose worship was common to the British and Irish tribes. The first group consisted of the heavenly powers whose homes were set in the stars and constellations. Gwydion son of Dôn is celebrated in the Welsh household tales and in the poems ascribed to Taliessin. He is the great magician, the "master of illusion and phantasy," who changed the forms

<sup>1</sup> See Aneurin's "Gododin," in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. Mr. Stephens took the subject of the poem to be an expedition of the Ottadeni against the town of Cataracton in the Brigantian territory. *Liter. Kymry*, 3. See also Nash, *Taliesin*, ch. 3. The poems seem not to be earlier than the twelfth century, though they contain numerous allusions to legends as old as the age of paganism. It should be remembered that the Welsh historians have found a date and a local habitation for every person who is named in these romances.

of men trees and animals. His home was in the Milky Way, which was known as the Castle of Gwydion. We find in the same group Amaethon the good husbandman, and Mâth the son of Mathonwy, who has been called the Cambrian Pluto.

The story of the family of "Nudd" is dispersed in the legends of fairyland and the obscure lives of the saints and bards of Wales. The figured pavements and inscriptions discovered on the site of a Roman villa at Lydney in Gloucestershire have disclosed his identity with "Nodens," a god of the deep sea, who is depicted as a Neptune borne by sea-horses and surrounded by a laughing company of Tritons. He appears in Ireland, among other personifications, as King Nuada of the Silver Hand, whose magic sword prevailed against the Fir-bolg tribes at the first Battle of Moytura, and who fell in the second fight before "Balor of the Evil Eye": "fearful," says the old legend, "was the thunder that rolled over the battle-field, the clashing of the straight tooth-hilted swords, the sighing and winging of the spears and lances."<sup>1</sup>

"Lir" was another Ocean-god who was worshipped both in Ireland and Britain. He appears in the Irish romance on "the fate of the Children of Lir" as a king of the divine race whose children were turned into swans by enchantment: "and the men of Erin were grieved at their departure and they made a law and proclaimed it throughout the land, that no one should kill a swan in

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, *Manners of the Anc. Irish*, ii. 253. For other accounts of Nuada, and his connection with "Diancecht" the divine physican and Luga the fire-god, see Joyce, *Old Celt. Romances*, 403, Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, 125-130, and Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 137, 140.

Erin from that time forth.”<sup>1</sup> In the Welsh histories he appears as ‘Lear.’ According to the version in Geoffrey of Monmouth’s history, which Shakespeare adopted as the framework of his tragedy, King Lear built the town of Leicester about the time when Amos was a prophet in Israel; and his daughter Cordelia is represented as burying him in a vault under the River Sore, which had been originally built as a Temple of Janus.<sup>2</sup> Cordelia herself appears in the Welsh stories as that “splendid maiden” for whom Gwyn ap Nudd and another mythical being were to fight on every First of May until the day of doom; and the explanation of the legend seems to lie in the tradition of the “Two Kings of the Severn,” which is found in a list of marvels appended to some of the editions of Nennius. Two lines of waves were said to meet in the estuary and to make war upon each other by pushing and butting like rams.<sup>3</sup>

The group of the “Children of Lir” included several other divinities who came to be regarded as characters of romance. The Lady Brangwaine, who helps and hides the loves of Tristram and Iseult, is no other than “Branwen of

<sup>1</sup> Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, 18. In the Welsh popular tales “Lir” is called “Llyr Llediaith” and “Lludd” or “Lludd Llaw Ereint.” See the stories of “Kilhwch and Olwen,” “Branwen the daughter of Llyr,” “Manawyddan the son of Llyr,” and “Lludd and Lleuelys” in the *Mabinogion*.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffr. Monm., *Hist. Brit.* ii. c. 14. The fabulous narrative contains several other notices of Roman antiquities, which either existed in the age of Geoffrey of Monmouth or were described by older writers.

<sup>3</sup> See the Tract “*De Mirabilibus Britanniae*,” which is often printed with the *Historia Britonum*. For the Welsh story of Cordelia, see Guest’s *Mabinogion*, 251, 259. Professor Rhys considers that Llyr, or Lear, has been confused with Llŷd, ‘the Celtic Jupiter,’ who is the Welsh equivalent for Nodens. Hibbert Lectures, 1886, 562, 563.

the Fair Bosom," the Venus of the Northern Seas, whose miraculous fountain still preserves her name in an islet off the shore of Anglesea. "Brân son of Lir" has undergone a more remarkable kind of transformation. A great number of allusions in the Welsh Triads and the songs of the mediæval bards show that Brân and his son Caradoc were originally gods of war. But the forms of their names were sufficient in an age of ignorance to identify the one with Brennus who led the Gauls to Rome and the other with the brave Caractacus; and the legend in its final form shows "Brân the Blessed" accompanying his son into captivity and returning converted from Rome to preach the faith of Christ to the Kymry.<sup>1</sup>

The most important character of the group is the famous "Manannán Mac Lir." He was the patron of traffic and merchandise, and according to "Cormac's Glossary" he himself was an old and celebrated trader of the Isle of Man, who could predict the changes of the weather and tell the signs of the sky. The best weapons and jewels from across the sea were thought to be gifts from the god. In the description of the "Fairy Host," contained in an Irish romance, the chieftain rides Manannán's mare: "she was as swift as the clear cold wind of spring, and she travelled with equal ease on land and on sea": he wore Manannán's coat of mail and had on his breast the god's cuirass which could not be pierced by a weapon: "his helmet had two glittering precious stones, one set in front and one behind, and when he took it off, his face shone like the sun on a dry day in summer."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 77; Haddan and Stubbs, "Early Councils," i. 22; Stephens, *Lit. Cymry*, 429; Guest's *Mabinogion*, 385.

<sup>2</sup> Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, 38. O'Curry, *Manners of the Anc. Irish*,

We have seen enough of the religion to understand its general character, although but a few of the multitude of its gods have been described. The nature of its ritual must be inferred from the superstitions which have lingered in the country districts, from rural sacrifices and ceremonial fires, from services at the "cursing-stones" or the "wishing-well." The old Welsh names for the cardinal points of the sky, the north being the left-hand and the south the right, are signs of an ancient practice of turning to the rising sun.<sup>1</sup>

Vestiges of an adoration of the sun may be seen in the devotions of the Irish peasant, crawling three times round the healing spring in a circuit that imitates the course of the sun. When Martin visited the Hebrides he saw the islanders marching in procession, three times from east to west, round their crops and their cattle: "if a boat put out to sea it began the voyage by making these three turns: if a welcome stranger visited one of the islands the inhabitants passed three times round their guest: a flaming brand was carried three times round a child daily until it was christened."<sup>2</sup> A worship of fire has survived in the curious ceremonies by which the "forced-fire," or "will-fire," was produced in the North of Scotland. If a murrain attacked the cattle a new and pure flame was raised by the friction of wood. The instruments employed for the purpose were of various kinds. In Mull they used a wheel turning in the line of the sun's course over nine

ii. 301. The "Manawyddan son of Llyr" of the Welsh legends, though a form of the same divinity, seems to have little connection with the Sea. Rhys, Hibbert Lectures, 1886, 665.

<sup>1</sup> Rhys, Welsh Philology, 10. *Revue Celtique*, ii. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Martin, Descr. West Islands, 113, 116, 140, 241, 277.

spindles of oak-wood ; in Caithness a wooden auger was worked up and down in a groove on the floor of a hut constructed for the purpose ; in some of the Western Islands eighty-one married men were employed by nine at a time to rub two planks together. It seems to have been thought necessary to extinguish all the other fires in the district, that they might be lighted afresh from the magical flame. The service was accompanied by incantations, and there were strict rules against the wearing of any kind of metal ; and in ancient times there were several symbolical rites which connected the superstition with a worship of the sun in the character of a fertilising and productive god.<sup>1</sup>

Pennant has left us a description of a rural sacrifice which in his time was performed on the 1st of May in many Highland villages. They cut a square trench, and on the turf lighted a fire at which a pot of caudle was cooked. "The rites begin with spilling some of the caudle on the ground by way of a libation : on that every one takes up a cake of oatmeal upon which are raised nine square knobs, each dedicated to some particular being, the supposed preserver of their flocks and herds, or to some particular animal, their real destroyer : each person then turns his face to the fire and breaks off a knob, and flinging it over his shoulder says 'This I give to thee, preserve thou my horses ; this to thee, preserve thou my sheep,' and so on.

<sup>1</sup> Martin, *Descr. West. Islands*, 113. Toland's *History of the Druids*, 107. See also Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 576, and an account of raising the "will-fire" in 1826, cited by Kemble, *Anglo-Saxons (Birch)*, i. 360. Several extracts from the *Chronicle of Lanercost*, and the *Harl. MSS.* 2345, f. 50, to be found in the same part of Kemble's work, will show the nature of the orgies which accompanied the production of the sacred fire.

After that they use the same ceremony to the noxious animals: 'This I give to thee, O fox! spare thou my lambs; this to thee, O hooded crow! this to thee, O eagle!' When the ceremony is over they dine on the caudle, and after the feast is finished what is left is hid by two persons deputed for the purpose; but on the next Sunday they re-assemble and finish the relics of the first entertainment."<sup>1</sup>

Another harmless sacrifice was performed in Martin's time in honour of a water-god who was worshipped by the natives of the Hebrides. The families came together at Halloween, and stood by the shore of the sea. A man carrying a cup of ale waded out in the darkness, and cried aloud to the god: "Shony! I give you this cup of ale, hoping that you will be so kind as to send us plenty of sea-weed!" After the libation they all went up to the church, and there stood silent, until at a given signal a candle at the altar was extinguished and all returned to their homes.<sup>2</sup>

There are many other instances of sacrifice performed in comparatively modern times, either to a local god disguised as a saint or to some real person whose memory has become confused with a pagan legend. There are records, for example, of bulls being killed at Kirkcudbright "as an alms and oblation to St. Cuthbert," of bullocks offered to Saint Beuno "the saint of the Parish of Clynnog" in Wales, and to the patron-saint of Applecross near Dingwall. The registers of the Presbytery of Dingwall under the years 1656 and 1678 contain many entries relating to the killing of bulls on the site of an ancient

<sup>1</sup> Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Martin, *Descr. West. Islands*, 29.

temple, in honour of Saint Mourie, or "ane god Mourie," as he was sometimes styled by his worshippers.<sup>1</sup> In other places a heifer was killed in case of a failure to produce the "forced fire" in times of pestilence: if the animal was infected by the murrain, the diseased part was cut out while the beast was alive, and solemnly burned in the bonfire.<sup>2</sup> A sacrifice of this kind is said to have been performed in Morayshire about twenty-five years ago,<sup>3</sup> and it is by no means uncommon to hear of fowls being buried alive or killed as a preservative against epilepsy.<sup>4</sup>

There were certain restrictions among the Britons and the ancient Irish, by which particular nations or tribes were forbidden to kill or eat certain kinds of animals. It was a crime, for instance, in Southern Britain to taste the flesh of the hare, the goose, or the domestic fowl, though the

<sup>1</sup> The extracts from the parochial registers and a full account of the suppression of the idolatrous practices will be found in Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, 271, 275. Leland's *Itinerary* contains a letter describing the sacrifice of a bullock to St. Beuno in 1589. The offerings to St. Cuthbert took place in the twelfth century. Horses were at one time sacrificed at St. George's Well near Abergeleu. "The rich were wont to offer one to secure a blessing on all the rest." Sikes, *British Goblins*, 361.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 576.

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, 274; Simpson, *Archæol. Essays*, i. 41, 205; Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, 293; *Revue Celtique*, iv. 121.

<sup>4</sup> "For the cure of epilepsy there is still practised in the north of Scotland what may be called a formal sacrifice. On the spot where the epileptic first falls a black cock is buried alive with a lock of the patient's hair and some parings of his nails." Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, 146, 265. The same disease is called "Tegla's Evil" in Wales, and is cured at St. Tegla's Well, near Wrexham, by the offering of a cock or hen according to the sex of the sufferer. The fowl is carried round the well and also round the church, and is left by the patient at the place. "Should the bird die it is supposed that the disease has been transferred to it, and the man or woman is consequently thought to be cured." Sikes, *British Goblins*, 330, 349; *Archæol. Cambr.* i. i. 184.

creatures were reared and kept for amusement.<sup>1</sup> The reason for the prohibition is unknown, but it should be probably connected with the fact that in some parts of Europe these animals seem to have retained a sacred character. We have seen that in France and in Russia a fowl is offered as a propitiation to the household spirits, and in the last-named country the goose is sacrificed to the gods of the streams.<sup>2</sup> The hare is now an object of disgust in some parts of Russia as well as in Western Brittany, where not many years ago the peasants could hardly endure to hear its name.<sup>3</sup> The oldest Welsh laws contain several allusions to the magical character of the hare, which was thought to change its sex every month or year, and to be the companion of the witches who were believed to assume its shape. In one part of Wales the hares are called "St. Monacella's lambs," and it is said that up to very recent times no one in the district would kill one. "When a hare was pursued by dogs it was believed that if any one cried 'God and St. Monacella be with thee!' it was sure to escape."<sup>4</sup> In Ireland also the local saints were believed

<sup>1</sup> Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* v. c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ralston, *Russ. Pop. Songs.* 129; *Revue Celtique*, iv. 190.

<sup>3</sup> Fiquier, *Prim. Man.* (Tylor), 268; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 679. The people of the Swiss lake-dwellings are believed to have shared the superstitious feeling against eating the hare, but the neolithic tribes in Britain used the animal for food. Boyd Dawkins, *Cavehunting*, 217. The ancient Irish ate its flesh, and one of the prerogatives of the kings of Tara was to be fed on "the hares of Naas." O'Curry, *Manners of the Ancient Irish*, ii. 141.

<sup>4</sup> The legend is related by Pennant in his "Tour through Montgomeryshire." See also Sikes' *British Goblins*, 162. The sacred character of the animal is indicated by the legend of Boudicca who, according to Dion Cassius, in Xiphiline's *Epitome*, "loosed a hare from her robe, observing its movements as a kind of omen, and when it turned propitiously, the whole multitude rejoiced and shouted." *Dion Cass.* lxii. 3.

to guard the lives of certain kinds of animals. St. Colman's teal could neither be killed nor injured; St. Brendan provided an asylum for stags, wild-boars, and hares; St. Beanus protected his cranes, and the grouse which bred upon the Ulster mountains.<sup>1</sup>

The names of several tribes, or the legends of their origin, show that some real or imaginary object, or animal, was chosen as the crest or emblem of the race. A powerful tribe or family pretended to be descended from a wild beast, or a swan, or a "white lady" who rose from the moonbeams on the lake. The moon herself was claimed as the ancestress of certain families. The legendary heroes are turned into "swan-knights," or fly away in the form of wild geese. The tribe of the "Ui Duinn," who claimed St. Bridget as their kinswoman, wore for their crest the figure of a lizard which appeared at the foot of the oak-tree above her shrine.<sup>2</sup> We hear of a tribal name said to signify "the calves" in the country round Belfast. The men of Ossory were called by a name referring to the "wild red-deer."<sup>3</sup> There are similar instances from Scotland in such names as "Clan Chattan," or the Wild Cats, and in the animal-crests which have been borne from the most ancient times

<sup>1</sup> Girald. Cambr. Topogr. Hibern. ii. cc. 29, 40. Compare the same writer's story of the loathing shown by the Irish chieftains on being offered a dish of roasted crane, Conqu. Hibern. i. c. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Revue Celtique*, iv. 193.

<sup>3</sup> O'Curry, Mann. Anc. Irish, ii. 208. The "Lugi" and "Mertæ" are placed by Ptolemy in the modern Sutherland. "Lugia" is his name for Belfast Lough. "The Irish name was *Loch Laogh* and Adamnan renders it by *Stagnum Vituli*. 'Laogh' is a calf in Irish, and is probably the word meant by Lugia. If the same word enters into the name 'Lugi,' it is rather remarkable that 'Mart' should be the Irish word for a heifer. It would seem that the tribes took their names from these animals." Skene, Celtic Scotland, i. 206. Another Irish legend tells us that "the

as the emblems or cognizances of the chieftains. The early Welsh poems will furnish another set of examples. The tribes who fought at Catteraeth are distinguished by the bard as wolves, bears, or ravens; the families which claim descent from Caradoc or Owain take the boar or the raven for their crest. The followers of "Cian the Dog" are called the "dogs of war," and the chieftain's house is described as the stone or castle of "the white dogs."<sup>1</sup>

It seems reasonable to connect the rule of abstaining from certain kinds of food with the superstitious belief that the tribes were descended from the animals from which their names and crests, or badges, were derived. There are also several Irish legends which appear to be based on the notion that a man might not eat of the animal from which he or his tribe was named.<sup>2</sup>

Such facts suggest an inquiry whether the religion of the British tribes may not in some early stage have been connected with that system of 'Totemism' under which "animals were worshipped by tribes, who were named after them, and were believed to be of their breed." This

descendants of the wolf are in Ossory." See on the whole subject Mr. Gomme's Essay on Totemism in Britain, *Archæol. Rev.* iii. 217, 350.

<sup>1</sup> Aneurin's Gododin, 9, 21, 30; Guest's Mabinogion, 37, 328. There are many traces of the same practice among the Teutonic nations. Their heroes were believed in many cases to have descended from divine animals, like the children of Leda or Europa. The Merovingian kings pretended to trace their descent from a sea-monster, and similar legends occur in the West of Ireland. Gomme, *Gent. Mag. Libr. 'Traditions,'* 14. The pedigrees of the old English kings contain such names as "Sigefugel," "Sæfugol," and "Beorn," which seem to be connected with legends of a descent from animals. We may also compare such patronymics as "Dering," "Harting," "Baring," and the like.

<sup>2</sup> In the story of the Death of Cúchulainn, contained in the Book of Leinster, some witches offer the hero a dog cooked on spits of rowan.

form of superstition prevails at the present day among Indians in North and South America, among the natives of Australia, and in some of the African Kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> Traces of its existence have been found in the early history of Germans, Greeks, and Latins, as well as in the traditions of the Semitic nations. In countries where this belief has prevailed it is generally found that relationship was traced through females exclusively, and it appears that in many cases marriage in its proper form was at one time quite unknown. It is, at any rate, a plausible hypothesis that these fabled descents from animals and plants may have originated at a time when paternity was as yet unacknowledged, and a fiction of this kind was required to keep the mother's offspring united in one family group.

wood. Cúchulainn's name signified "the Hound of Culann." The story turns on the idea that "one of the things that he must not do was eating his namesake's flesh." See the translation of the story by Mr. Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, iii. 176; O'Curry, *Manners of Anc. Irish*, ii. 363. The legend of Eingan, king of the birds, indicates that birds were considered by some Irish tribes to be sacred, Conaire the Great being the son of the Bird-king, and therefore 'forbidden to kill birds of any kind.' O'Curry, *ibid.*, introd. ccclxx. Some of the Clan Coneely, in the western parts of Ireland, were said to have been turned into seals, and the believers in the story would no more eat of a seal 'than they would of a human Coneely.' Mr. Gomme also states that some of the Achil islanders believed that they were descended from seals.

<sup>1</sup> Under the Red Indians' system of totemism, the "totem" may not be eaten by any member of the group. Another rule provides that persons with the same "totem" may not intermarry. The theory of the wide distribution of "Totemism" among the nations of the ancient world is due to Mr. J. F. M'Lennan, who first explained it in the *Fortnightly Review*, 1869, 1870. With regard to the Semitic peoples, see an essay on the subject by Professor Robertson Smith in the *Journal of Philology*, 1880, ix. 75. See also Grant Allen, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*, 79, and Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 274.

## CHAPTER XI.

## THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF BRITAIN.

Character of the Roman Conquest—The century of peace after Cæsar's invasion—Increase of commerce with Gaul—Fresh settlements of Gauls in Britain—The Atrebatæ—The Belgæ—The Parisii—Prosperity of the native states—Metallurgy—List of exports—End of the peace—The capture of Camulodunum—The triumph of Claudius—Massacre of the captives—Enrolment of British regiments—Conquest of the Southern Districts—The colony of Camulodunum—Tyrannical measures—Revolt of the Icenî—Victory of Paulinus—The province constituted—Agricola's beneficial government—The visit of Hadrian—The four legions—Description of Caerleon—Growth of towns—Hadrian's Wall—Description of its remains—The Wall of Antoninus—Tablets erected by the soldiers—Their worship and superstitions—The expedition of Severus—Death of the Emperor at York—The revolt of Carausius—Influence of the Franks—Diocletian's scheme of government—Reigns of Constantius and Constantine the Great—A new system of administration—The military roads—Whether identical with the mediæval highways—Course of Watling Street—The Roman system of communications—Three lines from north to south—Transverse routes in the North—Connections with roads in the South and West—The district of the Saxon Shore—Course of the Ikenild Way—The routes in the Antonine Itinerary—The Peutingerian Table—The effect on Britain of the new constitution—Increase of taxation—Establishment of Christianity in Britain—Gradual decay of Paganism—Pantheistic religions—State of the frontiers—The Picts and Scots—The Franks and Saxons—Victories of Theodosius—The Revolt of Maximus—The successes of Stilicho—Usurpation of Constantine—The treason of Gerontius—The independence of Britain.

THERE is something at once mean and tragical about the story of the Roman Conquest. Begun as the pastime of a foolish despot and carried on under a false expectation of riches, its mischief was certain from the beginning. Ill-armed country-folk were matched against disciplined legions and an infinite levy of auxiliaries. Vain heroism and a reckless love of liberty were crushed in tedious and unprofitable wars. On the one side stand the petty tribes, prosperous nations in miniature, already enriched by commerce and rising to a homely culture; on the other the terrible Romans strong in their tyranny

and an avarice which could never be appeased. "If their enemy was rich, they were ravenous, if poor they lusted for dominion, and not the East nor the West could satisfy them."<sup>1</sup>

They gained a province to ruin it by a slow decay. The conscription and the grinding taxes, the slavery of the many in the fields and mines, must be set against the comfort of the few and the glory of belonging to the Empire. Civilisation was in one sense advanced, but all manliness had been sapped; and freedom had vanished from the province long before it fell an easy prey to the great Earls and "mighty war-smiths," the Angles and Saxons who founded the English kingdom.

The first invasions of Julius Cæsar had been followed by a century of repose. The fury of the civil wars secured a long oblivion of Britain, and when the Empire was established the prudence of Augustus forbade the extension of the frontier. His glory was satisfied by the homage of a few chieftains who came with gifts to the Capitol, and the names of the "suppliant kings" are still recorded in the imperial inscriptions. The wish of Augustus was a law to his successors, and the islanders were left for two reigns to boast of their alliance with Rome. It had become the fashion to despise a country which was hardly worth a garrison. "It would require," said some, "at least a legion and some extra cavalry to enforce the payment of tribute, and then the military expenses would absorb all the increase of revenue."<sup>2</sup> Others laughed at the exploits for which a three-weeks' thanksgiving had once seemed barely sufficient. "Divine Cæsar," they said, "landed his army in a swamp and fled

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo, iv. 278.

before the long-sought Britons.<sup>1</sup> Too much, it was thought, had been made of a march along the high-road and the fording of a stockaded river: the legions had been forced back to the coast by an army of chariots and horsemen; no princes were sent as hostages, and no tribute had ever been paid.

The invasion was of greater importance than the critics were disposed to allow, though its effects were chiefly seen in an increased commerce with the Continent. It was the conquest of Gaul which most affected the nations beyond the Channel. The influence of the empire was felt beyond its formal boundaries, and the provincial fashions found a crowd of imitators in the rustic kingdoms on the Thames. Another result of the conquest was an increase of the Gaulish settlements in Britain. Commius, the Prince of Arras, took refuge from the Romans in the island which he had helped to invade, and the 'Atrebates' were thenceforth established on the Upper Thames, and ruled the country between Silchester and the hill-fortress at Sarum. The 'Belgæ' founded a settlement on the Solent, from which they spread westwards to the mouth of the Severn, and built towns at Bath and Winchester, and at Ilchester in the marshes of the Parret. The 'Parisii' left their island in the Seine, and settled in the fens of Holderness and round the chalk-cliffs of Flamborough, and dwelt in the straggling town of Petuaria "all round the fair-havened bay." The graves on the Yorkshire coast still yield the remains of their iron chariots and horse-trappings, and their armour decorated with enamel

<sup>1</sup> "Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi,  
Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

Lucan, *Phars.* ii. 571.

and the red Mediterranean coral.<sup>1</sup> The prosperity of the native states was indicated by the rise of regular towns in place of the older camps of refuge, as well as by the increase of the continental trade. An advance in metallurgy was marked by the use of a silver coinage,<sup>2</sup> by a change from the bronze weapons to the steel sabres and ponderous spears of Gaul,<sup>3</sup> and by the export not only of their surplus iron but of the precious ores which were found and worked in the west ; and the ultimate conquest was doubtless hastened by the dream of winning a Land of Gold and a rich reward of victory.<sup>4</sup> The returns from the imperial custom-houses showed as great an increase in the agricultural exports, and the British chiefs grew rich with the price of their cattle and hides, and of the wheat and barley from the Kentish fields. The sporting-dogs

<sup>1</sup> These discoveries were made in the tumuli in the East Riding of Yorkshire. "At Grimthorpe a skeleton was found with a spear-head and sword both of iron, the latter in a curious sheath of bronze decorated with studs of red coral." *Archæol.* xliii. 474. The bronze armlets are embellished with scarlet enamel like those found at Beuvray. Pliny says that coral had been used by the Gauls down to his time for ornamenting their armour. *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. c. 11. That the art of enamelling was not confined to the Continent is shown by a passage in the "Imagines" of Philostratus, where the philosopher informs the Empress Julia Domna that this beautiful work was made by the "islanders in the Outer Ocean." Philostratus *Imag.* i. 28.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the silver coins of the Iceni see Sir T. Browne's *Hydriotaphia*, c. 2, and Evans, 'Coins of the Ancient Britons.'

<sup>3</sup> *Mela*, iii. c. 6. The rude iron sword-blades found in sheaves of 70 or 80 together, in or near earth-works in the South-western Counties are believed to be of British manufacture. *Archæol.* xliii. 478, 486.

<sup>4</sup> *Tac. Agric.* c. 12 ; *Carew, Surv. Cornw.* 7 ; *De la Beche, Geology of Cornwall*, 218, 611 ; *Philipps, Anc. Metallurgy, Arch. Journ.* 1859 ; *Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 220. For an account of the British lead-mines, where most of the silver was found, see *Pliny, Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. c. 49. The lead, he says, lay like a thick skin on the surface of the ground.

formed a separate and valuable class of exports, including rough terriers or spaniels which ran entirely by scent, lurchers or greyhounds for hare-hunting, and those big British hounds "strong enough to break the neck of a bull," ugly and somewhat noisy till crossed with the Thracian breed, but nevertheless esteemed by the Roman sportsmen to be as useful as any hounds in the world.<sup>1</sup>

The discord of the British chieftains was the immediate cause of the second invasion. The sons of Cunobeline were at war with the House of Commius, to whose territory Kent and some bordering districts belonged. A prince of that family, sought refuge and vengeance at Rome, and the courtiers of Claudius caught at the chance of gratifying their master's vanity. An army of four legions was landed on the southern coast, and Caractacus and his brothers were driven far to the west, and were afterwards defeated near a 'great river,' which seems to have been the Thames. The capture of the chief stronghold at Camulodunum was reserved for the Emperor's hand.<sup>2</sup> The battle seems to have been arranged with Eastern pomp:

<sup>1</sup> The small dog is the "*agassæus*" of Oppian, i. 468, also called "*petronius*." See Gratian. Falisc. Cyneg. 178, 202, 206. It was afterwards called "*petrunculus*," as for instance in the Burgundian Laws. The Celtic greyhound is the "*vertragus*" or "*vertraha*," the "*veltire*" of our mediæval records. Blount, Tenures, 9, 35. "Et pictam maculâ vertraham delige falsâ," Gratian. Falisc. Cyneg. 203. Compare Martial, Epigr. xiv. 200. The British hound was not the mastiff, which is a late importation from Central Asia; it seems to have rather resembled the mediæval boarhound. Compare also Claudian's description: "Magnaue taurorum fracturæ colla Britannæ," Stilich. iii. 301.

<sup>2</sup> 'The vast earthworks still remaining at Lexden, one mile from Colchester, give some idea of the strength and extent of the capital of Cunobeline taken by Claudius.' Scarth, Roman Britain, 38.

and elephants,<sup>1</sup> clad in mail and bearing turrets filled with slingers and bowmen, marched for once in line with the Belgian pikemen and the Batavians from the island in the Rhine.<sup>2</sup>

Claudius returned from an easy victory to a triumph of unexampled splendour. A ship "like a moving palace" bore him homewards from Marseilles, and the Senate decreed the gift of a naval crown to welcome the conqueror of the ocean.<sup>3</sup> His father Drusus Germanicus had sailed beyond the Elbe to visit the Northern Ocean and to search for fresh 'Pillars of Hercules'. "Our Drusus," said the Romans, "was bold enough, but Ocean kept the secret of Hercules and his own."<sup>4</sup> But now it was feigned that the furthest seas had been brought within the circuit of the Empire. "The last bars have fallen," sang the poets, "and the earth is girdled by a Roman Ocean."<sup>5</sup> "The

<sup>1</sup> Dion Cass. (Xiphilinus) lv. 22, 23; Orosius, Ann. vii. 56. The story of Julius Cæsar's elephant (Polyæn. Strateg. viii. 23) is probably due to a confusion of incidents in the two campaigns.

<sup>2</sup> The Batavians, brought from the island formed by the Rhine and Maas, took a prominent part in the conquest of Britain. Tac. Hist. i. 59, iv. 12; Ann. xiv. 38; Agric. 18, 36. They were originally an offshoot from the Chatti of the Black Forest, and were celebrated like their parent-tribe for their courage and endurance in war, "counting fortune but a chance, and valour the only certainty." Tac. Germ. 29, 30, 31; Hist. iv. 61, 64. Tacitus, writing of them in the year 97, described them as follows:—"Through some domestic quarrel they crossed over to their present home, where they were to become a portion of the Empire. They still enjoy that honour and the privileges of their old alliance, for they are not debased by tribute nor ground down by the tax-gatherer; they are exempt from subsidies and benevolences, and are kept for the wars, put on one side to be used only in a fight, like weapons stored in an armoury." Tac. Germ. c. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. iii. c. 20, xxxiii. c. 16; Suetonius. Claud. 17.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. Germ. c. 24.

<sup>5</sup> "Et jam Romano cingimur Oceano." See the 'Laus Claudii Cæsaris,' Burmann. Anthol. ii. 88.

world's end is no longer the end of the Empire, and Oceanus turns himself back to look on the altars of Claudius."<sup>1</sup> "One look from Cæsar has subdued the cliff-girt isle, the land of the wintry pole,—

“ ‘Quâ frigida semper  
Præfulget stellis Arctos inocciduis.’ ”<sup>2</sup>

The record of the rejoicings has been preserved, and inscriptions are extant to show the honours and decorations, the collars bracelets and ornaments, which were lavished on all who had gained distinction in the war. First in the triumph came the images of the gods and the figures of the Emperor's ancestors, and then the booty of the war, the crowns sent by the provinces, and gifts from all parts of the world. Claudius passed in his general's dress of purple with ivory sceptre and oak-leaf crown. Messalina's carriage followed; and then came the officers distinguished in the field, marching on foot and in plain robes, except one who had been decorated before, and so was entitled to ride a horse with jewelled trappings and to wear a tunic embroidered with golden palms. On reaching the Capitol the Emperor left his car, in accordance with the old routine, and mounted the steps, praying and kneeling with the help of his sons-in-law who supported him on either side.<sup>3</sup>

Another day was given to games in the Circus, and the factions of the Blues and Greens were promised as many

<sup>1</sup> Burmann. Anthol. ii. 84. The temple of Claudius was built at "Camulodunum." The natives regarded it as the crown of their slavery, and complained that the country was exhausted in providing cattle for the sacrifices. It was destroyed in Boudicca's revolt, and its site has never been exactly discovered. Tac. Ann. xiv. 29; Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Burmann. Anthol. ii. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Dion Cass. (Xiphilinus) lx. 23; Suetonius. Claud. 17.

chariot-races as could be run between morning and night.<sup>1</sup> But the number was diminished to ten by the time taken up in beast-fights and other shows which were more appropriate to the amphitheatre. Bears were hunted and killed, perhaps in allusion to the war still raging in the northern forests. Gladiators were matched in single combat between the races; and as a crowning show the famous "Pyrrhica" was danced by boys of the best families in Asia, who had been summoned to take part in the rejoicings. At the sound of a trumpet they appeared in splendid uniforms, and counterfeited in the war-dance all the movements used in the field, advancing and retreating, and breaking rank and wheeling into line again, now seeming to bend away from an enemy's blows and now to hurl the spear or draw the bow.<sup>2</sup>

Afterwards came the brutal sports which seemed to the Romans to be the chief reward of victory. "It is the greatest pleasure in life," Cicero himself had said, "to see

<sup>1</sup> As many as twenty-four races were run in one day by Caligula's orders in A.D. 37, each race taking about half an hour. The course was seven times round the hippodrome. The Circus, in the reign of Claudius, was constructed to hold about 150,000 persons; but it was very much enlarged in later reigns. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxviii. c.c. 24, 101; Pausanias, v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Dion Cass. (Xiphilinus) lx. 30. For descriptions of the "Pyrrhica," see Plato, *Leg.* vii. 18; Claudian, *Sext. Cons. Honor.* 621; *Burm. Anthol.* 134. "Puelli puellæque virenti florentes ætatulâ, formâ conspicui, veste nitidi, incessu gestuosi, Græcanicam saltaturi Pyrrhicam dispositis ordinationibus decoros ambitus inerrabant, nunc in orbem rotatum flexuosi nunc in obliquam seriem connexi, et in quadratum patorem cuneati et in catervæ discidium separati." Apul. *Metamorph.* x. 29. "Ut est ille in pyrrhicâ versicolorus discursus quum amicti cocco alii, alii et luto et ostro et purpurâ creti, alii alique cohærentes concursant." Fronto. *Epist. ad Cæs.* i. 4. Compare the account of the "Trojamentum" or "Ludus Trojæ." Virg. *Æn.* v. 545, 602, and *Journ. Philol.* ix. 101.

a brave enemy led off to torture and death." The Field of Mars, on the other side of the river, was now chosen as the scene of a fresh entertainment. At a place where the park was surrounded by water on three sides a fortress was built in imitation of the banks and stockades of Camulodunum: and the straw-thatched palaces and streets of wattled huts were defended, stormed, and sacked, by armies of British captives reserved to die in a theatrical war. Three years afterwards, in A.D. 47, when Plautius gained his triumph for the conquest of Southern Britain, the massacre was renewed in a somewhat different form. The prisoners were enrolled among the heavy-armed gladiators who fought, as "Gauls" and "Samnites," against the "Thracians" armed with the target and crooked dagger, and the "retiarium" with nets and harpoons ready to entangle their adversaries as the fisherman catches the tunny-fish. Thousands of Britons are said to have perished in these combats, and in the chariot-fights in which they were compelled to exhibit their native methods of warfare.<sup>1</sup>

As the conquest advanced, other uses were found for the natives in the mines and public works, or in military service abroad. As early as A.D. 69 a force of 8,000 Britons was enrolled in the army of Vitellius, and in later times we find their levies scattered in all parts of the world, in the forts on the Pyrenees and the Balkans, in the Household at Constantinople, and along the distant frontiers of the African and Armenian deserts.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dion Cass. (Xiphilinus) lx. 30. The costume of the *retarius* is best known by the mosaic of Cupids fighting, in the Roman villa at Bignor in Sussex. *Archæologia*, xviii. 203. See also Dyer's *Pompeii*, 227. Friedländer quotes the song of the *retarius*: "Non te peto, piscem peto, quid me fugi? Galle?"; *Manners of the Romans* (Vögel), ii. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Agric. 15, Hist. i. 59. The "Notitia Dignitatum," or Official

In the year A.D. 50, six years after the capture of Camulodunum, the southern parts of Britain were falling into the condition of a Roman province. Four legions had been left under Plautius to consolidate and extend the conquest. The troops under his immediate command were engaged in the midland districts, while Vespasian and Titus fought their way in the south to the Mendip Hills and the Severn. The future Emperors over-ran the territories of the "Regni" and the "Belgæ"; they defeated the armies of "two mighty nations," and took a score of camps by storm; and the broken tribes and captive kings were regarded afterwards as having been the signs and first-fruits of the fortune of the Flavian dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Meantime Plautius had been replaced by Ostorius Scapula, the new general in command, and it was determined to secure what had been gained already before undertaking a new struggle against Caractacus and the nation of the Silures.<sup>2</sup> The whole frontier was in confusion, the midland tribes having

Calendar of the Empire, which was compiled about the end of the fourth century, is almost the only authority for the distribution of the forces raised in Britain. In this list we find mention of British regiments quartered in Gaul, Spain, Illyria, Egypt, and Armenia, and others enrolled among the home forces or palatine guards. Though it was against the policy of the State to allow the natives of any province to serve at home, inscriptions have been found at Matlock, and at places in Yorkshire and Cumberland, which seem to indicate the presence of a British contingent. See Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 50, 227, and 'Das Römische Heer in Britannien,' (Berlin, 1881).

<sup>1</sup> Suetonius. Vespasian 4; Tac. Agric. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus ascribes the death of Ostorius to his anxieties in the war. "The Silures drew the other nations to revolt . . . . In this posture of affairs Ostorius died, being quite spent with fatigue and trouble. The enemy rejoiced at his death as a general in no way contemptible, and the rather because, though he did not fall in battle, he expired under the burthen of that war." Tac. Ann. xii. 39 (Camden).

invaded the territories of the allies, "because they never expected that the new general would take the field in winter." Some of the allies themselves began to show symptoms of wavering, and the "Iceni" shortly afterwards broke out into open war. Ostorius seized the opportunity of establishing a regular government; the invasion was repelled with the first troops at hand; and the Icenian army was crushed without waiting for the arrival of the legions. A line of forts was drawn across the island from the Severn to the eastern fens:<sup>1</sup> and a colony of discharged soldiers was settled at Camulodunum, where a pleasant open town was rising beside the ruins of the fortress. The "Iceni" were permitted a doubtful freedom under a king whose private wealth was a sufficient guarantee for peace, and several territories in the South were transferred to another friendly chieftain.<sup>2</sup>

The wantonness of the Roman tyranny appears by the complaints attributed to the provincials, and by the record of those evil doings which led to Boudicca's revolt. The

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Annal. xii. 31. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 80.

<sup>2</sup> "Some of the states were given to King Cogidubnus, who lived down to our own day," said Tacitus, "as a most faithful ally, so that the Romans according to their custom might find in kings themselves fresh means of establishing their mastery." Tac. Agric. 14; Ann. xii. 31. This territory had belonged to certain tribes of the "Regni." Its new capital was "Noviomagus," about ten miles south of Roman London. It was connected with "the town of the Regni," in the neighbourhood of Chichester, by a military road, called the Stone Street, which crossed the Banstead Downs. A celebrated inscription was found at Chichester in the last century, relating to a temple of Neptune and Minerva, built under the authority of "Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus, King and Lieutenant of the Emperor in Britain." It is difficult to conceive any legal authority for these titles, but they may refer to some privilege granted to the first king of the line or to one of his immediate descendants. Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 18.

legal dues, indeed, were severe, but by no means intolerable. The conscription was necessary for repairing the drain upon the other provinces, though the Britons complained that their sons were torn away, "as if they might die for every country but their own." The tribute, the tithe of corn, and the obligation of feeding the Court and the army, were all endurable, when the burden was equally distributed; but such a thing was never known to happen, till Agricola came to the government and "restored her good name to Peace."<sup>1</sup> Before this time the Britons were treated as slaves and prisoners of war: the colonists thrust them from their lands: the tithe-farmers combined to buy up the stock of corn, which the chieftains were forced to purchase back at a ruinous price to fulfil their duty to the government. The illicit contrivances for gain were more intolerable than the tribute itself.<sup>2</sup> The people groaned under a double tyranny; each state had formerly been governed by a single King; "but now," they said, "we are under both Legate and Procurator; the one preys on our blood, and the other on our lands; the officers of the one, and the slaves of the other, combine extortion and insult; nothing is safe from their avarice, and nothing from their lust."

Then followed the Icenian mutiny. "Prasutagus, famous for his great treasures, had made Cæsar and his daughters joint heirs, thinking by this respect to save his kingdom and family from insult. But it happened quite otherwise; for his kingdom was made a prey by the captains and his house pillaged by the slaves, and, as if the whole

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Agric. 20; Ann. xiv. 31. Agricola took command of the province in A.D. 79.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Agric. 19 (Church).

was now become lawful booty, the chiefs of the Iceni were deprived of their paternal estates, and those of the blood-royal were treated as the meanest slaves.”<sup>1</sup> The story of the actual revolt is too familiar to need repetition. Paulinus was recalled from Mona by the news that the Ninth Legion was nearly annihilated. The new colony had been destroyed, and the temple sacked after a two days’ siege: the nations of Eastern and Central Britain moved in a vast horde to sweep the helpless province. The troops were dispersed in forts and block-houses, and the barbarians were exhausting the refinements of cruelty on all who fell into their hands, as though endeavouring (said the angry Romans) to avenge in advance the terrible punishments which awaited them. Paulinus acted with the spirit and judgment which became such a famous soldier. Marching across the island by the new military road, he reached London with the Fourteenth Legion and a few men of the Twentieth, and such Gauls and Germans as he could get together from stations which he had relieved upon the route. “He could not presently resolve whether to make that place the seat of war or not, but determined at last to sacrifice this one town to the safety of the rest; and not relenting at the sighs and tears of the inhabitants, who entreated his aid and protection, he gave orders to march, receiving such as followed him into his army; those who by weakness of sex or age stayed behind, or were tempted by their affection for the place to remain there, were destroyed by the enemy.”<sup>2</sup> London was sacked as

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Ann. xiv. 31 (Camden). The revolt began in A.D. 61, when Suetonius Paulinus had been two years in command.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Ann. xiv. 33 (Camden). London, Verulam, and Camulodunum, were all open towns, though founded on the sites of Celtic fortresses. They

soon as its defenders retreated, and before they got far they learned that Verulam had been destroyed by another wing of the mass which was closing upon them. It was believed that over 70,000 people had been massacred in the three captured towns.

The fate of the province was at stake, and Paulinus determined to risk a decisive battle as soon as he could gain an advantage of position. Finding that the main force of the enemy was encamped in a plain skirted by steep and thickly-wooded hills, he forced his way through the forest, and emerged at the mouth of a ravine where he formed his line of battle. The native camps lay round the narrow opening, each nation by itself according to the Celtic fashion, with long lines of waggons stretching as far as the eye could see. The Roman forces were skilfully disposed so as to guard against the barbarian tactics; for while their enemy was fully engaged at the front the Britons pushed their wings forward under cover so as to intercept his rear.<sup>1</sup> In this case the manœuvre was

were all fortified in later times, and their walls long remained among the most conspicuous of the monuments left by the Romans. Woodward's letter to Sir Christopher Wren contains a good description of the Roman walls of London. Hearne's *Leland*, viii. App. 1. The walls of Colchester are perfect in some places. *Archæologia*. (Winchester, 1849) Porch. Cast. 16. The fortress of Verulam remained standing until its materials and "fine masonry work, some Porphyrie, some Alabaster," were required for building St. Alban's Abbey. "The walls, the massive tower, and in fact the whole of the church were built out of the ruins of Verulamium; even the newels of the staircases are constructed with Roman tiles;" *ibid.* 17, and see *Leland*, Itin. v. introd. 18, and Lowe's *Description of the Roman Theatre at Verulam*, published by the St. Alban's Architectural Society in 1848.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the description of the Battle of "Mons Graupius": Those of the Britons, who having as yet taken no part in the engagement occupied the hill-tops, and without fear for themselves sat idly disdaining the

impossible, for the Fourteenth Legion was drawn like a wall of steel from cliff to cliff, with the light troops thrown forward on a curved front supported on the flanks by cavalry. The Britons covered the plain with their horsemen, riding up and down in their troops and squadrons "in such numbers as never were elsewhere seen." They seem to have delivered their assault in the old British fashion, charging along the enemy's line with masses of mounted men, while the infantry pushed up behind and drove back the Roman skirmishers under a shower of darts and stones. The legionaries are described as standing bare-armed and poising their heavy javelins, and never moving a step until all their missiles had been discharged with effect. Then, suddenly wheeling into a wedge-shaped formation, they charged and cut the enemy's line in two. As the heavy troops moved out, guarded with their bucklers, and forcing a way with their short stabbing swords, the auxiliaries charged alongside, hewing down the enemy with their sabres, and striking at the face with the spikes of their targets; and the cavalry deployed into line with spears in rest, and rode down the only force that still remained unbroken. The greatest slaughter was at the waggons, with which the crowd of fugitives became entangled, and the bodies of men women and horses were piled together in indiscriminate heaps.<sup>1</sup>

smallness of our numbers, had begun gradually to descend and to hem in the rear of the victorious army." Tac. Agric. c. 37 (Church); Annal, xiv. 35, 36.

<sup>1</sup> "The victory," says Tacitus, "was very noble, and the glory of it not inferior to those of ancient times; for by the report of some there were slain little less than fourscore thousand Britons, whereas the Romans lost but about four hundred killed and had not many more wounded." Annal. xiv. 37 (Camden). The battle is supposed to have taken place at

This battle practically decided the fate of Britain. Large reinforcements were forwarded from the provinces on the Rhine; and the mutinous and suspected tribes alike were ravaged with fire and sword. The punishment was so sharp and long-continued that Paulinus was at last accused of personal feeling: "his policy," it was said, "was arrogant, and he showed the cruelty of one who was avenging a private wrong." The matter came in time to Nero's ears, and one of the imperial chamberlains was despatched to arbitrate between the governor and the party of mercy, and if possible to bring the rebels to terms. Italy and Gaul were burdened with the vast array of troops and courtiers. Polycletus, the enfranchised slave, a name hated and feared by all the Roman world, passed over in royal pomp to Britain to the terror of the general and his armies and the amazement of the free barbarians.<sup>1</sup> It was fortunate for them that Nero never heard of their contemptuous reception of his favourite. Paulinus was quietly removed, and the province remained at peace until the accession of Vespasian. Even then we hear of no great combinations among the tribes; the states of the Brigantians were divided in Cartismandua's quarrel, and the Silures were left to fight alone in their final contest with Frontinus.<sup>2</sup>

Burrough Hill, near Daventry, 'where the nature of the ground agrees with the description given by Tacitus.' It is said to have afterwards formed the site of the Roman station of Bennaventa. Scarth. Roman Britain, 41.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Ann. 39; Hist. ii. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Cerealis attacked the revolted Brigantians in A.D. 69. "There were many battles, some by no means bloodless, and his conquests, or at least his wars, covered a great part of the territories belonging to the Brigantes. Indeed he would have thrown into the shade the activity and renown of any other successor; but Julius Frontinus, a great man so far as greatness was then possible, proved equal to the burden and subdued by his arms the powerful and warlike nation of the Silures." Tac. Agric. 17.

The province was finally consolidated by the valour and prudence of Agricola, who had learned to like the people and to prefer their native wit to the laboured smartness of the Gauls. He determined to root out "the causes of war" by reforming the abuses of the government, and by persuading the natives to leave their rude ways of living, to build "temples and courts and fine houses," to speak Latin, and to wear the Roman dress. The hostile tribes were alarmed by sudden campaigns, and then bought over by the offer of a generous peace.<sup>1</sup> His first year of office was taken up by the expedition against the Ordovices and the conquest of the Isle of Mona. In his second campaign he was engaged with the tribes of the western coast between the Dee and the Solway Firth; we are told that he always selected the place of encampment himself and marched with his soldiers in their explorations of the estuaries and forests. Many of the nations in those parts submitted to give hostages and to allow permanent forts to be erected within their territories; "and it was observed by the best masters of war that no captain ever chose places to better advantage, for no castle of his raising was ever taken by force, or surrendered upon terms, or quitted as incapable of defence."<sup>2</sup>

The next campaign was directed against "new nations" and tribes as yet untouched in the long Brigantian wars. But their hasty levies were easily thrust aside, and their lands were ravaged as far as the mouth of a northern river called "Taus," or "Tanaus," which is usually identified

<sup>1</sup> Before he was appointed to the chief command Agricola had served in Britain under Vettius Bolanus and Cerealis. His final victory over the Caledonians was in the year A.D. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Agric. 22 (Camden).

with the Tay.<sup>1</sup> A fourth summer was spent in securing what had been gained, and no better boundary could be desired than the line of the Forth and Clyde. "Two arms of two opposite seas," said Tacitus, "shoot a great way into the country, and are parted only by the strip of land which was covered by the Roman forts ; and so we were masters of all upon this side, and the enemy was as it were pent up within the shores of another island."<sup>2</sup> In the year A.D. 82 Agricola concentrated a force in "that part of Britain which looks on Ireland," not from any fear of invasion, but in the hope that something might occur which would help him to bring Ireland within the Empire. We learn from Tacitus that the coasts and ports of that country were already better known by the reports of sailors and merchants than the northern parts of Britain. One of the petty kings, who had been expelled in some domestic war, took refuge with Agricola, who received him with friendship, meaning to use his claims as a pretext for intervention and conquest. It was calculated that a force of about ten thousand men would be sufficient for the subjugation of the island.<sup>3</sup>

The province of Britain was thus at last established ; for neither the defeat of Galgacus in Caledonia, which closed the fifty years' war, nor the occasional campaigns required for the chastisement of the Highland tribes, had any permanent effect in extending the selected boundary.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Skene traces his route through Stirlingshire and Perthshire to the Firth of Tay. *Celtic Scotland*, i. 45. The reading "Tanaus," which is adopted by Wex from the MSS. in the Vatican, makes the whole question of the advance to the Tay uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Picts of Galloway, *Archæol. Rev.* i. 48.

Thirty-five years after Agricola's return to Rome the Emperor Hadrian<sup>1</sup> was summoned to the defence of the frontier, and the epigram tells us how he "roamed among the Britons, and shivered in the Scythian cold."

The beginning of his reign was troubled by border-wars, and in Britain, as elsewhere, he found that the natives had broken the first line of defence and were threatening the heart of the province. The Ninth Legion had suffered so severely that it was either broken up altogether, or was united with the Sixth, which came over with Hadrian, and was established as a permanent garrison at "Eburacum," the site of the modern city of York.<sup>2</sup>

Of the four legions which Claudius had posted in the island only two now remained. The "Twentieth Valens Victrix" was permanently stationed at "Deva," or Chester, where all the north-western roads converged.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Spartian. *Vita Hadrian.* c. 12. Hadrian arrived in the year A.D. 120: the publication of Ptolemy's *Geography* took place about the same time, too soon for any notice of the "Wall" to appear in its tables.

<sup>2</sup> York seems to have grown out of a Roman camp, and to have taken the place of "Isurium" now Aldborough, as the capital of the Brigantian district. Wellbeloved, *Eburacum*, 38, 155; Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 61. Isurium is called "Isu-Brigantum" in the Antonine Itinerary, as if it had long retained the position of the native capital. An inscription of A.D. 108 shows that some Roman buildings were erected at York under Trajan, whose fondness for such mural records earned him the name of "Parietaria" or "Wall-flower."

<sup>3</sup> There is no actual record of this legion after the death of Carausius in A.D. 294. The Sixth and the "Second Augusta" were in this country when the "Notitia Dignitatum" was compiled, the one legion being then posted at Richborough and the other in its old quarters at York. Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 5. The sites of the soldiers' graves, camps, and quarters, can be traced by means of the inscriptions on tiles and other pottery left on their routes. The soldiers were constantly engaged in brickmaking, so that "an examination and comparison of the tiles shows the distribution of the military forces." Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 487.

"Second Augusta" was chiefly employed in the West, with its head-quarters fixed at Caerleon-upon-Usk. Its labours built the splendid City of Legions, the "towered Camelot" of romance, of which the ruins, as they stood in the twelfth century, are described in a vivid passage of Giraldus. "Caerleon," he said, "was excellently built by the Romans with their walls of brick: and there are still to be seen many traces of its former greatness: huge palaces aping the Roman majesty with their roofs of antique gold: a giant tower and noble baths, ruined temples and theatres, of which the well-built walls are standing to this day: and within and without the city the traveller finds underground works, canals, and winding passages and hypocausts, contrived with wonderful skill to throw the heat from little hidden flues within the walls."<sup>1</sup>

Each legion may have numbered at first about 7,000 regulars, with at least as many auxiliaries, some trained like the heavy-armed legionaries, and others fighting according to their own methods, and in some cases under the command of their native chiefs.<sup>2</sup> But it must be remembered that the numbers were diminished under the later

<sup>1</sup> Girald. Cambr. Itin. Cambr. i. c. 10. His words "coctilibus muris" (which he also applies to *Muridunum*, the Roman fort at Carmarthen, *ibid.* c. 5) would imply that the city walls were of brick; it is, however, a classical phrase misquoted, and made to apply to masonry with intermediate courses of building-tiles. The facings of stone may still be seen on some of the remaining towers. *Archæologia*, 1846 (Winchester), Porch. Castle, 20; see also Lee's "Antiquities found at Caerleon"; and Leland, Itin. ix. 101. Of "Caer-went," or *Venta Silurum*, in the same neighbourhood. Leland says that in his time the places where the four gates stood were still to be seen; "And most part of the wall yet standith but alto minched and torne; in the towne yet appear pavementes of the olde streete, and in digging they found the foundations of great brykes, *tesselata pavimenta, numismata argentea, simul et ærea.*" Itin. v. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Ann. iv. 5. Of the Batavi the historian says: "Mox auctâ per

Emperors, when an almost absolute reliance was placed on the German mercenaries. Large forces of barbarians were from time to time sent over to assist the legions in Britain. Thus when Marcus Aurelius had defeated the Moravian tribes, he compelled them to send a great part of their army to serve on the Caledonian frontier; and in the same reign a contingent of 5,000 Sarmatians was drafted from the Lower Danube to the stations between Chester and Carlisle;<sup>1</sup> and there are records relating to German soldiers from districts now included in Luxemburg, which show that in some cases the whole population of a district was attached to one or other of the auxiliary regiments in Britain.<sup>2</sup>

The soldiers were pioneers and colonists. A Roman camp was "a city in arms," and most of the British towns grew out of the stationary quarters of the soldiery. The ramparts and pathways developed into walls and streets, the square of the tribunal into the market-place, and every

*Britanniam gloriâ, transmissis illuc cohortibus quas vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant.*" Hist. iv. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Dion Cass. i. 71. Capes, *Age of the Antonines*, 95. Many Lancashire inscriptions remain to show that these Sarmatians were permanently quartered in that neighbourhood. Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 60; Camden's *Britannia* (Gibson), 974.

<sup>2</sup> The "Pagus Vellaus" and the "Pagus Condrustis" served in this way with the Tungrian cohorts in Eskdale. Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 188. They were posted at the "three Roman stations with Carlisle for mother, Netherbie Middlebie and Owerbie, in Eskdale." Carlyle, *Remin.* i. 166. The notable tabular hill which Carlyle described "has a glorious Roman camp on the south flank of it, the best preserved in Britain except one, velvet sward covering the whole, but trenches, &c., not altered otherwise." The country-people call it the "Birrens," a name which almost invariably implies the existence of Roman ruins. Compare a similar use of the word "Burrals." Camden's *Britannia* (Gibson), 990. See as to "Burrens," or Burwen Castle, at Elslack in Craven, Whitaker's *Craven* (Morant), 114.

gateway was the beginning of a suburb, where straggling rows of shops, temples, rose-gardens, and cemeteries, were sheltered from all danger by the presence of a permanent garrison. In course of time the important positions were surrounded with lofty walls, protected by turrets set apart at the distance of a bowshot, and built of such solid strength as to resist the shock of a battering-ram.<sup>1</sup> In the centre of the town stood a group of public buildings, containing the court-house, baths, and barracks, and it seems likely that every important place had a theatre or a circus for races and shows. The humble beginnings of our cities are seen in the ancient sketch of a visit to Central Britain, in which a poet pictured the arrival of the son of a former governor, and imagined a white-haired old man pointing out the changes of the province. "Here your father," he says, "sat in judgment, and on that bank he stood and addressed his troops. Those watch-towers and distant forts are his, and these walls were built and entrenched by him. This trophy of arms he offered to the gods of war, with the inscription that you still may see: that cuirass he donned at the call to arms: this corslet he tore from the body of a British king."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The general character of the Roman walling is described in Hartshorne's Essay on Porchester Castle, in the Winchester volume of the *Archæologia* for 1846. "It consisted of a certain number of courses of hewn stone or ashlar, separated at intervals by double-bonding courses of Roman tile, the interior part of the wall being filled up with rubble, as in the Mint Wall at Lincoln, and the ruins of Silchester." A similar wall has lately been discovered at Aldersgate. For an account of the Roman walls at Wroxeter and Colchester, the Jewry wall at Leicester, the Dover "Pharos," and the remains of the fortresses at Lympne and Richborough, see the same Essay; for everything relating to Roman York the reader should consult Well-beloved's "Eburacum."

<sup>2</sup> Statius, *Silv.* v. 2, 142. The poet is addressing the son of Vettius

The military genius of Hadrian is attested by the wonderful "Picts' Wall," of which the ruins still extend for miles between Tynemouth and the estuary of the Solway.<sup>1</sup> The merit of the work has been claimed for Severus, for the generals who in the fifth century brought temporary help to Britain, and even for the native princes whom their masters had abandoned to the enemy. But after a long debate the opinion now prevails, that the whole system of defence bears the impress of a single mind, and that the wall and its parallel earthworks, its camps, roads, and stations, were designed and constructed by Hadrian alone.

The oldest evidence on the subject is contained in the *Lives of Hadrian and Severus* by Spartianus, who states that each of the Emperors built a wall between the two oceans. It is probable that he was referring to some repairs made by the orders of Severus on the barrier between the Forth and Clyde; but several later historians took the writer to refer to the lower rampart, though all the archaeological evidence would lead us to attribute it to Hadrian. These historians were copied by the British chroniclers, and it is plain from Bede's account that in his time it was

Bolanus, who governed Britain during the civil wars which preceded the reign of Vespasian. Tac. Agric. c. 16.

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of the wall was destroyed in the last century. "When Marshal Wade was summoned from Newcastle to the defence of Carlisle against the Pretender's forces, he was obliged to turn back at Hexham for want of a road practicable for artillery, and only reached the western side of the island by a circuitous route and after a month's delay. After the rebellion was quelled it was determined to make a good road direct from Newcastle to Carlisle. . . . Marshal Wade overthrew what then remained of the Roman wall for thirty miles out of Newcastle, to construct an *agger* of his own with its massive materials." The Romans, *Quart. Rev.* (1860), No. 213, p. 122.

unknown whether the "Wall of Severus" ran along the upper or the lower line. "Severus," said Bede, "drew a great ditch and built a strong earthen wall, fortified with a number of towers, from sea to sea." The description would have been nearly correct if it had been applied to the "Wall of Antoninus," or the rampart between the Forth and Clyde; but, having to account for the ruins between Carlisle and Newcastle, he adopted a theory, (now completely abandoned), that when the Roman armies were withdrawn, a stone wall was raised by the Britons, assisted by the legionary soldiers, "along the line of the cities which had been contrived here and there for fear of the enemy." This description he took from Gildas, adding that the new fortification was on the course followed by Severus; "and this wall," he said, "so much talked of and visible to this day, and built at the public and private expense by the joint labours of the Romans and Britons, was eight feet broad and twelve feet high, running in a direct line from east to west, as is plain at this day to any that shall trace it."<sup>1</sup>

For the works which Hadrian had thus designed no better site could be chosen. "The tributaries of the Tyne and Eden," to quote a well-known description,<sup>2</sup> "rising near

<sup>1</sup> For the general history of the Roman walls, see Dr. Collingwood Bruce's various works upon the subject and Maclauchlan's surveys and memoirs. Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 99, 106. See also Spartian. Vita Hadriani, c. 11; Vita Severi, c. 18; Gildas, Hist. 18; Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 5, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Quart. Rev.* (1860), No. 213, p. 123. "The wall had great numbers of turrets or little castles, a mile one from another, now called 'castle-steads,' and on the inside a sort of little fortified towns, which they call to this day 'chesters,' the foundations whereof in some places appear in a square form. These had turrets between them wherein the soldiers were always in readiness." "The remains of a wall are all along so very visible that

the centre, fall into deep trough-like valleys, the northern banks of which rise to a considerable elevation in almost continuous ridges; but in the centre itself the land has been raised by some primæval convulsion, and presents a stupendous barrier of basaltic cliffs to the north, broken only by abrupt fissures at intervals." Along the cliffs, and clinging to their edge, ran a wall of stone about twenty feet high and over eight feet thick, guarded where the ground permitted by a fosse on its northern side. In this were set 320 watch-towers, about a quarter of a mile apart, with a "mile-castle" between every fourth and fifth tower. To the south of the wall, sometimes quite touching its inner military road and sometimes as far as half a mile away, ran a triple series of ramparts strengthened by another fosse, and below them again another military road of which the ruins still in many parts remain on the line of the "Stanegate" between Newcastle and Carlisle.

Twenty-three permanent stations are shown by the "Notitia Dignitatum" to have lain along the line of the wall, with garrisons drawn from as many different countries, so that no two adjoining camps should be held by soldiers from the same part of the world. The list shows a motley array of Germans and Gauls, of Spaniards, Moors and

one may follow the track; and in the wastes I myself have seen pieces of it for a long way together standing entire, except the battlements only, which are thrown down." Camden, *Britannia* (Gibson), 1048, 1050. Some of the mile-castles were standing in 1708; "one observes where the ridge has been, and also the trench all before it on the north, as also some of their little towers or mile-castles on the south side." *Ibid.* 1051. In Horsley's time there were still three remaining (*Brit. Rom.* 120), but they are now all destroyed. A description, of the year 1572, gives the measure of the wall at that time, "the bredth iii yardis, the hyght remainith in sum places yet vii yardis." See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 53. Scarth, *Roman Britain*. 74.

Thracians, spearmen from Friesland and cavalry from Illyria, Basques of the Pyrenees, and Sarmatians from the lowlands of the Danube; and the correctness of the official record is conclusively shown by the discovery of altars and inscriptions, set up in the stations by men of the same battalions as appear by the "Notitia" to have been quartered there. These camps, or forts, lay for the most part between the wall and the triple earthworks, a few being set at some distance to the north and south, so as to form a line of supports, and to guard the military roads which led from the inland fortresses to the camps on the Forth and Clyde. "These stations were crowded with streets and buildings, and adorned with baths and temples:" and towns of considerable size grew up in time under the protection of the garrisons. There are ruins so vast and complete still scattered on these desolate hills that they have been styled without too much exaggeration the "Tadmor" and the "Pompeii" of Britain.

"It is hardly credible," said an old traveller, "what a number of august remains of the Roman grandeur is to be seen here to this day: in every place where one casts his eye there is some curious antiquity to be seen, either the marks of streets and temples in ruins, or inscriptions, broken pillars, statues and other pieces of sculpture, all scattered on the ground."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gordon, *Itin. Septent.* 76; Hodgson, *Hist. Northumb.* 185. Compare another account of "the carcass of an ancient city" near Windermere. Camden's *Britannia* (Gibson), 986. "The vast remains of the Roman station and town (at Housesteads) are truly wonderful: a great number of inscriptions and sculptures have been found, and many yet remain at this place. The town or outbuildings have stood on a gentle declivity south and south-east of the station, where there are now streets or somewhat looking like terraces." Horsley, *Britannia Romana*, 148.

A brief invasion in the reign of Antoninus Pius disturbed the repose of the world. The free Brigantians of the hills took vengeance on the protected clans; but their assault was repelled and sharply punished by Lollius Urbicus, a general who had already distinguished himself in a difficult campaign against the Moors.<sup>1</sup> To ensure against such dangers in the future a line of earthworks was constructed on Agricola's frontier: and the whole garrison was summoned to the building of this new wall, of which the ruins remain in the "Grahame's Dyke" on the isthmus between Forth and Clyde.<sup>2</sup>

Some little may be learned about the war from the sculptured tablets erected by the industrious soldiery. Here, for instance, a group of altars has preserved to our own times the praises of "Victoria Victrix," of Hercules

<sup>1</sup> Pausan. viii. 43.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the Grahame's Dyke, see Camden's *Britannia* (Gibson), 1286, 1287. It consisted of the works enumerated in the following list: "*a.* A ditch of twelve feet wide before the wall, towards the enemy's country. *b.* A wall of squared and cut stone two feet broad, probably higher than the wall, to cover the defenders and to keep the earth of the wall from falling into the ditch. *c.* The wall itself, of ten feet thickness, but how high is not known. *d.* A paved way close at the foot of the wall five feet broad. *e.* Watch-towers within call of one another where sentinels kept watch day and night. *f.* A wall of squared stone going through the breadth of the wall just against the towers." A "court of guard" is also described, with its ramparts and outer walls of cut stone; and, besides these, "great and royal forts strongly entrenched, though within the wall, able to receive a whole army together." The wall is first mentioned by Capitolinus. *Vita Pii*, c. 5. It seems to have contained ten principal stations and was about twenty-seven English miles in length. Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 191, 207. Carausius, according to the legend in Nennius, repaired this wall "and built upon the bank of the Carron a round house of polished stone." *Hist. Nenn.* c. 19. This was a prehistoric tomb, which has commonly been called "Arthur's Oven." Camden's *Britannia* (Gibson), 222.

who shared the toil, and Epona who guided the horsemen. At one point an Italian troop set up a chapel and a statue to Mercury, at another the Gauls carved inscriptions to "Mars-Camulus," and the Germans to their gods of victory. The tablets display the Caledonian warriors and the figures of crouching captives: the trooper in one medallion rides down the defenceless savages, and in another Peace returns, and flute-players lead the soldiers towards the altar and the victims ready for the thank-offering. One may read on these stones the army's thanks to "Britannia," to the Genius of the Land, and the spirits of the woods and hills. The Roman soldiers were content to pray to "Sancta Britannia," or to "Brigantia" with her spear and turreted crown, just as they deified their standards, the Emperor's majesty, and even their own good luck: "nos te, nos facimus Fortuna deam": and this kind of "Fetichism" extended so far that there was hardly a person, place, or thing, of which the essential part might not be mentally detached and feared or adored as a god.<sup>1</sup>

After the peaceful age of the Antonines the debatable land about the Walls became the scene of a perpetual warfare, which raged or smouldered as the barbarians burst across the line or were chased into the recesses of the

<sup>1</sup> "Genium dicebant antiqui naturalem deum unius cujusque loci vel rei aut hominis." Servius ad Virgil. Georg. i. 302; Herodian. iv. 147. Compare Seneca, Epist. 41, and the controversy between Prudentius and Symmachus, "Ut animæ nascuntur, ita populis natales genii dividuntur." Symmachus, Epist. 61; Prudentius, In Symmach. ii. 71. As to the statues of Brigantia and Britannia, see Wellbeloved, "Eburacum," 12, 28, 92. Professor Rhys connects the name of Brigantia with that of Brigit, the fire-goddess. Hibbert Lect. 1866, 75, 77. For the inscriptions found near the Wall of Antoninus, see Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 191; and for representations of some of the sculptures mentioned in the text, see Mitchell's "Past and Present," 245, 246.

mountains. There are few records of a conflict which only became important when the strength of the Empire was failing: but we can distinguish some occasions on which the fortune of Rome was restored.

The expedition of Severus made it certain that the Highland tribes could never be finally subdued. The old Emperor was holding his court at Rome, when letters were received from York announcing that the army had been driven back upon the fortresses and that the barbarians were ravaging the land. Severus seems to have been weary of the splendour and corruption by which his depotism was maintained. "I have been all things," he said, "and nothing avails me." He determined to lead the campaign himself, and in the summer of A.D. 208 the court was transferred to York and an army massed upon the frontier. The restoration of the province was followed by a further advance which ended in a costly failure. The plan of invasion was unsuited to the nature of the country. The estuaries were bridged and roads were driven through the fens, but still, as the troops pushed their way, the enemy retreated to more distant places of refuge: and, before a precarious peace could be arranged, it was estimated that fifty thousand men had perished in the never-ending ambuscades and skirmishes, or had died of cold and disease. Before two years had passed the war broke out again, and Severus vainly threatened to extirpate every tribe in the hills. His death is said to have been hastened by the omens of approaching ruin, and the trifling story is useful as illustrating his temperament and the manners of his time. When he went into the street at York to make an offering to some healing god, he was led to the "House of Bellona" by the mistake of a rustic soothsayer: black

victims stood in readiness for a gloomy sacrifice, and were permitted by ill fortune to follow the Emperor to the palace. A negro soldier had met him at a posting-house near Hadrian's Wall and had spoken words relating to death and enthronement in heaven: "Thou hast been all things," he had cried, as he presented a funereal wreath, "Thou hast conquered all things, now therefore be the God of Victory!"<sup>1</sup>

Severus died, and was deified; and his sons Caracalla and Geta admitted the Caledonians to easy terms of peace. The province remained secure till Britain obtained a short-lived independence, "by carelessness or by some stroke of Fate," according to the Roman story, but in truth by the courage and wisdom of an obscure adventurer. A new danger had arisen from the pirate fleets of the Franks, who infested the British Seas and had even found their way to the coasts of Spain and Africa. Carausius the Menapian, the commander of the imperial navy, was suspected of encouraging the pirates, to enrich himself with a share of their booty: and his only chance of life was a successful rebellion in Britain.<sup>1</sup> Here he proclaimed himself Emperor in A.D. 288, and ruled the island peacefully, until in the seventh year of his reign he was murdered by his minister Allectus. The scanty garrison was reinforced by volunteers from Gaul and a large force of

<sup>1</sup> Spartianus. *Vita Severi*, c. 19, 22.

<sup>2</sup> The Story of Carausius appears in the Ossianic poems in a strangely altered form. "Caros, king of ships," spreads the wings of his pride in vain. "Ryno came to the mighty Caros; he struck his flaming spear. Come to the battle of Oscar, O thou that sittest on the rolling of the waves!" Another dim tradition of the Roman wars is found in the same poems, in the passage where Comala waits for Fingal, who is fighting with "Caracul" (Caracalla), one of the "kings of the world."

Franks, who served as legionaries in the new army and as sailors on the ships of war. The usurpation was condoned, though the insult could never be forgiven; and the Menapian was accepted as a partner in the Empire by Diocletian and Maximian, whose origin was as humble as his own, though they assumed to rule the world by the wisdom of Jupiter and in the strength of Hercules.

The Franks were fast arriving at complete dominion in Britain when Constantius broke their power by a decisive battle in which Allectus himself was killed. The Roman fleet had successfully blockaded Boulogne, the outpost and stronghold of the insular power, and the friends of Allectus were weakened by an attack on their settlements near the Rhine. An army of invasion was landed under cover of a fog at a point west of the Isle of Wight, where the British galleys were stationed. It is difficult to extract the truth from the rhapsodies of the courtly chronicler: but we may believe that Allectus advanced too rashly and with too implicit a confidence in his German followers. It was said that hardly a Roman fell, while all the hill-sides were covered with the bodies of the Franks, who might be recognised by their tight clothes and broad belts, and by their fashion of shaving the face, and of wearing their reddened hair in a mass pushed forward on the forehead.<sup>1</sup> The imperial forces at once pushed on to London,

<sup>1</sup> Eumenius, *Paneg. Constant.* 15, 16, 17. Compare the description of the Franks in the letters and poems of Sidonius Apollinaris. "*Ipse medius incessit, flammeus cocco, rutilus auro, lacteus serico: tum cultui tanto comâ rubore cute concolor.*" *Epist.* iv. 7.

"*Rutili quibus arce cerebri*

*Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque cervix*  
*Setarum per damna nitet, tum lumine glauco*

where a remnant of the Franks was defeated. "The City," in the words of its historian, "seemeth not to have been walled in A.D. 296, because, when Allectus the Tyrant was slaine in the field, the Franks easily entered London and had sacked the same, had not God of his great favour at the very instant brought along the River of Thames certain bands of Romane souldiers who slew those Franks in every street of the City."<sup>1</sup>

In Diocletian's new scheme of government the world was to be governed by two Emperors, administering the Eastern and the Italian provinces, while the frontiers were guarded by two associated "Cæsars," the one governing on the Danube and the other in the united regions of Spain Gaul and Britain.

The dominion of the West was justly assigned to Constantius, first as "Cæsar," and then as "Augustus," after the retirement of Diocletian. Constantius resided at York, and is said to have been successful in a war with the Picts and Scots: but he is chiefly remembered as father of Constantine the Great, and as husband of that pious Helena whose legend has taken so many shapes in the fabulous chronicles. The child of a Dacian innkeeper has become an island-princess, daughter of "Coil of Colchester," as learned divines have maintained, and the famous "Saint Helen" of the Yorkshire wells.<sup>2</sup>

Albet aquosa acies, ac vultibus undique rasis  
Pro barbâ tenues perantantur pectine cristæ."

Carm. vii. 238, 242.

<sup>1</sup> Stowe's Survey of London (1619) 6.

<sup>2</sup> Usher, Camden, and Stillingfleet, endeavoured in their zeal for the British Church to support the fiction that Helena was the daughter of "King Coil." The legend may be found in Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, v. c. 6. Her father was supposed to have revolted against "King Asclepiodotus," a personage constructed by the bards out of the story of

Constantius died in the year 306, soon after the close of the Caledonian war,<sup>1</sup> and Constantine the Great was at once chosen by the soldiers to succeed him in the sovereignty of the West, though the dignity was not legally confirmed until his marriage in the following year. We are told

the real Asclepiodotus, the general who defeated Allectus and his army of Franks. "Mr. Carte" (says Gibbon) "transports the kingdom of Coil, the imaginary father of Helen, from Essex to the Wall of Antoninus." Hist. Decl. and Fall, c. 14. Her name was preserved in West Yorkshire by her ford and well near Tadcaster, and two sacred springs at Eshton and Fernhill in Craven. "St. Helen's Well near Tadcaster is close to the right of the Riggate, one branch of the great Roman road to York. The water is soft and very clear: it is much esteemed as a remedy for weak eyes, and the adjoining bushes are still hung with votive offerings of ribbons." Whitaker's Hist. Craven (Morant), 239. She seems to have been confused in some of the Welsh legends with an imaginary personage who gave her name to the "Sarn Elen," or Roman road in North Wales. "The men of Britain would not have made these great roads for any save her alone." Guest's Mabinogion, 449, 456. Rhys, Hibbert Lectures, 1866, 167.

<sup>1</sup> Constantius died at York, and was probably buried there. Eumenius, the Panegyrist of Constantine, affirmed that he was nominated to the Empire by his father. "Thou didst enter that sacred palace not as a candidate, but as already chosen, and the household gods at once saw in thee the lawful successor of thy father." Eumen. Paneg. vii. c. 4. Some take this for the Palace at Treves. Wytttenbach, Rom. Antiqu. Trêves, 53; Wellbeloved, Eburacum, 62. According to the fable of Nennius Constantius died at Carnarvon. "His sepulchre, as appears by the inscription on his tomb, is still seen near the city named Caer-Segont. Upon the pavement of that city he sowed three seeds of gold silver and brass, that no poor person might ever be found in it." Hist. Nenn. 25. As to this piece of folk-lore, compare the story in the Heimskringla, Ynglinga-Tal, c. 33. "There is a long account in the Skioldung Saga about Rolf Kraka coming and sowing gold on the Fyrisvold." Laing, Sea Kings of Norway, i. 245. As to the tomb, Nennius perhaps referred to the real inscription on the "Ogamstone" of some later King of North Wales, such as that of "*Catamanus, Rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium*," found in Anglesea, or that rude epitaph of a provincial Carausius found near Carnarvon, "*Carausius hic jacit in hoc congeries lapidum*." Camden's Britannia (Gibson), 811; Rhys, Welsh Philology, 364, 369.

that his election was chiefly due to the friendly zeal of a German king who had brought his army to Britain to assist in the northern campaign.<sup>1</sup>

The scheme of government which Diocletian had designed was in some respects amended by Constantine. Britain formed one diocese of a vast pro-consulate extending from Mount Atlas to the Caledonian deserts, and governed by the Gallic Prefect through a "Vicar" or deputy at York. The island was divided into five new provinces without regard for the ancient boundaries.<sup>2</sup> To each was assigned a governor experienced in the law, who dealt with taxation and finance. The army was under the general jurisdiction of the two Masters of the Cavalry and Infantry, whose task was to supervise the forces of the

<sup>1</sup> The chronicler gives the following account of the aid rendered by Chrocus and his Allemanian army: "Cunctis qui aderant annitentibus sed præcipue Croco Alamannorum rege, auxilii gratiâ Constantium comitato, imperium capit." Victor. Jun. c. 41. "This" says Gibbon "is perhaps the first instance of a barbarian king who assisted the Roman arms with an independent body of his own subjects. The practice grew familiar, and at last became fatal." Valentinian in the same way engaged the services of "King Fraomar." Ammian. Marcell. xxix. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The names of the provinces appear in the "Notitia." Upper Britain was subdivided into "Britannia Prima" and "Britannia Secunda." Lower Britain was divided in the same way into "Flavia Cæsariensis" and "Maxima Cæsariensis." "Valentia" was between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus. According to Pancirollus, Not. Dignit. Comment. 159, 161, 162, 176, "Britannia Prima" was probably the south-eastern province, and "Maxima" the district between the Wash or the Humber and Hadrian's Wall. *Ibid.* 158. According to Dion Cassius (Xiphiline), lv. c. 23, Caerleon and Chester were in Upper Britain, and York was in Lower Britain. Rhys, Celtic Britain, 97; Scarth, Roman Britain, 96. It seems that the old tribal names remained in use, and were revived when the country became independent. See the list of the British cities by the Ravenna Geographer, and such inscriptions as "Corbalengi jacit *Ordous*," and "*Dobuni Fabri*." Rhys, Welsh Philology, 203, 379, 400.

Empire in the West. But, so far as this country was concerned, it was under the direct orders of the "Count of Britain," assisted by two important though subordinate officers. The "Duke of Britain" commanded in Upper Britain, and the districts adjoining the Northern walls, while the "Count of the Saxon Shore" held the government of "the maritime tract," and provided for the defence of the fortresses which lined the South-Eastern coast.<sup>1</sup>

The point of chief importance with regard to this system of government is to explain the intricate scheme of roads and fortresses, by which these generals were enabled to secure the free movement of troops from coast to coast, or towards any danger upon the frontiers. In this explanation we are helped by the "Notitia" for the period between the reign of Constantine and the retreat of the Roman armies, and for the preceding period by the "Itinerary of Antoninus," which shows the lines of communication between all the cities in the Empire.<sup>2</sup>

With the assistance of these records we are able to trace the principal military routes which connected the northern frontiers with the stations in the South and West, and with the districts on the Saxon Shore. But we must

<sup>1</sup> There was another "Saxon Shore" on the opposite coast, with its head-quarters at Boulogne. For a description of the forts on the "Littus Saxonicum per Britannias" see Pancirollus, *Not. Dignit. Comment.* 161.

<sup>2</sup> The "Antoninus" whose name gave its title to the record was Caracalla, the successor of Severus. Several commentators, however, assign the date of the Itinerary to the age of Constantine the Great. The difficulties in using this document arise from the paucity and corruptness of the MSS., and in particular from the errors of mileage appearing in the earliest copy, which can hardly be amended by modern research or conjecture.

first consider whether any help can be gained from the identification of these roads with the four national highways, so famous in the mediæval records, which were for centuries placed under the "King's Peace" and guarded by special laws from injury.<sup>1</sup> "It is the general voice," said Gale, "of all our historians, that four great roads or streets ran from several points across this island. But writing long after they were made, and in different times, they have left their accounts of them so obscure and uncertain, both as to the courses they held and the names they were known by, that it is no wonder if we, who come so many ages after them, are still in the dark and so much at a loss to trace any one of these streets from the beginning to the end of it; and indeed I now conclude it is impossible to do it without great interruptions, time and other accidents destroying every day more and more of their mouldering remains."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These were the "Quatuor Chimini" of the Norman Laws. Palgrave, *Commonw.* 284; Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, 192; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 182.

<sup>2</sup> Gale, *Essay towards the recovery of the courses of the Roman Ways*, in Hearne's *Leland*, v. 116. The chief difficulties have arisen from trusting to stories taken from the Welsh chronicles. According to the fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth "King Belinus" paved a causeway of stone and mortar running from the Sea of Cornwall to the shores of Caithness, and another across the breadth of his kingdom from St. David's to the Port of Southampton, "and other two he made obliquely through the island for a passage to the rest of the cities." Geoff. Monm. iii. c. 5. According to this scheme, which was adopted by the monkish chroniclers, the Fosse-Way passed from Totnes to Caithness, the Ermin Street from St. David's to Southampton, the Ikenild Street (confused with the Ryknild Way) from St. David's to Tynemouth, and Watling Street from Dover through Chester to Cardigan. The first step towards accuracy in the matter is gained when these legends are cast aside. The chief authorities for the false description are Henry of Huntingdon, Higden's 'Polychronicon,' and Drayton in his 'Polyolbion.'

The names of these royal highways were the Watling Street, Fosse-Way, Ermin Street, and Ikenild Street. When the course of the last-named road was forgotten it was confused with another line called the Ryknild Way which followed an old Roman road from Gloucester to Doncaster. There is no doubt that these names were connected with the Teutonic mythology, though the glory of the hero "Irmin" and the craft of the "Wætlings" is forgotten.<sup>1</sup> Nor can we doubt, upon a consideration of the antiquarian evidence, that each of these streets represented a combination of those portions of the Roman roads which the English adopted and kept in repair, as communications between their principal cities. The Watling Street represents the old zigzag route from Kent to Chester and York, and northwards in two branches to Carlisle and the neighbourhood of Newcastle.<sup>2</sup> The Fosse-Way ran diagonally

<sup>1</sup> Flor. Worc. Chron. A.D. 1013; Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 330, citing the Complaint of Scotland, 90; and Chaucer's "House of Fame," ii. 427,

"Lo there! quod he, cast up thine eye,  
Se yonder, lo! the Galaxie,  
The whiche men clepe the Milky Way,  
For it is white, and some parfay  
Y-callen it han Watlinge-strete."

<sup>2</sup> The old name of the Watling Street is still found in Dover and London: it forms the boundary between Warwickshire and Leicester-shire; it was the line of division chosen in Alfred's Treaty with Guthrum, the Danes keeping all the country north of "Wathlinga-strete"; the monastic records show that the Priory of Lilleshall in Shropshire was situate "*prope altam viam vocatam Watling-Street.*" Hearne's Leland, Itin. vi. 129; Dugdale, Monast. Anglic. ii. 145, 147, 942. The road between Ilkley and York is called by the same name. Phillipp's Essay, *Archæol. Journ.* No. 39. From York the Watling Street runs due north to the Wall (MacLauchlan, 'The Roman Wall'; Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 213). A passage in Leland's Itinerary shows that the same name was given to the great eastern branch which led from Catterick to

through Bath to Lincoln. The Ermin Street led direct from London to Lincoln, with a branch to Doncaster and York; and the obscure Ikenild Street curved inland from Norwich to Dunstable, and was carried eventually to the coast at Southampton.

But the course laid down for these great streets has but an incidental connection with the scheme of defences which the Romans had invented for the province. The planning of routes between their military stations had nothing to do with the later ideas which led the English to see in the Fosse-Way a road "between Totnes and Caithness,"

"From where rich Cornwall points to the Iberian seas  
Till colder Cathnesse tells the scattered Orcades."<sup>1</sup>

The Roman plan was based on the requirements of the provincial government, and on the need for constant communication between the Kentish ports and the outlying

Carlisle. "The way on Watlyngstrete from Borow Bridge to Carlil. Watlyngestrete lyeths about a myle off from Gillinge and 3 m. from Riche-mount. From Borow Bridge to Caterike . . . . Mayden Castle diked is hard on the est syde of Wathelynge Strete, 5 miles a this side Brough." Hearne's *Leland*, Itin. viii. 26. Not far from Wroxeter the Street passes a place called "Wattlesborough" which seems to preserve the name of "Wætla," the father of the "Wætlings." Gale's *Essay*, 129.

<sup>1</sup> Drayton, *Polyolb.* xvi. 247. The name of Fosse-Way, according to some accounts, was given to a road from Exeter to Lincoln, thence by Doncaster to York and so northwards, thus encroaching both on Watling Street and the western branch of the Ermin Street. This exaggeration is derived from the Welsh legends already mentioned. The Fosse can be traced from "Stratton-in-the-Fosseway" near Bath to Cirencester, to a "Stratton-in-the-Vorse" near Leamington, and a "Stretton-super-Fosse" in Warwickshire, and so passing near Leicester it proceeds to Lincoln. See the charters of the reign of Henry III. permitting alterations to be made in the royal street at Newark "super Chimum Fossæ." Gale's *Essay*, 124. The Fosse cut the Watling Street at a place called "High Cross" in Leicestershire.

fortresses on the frontiers. We may therefore leave the task of tracing the mediæval highways, and confine our attention to the roads which actually defended the Roman province.

First then we find three great "meridional lines," which passed from the Upper Wall to the principal cities in the south. One of these led through Carlisle by the head of Windermere and down the coast towards Chester. Another came due south to York and "Danum" or Doncaster; a branch passing towards Carlisle led from Catterick, a little north of York, across the gap upon Stainmoor.<sup>1</sup> The third led from "Segedunum," or "Walls-end" on the Tyne, through Cleveland to the Humber, and thence to the colony at Lincoln.<sup>2</sup>

These were all connected by transverse routes passing east and west, some through York to the coasts on either side, some from Manchester<sup>3</sup> to York and Chester, or across the dales to Aldborough, or by the devious "Doctor-gate" to the woodland country round Sheffield.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Luguballium," now represented by Carlisle, was a station of great importance. When St. Cuthbert visited the city, the Mayor led his guest to see the old Roman walls and the "fountain of wonderful workmanship." *Vita Sti. Cuthberti*, 37; *Bede's Life of Cuthbert*, 26. A little Temple of Mars long remained standing near the city wall. *Will. Malmesb. Chron. Pontif. Bk. iii. introd.* Camden's *Britannia* (Gibson), 1025. Leland describes its remains in the reign of Henry VIII. "Pavimentes of streates, old arches of dores, coyne-stones squared, paynted pottes, money hid yn pottes so hold and muldid that when yt was strongly towched yt went almost to mowlder." *Itin.* viii. 57.

<sup>2</sup> This road afterwards formed part of the Ermin Street. See Gale's *Essay in Hearne's Leland*, vi. 125.

<sup>3</sup> For a description of this station and the roads leading from it, see Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, and Watkins' "Roman Manchester," *Hist. Soc. Lanc.* 3rd Series, vii. 12, 32.

<sup>4</sup> The description of this road will be found in Phillipp's essay on the

The trunk-lines and crossways were continued so as to form connections with all the high roads in the south and west. At Chester, for instance, was a junction of lines to North Wales, to London, to Caerleon, and to the iron mines in the Forest of Dean. From the station at Doncaster a road ran down to the mouth of the Severn.<sup>1</sup> The great Lincoln road, or "Ermin Street," threw branches across the Fens<sup>2</sup> towards Norwich, and round by Colchester, and from the "Durobrivian" potteries to the station of the Thracian cavalry at Cirencester.<sup>3</sup>

The district of the Saxon Shore was intersected in the same way by roads leading from the coast to London, and connected on the other hand with the great trunk roads which traversed the inland provinces.

relations of Archæology to History. *Archæol. Journ.* No. 39. The mines and hot-baths in Derbyshire were connected by several tracks with the principal roads on either side.

<sup>1</sup> This is the road afterwards called "Ryknild Street"; it ran parallel to the Fosse-Way at a distance of about 60 miles to the northward. The descriptions in old deeds show its course near Birmingham and in Staffordshire (Drayton, *Polyolb.* 247, 256, and Selden's notes; Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* i. 942. Gale's Essay, 139), and another point in its course is marked at Thorpe Salvin, formerly Ryknild-Thorpe, in Yorkshire. (See Hunter, *South Yorkshire*, i. 309, and Kirby's *Quest.* Surtees Soc. edit. p. 3.)

<sup>2</sup> It passed a station in the Fens called "Camboricum," which seems to be Grantchester near Cambridge. Bede describes the finding of a coffin for St. Ethelreda at a little deserted town, "civitulam quamdam desolatam," which the English called "Granta-cestir," probably situated on the road in question. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 10.

<sup>3</sup> For the antiquities at Cirencester, see Camden, *Britannia* (Gibson), 284; Leland, *Itin.* v. 65; Lyson's "Romans in Gloucestershire"; Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 29. For an account of the Northamptonshire potteries, extending for about 20 miles on the gravel banks of the Nen, where the blue or gray "Castor-ware" was made, see Birch, *Ancient Pottery* 528.

A line of forts ran in a curve along the coast-road from "Branodunum," or Brancaster on the Wash,<sup>1</sup> to a camp at Caistor near Norwich, and round to the military settlement at Colchester; strong fortresses guarded the channel of Thanet at Reculver and Richborough, and there were other posts at Dover and Lymne, and at various places requiring defence as far west as the Southampton Water.

The extremities of this curve were joined by an inland road known afterwards as the Ikenild Street.<sup>2</sup> Its course may be traced from the boundary of Norfolk and Suffolk

<sup>1</sup> According to the Notitia, "Branodunum" was the station of a troop of Dalmatian cavalry under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore. The coast-road seems to have led to Cromer, where a line led to the camp near "Venta Icenorum," or Norwich. Either Caistor or Castleacre may have been the site of the camp. There were stations on both shores of the great estuary, which then extended to "Venta": and one of these must have been the station "Ad Taum," marked in the Peutingerian Map. From Brancaster a Roman road, now called the Pedlars' Way, passed southwards to Camulodunum, and remains of another road are found between Cromer and Norwich, leading in the direction of Burgh Castle, the site of "Garianonum."

<sup>2</sup> For the course of the Ikenild Street, see Gale's Essay, 141, 148. "In Buckinghamshire," he says, "I cannot find it anywhere apparent to the eye, except between Prince's Risborow and Kemble-in-the-Street where it is still called "Icknell-way." Mr. Taylor cites a deed, *temp.* Henry III., relating to property at Newmarket, "quod se extendit super Ykenild-weie." *Archæologia* (Norwich, 1847), 22. There are certain records of the perambulations of the Hampshire forests which throw some light on the matter, and support Drayton's statement that the road led from the Chiltern Hills to the Solent. Tower, Misc. Rec. 113. Peramb. Forest, 27 and 29 Edw. I. South. The survey of Buckholt Forest (Apr. 1, 28 Edw. I.), contains passages relating to the road in question. "Begin at the Dene-way . . . and so alwaies by the divisions of the Counties of Southampton and Wilts to th'Ikenilde Street, and thence by the same to La Pulle;" and "from Pyrpe-mere to th'Ikenilde, and so by the same road to Hole-waye." Some writers take the Ikenilde Way as passing from Wantage to Cirencester and Gloucester. See Scarth, Roman Britain, 116.

to Newmarket, and to a junction with the Ermin Street at Dunstable, the site of a town called "Forum Dianæ." We meet it again in Oxfordshire, where it leads across the Thames to the junction of the Roman roads at Silchester. From this point the road passed southwards to Winchester, and thence by one branch to the Southampton Water, and by another to Sarum and the Western districts.

A reference to the Antonine Itinerary will show how these roads were used to connect the frontiers with the southern ports, the outlying fortresses, and the central seats of government. The Itinerary contains fifteen routes, of which seven coincide for the whole or the greater part of their course with the various branches of the Watling Street; three more diverge from that "lusty straggling street" towards Carnarvon, to Carlisle, and downwards to Caerleon and South Wales; four lead from the junction at Silchester to London, to the south coast, and, to Caerleon by an upper and a lower route; the remaining road connects London with Colchester and passes upwards along the circumference of the Saxon Shore.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The direction of the routes is as follows:—1. From the frontier due south, along the Watling Street to York, and on to Flamborough Head. 2. From Netherby and Carlisle across Stainmoor to York, across to Manchester and Chester, down to Wroxeter-on-Severn and so to London and the fort at Richborough, never leaving the Watling Street. 3 and 4. Branches to Dover and Lymne. 5. From London to Colchester, and across the Fens into the Ermin Street, taking (after passing York) the western branch of the Watling Street as far as Carlisle. 6. London to Lincoln, by the Watling Street and Fosse-Way, turning at High Cross. 7. Chichester to London, avoiding the forest and passing round by the Ikenild Street as far as Silchester. 8. York to London, as in No. 6. 9. From Caistor, or "Venta Icenorum" round the coast to Colchester and London. 10. From Mediolanum," a station north of Wroxeter, by Manchester and the west coast, and past the head of Windermere to Carlisle. 11. From Carnarvon to Chester. 12. From "Muridunum," or Carmarthen, to Caerleon (Isca

Several of these routes are illustrated by the fragment of the "Peutingerian Table" (Map VII.), the only copy remaining of any part of the official road-chart for Britain. "Tables" of this kind were not maps in the proper sense of the term, but were rather diagrams drawn purposely out of proportion, on which the public roads were projected in a panoramic view. The latitude and longitude, and the positions of rivers and mountains, were disregarded so far as they might interfere with the display of the provinces, the outlines being flattened out to suit the shape of a roll of parchment; but the distances between the stations were inserted in numerals, so that an extract from the record might be used as a supplement to the table of mileage in the road-book. The copy now remaining derives its name from Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg in whose library it was found on his death in 1547. It is supposed to have been brought to Europe from a monastery in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and to have been a copy taken by some thirteenth-century scribe from an original assigned to the beginning of the fourth century or the end of the third. The greater part of the diagram relating to Britain has been destroyed, having unfortunately been inscribed on the last or outside sheet of the roll, the part most likely to suffer by time and accident. But the remaining frag-

Silurum), and thence by Abergavenny (Gobannio) to Wroxeter on the Watling Street. 13. From Caerleon by Bath to Silchester; this is some times by mistake called "Ermin Street." 14. From Caerleon, by Cirencester to the same junction; and 15. From Silchester (by the Ikenild Way) to Winchester, and westwards to Sarum, Dorchester, and Exeter. The occurrence of the names "Moridunum" and "Isca" on this route, and of similar names in the 12th route, has led to a clerical error in the MSS., the line being made first to run from Silchester to Exeter, and then on from Carmarthen, as if it were part of the 12th route.

ment includes the greater part of the Saxon Shore, from the station "Ad Taum," a few miles from Norwich, to the harbour at Lymne on the coast of Kent. The course of the Watling Street is shown, with three lines leading from the three naval stations to Canterbury, thence by one united road to "Durolevum," an uncertain site, and thence to Rochester and another station on the Medway, and so onwards in the direction of London.<sup>1</sup>

Another road is marked as running from London along the north coast of Kent, the Thames being crossed at a point due south of "Cæsaromagus," or Chelmsford, the route being continued to Colchester, and northwards round the "Saxon Shore" to the immediate vicinity of Norwich.<sup>2</sup>

A memorandum in the left-hand margin of the fragment marks the distance between "Moridunum" and the Damnonian "Isca," and shows besides a main road passing from the latter station towards Cornwall.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare the second route in the Antonine Itinerary from "Noviomagus" to Richborough. "Rotibis" in the Peutingerian Table will be found to correspond to "Durobrivis," now Rochester, and is probably meant for the same word.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the ninth route in the Itinerary. The "Sinomagus" of the Table is identified with "Sitomagus," which seems to be Dunwich. The names in the Table are ill-spelt: but they correspond in the main with the stations on the Antonine route. It will be observed that in the Peutingerian map a road leads from "Ad Ansam" to the coast, which is not mentioned in the Itinerary.

<sup>3</sup> "Ridumo" appears to be meant for "Moridunum," which was about 15 miles from Exeter, according to the Itinerary. But the scribe seems to have reversed their relative situations. The only evidence of the existence of a Roman road through Cornwall, besides this entry, is the discovery made in 1853 of a milestone in the wall of the church of St. Hilary, near St. Ives, which was inscribed with the titles of Constantine II. Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 13, 207.

The completion of this system of defence, and the establishment of the Diocletian constitution, cost the British provinces as much in freedom and importance as they seemed to gain in security. The country suffered in many different ways. It had come to be a mere department under the Court at Treves, one of several Atlantic regions regarded as having the same political interests and a common stock of resources. The defence of Britain was sacrificed to some sudden call for soldiers in Spain or on the Alpine passes, and the shrunken legions left behind could barely man the fortresses upon the frontier. The provinces which might have stood safely by their own resources were becoming involved in a general bankruptcy. The troops were ill-paid and plundered by their commanders, the labourers had sunk into serfdom, and the property of the rich was so heavily charged by the State that the owners would have gladly escaped by resigning their apparent wealth. The burdens of taxation were constantly multiplied by the complexity of the system of government and the increase of departments and offices. The visit of the imperial tax-gatherers was compared to the horrors of a successful assault in war. A writer of that time describes the scene in a provincial town where every head of cattle in the neighbourhood had been numbered and marked for a tax. All the population of the district was assembled, and the place was crowded with the landowners bringing in their labourers and slaves. "One heard nothing but the sounds of flogging and all kinds of torture; the son was forced to inform against his father, the wife against her husband; failing everything else the men were compelled to give evidence against themselves, and were taxed according

to the confessions which they made to escape from torment."<sup>1</sup>

These evils pressed upon the world from the age of Constantine until the Empire was finally dismembered, and the general ruin completed, of which they were a principal cause. The history of Britain during this period, so far as it can properly be said to have had a history at all, is concerned with the establishment of the Christian Church, by which the general misery was alleviated, with several attempts at separating the three Atlantic countries from the crumbling Empire of the West, and finally with the growth of the barbarian kingdoms by which all those countries were overwhelmed in turn.

Christianity was not recognised as the religion of the State until the proclamation in A.D. 324, by which Constantine exhorted his subjects to follow their Emperor's example in abandoning the errors of paganism; but it had been tolerated, with few intermissions, from the time when Hadrian had found a kindly excuse for the Christians by confusing them with the worshippers of his favourite Serapis.<sup>2</sup> The persecution of Diocletian seems hardly to have much affected this country, where the Cæsar Constantius had been able to protect the Christians, though he could not prevent the destruction of the sacred buildings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecut.* 23.

<sup>2</sup> "Illi qui Serapim colunt Christiani sunt; et devoti sunt Serapi qui se Christi episcopus dicunt." Vopiscus, *Ad Saturnin.* c. 8. For the nature of the worship of Serapis, see Tac. *Hist.* iv. 83; Macrobian *Saturnal.* i. 20; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* xi. 27, 28, and Pierret, *Mythologie Egyptienne* (1879). For an account of the "Serapeum" at York, and British inscriptions in honour of Serapis, see Wellbeloved, "Eburacum," 75, 77, 78, and Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 64, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecut.* 15, 16. As to the deaths of St. Alban

The old Latin paganism had long ceased to satisfy the minds of educated men, though its visible emblems were respected until the destruction of the temples about the end of the fourth century. The high places were still reserved for the greater gods to whom men trusted the keeping of cities: the merchants' god still guarded the market-place, and the parade was adorned with its Victory and its shrine for the standards and eagles; beyond the walls were the homes of more awful powers and more disturbing influences, the temples of Bellona and the Furies of War, the chapel of Venus and the field of Mars.<sup>1</sup> But the altars and images were used indifferently by worshippers under many creeds; the titles of Jupiter covered worships as far apart as those of Tanarus the Thunderer and Osiris "the nocturnal sun," the ruler in the world of the dead.<sup>2</sup> Diana's name was given as well to the Syrian Astarte as to the Moon-goddess worshipped at Carthage and the Huntress to whom the farmers prayed that the beasts might be scared from their flocks. Apollo represented all bright and healing influences, and under the name of Mars the soldiers from every province could recognise their local war-god.<sup>3</sup>

and other British martyrs, see Gildas, *Hist.* 10, 11; Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. c. 7; Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," i. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Vitruvius, *Architect.* i. c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Pierret, *Myth. Egypt*, 60.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of Roman temples of which the remains have been found in this country, see Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 332. Many of the epithets used in the British inscriptions are of unknown origin, but they appear in general to refer to the native country of the worshipper. Jupiter "Dolichenus," whose title appears in so many inscriptions, was a god from Heliopolis in Syria, and his attributes appear to have had some connection with iron-mining. An altar inscribed to "Jupiter Tanarus," found at Chester in A.D. 1653, is supposed to have been intended for Thor or Thunar: the date of its erection is fixed by its mention of the Consuls of A.D. 154.

Many of the outward forms, and even some of the doctrines of Christianity, were imitated by the pantheistic religions which spread from Egypt and the East and overlaid the old rites with the worship of a World-goddess with a thousand names, of the Sun-god Osiris, or of Mithras "the unconquered lord of ages." We learn from sculptured tablets, and from inscriptions and symbols on tombs, that Mithraism at one time prevailed extensively in this country: and its influence was doubtless strengthened by the artifice of its professors in imitating the orthodox ceremonies and festivals. We have no record of its final overthrow, and some have supposed that the faith in "Median Mithras" survived into comparatively modern times in heretical and semi-pagan forms of Gnosticism; but, be this as it may, we must assume that its authority was destroyed or confined to the country districts when the pagan worships were finally forbidden by law.<sup>1</sup> After the year 386 we find records of an established Christian Church in Britain, "holding the Catholic faith, and keeping up an intercourse with Rome and Palestine."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the spread of Mithraism in Britain and the inscriptions to 'Sol Socius,' Sol Invictus Mithras, and the like, and of the Mithraic "caves" and sculptures found near Hadrian's Wall, and at York and Chester, see *Gent. Mag.* 1751, 102, and 1822, pt. 2, 545. Wellbeloved, "Eburacum," 79, 81, and more than twenty inscriptions recorded by Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vol. vii. With respect to the general character of the religion, its connection with Magism and the worship of the Syrian Venus on the one side, and with the purer doctrines of the Zend-Avesta on the other, see *Herod.* i. 131; De Hammer's "Mithriaca," 9, 31, 40, 83, 92; Lenormant, *Chald. Magic*, 195, 234, 336; Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1260. For its imitation of the ceremonies of the Church, see Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 66, *Dial.* 70, 78; Origen, *contra Celsum*, vi. 22. St. Jerome describes the destruction of a cave of Mithras at Rome in the year 378, and the symbols used in initiation, *Opera*, i. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, "Councils," i. 10. "The statements respecting

As early as the middle of the fourth century the British provinces were already persistently attacked by sea and land. The Picts and Scots, and the warlike nation of the "Attacotti" from whom the Empire was accustomed to recruit its choicest soldiers,<sup>1</sup> the fleets of Irish pirates in the north, the Franks and Saxons on the southern shores, combined together whenever a chance presented itself to burn and devastate the country, to cut off an outlying garrison, to carry off women and children like cattle captured in a foray and to offer the bodies of Roman citizens as sacrifices. Along the north-western coast and on the line of the Lower Wall we still find traces of these marauding frays in the marks of burning, and the layers of ashes sometimes two or three deep, as if the stations had

British Christians at Rome or in Britain, and respecting apostles or apostolic men preaching in Britain in the first century, rest upon guess, mistake, or fable." *Ibid.* i. 22. The evidence for British Christianity in the second century, including the Letter of Pope Eleutherius and the well-known story of King Lucius, is also pronounced to be unhistorical. *Ibid.* p. 25. Mello, a British Christian, was Bishop of Rouen between the years 256 and 314, and in the latter year bishops from York, London, and Caerleon, were present at the Council of Arles. In the year 325 the British Church assented to the conclusions of the Council of Nicæa. *Ibid.* p. 7.

<sup>1</sup> The "Notitia Dignitatum" mentions several regiments of Attacotti serving for the most part in Gaul and Spain. Two of their regiments were enrolled among the "Honorians," the most distinguished troops in the Imperial armies. Though their country is not certainly known, it seems probable that they inhabited the wilder parts of Galloway. Mr. Skene argues that they must have been provincials who had revolted about the period of the great campaign of Theodosius, A.D. 364. "They only joined the invading tribes after the latter had been for four years in possession of the territory between the Walls: and no sooner was it again wrested from the invaders by Theodosius than we find them enlisted in the Roman army." *Celt. Scot.* i. 102. Orosius, speaking of the time of Stilicho, about A.D. 400, calls them "barbari qui quondam in fœdus recepti atque in militiam adlecti Honoriaci vocantur." *Oros.* vii. 40.

several times been sacked, and had been built again as soon as the enemy was forced to retire. We are told that the Saxons were especially to be dreaded for their sudden and well-calculated assaults. They swept the coast like creatures of the storm, choosing the worst weather and the most dangerous shores as inviting them to the easiest attack. Their ships when dispersed by the Roman galleys were re-assembled at some point left undefended, and they began to plunder again; and they were taught by their fierce superstitions to secure a safe return by immolating every tenth captive in honour of the gods of the sea.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 368 the Court at Treves was startled by the news that the "Duke of Britain" had perished in a frontier ambushade, and that the Count Nectarides had been defeated and slain in a battle on the "Saxon Shore."<sup>2</sup> The Picts and Attacotti, and the Scots from the Irish sea-board, had broken through the Walls and were devastating the Northern Provinces;<sup>3</sup> the coasts nearest to Gaul were attacked by the Franks and their neighbours the Saxons, who were ravaging the South with fire and sword.<sup>4</sup>

Theodosius, the best general of the Empire, was sent across to Richborough with two picked legions and a great force of German auxiliaries. On approaching London, "the old town then known as the Augustan City," he

<sup>1</sup> "Mos est remeaturis decimum quemque captorum per æquales et cruciarias pœnas, plus ob hoc tristi quam superstitioso ritu, necare." Sidon. Apollin. viii. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ammian. Marcell. xxvii. 8; xxviii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The Picts were at this time divided into two nations called the "Verturiones" and the "Dicaledonæ." See as to these names, Skene, *Celt, Scot.* i. 129, and Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 94, 166, 312.

<sup>4</sup> "Gallicanos vero tractus Franci et Saxones iisdem confines, quo quisque erumpere potuit terrâ vel mari, prædis acerbis incendiisque et captivorum funeribus hominum violabant." Ammian. Marcell. xxvii. 9.

divided his army to attack the scattered troops of marauders who were covering the country and driving off their prisoners and stolen cattle to the coast. The spoil was successfully recovered, and the general entered London in triumph. Here he awaited reinforcements, finding by the reports of spies and deserters that he had before him the forces of "a crowd of savage nations," and being anxious to gain time for recalling the soldiers who had deserted to the enemy or had dispersed in search of food. At last, by threats and persuasions, by stratagems and unforeseen attacks, he not only recovered the lost army and dispersed the confused masses of the enemy, but even succeeded in regaining all the frontier districts and in restoring the whole machinery of government.<sup>1</sup>

A few years afterwards occurred the revolt of Maximus, a Spaniard who had served under Theodosius and had afterwards gained the affection of the turbulent soldiery in Britain. The Emperor Gratian had exhibited a scandalous preference for the dress and customs of the Alani, his barbarian allies; and it was feared or alleged that there was a danger of their occupying the Western Provinces. Maximus was proclaimed Emperor in Britain in A.D. 383, and proceeded to justify the soldiers' choice by a splendid and successful campaign against the Picts and Scots. In the course of the next year he raised a large army of Britons and Gauls to supplement his regular forces, and passing over to the mouths of the Rhine, he succeeded in establishing himself at Trêves, and was eventually acknowledged as Emperor of the West.

The Britons of a later age found consolation in thinking that the defeat of Maximus in Pannonia "at the foaming

<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, iv. 35; Sozomen. vii. 13.

waters of the Save," and the loss of the army which he had led from their shores, were the proximate causes of the English conquest.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that the drain of the continental war was a cause of weakness to the province, and an inducement to the barbarians on the frontiers to renew their attempts at conquest. It is clear that on two occasions at least, which may be attributed with approximate certainty to the years 396 and 400, the coasts were again attacked by the Saxons, and the country between the Walls was occupied by Picts and invaders from Ireland, until their power was broken by the sword of Stilicho. "Me too," cries Britannia in the famous poem, "me dying at my neighbours' hands, did Stilicho defend, when the Scot moved all Ierne to arms, and Ocean whitened under the invaders' oars."<sup>2</sup>

The independence of Britain was a consequence of the invasion of Northern Gaul by the Vandals. The communications with the body of the Empire were cut off by a horde of these rude warriors, associated with Suevi from the German forests and Alani from the shores of the Euxine. The army determined to choose their own leader: and in the year 407, after two abortive elections, they raised a private soldier named Constantine to the throne of the Western Empire. His success in recovering Gaul and

<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, iv. 35, Bede, Hist. Eccl. i, 12. "Hi sunt Britones Armorici, et nunquam reversi sunt ad proprium solum usque in hodiernum diem. Propter hoc Britannia occupata est ab extraneis gentibus, et cives ejus expulsi sunt, usque dum Dominus auxilium dederit illis." Nennius, Hist. Brit. 23; compare Gildas, Hist. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Claudian, Tert. Cons. Hon. 55, Prim. Cons. Stilichon. ii. 250, and Bell. Getic. 416. For an account of the Irish in their 'Curraghs,' "emergunt certatim de *curicis*," and of the Picts and Scots, "moribus ex parte dissidentes, sed unâ eâdemque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordēs," see Gildas, Hist. 19.

Spain compelled the feeble Court of Ravenna to confirm the usurper's title : but a period of anarchy followed which brought new dangers upon Britain and caused its final separation from the Roman power. Gerontius, at first the friend and afterwards the destroyer of Constantine, recalled the barbarian hosts which had retreated beyond the Rhine, and invited them to cross the Channel and to join in attacking the defenceless government of Britain.<sup>1</sup>

The "Cities of Britain," assuming in the stress of danger the powers of independent communities, succeeded in raising an army and repelling the German invasion. But, having earned their safety for themselves, they now refused to return to their old subjection, if any obedience could indeed be claimed by the defeated usurper or by an Emperor reigning in exile. The Roman officials were ejected and native forms of government established. "Honorius was content to cede what he was unable to defend, and to confirm measures which he was impotent to repeal."<sup>2</sup> The final separation of the province took place in A.D. 410, when the Emperor sent letters to the Cities bidding them provide in future for their own defence : "and so having given gifts to the army out of the treasures sent by Heraclian, and having gained to himself the goodwill of the soldiers there and in all parts of the world, Honorius dwelt at ease."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, vi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Herbert, *Britannia*, 27. The authorities for this period are Zosimus, vi. 4, 5, 6, 10, the *Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine*, written about A.D. 455, and a few passages of *Olympiodorus* preserved in the collection of Photius.

<sup>3</sup> Zosimus, vi. 10.

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE ENGLISH CONQUEST.

Troubles of the independent Britons—Fresh invasions of Picts and Scots—The Saxon Pirates—The Halleluia Victory—The appeal to Aetius—Beginnings of the English Conquest—Character of the authorities—Early Welsh poems—Nennius—Romances of Arthur—The history of Gildas—Its dramatic nature—Its imitation of the Vulgate—The story of Vortigern—His war with the mercenaries—The victory of Ambrosius—The *Mons Badonicus*—English accounts of the Conquest—The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—Influence of ancient ballads—Description of the invasion—The three kindreds—Their continental home—Relative positions of Saxons Angles and Jutes—Theories as to other invading tribes—The Frisians—Argument from local names—The Conquest of Kent—Welsh traditions—Horsa's Tomb—Legends of Hengist—The Conquest of Sussex—Destruction of Anderida—Fate of the Roman towns—Rise of the House of Cerdic—Conquest of Wessex—Victories of Cerdic and Cynric—The fate of Ceawlin—Genealogies of the Kings—The Conquest of Northumbria—Reign of Ida—Welsh traditions—Reign of Ælle—Of Edwin—Of Æthelfrith—General description of the conquest—Ancient poems—The sea-kings described by Sidonius—Their ships and crews—The lord and his companions—Gradual degradation of the peasantry—Life in free townships—Co-operative husbandry—Community of ownership—Village customs—Heathen survivals—Festivals—Sacrifices—Character of English paganism—The gradual conversion of the English kingdoms.

A FEW years proved the vanity of the success which the Britons had gained, and extinguished their hopes or dreams of freedom. No fire of patriotism replaced the discipline which had saved the Province from destruction. The Cities were unfit to endure the burden of government, and their territories were soon seized by the upstart kings or by pretenders affecting to continue an imperial authority. Famine and pestilence followed naturally on a civil war which had lapsed into a general brigandage ; a fresh horde of Picts swarmed in between the Walls, and new fleets from Ireland were ravaging the Cumbrian shore.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 12 ; Gildas, Hist. 20.

The worst danger lay in the raids of the German corsairs. The sea-kings sailed with a few ships from the "Saxon Islands" by the Elbe, to lie off a port or run into an unguarded estuary, ready to fall in with any larger enterprise, to land a pirate-crew and to earn a share of the plunder. Such were the deeds of which the fame remains in songs of Beowulf and the wandering Hengist, of the cruisers on the "flint-gray flood," and treasure gained by axe and sword "over the gannet's bath and over the whale's home."

One victory of the Christians is recorded in the Life of St. Germanus, who visited this country in the year 429 in company with St. Lupus of Troyes. The incidents of the mission were distorted into the romance of "Nennius," where the miracles of the Saint are interwoven with the treacheries of Hengist and the crimes or follies of King Vortigern; but allusions to the "Halleluia Victory" are found in the best contemporary literature, as in Pope Gregory's Commentaries, in the letters of Sidonius to St. Lupus, and in the biography of St. Germanus compiled by the learned priest of Lyons.<sup>1</sup>

The very celebrity of the event is a proof of the general ill-fortune of the Britons. The two bishops had been sent

<sup>1</sup> Prosper Aquit. Chron. anno 429; Constantius, Vita Germani. 28; Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 17; Usher, Primord. 333; Rees, Welsh Saints, 122; Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i. 17, 20. Pope Gregory alludes to the battle in his Commentary on Job: "Ecce! lingua Britanniae . . . cœpit Alleluia sonare": a passage which Bede by an anachronism refers to Augustine's mission, Hist. Eccl. iii. 1. Sidonius appears to refer to the same battle in a letter to St. Lupus: "Dux veterane et peritissime tubicen ad Christum a peccatis receptui canere." Sidon. Apoll. Epist. vi. 1. For the correspondence of Sidonius with Constantius of Lyons, see the same collection of letters, Epist. i. 1, and vii. 18.

to Verulam to confute the heretics who accused "their Maker or their making or their fate," and sought too great a licence of Free Will. During the spring of the year following, the missionaries resumed their enterprise and visited the Valley of the Dee. The country was infested by Picts and Saxons, and it was feared that they might storm the camp where the British forces were concentrated. The bishops of Gaul were chosen for their political capacities: Germanus was accustomed to war, and was easily persuaded to help his converts against the heathen. The Easter Sunday was spent in baptising an army of penitents; the orthodox soldiers were posted in an ambuscade, and the pagans fled panic-stricken at the triple "Halleluia" which suddenly echoed among the hills.

An annalist of doubtful authority has reported, under the year 441, that Britain "after many troubles and misfortunes was brought under the dominion of the Saxons":<sup>1</sup> but we can hardly date the commencement of the Conquest before the appeal to the Patrician Aetius or the second visit of Germanus. The bishop returned in A.D. 447, and his biography contains not a word of any such revolution or sudden triumph of paganism. The date of the letters of appeal is fixed by the form of their address: "The groans of the Britons to Aetius for the third time Consul. The savages drive us to the sea and the sea casts us back upon the savages: so arise two kinds of death, and we are either drowned or slaughtered." The Third Consulate of Aetius fell in A.D. 446, a year memorable in the West as the beginning of a profound calm

<sup>1</sup> Prosper Tiro makes this statement, under the head of the 10th year of Theodosius, in his continuation of the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine.

which preceded the onslaught of Attila. The complaint of Britain has left no trace in the poems which celebrated the year of repose; and our Chronicles are at any rate wrong when they attribute its rejection to the stress of a war with the Huns.<sup>1</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the appeal was never made, and that the story represents nothing but a rumour current in the days of Gildas among the British exiles in Armorica.

Of the Conquest itself no accurate narrative remains. The version usually received is based in part on the statements in the histories of Gildas and Nennius, and in part upon Chronicles, apparently based upon lost poems in which the exploits of the English chieftains were commemorated.

The Welsh poems throw little light on the matter. The bards were for the most part content to trace the dim outlines of disaster, and to indicate by an allusion the issue of a fatal battle or the end of some celebrated warrior. Their poems, in the form at any rate in which they have descended to our times, are too obscure to be useful for the purposes of history. Here and there one may recognise an episode of the ravages of "the Flame-bearer," or a picture of Ida, or "Ulf at the ford." We admire, without localising the incidents, the elegies on "the cold Hall of Kynddylan" or the graves which "the rain bedews and the thicket covers," or the red and dappled chargers of the brave Geraint. Aneurin's great epic itself is wanting in all precision of detail. It is the history of a long war of races, compressed under the similitude of a battle into

<sup>1</sup> Gildas, Hist. 20; Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 13. See the poem of Merobaudes on the Third Consulate of Aetius, Carm. v. 5, 8, and Sidon. Apoll. Carm. i. 192.

a few days of ruin, like the last fight in the *Völuspa*, "an axe-age, a sword-age, and shields shall be cloven, a storm-age, a wolf-age, ere the World sinks."

The British historians were hardly more explicit. The collection of Welsh and Anglian legends which passes under the name of 'Nennius' contains a few important facts about Northumbria, mixed up in confusion with genealogies, and miracles, and fragments of romance. Here, too, we get the list of the twelve battles of Arthur, with their Welsh names "which were many hundred years ago unknown": "but who Arthur was," to use Milton's words, "and whether any such reigned in Britain hath been doubted heretofore and may again with good reason: for the Monk of Malmesbury, and others whose credit hath swayed most with the learned sort, we may well perceive to have known no more of this Arthur nor of his doings than we now living, and what they had to say transcribed out of Nennius, a very trivial writer, . . . or out of a British book, the same which he of Monmouth set forth, utterly unknown to the world till more than six hundred years after the days of Arthur."<sup>1</sup> We shall therefore say but little of the doings of the Blameless King who "thrust the heathen from the Roman Wall, and shook him through the North." His existence is admitted, though the scene of his doubtful exploits is variously laid at Caerleon, in the Vale of Somerset, in the Lowlands of Scotland and in the Cumbrian Hills; it seems to be true that he engaged in a

<sup>1</sup> The whole account of Arthur in the Third Book of Milton's *History* should be compared with the traditions in "Nennius" and the modern interpretations collected by Mr. Skene in the "Four Ancient Books of Wales." "*Hic est Arthur de quo Britonum nugæ hodieque delirant; dignus plane quem non fallaces somniarent fabulæ, sed veraces prædicarent historiæ.*" Will. Malmesb. *Gesta*. i. 8.

war with the Angles in Northumbria; but his glory is mainly due to the Breton romances, which were amplified in Wales, and afterwards adopted at the Court of the Plantagenets as the foundation of the epic of chivalry.

Gildas is a more important witness. Writing in the middle of the sixth century he may be taken as representing the opinions of men who might themselves have taken part in the war. But he himself made no pretence to anything like historial accuracy. "If there were any records of my country," he said, "they were burned in the fires of the conquest or carried away on the ships of the exiles, so that I can only follow the dark and fragmentary tale that was told me beyond the sea." No lamentation was ever keener in note, or more obscure in its story, than the book in which he recounted "the victory and the crimes of Britain, the coming of a last enemy more dreadful than the first, the destruction of the Cities, and the fortunes of the remnant that escaped."<sup>1</sup>

The purport of his work becomes plainer as we perceive that it is intended for a dramatic description of an episode in the history of Cumbria. It is the story of "the Victory of Ambrosius," told in the language of the Prophet who told of "the burden of Egypt"; for another Egypt seemed to have been lost by the men who should have been "the stay of her tribes."

The drama begins in the year 450, when the Emperor Marcian reigned in the East and Valentinian the Third in

<sup>1</sup> Gildas, Hist. 4. The passages following in the text are taken from the five concluding chapters of his History. His account should be compared with Bede's version of the story, Hist. Eccl. i. 15, and with those contained in the Chronicle of Ethelwerd and the History of Henry of Huntingdon.

the West. "The time was approaching when the iniquity of Britain should be fulfilled." The rumour flew among the people that their old invaders were preparing a final assault: a pestilence brooded over the land and left more dead than the living could bury; and the complaint is swollen by invectives against the stubbornness of "Pharaoh" and the brutishness of the "Princes of Zoan." We are brought to the chamber of Vortigern and his nobles, debating what means of escape might be found. "Then the eyes of the proud king and of all his councillors were darkened, and this help or this death-blow they devised, to let into our island the foes of God and man, the fierce Saxons whose name is accursed, as it were a wolf into the sheep-cotes, to beat off the nations of the North."

The men came over from "Old Anglia" with three "keels," or ships of war, loaded with arms and stores. Their first success was followed by the engagement of a larger force of mercenaries; but a quarrel soon arose about their pay, which grew into a general mutiny. Their allowance, says Gildas, was found for a long time, and so "the dog's mouth was stopped," as he cites the native proverb: "but afterwards they picked a quarrel, and threatened to plunder the island unless a greater liberality were shown." The historian denounces them in a mystical and fervid strain: they are "young lions" wasting the land, and whelps from the lair of the "German Lioness": and their settlement in Northumbria is described, in the words of the Prophet, as the wild-vine that "brought forth branches and shot forth sprigs," the root of bitterness and the plant of iniquity.

The enemy is next likened to a consuming fire as he

burst from his new home in the East and ravaged the island as far as the Western Sea: and the Chronicler describes with a horrible minuteness the sack of some Cumbrian city and the destruction of the faithful found therein. "And some of the miserable remnant were caught in the hills and slaughtered, and others were worn out with hunger and yielded to a lifelong slavery. Some passed across the sea, with lamentations instead of the sailor's song, chanting as the wind filled their sails, 'Lord! Thou hast given us like sheep appointed for meat, and hast scattered us among the heathen': but others trusted their lives to the clefts of the mountains, to the forests and the rocks of the sea, and so abode in their country though sore afraid."<sup>1</sup>

But after some time, when the Angles had returned to their settlements, "a remnant of the Britons was strengthened under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelius, the courteous and faithful, the brave and true, the last of the Romans left alive in the shock of the storm." His kindred, some of whom had worn the purple of office, had all perished in the fray; "and now," says Gildas, "his offspring at this day, degenerate as they are from those ancestral virtues, still gather strength and provoke their conquerors to arms, and now by the favour of heaven have gained a victory in answer to their prayers." "So,

<sup>1</sup> The principal migrations to Brittany took place in the years 500 and 513. In the first of these years St. Samson of Dol is said to have been driven from his bishopric in York. Many curious documents relating to the Britons of the migration will be found in the Breton Chartularies of the Abbeys of Redon and Landevennec in the National Library in Paris. Extracts will be found in the Appendices to the Histories of Brittany by Halléguen and De Coursions.

after the coming of Ambrosius," he continues, "sometimes our citizens and sometimes the enemy prevailed until the year of the Siege of Mount Badon, the last and not the least of our blows against those brigands; and this is now the beginning of the 44th year, and one month already gone, since the year of the Siege, in which too I myself was born; yet not even at this day are our cities inhabited again, but they lie deserted and overthrown; for though foreign wars have ceased, our civil wars go on. The remembrance of that utter destruction, and that salvation beyond all hope, remained in the minds of those who had seen these marvellous things; and so the kings and the churchmen and men of every station were each obedient to the rules that befitted their degree. But when they were all dead, and a generation came which knew not the tempest, but only the fair weather that now prevails, all laws of Truth and Justice were so shattered and up-torn, that not a trace or even a remembrance remains of them in all those ranks of men, excepting a few, a very few compared with that great multitude which day by day is rushing headlong into Hell."

The battle of Mount Badon appears to have secured a long respite for the Cumbrian Britons. We learn from the "Welsh Annals" that it was fought in the year 516, or four years later by some accounts: here, we are told, "fell Colgrim and Radulf the leaders of the Angles": and some of the poems name "Ossa with the knife" as another of the opponents of King Arthur. The battle stands twelfth and last in the series of Arthur's victories, and the fables in "Nennius" shows how early it formed the subject of romance: the Son of Uther fights at the head of all the British kings, "though many were nobler than he," and

storms the Mount in person : "and in that day fell nine hundred and sixty men by one charge of Arthur, and no man laid them low save he alone, and he was the victor in all the wars."<sup>1</sup>

In repeating the story from the English side we shall follow as far as possible the actual words of the Chronicles, seeking only to distinguish the fragments of ballads and romances on which the history was based from the additions by which those time-worn records were woven into an easy narrative. We know how the history of the Frankish kings was compiled from "barbarous and most ancient songs," and that the Germans of an earlier age had nothing but such verses to help them in remembering the past. It was a minstrel's task to blend the exploits of the warriors with the legends of the gods, as the harper mingled Beowulf's praises with the dragon-fight of Sigmund the Wanderer, or as Thiodolf sang the "Yngling-tale" for the kings who reigned in Upsala and traced their propitious descent from the beings who brought wealth and sunshine. "Thus with their lays," said Widsith, "over many lands the glee-men rove, and ever in the South or the North find they one, learned in song and

<sup>1</sup> Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 56. The account given by Henry of Huntingdon appears to have been taken from some version of Nennius which has now been lost; the words for "shield" and "shoulder," which are similar in Welsh, have been confused in his account of one of the earlier battles where Arthur was said to have borne the image of the Virgin. *Hist. Angl.* ii. 18. The "*Mons Badonicus*" was at one time taken for the hill above Bath, owing to an error of an early scribe: Dr. Guest, in his *Essay on the Early English Settlements*, favoured the theory that the battle was fought at Badbury Rings in Dorsetshire, *Archæologia* (Salisbury, 1849) 62, 63. Mr. Skene, with more probability, selects as its site the Bouden Hill not far from Linlithgow. *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 57, 58.

free in his gifts, longing before the nobles his greatness to raise and his lordship to show.”<sup>1</sup>

We are shown how the Britons bethought themselves of the pirates who held the coasts between the Rhine and the Danish Islands, how they sent for assistance to the Lords of the Angles, “and saw not that they were preparing for themselves a perpetual slavery,” and how a great multitude came from Germany and drove the Britons from their lands with a mighty slaughter, and ever remained masters of the field, “so that Britain became England because it took the name of its conquerors.”<sup>2</sup> The entries in the Chronicle confirm the truth of the complaints of Gildas. “Now came the English to this land, called by Vortigern to help in overcoming his foes: they sailed here with three warships: their leaders were Hengist and Horsa: and first they slew or drove away the foe, and then they turned against the king and against the Britons, and destroyed them with fire and the edge of the sword.” The first engagement was at Stamford, if we may trust the old tradition: “The Picts fought with darts and spears, and the Saxons with broad-swords and axes, but the Picts could not bear the burden, and sought for safety in flight, and the Saxons took the victory and the triumph and spoil of the battle.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Traveller’s Song,” 269, 281. See Tac. Germ. 2; Beowulf, 871, 875. Eginhard in the 9th century describes the old Frankish songs, “barbara et antiquissima carmina, quibus veterum regum actus et bella canebantur.” Vita Karoli, c. 29. Compare the poems in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the use of songs and “tags of Saxon verse” by Henry of Huntingdon, and William of Malmesbury’s ballads worn down by time, “cantilenis per successionem temporum detritis,” Gesta, ii. 138.

<sup>2</sup> Ethelwerd, Chron. i. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Henr. Hunt. ii. 1. Bede uses the expression “sumpsere victoriam,”

The invaders belonged to three closely-connected nations of the Low-Dutch stock. Their territories, it is clear, are now included in the modern Schleswig-Holstein and a district in Southern Jutland; but it is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise places which they occupied about the time of their migration.

The Saxons, who founded the kingdoms to which their name was given, besides several states in the western parts of Mercia, seem to have come from the marsh-lands beyond the Elbe. They were the peoples whom Ptolemy placed on the neck of the adjoining peninsula and in "three Saxon islands," which have been identified with Harde, Eiderstedt, and Nordstrand as it may have been before the great inundation of 1634. The Ravenna Geographer was quite accurate in saying that their country "touched upon Denmark."<sup>1</sup> But it must also be remembered that the Saxons were always pushing westwards along the coast into the territories of the Chauci and the Frisians, occupying the various districts which were successively abandoned by the Franks, so that the "Old Saxony," which Bede described as the home of his forefathers, extended across the Low Countries to the immediate neighbourhood of the Rhine.

The Jutes came from the peninsula which bears their name, where they held the country as far south as the Sley, a river that runs into the sea not far from Schleswig. In England they afterwards occupied the regions which were united in the Kingdom of Kent, a separate kingdom

a paraphrase of the vernacular idiom showing that he copied from some Anglian original. Hist. Eccl. i. 15; Guest, Early Engl. Sett. 47.

<sup>1</sup> Ravennas, iv. 17; Bede, Hist. Eccl. v. 11; Lappenberg, Hist. Engl. i. c. 5.

established in the Isle of Wight, and a tract called the "country of the Meon-waras," now the Hundreds of East and West Meon in Hampshire, on each side of the Hamble River to the east of the Southampton Water.<sup>1</sup>

"Old Anglia" is usually identified with a small district "about as large as Middlesex," bounded on one side by the road from Schleswig to Flensburg and on other sides by the river and an arm of the sea. This is the "Nook" or "*Angulus*," which in Bede's time lay waste as a march-land between the Jutes and the Saxons, but was occupied soon afterwards by the Danes from the neighbouring islands. That this region was once held by the Angles is certain from many ancient testimonies. "Old Anglia," said the Chronicler Ethelwerd, "is situated between the Saxons and Jutes, and has in it a capital town, which in Saxon is called Sleswic, and in Danish Haithaby." Another description is found in the extracts from "Othere's Voyage" which King Alfred inserted into his edition of Orosius. The merchant Othere, who dwelt "northmost of all the Northmen," told the King that he had been on a voyage southward from "Skiringshael," which is now called the Bay of Christiania. For three days they sailed with Denmark on the right hand and an open sea to starboard: then for two days afterwards they had Zealand and other islands to the starboard, and before they reached Haithaby there were numbers of islands on both sides; "and in that country," added King Alfred, "the English dwelt before they came to England."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 15, iv. 13, 16. Florence of Worcester in the appendix to his Chronicle describes the New Forest as lying "in the Province of the Jutes."

<sup>2</sup> See Alfred's Orosius, c. 20, and the "Voyage of Othere out of his

We are not obliged to suppose that the Angles were confined to the small district round Schleswig. There is an Island of Anglen and another district on the mainland of the same name now inhabited by a Frisian population. There are other indications showing that the Angles were at one time settled on the Elbe, about the northern parts of Hanover. Both Tacitus and Ptolemy placed them in this neighbourhood, "fenced in by the river and the forest," and always in proximity to the "Sueves," a nation of the High-German stock with whom the Angles were often associated. But Tacitus gives them also a share in the ownership of the Holy Island situate in the Outer Ocean, where the "Mother Earth" was worshipped in a sacred forest. Her ritual is only appropriate to one of the larger islands. She was borne in her shrine on a waggon drawn by a yoke of kine. "The days," said Tacitus, "are merry and the places gay where the goddess comes as a guest: no man will go to war or seize a weapon, and every sword is locked away: then, and then only, are peace and quiet enjoyed, until the priest restores to her temple the goddess weary of her converse with mankind: then the car and its draperies, and the goddess herself, if one cared to believe it, are purified in a lonely lake, and the slaves who do the work are straightway drowned in its waters."<sup>1</sup>

The "Traveller's Song," though of no historical authority, may be regarded as a collection of ancient traditions: it contains a legend of Offa, the mythical ancestor of the Countrey of Halgoland," in Hakluyt's Collection. The description in Ethelwerd's Chronicle dates from about the end of the 10th century.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Germ. 40. His "Anglii" are described as belonging to the Semnones, the chief of the Suevic nations. They are called "Suevi Angli" by Ptolemy.

Mercian kings, which implies a belief that the Angles had gained a western outlet for their fleets before they undertook their migration. The glee-man is enumerating the tribes about the mouth of the Eider, which he calls "the monsters' gate," from some forgotten story of the sea. "Offa in boyhood won the greatest of kingdoms, and none of such age ever gained in battle a greater dominion with his single sword: his marches he widened towards the Myrgings by Fifel-dor: and there in the land as Offa had won it thenceforth continued the Angles and Sueves."<sup>1</sup>

An old historian has told us that "many and frequent were the expeditions from Germany, and many were the lords who strove against each other in the regions of East Anglia and Mercia: and thereby arose unnumbered wars, but the names of the chieftains remain unknown by reason of their very multitude."<sup>2</sup> It has been thought that some of these invading bands may have belonged to races unconnected with the three great kindreds to whom the conquest is generally assigned. A share in the enterprise is claimed for every nation between the Rhine and the Vistula, for the Franks and Lombards, the Frisians and Danes, the Wends from Rugen, and the Heruli of the Eastern forests. "*Tot tantique petunt simul gigantes.*" To this cause it has even been proposed to ascribe the weakness of the later Angles "when, fleeing before the invading Northmen, the sons yielded the dominion of the land which their valiant forefathers had conquered."<sup>3</sup> There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that isolated

<sup>1</sup> Traveller's Song, 84, 98. "Fifel-dor" means the gate of monsters. The word "Eider" itself is said to be contracted from "Egi-dor," the gate of dread.

<sup>2</sup> Henr. Hunt. Hist. ii. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Lappenberg, Hist. Engl. i. c. 6.

bands of adventurers from many countries may have occupied portions of our coast, and may even have founded communities independent for a time of the Anglian or Saxon states in their neighbourhood. There is reason, for example, to believe that there were villages of the Frisians in Holderness and settlements of the same people in the southern parts of Scotland; and one would have expected to find traces of far more extensive colonies, considering the closeness of the kinship between Saxon and Frisian, their similar language, and their almost identical laws and customs.<sup>1</sup> But there is in fact no evidence to which weight can be attached that any considerable numbers of Frisians were ever established in this country, and it will be found that the claims of this kind which the Frisian writers have put forward are founded either on vague allusions by English missionaries to their kinship with the Continental Germans,<sup>2</sup> or on a passage in the already cited description of the "Island of Brittia" by Procopius.<sup>3</sup>

The recurrence of patronymic names in many parts of England, and in most of the northern countries, has been often regarded as a proof that our villages were colonies or offshoots of a multitude of tribes. Such a name as "Swaffham," for instance, is taken to imply the presence of Sueves, as "Thorrington" of the Thuringians, and

<sup>1</sup> See Skene's "Early Frisian Settlements," *Proc. Soc. Antiqu.* iv. 169; Lappenbergh, *Hist. Engl.* i. c. 6. A comparison of the "Asega-buch" with the Kentish Laws of Ethelbert and his successors will show that the customs of the two nations in the 7th century must have been nearly identical.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 9. Compare the Life of Suibert, cited by Lappenbergh: "Egbertus sitiens salutem Frisonum et Saxonum eo quod Angli ab eis propagati sunt."

<sup>3</sup> Procopius. *Bell. Get.* iv. ci 20. *Antè*, 81, 82.

"Wendling" of the Wends. But the wideness and ease of the theory are warnings of the danger of accepting it. It has, in fact, been used to prove the real existence in England of all the personages who figure in the German mythology or are paraded in the "Traveller's Song." The gods of the North are degraded into petty chieftains, the conquerors of a manor or a farm; Beowulf is found at Bowlby, and the all-ruling "Geát" at Gatton: the Wise Weland works in a real smithy, and Hilda, the cold war-goddess, lies buried at Hilda's-Lowe. It is simpler to suppose that these local names are derived from those of families named after a living founder, as the "Æscings" from Eric the Ash, or after some god or hero from the common mythological stock. The names of the tribal form seem to denote the settlements of the nobles. We need not suppose that all who traced their descent to the same divine being were kinsmen of the same blood, or offshoots from the same community: nor are we bound to assign a common origin to all the kings who called themselves Children of Woden, or of those more shadowy beings from whom Woden, as they thought, was descended.

We can trace the influence of such myths in the story of the Conquest of Kent, to which we shall now proceed. The pedigrees of Hengist and Eric must have been preserved in such ballads as are mentioned in Beowulf's Lay, when "the harp was touched and the tale was told of Hengist the Child of the Jutes," how he pined in Friesland through the winter, till King Finn gave to him "Hunláfing, a war-flame and best of axes," and how the king and his castle were destroyed by fire and the edge of the sword.<sup>1</sup> The glee-man sang the victories of Hengist

<sup>1</sup> Beowulf, 1083, 1096, 1127.

and his son, and of their forefathers back to "Witta who ruled the Sueves," and Woden the bestower of valour and wisdom, and beyond him to Freyr the Summer-god and Finn to whom the Frisians prayed, to Geát the father of the Goths and "Scyld" who defended the Danes, to the swift Hermoder, and "Scef" the first of the mystical line, whose lonely voyage was in Christian times confused with the story of the Deluge. "This Scef," says the Chronicle, "came in his bark to Scania, a little lad clad all in mail, unknown to the people of that land: and they guarded him as their own, and afterwards chose him for king: and it was from him that our Ethelwulf traced his pedigree."<sup>1</sup>

We shall now return to the entries in the Chronicles, beginning with the year 449, in which the Conquest of Kent, according to their reckoning, commenced. The leaders, having landed at "Ypwine's-Fleet," at first gave aid to the British king: "but after six years they fought with him at a place called 'Ægil's-Threp,' and there Horsa was slain, and Hengist and his son 'Ash' took the kingdom; and after two years they fought against the Britons at a place called 'Crecgan-Ford' and there slew four thousand men; and the Britons then forsook Kent-land and in mighty

<sup>1</sup> For the complete pedigrees, in which the name of Woden appears half-way down, see the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the years 547, 560, 855, the genealogies inserted in "Nennius," the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, and Asser's Life of King Alfred: and see the subject discussed in Kemble's Saxons in England, i. c. 7. The names of "Frithuwulf, Freálaf, and Frithuwald" are taken to be synonymes of Freá, the Scandinavian Freyr, the giver of peace and fertility. Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 193. "Beowa" or "Beowulf" was a deity with similar attributes. "Heremôd" answers to "the swift Hermoder" of the Norse mythology. "Geát" seems to be the same as "Gapt" who is placed by Jornandes at the head of the Gothic genealogies.

terror fled to London-Burgh.”<sup>1</sup> The last battle is described by Henry of Huntingdon in language which seems to have been taken from some heroic poem of which the original no longer exists. “When the Britons went into the war-play they could not bear up against the unwonted numbers of the Saxons, for more of them had lately come over, and these were chosen men, and they horribly gashed the bodies of the Britons with axes and broadswords.”<sup>2</sup> “And about eight years afterwards Hengist and ‘Ash’ fought against the Welsh near Wipped’s-Fleet: and there they slew twelve princes: and one of their own thanes was slain, whose name was Wipped. And after eight years were fulfilled, Hengist and ‘Ash’ fought again with the Welsh and took unnumbered spoil: and the Welsh fled from the English as from fire. And after fifteen years ‘Ash’ came to the kingdom, and for twenty-four years he was king of the Kentish men.”<sup>3</sup>

The outlines of a British account of the war were preserved in the story of Prince Vortimer. “In those days,” so the legend of Nennius runs,<sup>4</sup> “Vortimer fought fiercely

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Chron. *ann.* 449, 455, 457; Ethelwerd, Chron. i. 1. The expression used in the Chronicles “feng to rice” implies that the chieftains “took to being kings” or “took to the king-ship.” The entry appears to refer to the foundation of the two Kingdoms of East and West Kent, of which the limits corresponded with the sees of Canterbury and Rochester. Eric the Ash was the head of the family of “Ashings”: “Oeric cognomento Oisc a quo reges Cantuariorum solent Oiscingas cognominare.” Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 5. The surname is said to have meant “the warrior” or “the spear”: but in the Frisian legends it appears as “Hoeisch,” meaning “soft” or “mild.” “Orich cognomento *Hoeisch* quod Frisonico idiomate proprie sonat mitis et lenis.” Kemp. Orig. Fris. ii. 22; Hamcon. Frisia, 33.

<sup>2</sup> Henr. Hunt. ii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Chron. *ann.* 465, 473.

<sup>4</sup> Nennius, Hist. Brit. 43, 44.

with Hengist and Horsa and drove them out as far as Thanet: and there three times he shut them in, and terrified and smote and slew. But they sent messengers to Germany to call for ships and soldiers, and afterwards they fought with our kings, and sometimes they prevailed and enlarged their bounds, and sometimes they were beaten and driven away. And Vortimer four times waged on them fierce wars: the first as was told above, and the second at the stream of Derwent, and the third at a ferry which the Saxons call Epis-Ford, where Horsa and Catigern fell. The fourth war he waged in the plain by the Written Stone, on the shore of the Gaulish Sea, and there he gained a victory, and the barbarians were beaten, and they turned and fled, and went like women into their ships."

The commentators have sought in vain to harmonise these conflicting legends. Ebbsfleet in Thanet is usually identified with the landing-place, and the sites of the two principle battles are placed at Aylesford and Crayford on the Medway. But the matter abounds in difficulties, and it is probable that too much stress has been laid on a slight resemblance of names, and on the statement of Bede's informant, that a monument marked with Horsa's name was in that day standing "in the eastern parts of Kent."<sup>1</sup>

We may suppose that Horsa's name was inscribed on some pillar, or "standing-stone," in those Runic signs which had long since been imitated or borrowed from the

<sup>1</sup> "Duces fuisse perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres Hengist et Horsa; e quibus Horsa, postea occisus in bello a Brittonibus, hactenus in orientalibus Cantiae partibus monumentum habet suo nomine insigne." Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 15.

Roman alphabet.<sup>1</sup> But if there were such a memorial, its locality seems to have been unknown as early as the time of King Alfred, the passage in which it was described by Bede having been omitted from the English version of his history. Its site was fixed at Horsted near Aylesford, after many conjectures by the antiquaries, chiefly it would seem because the great cromlech in that neighbourhood had already been assigned to Prince Catigern. The ruins of another Stone-Age *tumulus* were found at a little distance to the southward, consisting of "stones partly upright with a large one lying across them": and it was supposed that the chieftain might have been carried up from the battle-field two miles away to lie near his enemy's tomb. When certain antiquaries visited the place in 1763, the villagers showed them a heap of flints in the wood, which had all the appearance of being refuse stones thrown up by a farmer, and this has since that time been accepted as the site of the ancient monument. One point being fixed, it became easy to identify the rest: and hence the apparent certainty with which localities have been settled for almost all the events in the legend of Hengist and Horsa.<sup>2</sup>

It is still, however, a subject of debate if these champions existed at all, and we are permitted to doubt whether "Dan Hengist" landed in Lindsey and fought to the

<sup>1</sup> "Runic monuments may be said to have been found in all countries inhabited by nations of Teutonic descent, but the oldest of those monuments cannot be regarded as dating before 200 A.D." The Runes themselves are mostly the capitals of the Roman alphabet, "borrowed from the Romans during the Empire not long after the date of Julius Cæsar." Rhys, *Welsh Philology*, 321.

<sup>2</sup> Camden, *Brit.* 251; Lambarde, *Perambul. Kent*, 409; Philipot, *Vill. Cantian.* 48; Hasted, *Hist. Kent*, ii. 177: *Archæologia*, ii. 107.

death with Ambrosius, or if Duke Horsa fell at Aylesford beneath a giant's blow, "λελασμένος ἵπποσυνάων." We are told that the evidence for their actual existence is "at least as strong as the suspicion of their mythical character."<sup>1</sup> But it is urged on the other hand that the names of "Horse and Mare" are on the face of them symbolical, and should be taken as referring to some banner of the host, some crest or emblem of the tribe, or perhaps to some reverence for the sacred white horses which the Germans supposed to be "aware of the designs of heaven."<sup>2</sup> Kemble thought that we must connect the chieftains, with pagan deities, seeing beneath the myth "Woden in the form of a horse," or some such god-like or "half-godlike" form.<sup>3</sup> There seems however to be no reason why a popular captain should not be called "the Horse," since we read of others who were nicknamed after the Crow, the Wolf, and the Boar:<sup>4</sup> nor is it easy to see how the cult of the pure white horses, or a belief in the omens obtained from their movements, could ever be transmuted into the story of Hengist the Jute. But there is a stronger objection to the Chronicler's statements in the fact that Hengist is the hero of such numerous and such divergent traditions. The crafty and valiant prince, an Odysseus of the Northern Seas, has left a legend on every coast between Jutland and the Cornish Promontory.<sup>5</sup> All the old stories are fastened on his

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *Norm. Conquest*, i. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 10.

<sup>3</sup> Kemble, "Saxons in England," i. 19.

<sup>4</sup> The sons of the mythical Wonred were named "Wolf" and "Boar." Beow. 2964, 2965. Other examples may be found in Mr. Kemble's *Essay on the "Anglo-Saxon Nicknames," Archaeologia* (Winchester, 1845).

<sup>5</sup> Numerous examples will be found in the *Codex Diplomaticus*. Com-

name, of one who bought as much land as an ox-hide would cover and thereby gained a kingdom, of three hundred chieftains in Kent or Thuringia slain with knives concealed at a banquet, and of a princess, as in the legend of Nennius, exchanged for three provinces by the king and his fur-clad councillors. Hengist seems to be ubiquitous, and fills all kinds of characters. In one story he serves as a legionary in the army of Valentinian the Third: in another he comes as "the wickedest of pagans" to ravage the coasts of Gaul. In the fragmentary poem which is known as "the Fight of Finnesburg" Hengist leads a band of Jutish pirates to burn the palace of the Frisian king: "the hall blazes in the moon-light, the spear clangs, and shield answers to shaft"; but in the legends of the Frieslanders themselves he is claimed as the father of their kings, and as the builder of their strongholds on the Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

The Chroniclers next record the beginning of the con-

pare the names of Hengistbury Head, Hengstdown in Cornwall, Hinxworth, and Henstridge ("Hengestes-ricg") on the Stour. Kemble. Cod. Diplom. 374, 455, 1002; "Hengest-helle," Hasted, Hist. Kent, iii. 171. Compare also Edwy's donation of twenty "boor-lands" to the monastery of Abingdon: "aliquam terræ portionem, id est secundum estimationem 20 cassatorum tribus in locis, illic ubi vulgariter prolaturum est *æt Hengestes ige*," &c. These "cassates" or "householders" lands" are called "bûr-land" in the schedule of boundaries. Cod. Diplom. 1216; Leo. Rect. Sing. Person. 6.

<sup>1</sup> Beowulf, 227, 1083, 1096, 1127. For the "Fight at Finnesburg," see the editions of Beowulf by Thorpe, p. 227, by Kemble, i. 239, and by Arnold, p. 204, and Grein. Biblioth. i. 341. John of Wallingford calls Hengist "omnium paganorum sceleratissimus," and mentions his attacks on the Gaulish coast. The Ravenna Geographer calls him "Anschis," Ravenn. v. 31: but this was a Frankish name; Duke Anschis was brother of St. Clou and father of Pepin the Short. Will. Malmesb. Gesta, i. 68. The Frisian legends treat Hengist as the founder of Leyden and the builder of a

quest of Sussex, a kingdom at first renowned for the daring exploits of its founders, though its later history is so obscure that nothing is heard about it between the capture of the Roman towns and the conversion of the South-Saxons in the year 681. The little country "shut in among the rocks and forests" was unable in the age of Bede to find support for more than seven thousand households, and the historian drew a lamentable picture of the poverty and rudeness of the people. When St. Wilfrid first preached at Selsey they did not even know how to catch sea-fish, though they had nets for eels, and were so wild and untaught as to have retained the custom of making "the journey to Woden": for we are told that, when pressed by famine, forty or fifty men together would join hands and leap over the cliffs into the sea.<sup>1</sup>

The charters relating to the See of Chichester show that Sussex was divided into several petty kingdoms, before it sank into the position of a duchy under the Mercian kings.<sup>2</sup> The Chroniclers however confine them-

temple of "Warns" or Woden at Doccum. Hamcon. Frisia, 33; Suffrid. Antiqu. Fris. ii. 11; Kemp. Hist. Fris. ii. 21, 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Ante* p. 88; Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 13. The peninsula of Selsey was the first point occupied by the South-Saxons. A. S. Chron. anno 477; Kemble, Cod. Diplom. 992. The peninsula, when given to Wilfrid, was considered to contain enough land for eighty-seven families. The grant included the inhabitants as well as their lands, and the bishop's first act was to baptize and enfranchise the two hundred and fifty serfs. He found five or six Irish monks established between the forest and the sea at Bosham; this monastery and the newer foundation at Selsey were afterwards united in the Bishopric of Chichester. Lappenberg quotes the life of St. Wilfrid by Ædde for a description of the condition of the country: "provincia gentilis quæ præ rupium multitudine et silvarum densitate aliis provinciis inexpugnabilis exstitit." Hist. Engl. i. c. 7.

<sup>2</sup> The following grants are printed by Kemble. Nothelm, King of the

selves to the wars of the first invasion. "In the year 477 came Ælle with his three sons to Cymen's-Ore, and there they slew many Welsh, and some they drove into the forest called Andred's-Lea: and when eight years had passed they fought again at a place called Markrede's-Burn." After six years more they encamped against Anderida, a fortress which had been erected for the defence of the "Saxon Shore," and destroyed it so utterly that "not one single Briton there was left alive."<sup>1</sup>

The sack of Anderida is a sign of the blind ferocity which distinguished the first invasions. The ruins near Pevensey have for centuries represented all that remained of the "noble city."<sup>2</sup> Many of the towns and castles

South-Saxons, with the assent of Wattus, an under-king or "sub-regulus," gives 38 "householders' lands" to the Princess Nothgith in A.D. 692. Cod. Diplom. 995. King Nunna grants to the monks of Selsey the lands of four holdings in one place and of four households in another, "in Herotonum 4 manentes et Braclæsham-stede 4 cassatos," *ibid.* 999. Nunna, with the assent of Wattus, gives 20 hides or "tributaries' lands" to the Bishop, *ibid.* 1000. The kings Nunna and Osmund grant "aliquantulam terram, id est quatuor tributarios" to Berhfrid, who had given himself and all his possessions to the Bishop; and his release is added, *ibid.* 1001. Osmund gives twelve hides of arable with certain woodlands and appurtenances: "id est 12 tributarios terræ quæ appellatur Ferring cum totis ad eam pertinentibus campis silvis pratis fluminibus fontanis et silvaticâ Coponorâ et Titlesham." *ibid.* 1008. The same King with his several "Dukes" gives 15 hides to St. Peter's Church, "aliquantulam terram in loco qui dicitur Hanefeld 15 manentium," *ibid.* 1009: and eighteen hides, "decem et octo manentes" in another place, *ibid.* 1010. In the year 780 a grant to the Church is made by "Oslac Duke of the South-Saxons," and is confirmed by Offa King of Mercia.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Chron. ann. 477, 485, 491. The three sons of Ælle were called Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa. The name of the last is preserved in that of "Cissanceastir," or Chichester, formerly the City of the Regni.

<sup>2</sup> "Ita urbem destruxerunt quod nunquam postea reædificata est; locus

were doubtless burned and uprooted by the rough tribes who made their homes in the forest, for the new comers hated the life of cities and dwelt like their forefathers in hamlets scattered along the banks of a stream or in the glades of a favourite wood.<sup>1</sup> Some of the towns, which were spared at first, fell afterwards in the civil wars, and many more were left in contemptuous neglect to crumble in the wind and the rain. But the English kings, as time went on, learned to hold their courts in the fortresses, to choose an ancient city for a metropolis, to grant a Roman town to a favourite retainer, or to set up their own farmsteads on the ruins of the desolated palaces.<sup>2</sup>

The people, as they became more civilised, began to regard these remnants of the past with feelings of wonder

*tantum quasi nobilissimæ urbis transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus.*" *Henr. Hunt.* ii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Germ.* c. 16; *Ammian. Marcell.* xvi. 2, 12.

<sup>2</sup> See Bede's notices of the metropolitan cities of *Canterbury*, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 25, 26, 33: of *London*, *ibid.* i. 29, ii. 3: of *York*, *ibid.* i. 29, ii. 14, 20: of *Winchester*, *ibid.* iii. 7, v. 18: of royal "*villæ*" established in Roman towns, at "*Derventio*," *ibid.* ii. 9: at "*Cataracta*" or *Catterick*, *ibid.* ii. 14, iii. 14: at "*Campodunum*," *ibid.* ii. 14: at the station "*Ad Murum*," *ibid.* iii. 22: and see his account of *Dunwich* and *Lincoln*, *ibid.* ii. 15, 16: of *Othona* or "*Ythan-cæstir*," *ibid.* iii. 22: and of "*Calcaria*," *ibid.* iv. 23. Among the towns given to soldiers were "*Cnobhere's-burg*," the Roman station at *Burgh Castle*, in which a monastery was afterwards established, *ibid.* iii. 19. The Roman station at *Reculver* was also given to a monastery, *ibid.* v. 8. See the list of towns in *Kemble's "Saxons in England,"* ii. 550. Compare Bede's account of the foundation of the See of *Rochester*: "*Justum . . . ordinavit in civitate Dorubrevi quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofæscæstre cognominat.*" *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 3. The derivation is omitted in the English version, and other forms of the word indicate that "*Hrof*" was an imaginary person. See *Ethelbert's charter* of April 28th, A.D. 604, in which he grants lands, "*in Hrofi-brevi*" near the "*Southgate-street*" and the "*Broadgate*." *Kemble, Cod. Diplom.* i.

and regret. Their poets lamented the destruction of "the joyous halls," of the ruined towers and bare walls coated with frost. "The old time has fled and is lost under night's dark veil." The elegy called "The Ruin" tells how such a castle fell, as the towers of Anderida had fallen, and how the earth was shaken as the furnaces of the baths exploded in flame and steam. "Wondrous the wall-stone that Weird hath broken . . . the roof-tree riven, the gray gates despoiled. Often that wall withstood Ræghar and Readfáh, chieftain after chieftain rising in storm. Bright was the burgh-place, and many the princely halls, and high was the roof of gold . . . And the court is dreary, and the crowned roof lies, low in the shadow of the purple arch. Princes of old time, joyous and gold-bright and splendidly-decked, proud and with wine elate, in war-gear shone. They looked on their treasures, on silver and gems and on stones of price, and on this bright burgh of their broad realm. The stone court stands, the hot stream hath whelmed it, there where the bath was hot on the breast."<sup>1</sup>

We now pass to the rise of the House of Cerdic and the foundation of the little states of the "Gevissi" which in course of time were united in the West-Saxon kingdom. The country appears to have been occupied by independent bands of settlers, who governed themselves at first according to the democratic forms to which they had been accustomed at home. The Continental Saxons in the time

<sup>1</sup> The extracts are translated from the poems in the Exeter Book ascribed to "Cynewulf." Thorpe, *Cod. Exon.* 292, 476, 478. The characteristic alliteration has been preserved as far as was practicable. For the personification of "Weird" or *Destiny*, see Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 400: "it shall befall us as Weird decideth, the lord of every man." The Fates are the "weird sisters." Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 377.

of Bede were still governed by a great number of chieftains, each managing the affairs of a province or district, and having authority over the reeves or head-men of the villages: when a war broke out one of the number was chosen by lot to lead the national forces, but on the return of peace they all became equal again.<sup>1</sup> The system resembled in many respects the institutions described by Tacitus: for even in the states which were ruled by kings the chieftains arranged the smaller matters of government, and had the task of carrying out what the people decided in their national assemblies, and we are told that some of the chieftains were elected at the same assemblies to administer justice in the country-districts and villages, each having with him a hundred assessors or "companions" to give advice and to add authority to his decisions.<sup>2</sup> The English of the southern settlements soon adopted a fashion, which the Franks had introduced as soon as they had occupied the country round Tongres and Cambray, and chose kings from their noblest families to rule their states and shires.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 10. The "Old Saxons" here described were established in the neighbourhood of the Rhine. Their customs were not in all respects similar to those of their English kindred. Will. Malmesb. *Gesta.* i. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 11, 13. The district, or "pagus," administered by the chieftain may be regarded as the original "shire," which as the kingdoms increased in size became the subdivision of a larger shire, and in course of time acquired the Frankish name of "Centena" or Hundred. The old county-court on this view represented the national assembly of an extinct kingdom, and the hundred-court the assembly of one of its original districts.

<sup>3</sup> "Tradunt . . . (Francos) primum quidem littora Rheni amnis incoluisse: dehinc, transacto Rheno, Thoringiam transmeâsse ibique juxta pagos vel civitates reges crinitos super se creavisse de primâ et ut dicitur nobiliori suorum familiâ." Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* ii. 9. The

A later age attributed the whole credit of the West-Saxon conquests to the great princes in whose family the supremacy was finally established; and we may assume in fact that the kings of the smaller districts would be subordinate to the military head of the nation in all that concerned the repulse of an invasion or the levying of external war. The Chroniclers show us the coming of two chieftains from the Elbe, Cerdic and his son Cynric, claiming to be of the line of Balder the Fair, the brightest of the offspring of Woden.<sup>1</sup> We are told in one account that they fought on the day of their landing against a large force which had been assembled in expectation of their coming, the Saxons standing firm in front of the ships on the beach, and the Britons exhausting themselves in vain

English nobles and free-men were all "long-haired," and the kings were distinguished by a circlet of gold worn round the head. Kemble, Saxons in England, i. 155. Three under-kings concur in a grant by the King of Surrey. Cod. Diplom. 987. There were apparently seven kings in Kent at the same time, *ibid.* 151. We are told that Edwin "went against the West-Saxons, and there slew five kings." A. S. Chron. *anno* 626. Compare Bede's account of the succession of the Kings of Wessex: "acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis et divisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter decem." Hist. Eccl. iv. 12.

<sup>1</sup> With respect to this claim we may refer to William of Malmesbury. "Possem hoc loco istius (Idæ) et alibi aliorum lineam seriatim intexere, nisi quod ipsa vocabula barbarum quiddam stridentia minus quam vellem delectationis lectoris infunderent. Illud tantum non immerito notandum, quod cum Wodenio fuerint tres filii, Weldegius, Withlegius, Beldegius: de primo reges Cantuaritarum; de secundo, Merciorum; de tertio, West-Saxonum et Northanhimbrorum, præter duos . . . originem traxerint." Gesta. i. 44. And again, of Hengist and Horsa he says: "erant abnepotes illius antiquissimi Woden," *ibid.* i. 5. "Bældeg" is the Balder of the Scandinavian mythology. Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 202. For places in England named after this god, as Baldersby, Balderston, and the like, see Kemble, Saxons in England, i. 363, and Ethelred's grant of land near Balder's-Lea" in Wiltshire, Cod. Diplom. 1059.

attempts to break the pirates' line.<sup>1</sup> We are shown the spot where they disembarked, by a headland at the mouth of a stream falling into the Southampton Water,<sup>2</sup> and can trace their advance along the coast. We learn the places where they fought in the forest and by the ford on the Avon, and where they overthrew the King in whom some have recognised the majestic figure of Ambrosius. "Now came two Aldermen to Britain, Cerdic and his son Cynric, with five ships, at a place called Cerdic's-Ore, and on that same day they fought against the Welsh: and after twelve years they slew a British king whose name was Natanleod, and with him five thousand men: and after that the country was called Natan-Lea as far as Cerdic's-Ford: and when eleven years had passed, they took upon them the kingdom of the West-Saxons, and in the same year they fought once more with the Britons at the place called Cerdic's-Ford: and ever since then the royal race of the West-Saxons has reigned."<sup>2</sup> "And on that day," says the historian, "a great

<sup>1</sup> "Cerdic's-Ore" is supposed to be a headland at the mouth of the River Itchin. The compound "ore" in such words as Cymen's-Ore and Cerdic's-Ore means "a slip of land between two waters," at the mouth of a river or the outlet of a lake. Laing, *Sea-kings of Norway*, i. 119; Kemble, *Cod. Diplom.* 88, 123, 346, 441, 597. Gaimar, *Hist. Engl.* 822, speaks of Cerdic's-ore as a place known in his time:

*"Cerdic od son navire  
Arriva à Certesore  
Un moncel ki pert uncore:  
Là arriva il e son fix,  
Engleis l'appellèrent Chenrix;  
Hors e Henges fu lur ancestre  
Sicom conte la Veraie Geste."*

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Chron. *ann.* 495, 508, 519. In the year 527 the two kings fought another battle in "Cerdic's-Lea," which is thought to be Bernwood Forest, and in 530 "they took the Isle of Wight, and slew many men at Wihtgar's-Burg." The name of the British king is continued in those of

blow fell upon the dwellers in Albion, and greater yet had it been but for the sun going down: and the name of Cerdic was exalted, and the fame of his wars and of the wars of his son Cynric was noised throughout the land.”<sup>1</sup>

We shall not linger over the monotonous tale of conquest and shall only cite one more description taken as it is supposed from some lost Chronicle of the Jutes, which shows again how the exploits of the lesser chieftains were used to augment the renown of Cerdic, as Arthur has attracted to his name the exploits of a whole age of chivalry or as Roland towers above his peers in the cycle of Carolingian romance. We are told that in the year 514 “came West-Saxons with three ships to the place called Cerdic’s-Ore,” where Stuf and Wihtgar, the chieftains of the Jutes, fought with the Britons and put their army to flight: “and their chieftains took the country far and wide, and through their deeds the strength of Cerdic became terrible, and he passed through all the land in his dreadful might.”<sup>2</sup>

several places near the New Forest, as Netton and Netley. Compare the form “Natan-gráfum” or “Netgrove,” Kemble, *Cod. Diplom.* 90.

<sup>1</sup> *Henr. Huntingd.* ii. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Henr. Huntingd.* ii. 14. Stuf and Wihtgar are called the nephews of Cerdic, whose sister may have been married to a Jutish prince, though it is possible that interpolations were made in the Chronicle to adapt it to the history of the royal family of Wessex. Their line ruled in the Isle of Wight till the slaughter of the sons of King Arvald in A.D. 686, when the islanders were converted to Christianity. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 16. Their family is mentioned in Asser’s *Life of Alfred*: “His mother was Osburga, daughter of Oslac chief-butler to King Ethelwulf: he was a ‘Goth’ (Jute) by nation, descended from the ‘Goths’ and Jutes, of the seed of Stuf and Wihtgar, two brothers who were dukes, and who, having received possession of the Isle of Wight from Cerdic their uncle and his son Cynric, slew the few British inhabitants whom they could find in that island at a place called Wihtgara-burgh (Carisbrook): for the other inhabitants of the island had either been slain or had escaped into exile.” *Vita Alfred.* 2.

The greatness of Wessex begins in the victories of Ceawlin, the "wonder of the English" and the hated destroyer of the Britons, renowned for his long predominance over all the English states and for the tragic disaster in which his kingdom and his life were lost.<sup>1</sup>

He first appears as a leader of the armies of his father Cynric at the Battle of "Barbury Hill," where the Britons so nearly retrieved their fortunes by adopting the Roman discipline. They formed, it is said, in nine lines, three in the van and three for the supports, the rest being posted in the rear: the archers and javelin-men were thrown out in the front, and each flank was guarded by cavalry, in imitation of the tactics which had been used in the Imperial legions. "But the Saxons formed all in one line together, and charged boldly on and fought it out with their swords amid the falling banners and breaking spears, until the evening came on and the victory still remained doubtful."<sup>2</sup>

A success, gained by Cuthwulf the king's brother, gave to the West-Saxons the command of the Upper Thames and of the rich Vale of Aylesbury, so that their territories covered all the districts now included in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire.<sup>3</sup> A few years afterwards three British

<sup>1</sup> "In the year 552," says the English Chronicle, "Cynric fought against the Britons at a place called Searo-burh (Old Sarum) and put them to flight . . . and in the year 556 Cynric and Ceawlin fought against the Britons at Beranburh (Barbury Hill) . . . and in the year 570 Ceawlin succeeded to the kingdom of the West-Saxons." William of Malmesbury describes Ceawlin as the ruin of his friends and of his foes: "*Cujus spectatissimum in præliis robur annales ad invidiam efferunt, quippe qui fuerit Anglis stupori, Britonibus odio, utrisque exitio.*" *Gesta*. i. 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Henr. Huntingdon* ii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *A. S. Chron. ann.* 571. "Now Cutha (*aliter* 'Cuthwulf') fought against the Britons at Bedford and took four towns." These places are

kings were slain at the decisive battle of Deorham, and the fortresses of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester fell into the hands of the English.<sup>1</sup> It was to these exploits that Ceawlin owed that dignity of "Bretwalda," which Ælle before him had gained by the destruction of Anderida: and, whatever may have been the meaning of the title, it is clear that it imported at least a leadership, if not an imperial supremacy, over all the neighbouring territories.<sup>2</sup>

It is supposed that Ceawlin or his lieutenants passed up the Valley of the Severn soon after the Battle of Deorham, and destroyed the great fortress of "Uriconium" which at that time formed the capital of the kings of Powys. The English, according to the elegy attributed to Llywarch the

usually identified with Lenborough a hamlet near Buckingham, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Ensham. Kemble, Saxons in Engl. ii. 295. Guest's Early English Settlements, *Archæologia* (Salisbury, 1849) 71.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Chron. ann. 577. "Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons, and they slew three kings, Conmæg and Condidan and Farinmæg at the place called Deorham (Dyrham), and took three cities from them, Gloucester and Cirencester and Bath." The descent of Farinmæg King of Builth is traced to Vortigern in 'Nennius.' Hist. Brit. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Freeman, Norm. Conqu. i. 27. Opinions have differed as to the meaning of the word Bretwalda. Palgrave and Lappenberg take it as equivalent to "ruler of Britain." This view is supported by Professor Rhys. Celtic Britain, 136. Kemble construed it "broad-ruling," and saw in it a dignity without duty, hardly more than an "accidental predominance." Saxons in England, ii. 18. The list of those who obtained this "*ducatus*" includes Ethelbert of Kent, who broke the power of the petty kings as far as the Humber, Redbald of East Anglia who obtained it even in the lifetime of Ethelbert, and the three great Northumbrian kings, Edwin, Oswald and Oswy, whose supremacy did not extend to Kent. The Chronicle adds the name of Egbert of Wessex, in whose case the name may have been used vaguely as an ornamental title of dignity. Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 5. "Now Egbert subdued the kingdom of the Mercians and all that was south of the Humber, and he was the eighth king who was *Brytenwalda*." A. S. Chron. ann. 827.

Aged, marched from "Pengwern," or Shrewsbury, to the "lusty white town" by the Wrekin. The poet mourns over the death of King Kynddylan and the gloom of his deserted halls. "The Eagle of Pengwern with his gray and horny beak, loud is his scream and hungry for flesh, loud is his clamour and hungry for the flesh of Kynddylan!" And he laments over the ruined towers, the broken shields and blood upon the fallows, and the churches burning beside the red clover fields.<sup>1</sup>

Seven years after the Battle of Deorham, Ceawlin and his son Cutha fought again with the Welsh on the upper waters of the Severn: "and Cutha there was slain: and Ceawlin took many towns and unnumbered spoil, and wrathful he returned to his own."<sup>2</sup> It is to this time that we may attribute the founding of the little kingdoms of which the boundaries were long preserved in those of the Bishoprics of Hereford and Worcester.<sup>3</sup> The West-Saxons had extended their conquests far beyond the line of the Thames and the Somersetshire Avon to which they were afterwards restricted, and within a generation after Ceawlin's death these northern territories had passed to the Kings of Mercia.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Llywarch's Elegy is preserved in the "Red Book of Hergest." It was translated by Dr. Guest, *Archæol. Cambr.* ix. 142, and is printed at length in Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales," i. 448, 451, ii. 445. Several legends of Ceawlin's wars with the Welsh are preserved in the "Book of Llandaff." *Liber Landav.* 133.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Chron. *anno* 584. The battle was fought at "Fethan-lea," which is thought to be Faddileigh, on the borders of Cheshire. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 108.

<sup>3</sup> The Kingdoms of the "Hwiccas" corresponded in extent with the old Diocese of Worcester, and the state of the "Hecanas" with the Bishopric of Hereford. Even in the small territory of the Hwiccas there were several kings at the same time. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 150.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Freeman considers that the "cession of the country of the

The reign of Ceawlin was closed by defeat and disaster. A coalition was formed against him between the Welsh enemy and his own discontented subjects: and it is thought that the plot was instigated by Ethelbert of Kent, who had once been defeated by Ceawlin and was now to succeed to his supremacy.<sup>1</sup> The forces of the King of Wessex were driven across the Wiltshire Downs, and we are told that "there was a great slaughter on the Woden's-Hill, and Ceawlin was driven into exile, and in the next year he died."<sup>2</sup>

Hwiccas and Ceawlin's other conquests north of the Avon "was made in the year 628, and cites the Chronicle for that year: "Now Cynegils and Cwichelm fought with Penda at Cirencester and made an agreement there." Wessex was freed from the dominion of Mercia by the victory of Cuthred over Ethelbald at Burford in the year 752. Dr. Plot gave the following account of a local custom by which this battle was supposed to have been commemorated. "Cuthred met and overthrew him there, winning his banner, whereon was depicted a golden dragon; in memory of which victory the custom of making a dragon yearly and carrying it up and down the town in great jollity on Midsummer Eve, to which they added the picture of a giant, was in all likelihood first instituted." Nat. Hist. Oxford. 348. The custom is much more likely to have had a heathen origin and to have been connected with the worship of Freyr or Balder.

<sup>1</sup> Will. Malmesb. Gesta, i. 17. Lappenberg, Hist. Engl. i. c. 7. The Kentish king was defeated by the West-Saxons in the first year of his reign. "In this year Ceawlin and his brother Cutha fought against Ethelbert and drove him into Kent: and slew two Aldermen, Oslaf and Cnebba, at Wibban-dûn" (Wimbledon). A. S. Chron. anno 568.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Chron. ann. 592, 593. The place of the battle is uncertain. The Chronicle calls it "Woddesbeorg," Florence of Worcester "Wodnesbeorh, id est Mons Wodeni," and William of Malmesbury places it at "Wodnesdic," now called the Wansdyke. It was probably fought at Wanborough in Wiltshire. Woden, having been early identified with Mercury, was worshipped "by the road-sides and high hills": see the instances collected by Kemble, Saxons in Engl. i. c. 12, and the Continental examples in Grimm's Deutsch. Mythol. c. 7. Compare Hasted's description of the *tumulus* at Woodnesborough near Sandwich, where the

At the end of the 6th century Wessex had been restored in dignity and importance by Ceolwulf, another prince of Cerdic's line, who began to reign in the year of Augustine's mission, and who fought and strove continually "against the Angles and Welsh, and against the Picts and Scots."<sup>1</sup>

The power of Ethelbert was predominant in the East as far as the borders of Northumbria. The states of the East-Saxons acknowledged the supremacy of his nephew Sæberht: but he enjoyed no real independence, in spite of his dignity as the descendant of "Saxnoth" and as the nominal master of London.<sup>2</sup> The two East-Anglian

neighbouring hamlet of "Cold Friday" retains a trace of the name of "Woden's wife." Hist. Kent, iv. 230.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Chron. *anno* 597. Ceolwulf died in 611, and was succeeded by Cynegils, in whose reign Wessex was converted to Christianity by the labours of Birinus. The Bishop was sent to the parts "beyond the English," where no preacher had ever gone before; "*sed Britanniam perveniens ac Gevissorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inveniret, utilius esse ratus est ibi potius verbum prædicare.*" Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Bede's account of the conversion of Essex by Mellitus; "*provincia Orientalium Saxonum quorum metropolis Lundonia civitas est . . . in quâ videlicet gente Sæberct, nepos Ædilbercti ex sorore Riculâ, regnabat quamvis sub potestate positus ejusdem Ædilbercti.*" Hist. Eccl. ii. 3. According to some accounts Ercenwine or Æscwine was the first to acquire the supreme power over all the East-Saxon communities, William of Malmesbury considered that Sledda, father of Sæberht, who died in 597, was the first who could be said to have reigned: "*Primus apud eos regnavit Sledda, a Wodenio decimus.*" Gesta, i. 98. His fabled genealogy is traced in the Appendix to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester. Saxnoth was a god of the Continental Saxons and was one of the three deities mentioned in the "Renunciation" imposed on them after their defeat by the Franks. He is usually identified with "Tiw," to whom Tuesday, or "Dies Martis," was appropriated. Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 184. For names of places derived from him, see Kemble, Saxons in England, i. 351; Cod. Diplom. iii. introd. Compare the name "Tiowulfinga-cæstir," Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 16.

"Folks" were governed by Redwald the Uffing, a prince at that time subordinate like the rest to King Ethelbert, but destined within a few years to succeed to his wide prerogative.<sup>1</sup> The great Kingdom of Mercia was not yet constituted; in its place stood a number of independent states of which little more than the names has been preserved. There were "North-Gyrvians" round Peterborough, and "South-Gyrvians" in the Cambridgeshire Fens.<sup>2</sup> The kings of the "Lindisfaras" ruled the region of Lindsey, near Lincoln, and claimed a descent from "Winta" another of the sons of Woden. The Mercians of the North, who became in time the masters of all the rest, were at this time holding the march-lands against the Welshmen of Loidis and Elmet;<sup>3</sup> and there were also Angles of the West and South, and Middle-Anglians whose country was conterminous with the ancient Diocese of Leicester,

<sup>1</sup> The settlement of East Anglia is said to have begun in the year 526, but there was no "head-king" before 571, when the dynasty of the Uffings was founded by Offa the grandfather of Redwald. William of Malmesbury treats Redwald as the first who could be called a king: "Primus idemque maximus apud Orientales Anglos rex fuit Redwaldus, a Wodenio ut scribunt decimum genu nactus: omnes quippe australes Anglorum et Saxonum provinciæ citra Humbram fluvium cum suis regibus ejus nutum spectabant." *Gesta*, i. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 83, 84. These districts were a borderland belonging in part to the East Anglians and in part to the Gyrvians. Great numbers of Britons seem to have taken refuge in the "wild fens," if we may rely on the monastic complaints of the continual incursions of "Welsh thieves." Vita Guthlac. *Acta Sanct.*, April, ii. 43; *History of Ramsay*, 444; *Palgrave, Engl. Comm.* i. 462. The genealogy of the Kings of Lindsey is preserved in the Appendix to the *Chronicle of Florence of Worcester*.

<sup>3</sup> Elmet was an independent British state near Leeds, which was long dependent on the Kingdom of Westmere or Westmoreland: its last king was expelled by Edwin of Northumbria. *Nennius, Hist. Brit.* 63.

with "Peak-settlers" and "Chiltern-settlers" and many other tribes whose positions can no longer be identified.<sup>1</sup>

The foundation of Mercia was the work of the valiant Penda, the last champion of paganism and the destroyer of so many of the Christian kings. "Like a wolf in the sheep-fold," it was said, "he arose and raged against them." He perished in the year 655 at the Battle of Winwidfield, "and with him thirty royal leaders fell and some of them were kings": "and in Winwid's stream," according to the ancient tale, "the death of Anna was avenged, and the deaths of Sigbert and Egrice, and the deaths of St. Oswald and Edwin the Fair."<sup>2</sup>

Somewhat more is known of the early history of Northumbria. The pedigree of King Edwin shows how his ancestor "Sæmil son of Sigefugel" first divided Bernicia from Deira.<sup>3</sup> Both countries were governed by judges, presiding over ten associated districts, until Ida set up a

<sup>1</sup> Kemble, Saxons in England, i. 80, 84; Freeman, Norm. Conqu. i. 25, 37. Compare also the list called "*Numerus Hidarum*" under "*Hida*" in Spelman's Glossary, and Gale, i. 748.

<sup>2</sup> There were kings of the North-Mercians before Penda: but he was the first ruler of the united Midland Kingdom. Henr. Huntingd. Hist. Angl. ii. 27; Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 14. "Penda quidam a Wodenio decimus, stirpe inclytus, bellis industrius, idemque fanaticus et impius, apud Mercios regis nomen præsumpsit . . . Quid enim non auderet qui lumina Britanniae Edwinum et Oswaldum reges Northanhimbrorum, Sigebertum Egricum Annam reges Orientalium Anglorum, in quibus generis claritas et vitæ sanctitas conquadabant, temeritate nefariâ exstinxit?" Will. Malmesb. Gesta, i. 74. Compare Henry of Huntingdon: "insurrexit igitur exercitui perituro regis Annæ, insurrexit et infrenduit, 'Ut lupus ad caulas . . . . Sic super attonitos fertur Rex Penda propinquos.' Devorati sunt igitur Anna rex et exercitus ejus ore gladii in momento." Hist. Angl. ii. 33. Penda came to the throne in the year 626, and was killed at the battle on the Are or "Winwed" near Leeds in the year 655.

<sup>3</sup> See the "genealogies" appended to the history of Nennius. Hist. Brit. 56, 57, 62.

kingdom in Bernicia, and built himself a royal city at Bamborough "which at first was enclosed by a hedge and afterwards by a wall."<sup>1</sup> In those days, we are told, a prince called Dutigirn fought bravely against the nation of the Angles, and Aneurin and Taliessin and Llywarch the Aged became famous for their bardic poems. The elegies ascribed to their names, of which the substance remains though the form and language have been modernised, contain allusions to many incidents in the wars of the Britons with the Bernicians. We are shown Theodoric "the Flame-bearer," one of Ida's sons, advancing with four hosts to fight with the Princes of Annandale: the "Death-song of Owain" bewails the death at the Flame-bearer's hands of "the chieftain of the glittering West"; and the minstrel boasts over the white-haired Saxons, and sings the praises of Urbgen, chief of the thirteen kings who commanded the armies of the North.<sup>2</sup>

Another kingdom was founded in Deira by Ælle the father of Edwin: but on his death the whole of Northumbria was seized by Æthelfrith the Cruel. "Of him," writes Bede, "it might be said that like Benjamin he should ravine as a wolf, and that in the morning he should devour the prey and at night divide the spoil; for never in the time of the Tribunes, and never in the time of the Kings, did any one by conquering or driving out the Britons bring more of their lands under tribute, or make them empty for the habitation of the Angles."<sup>3</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Chron. *anno* 547. For Ida's pedigree see the same passages, and Will. Malmesb. *Gesta*, i. 44. There was a king of Bamborough as late as the reign of Athelstane. A. S. Chron. *anno* 926.

<sup>2</sup> Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, 348, 350, 366.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 34; Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 63. Æthelfrith, surnamed by the Welsh "the Destroyer," was son of Æthelric, one of the sons of

year 606 he led an army to the Dee, and slew "unnumbered Britons" and desolated the City of Legions: "and so," it was said, "was fulfilled the word of Augustine, that if the Welsh will not be at peace with us they shall perish at the hands of the Saxons."<sup>1</sup>

If we try to picture to ourselves the immediate effect of the Conquest, and to know how the people lived before their conversion from paganism, we shall find that more is to be learned from the traditions preserved in old poems and Sagas, in charters and records of ancient custom, than from any bede-roll of the chiefs and kings whose wars are entered in the Chronicles. The annalist summed up the bare result of the struggle, and was content to note that Port, when he landed at Portsmouth, "slew a noble young prince of the Britons," or that Wihtgar, when his wars were ended, was buried in Wihtgar's-Burg.<sup>2</sup> But in the Song of Beowulf or in the poems of the "Exeter Book," we find the image of an actual conflict. There is the fleet of long war-galleys, swan-necked or dragon-prowed, sailing towards the headlands and "shining cliffs" of Britain: the Warden of the Shore stands with his rustic guard to prevent the landing of the corsairs.<sup>3</sup> As the ships are beached the shields are lifted from the gunwale, and the raven-flag is raised that betokens the presence of the war-god; the pirates charge on with their "brown shining

Ida, who in 588 had succeeded in his old age to the inheritance which Ælle had usurped. Will. Malmesb. Gesta, i. 46.

<sup>1</sup> A. S. Chron. *anno* 606. This was the occasion of the massacre of the monks of Bangor: "there were also slain there two hundred priests who came thither that they might pray for the army of the Welsh." Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Chron. *ann.* 501, 530.

<sup>3</sup> Beowulf, 219, 229, 231.

swords" and long rough-handled spears, "and over the face the likeness of a boar, of divers colours, hardened in the fire, to keep the life in safety."<sup>1</sup> They were ready to ransack a province and to return with their ships filled with "goods from the homesteads of the land-kings," and were equally prepared, if the chance came in their way, to hold the land for themselves, and to send for their families to join them in a new home across the sea.

Sidonius saw such crews on his visit to King Euric at Bordeaux, and his letters contain bright descriptions of the Saxons, with their faces daubed with blue paint and their hair pushed back to the crown to make the forehead seem larger.<sup>2</sup> The masters of the sea appeared shy and awkward among the hosts of courtiers who were devouring the wealth of Aquitania; but when they were once on their clumsy galleys all was turbulence and freedom again. "One would think," said the Bishop, "that each oar's-man was the Arch-pirate himself, for they are all ordering and obeying and teaching and learning at once." Their ships were like the half-decked craft which were used by the later Vikings, in which the rowers sat on either side of a long gangway, the best of the fighting-men being posted in the forecastle or round the chieftains on the quarter-deck. In a description of a sea-fight in the North we read how the King steered till the action began, and then

<sup>1</sup> Beowulf, 303, 305, 1229. Compare the account of the customs of the "Æsty": "they wore the images of wild boars as the sign of their belief in the Mother of the Gods; and this, as they thought, without the aid of word or shield, would give safety to the servants of the Goddess, even in the midst of their foes."—Tac. Germ. 45. Compare also the figures of warriors with the boar-crests, found in 1870 at Björnhofda in Sweden. Montelius, *Civilis. Sweden* (Woods), 162.

<sup>2</sup> Sidon. Apoll. Epist. viii. 3, 13.

sat on deck in his scarlet cloak : and when the swords became notched and blunted "he went down into the forehold and opened the chests under the throne and took out many sharp swords and handed them to his men."<sup>1</sup> The scene recalls the descriptions of Beowulf and his thanes, and the simplicity of that ancient time when the chieftain on the ale-bench dealt round to each "companion" a sword or "the blood-stained and conquering spear."<sup>2</sup> Historians and poets alike have celebrated the closeness of the tie between the captain of the "free company" and the retainers, who in return for their food and equipment were bound to guard him and to fight for his renown. A poem preserved in the "Exeter Book" describes the misery of an exile who had lost his lord. "When sorrow and sleep," said the Wanderer, "the lonely one bind, his lord in thought he embraces and kisses and on his knee lays his hand and head, as when of old his gifts he enjoyed : then wakes the friendless one, and sees before him the fallow sea-paths, the ocean-fowl bathing and sprinkling their wings, frost and snow falling mingled with hail, and then all the heavier are the wounds of his heart, and sore after dreaming is sorrow renewed."<sup>3</sup> We are shown in the "Germania" the beginnings of the institution which was destined in its later development to change the whole fabric of society. It stood for rank and power, among the nations described by Tacitus, to be surrounded by a troop of young men, "their leader's glory in peace and his safeguard in war." The commander of such a

<sup>1</sup> See the description of the great sea-fight in King Olaf's Saga. *Heimskringla*, vi. cc. 114, 119; Laing, *Sea-kings of Norway*, i. 139, 475, 480.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Germ.* 14; Beowulf, 2633, 2709.

<sup>3</sup> Thorpe, *Cod. Exon.* 286.

band was honoured at home and abroad, and enriched with public gifts, "armlets and raiment and rings." Even the young nobles, the "eorls" who might claim to be kinsmen and ministers of the gods, were content to serve under a successful soldier, to live by his bounty, and to take such rank as his favour allowed. "When it came to war, it was shameful for the leader to be excelled in courage or for the followers not to equal their captain in daring. It was a lifelong infamy to quit the field where he fell; and it was the first and holiest of their duties to guard and protect him and to add their own brave deeds to the credit of his renown."<sup>1</sup>

On the conquest of a new territory, a rare event before the disruption of the Western Empire, the leader would naturally reward his followers with gifts of land, if only for the maintenance of the cattle and slaves that formed their share of the booty. But a conquest would seldom be so complete that all fears of future resistance and all hopes of future plunder were at an end, and while the military relationship subsisted the follower could only hold his estate on the condition of fulfilling his service. On the tenant's death the land must in most cases have reverted to the lord with the horse and armour and the rest of the warlike equipment which his bounty had provided. The tenant of such a precarious estate could confer no better title on his own dependents; and thus would arise a class of half-free retainers with nothing that could properly be called their own. The English thanes, or "nobles by service," who in course of time took the place of the "nobles by blood," appear at first as the followers of a successful chieftain to whom land had been allotted as a

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Germ. 13, 14; Beowulf, 1195, 1196, 1218.

reward for service. As the chiefs increased in dignity, the position of their "companions" was altered for the worse. They stood to their lords in the relation of servants, bound not only to fight when required, but to ride on errands and to act as butlers and grooms. But in relation to their own tenants they were lords themselves, exacting service and labour and exercising jurisdiction in their turn, so that their estates from the first resembled nothing so much as manors of the mediæval kind. When the kings learned to imitate the majesty of the Empire, it was natural that their officers and chamberlains should be exalted in a proportionate degree; the power of the prince was multiplied by the gifts which he lavished upon his followers; and freedom at last disappeared when all lands were holden of some superior power, and every man was bound to have some lord to whom he owed obedience and from whom he might claim protection.<sup>1</sup>

The whole country passed in time under the power of the King, the Church, and the Thanes; and, as the jurisdiction of the lords was gradually converted into ownership of the lands in their districts, the descendants of the free men fell under onerous rents and services, and in many cases became serfs and bondsmen. Where the tenure was easiest they had to work on their lord's estate or to pay rents of food and other provisions, as the usage of the district required: and where it was worst they could call nothing their own, but were taxed high and low as the lord pleased, "to redeem their flesh and blood."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 178, 183; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, i. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 322; *Cod. Diplom.* 461, 1077. See also the "*Rectitudines singularum personarum*," in the editions of Thorpe and Leo. For a description of most of the agricultural services, see

The degradation of the peasantry began so soon, and spread so far, that it is difficult to realise the life in the free townships into which the original settlements were divided. We know that the villagers, and even the inhabitants of larger districts, were regarded as groups of kinsmen: and the theory of a blood-relationship may account for such customs as that a change of house should be followed by a feast for the neighbours, or that the next householders should have a preferential claim to the purchase of a vacant holding.<sup>1</sup> The same belief was connected with

Somner's Treatise on Gavelkind, c. i. The following examples will illustrate what has been said as to bondage-tenure. In the Pleas of the Curia Regis, Trin. 18 Edw. I. Cor. Reg. rot. 12, this entry occurs: "T. R. is the villein of one Folliott, wherefore the latter can tax him *de alto et de basso*, and he must pay a fine of *merchetum* for his flesh and blood": the same fine was paid at Aulton in Hampshire by every villein on the marriage of his daughter or the sale of his horse. 14 Joh. rot. 1, 85. At Fiskerton, in Notts, the custom was for natives and cottagers to plough &c., "and if any ale-wife brewed ale to sell she must pay a fine: if any native or cottager sold a male youngling after it was weaned he paid four-pence to the lord as a fine, or if he killed a swine above a year old he paid a penny: every female native that married paid for the redemption of her blood 5s 4d to the lord." When any customary tenant at Bury in Salop died, "the Bishop was to have his best beast, all his swine, bees, whole bacon, a young cock, a whole piece of cloth, a brass pan, a runlet of ale, if full, and if he married his daughter out of the fee he was to give three shillings." Hazlitt, Tenures of Land, 45, 123.

<sup>1</sup> This custom is mentioned in the case of *Rowles v. Mason*, Brownl. i. 132; ii. 85, 192. "A law," says Professor Nasse, "existed in the German villages, by which the villagers had a preference over strangers in the purchase of land, a law which existed in some German towns up to our own times, and has only been abolished by legislation." Nasse, "Village Communities," Contemp. Rev. May, 1872, p. 745. The tribal origin of the village societies is indicated by Bede's use of the word "*mægth*" or "kindred" to signify a province or region, and by the patronymic forms of place-names. "The *gelondan*, or those who occupied the same land, were taken to be connected by blood. In MS. glossaries we find *gelondan*

the primitive communism by which all the lands in a township were treated as one farm, to be managed by a co-operative husbandry. It is probable that at first there was no individual property, except in the actual houses and the little plots enclosed for yards and gardens, though there were enough "hides of land" held as a common stock to support the members of the several households.<sup>1</sup> Our common-field system points to a time when all the arable land was held in undivided shares or divided periodically by lot. The ancient English agriculture was nearly identical with that which prevailed in Germany: "the rotation of crops, the times of sowing and lying fallow, the system of manuring and many other agricultural customs were the same." Now in several parts of Germany, and especially in the district round Treves and in the valleys of the Saar and Moselle, the peasants held all their land in common, excepting the houses and a few private estates; all the rest of the land was divided by lot, the drawings for the arable having rendered by *fratruelles*." Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 82. Compare the use of "mæg-burg" for a village belonging to kinsmen, *Beowulf*, 2887.

<sup>1</sup> The question as to the dimensions of the "hide" has been a fruitful subject of controversy. It was originally that measure of land which was considered to be sufficient for the support of one family, and its extent varied in every district according to the local custom and according to the quality of the soil. Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 15) estimated the contents of the Isle of Thanet at 600 hides, which were afterwards found to contain nearly 70 "sulings," or Kentish ploughlands, each containing 210 acres according to the measure used in Thanet. In this instance the "hide" is shown to have contained less than 25 acres. In a poorer district it would contain much more. There was a later use of the word which made it equivalent to a "ploughland," or as much arable as a team of oxen could plough in a year: in this case the "hide" represents quantities varying, according to the district, from 100 acres to 210 acres, or even more.

in some cases been annual, and in others having originally been held once in three years but afterwards at longer intervals.<sup>1</sup> It is true that there is hardly any documentary evidence to show that the arable in England was ever divided in this way. But the pastures, and notably the lot-meadows and dole-moors, were treated as common property: a primitive usage determined the division of the common-fields into strips and blocks, the rotation of the crops, the erection of fences, and the use of the land after harvest by the cattle of the whole community; we see that the same usages prevailed in the German districts where the ownership was certainly collective; and we are thus led to believe that the English farmers were at first joint-owners of all the arable land as well as of the pastures and waste-grounds in the township.<sup>2</sup>

There are many popular customs of which the origin must be attributed to a time when the villagers were united by the sentiment of partnership and the tradition of a common descent. The pitching and removal of the fences,

<sup>1</sup> The works of De Laveleye, Meitzen, and Hansen, on the subject of early tenures, contain a great number of examples of the system of dividing arable land by lot, which was so common in Germany that in the Middle Ages it was called *Mos Theutonicus*.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that the Inclosure Commissioners met with instances of arable which was distributed by lot. See Mr. Blamire's evidence in the report of the Commons Inclosure Committee, 1844. In the Manor of Hackney certain arable lands appear to have been described as "*Terra lottabilis*." See also the evidence collected on the subject by Professor Nasse in his "*Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages*." Compare Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 85, where speaking of the English township, as it appears in historical times, he concludes that "it is in every case either a body of free land-owners who have advanced beyond the stage of land-community, or the body of tenants of a lord who regulates them, or allows them to regulate themselves, on principles derived from the same source." Maine, *Early History of Institutions*, 76, 77.

the admission of a new commoner to the customary privilege, the drawing for portions in the lot-meadows and dole-moors, were so many occasions for gathering at a rustic feast.<sup>1</sup> It was not unusual for pieces of the common land to be let to raise funds for a general ale-drinking; and in one well-known case the village-council had the disposal of thirteen "home-closes" of meadow, called after the names of such officials as the smith and the constable and the mole-catcher, the price of the grass being paid in some cases to the designated officers and applied in others to public uses, as to mend bridges and gates, or "to make ale for the merry-meeting of the inhabitants."<sup>2</sup>

Many of the ceremonies were evidently survivals from heathen times, altered in some cases to adapt them to the seasons of the Church and in others bearing more openly the marks of their original paganism. Of the first kind are the May-games and Whitsun-ales, the bringing in of the boar's-head at the Yule-feast, and the singing and drinking at the holy well.<sup>3</sup> In the latter class we may place the customs of whipping the fruit-trees in Spring, of eating the "Easter-hare," of the leaping and clashing of

<sup>1</sup> Compare the accounts, in Hazlitt's *Tenures of Lands*, of the shepherds' feasts at Hutton-Conyers, the "neighbourhood-feast" at Ripon, and the ceremonies for making "a free-man of the common" at Alnwick, under the names of those places respectively.

<sup>2</sup> The customs of the township of Cote and Aston have been described in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. 471, and xxxvii. 383, by Dr. Giles in his *History of Bampton*, and by Professor J. Williams in his lectures on "Rights of Common," 86, 102.

<sup>3</sup> For the connection of the boar's-head ceremony with the worship of Freá or Freyr, see Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 45; Kemble, *Saxons*, i. 357. For descriptions of the Whitsun-feasts at Kidlington and Ratby, and the "Cotsale" on the Cotswold Hills, see Hazlitt's *Tenures of Land* under the names of those places.

swords in the "Giants' Dance" and calling on the names of Woden and Freia.<sup>1</sup> To these examples we may add the customs connected with the "Epiphany-fires." In some parts of Gloucestershire twelve of these bonfires were lighted in a row, and round one which was larger than the rest the farm-servants drank and shouted. In Herefordshire the "wassailers" made up twelve small fires, and another of a much greater size, round which the company passed; after supper they adjourned to the wain-house where the master pledged the first ox with a customary toast; "the company followed his example with all the other oxen, addressing each by its name," and a cake in the shape

<sup>1</sup> The custom of shooting at the trees for luck prevails in parts of Devon. Hasted describes a similar usage of "youling the trees," *Hist. Kent*, i. 109. As to whipping the apple-trees at Warlingham in Surrey, see Hazlitt, *Tenures of Land*, 355. The custom of catching hares at Easter for providing a public meal is best known in Pomerania: English instances are found at Coleshill in Warwickshire and at Haloughton in Leicestershire, *ibid.* 78, 141. At the latter place the profits of lands called Harecrop Leys were applied to providing a meal which was thrown on the ground at the "Hare-pie Bank." Nichols, *Hist. Leic.* ii. 630. These customs were perhaps connected with the worship of the Anglian goddess "Eostre" whose festivals are mentioned by Bede; "antiqui Anglorum populi, gens mea . . . apud eos Aprilis 'Esturmonath' quondam, a deâ illorum quæ Eostra vocabatur et cui in illo festa celebrantur, nomen habuit." *De Temp. Rat.* c. 13. March was called "Rhed-monat" from "Hrede," another Anglian goddess, *ibid.* Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 267, 740, 920. "In some parts of Northern England, in Yorkshire, and especially in Hallamshire, popular customs show remnants of the worship of Frige (Freia). In the neighbourhood of Dent at certain seasons of the year, especially in autumn, the country-folk hold a procession and perform old dances, which they call the Giants' Dance: they call the leading giant "Woden," and his wife "Frigga," the principal action of the play consisting in two swords being swung and clashed together about the neck of a boy," *ibid.* 280. *Teut. Mythol.* (Stallybrass), i. 304.

of a ring was placed with many ceremonies on the horns of the principal ox."<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that many other remnants of paganism might be found in the history of customary rents and services for land, especially in the case of ancient charities where the profits of particular fields are devoted to making cakes impressed with figures of an unknown origin;<sup>2</sup> and we may compare with the flower-rents, in which Grimm saw a heathen practice continued into Christian times, our English instances of ancient rents in the shape of a white bull, or two white hares, a red rose for all services, or a chaplet of roses on the Feast of St. John.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gent. Mag. Feb. 1791; Hazlitt, Tenures of Land, 131, 156. Similar customs are found in Montenegro: and a wheel-shaped cake called a *kolatch* is used in all the Christmas festivities; "they go to the stall where oxen are sleeping, and the husbandman fixes the *kolatch* on the horn of the 'eldest ox': if he now throws it off, it is of good omen to the household." Evans, "Christmas and Ancestor-worship in the Black Mountain." Macmill. Mag. 1881, 233. Similar offerings are made to the "chief goat," and to the fowls and fruit-trees, *ibid.* 228, 229. Compare Tibullus, "Nunc ad præsepia debent Plena coronato stare boves capite." Lib. ii. Eleg. i. 7, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Twickenham custom described by Lysons, Envir. London, iv. 603, and the distribution at Biddenden in Kent of cakes impressed with the grotesque figures of "the Biddenden Maids." See on the subject of the baked figures, "simulacra de consparsâ farinâ," the Indiculus Superstitionum, sec. 26, and Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 56. "Nomen placentis in superiore Saxoniâ *Fladen*, *Oster-fladen*, quas festis diebus matresfamilias conficiunt." Keysler, Antiqu. Septentr. 337. Compare his account of the Yule-cakes, *ibid.* 159, and Bede's description of February as "Sol-monath, id est mensis placentarum quas in eo diis suis offerunt." De Temp. Rat. c. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 52. For the payment of a white bull, see Hazlitt's Tenures of Land, under the titles of Bury St. Edmunds, Lodebrook, and Marlborough, and for the rent of two white hares at Sheffield to be paid on St. John's Day, *ibid.* 276, and Gent. Mag. xxxiv. 329. For the

The sources of information as to the character of the English paganism are of extremely various kinds, comprising such matters as the ancient forms for the confession of penitents, the laws and canons against heathen practices, traditionary spells and incantations, and legends connected with the Runic letters and the plants used in medicine. Other examples are found in the names of places described in the ancient charters, and especially in those of the landmarks by which the townships were originally defined.<sup>1</sup> A familiar instance occurs in the names of the days of the week, which probably date from a time long preceding the conquest of England.<sup>2</sup> Others can be traced in the divisions of the ancient calendar. There were three great occasions, at the two solstices and at the end of the harvest, when the national sacrifices were offered and the public assemblies held.<sup>3</sup> The name of Yule, derived from the turning of the sun in its annual course, was given to the two months which preceded and followed the winter

rent of the red rose, generally payable on the same feast-day, see Hazlitt's *Tenures of land*, 21, 57, 125, 295, 323; *Rot. Parl.* i. 100*b*, 178*b*, 179, 451*a*.

<sup>1</sup> "They furnish," says Kemble, "the most conclusive evidence that the mythology current in Germany and Scandinavia was also current here." *Cod. Diplom.* iii. introd. 13. Compare such names as that of "Thunres-lea" in the Jutish part of Hampshire, *Cod. Diplom.* 1038, 1122: "Berhtan-wyl," or the well of the water-goddess Bertha, *ibid.* 311: "Hnices-thorn," referring to the Neckar, or water-goblin, *ibid.* 268: and "Hildes-hlæw," the tomb near Wayland Smith's Cave on the Ikenild Street, *ibid.* 621, 1006, 1091, 1148, 1172.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 111, 114. The chief difficulties about the interpretation of the names of the week-days lie in the confusion between "Fricge" and "Freia," who may have been the same among the Germans, though they appear as separate deities in the Scandinavian mythology, and in the doubt whether the Germans had any god who answered to Saturn. *ibid.* 227, 276; Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 372. Compare Schedius, *de Diis Germ.* 493.

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, *Rechts-Alterth.* 245, 745, 821, 825, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 38.

solstice; but the year began on "mothers' night," now Christmas Eve, when the women took part in a nocturnal watch.<sup>1</sup> We cannot tell what were their "vain practices," which were afterwards suppressed by the Church: but we learn that in the second week of the feast the people dressed themselves in skins and masks to imitate various animals.<sup>2</sup> The next great festival was held in September, or "holy month," when thanks were given for the harvest and offerings made to secure a prosperous winter. Lastly, covering parts of our October and November, came the "month of sacrifice," when the temple-yards were filled with crowds of noisy worshippers, drinking and dancing before the gods, while the cattle were slaughtered on the altar-stones.<sup>3</sup>

The history of the conversion is full of incidents which illustrate the character of the English paganism. We are told of Ethelbert's care to meet the missionaries under the open sky, for fear of the magical influence which they might gain by crossing his threshold; of the king bowing before his idol in a road-side shrine near Canterbury, and taking part with his nobles in the offering of the sacrifices,

<sup>1</sup> Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* c. 12. "Ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam tunc gentili vocabulo 'Moedre Necht,' id est Matrum Noctem, appellabant ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in eâ pervigiles agebant."

<sup>2</sup> Kemble cites the chapter in the "Penitential of Theodore" devoted to a description of the heathen practices. "Qui grana arserit ubi mortuus est homo &c. Siquis pro sanitate filioli per foramen terræ exierit, illudque spinis post se concludit &c. Siquis in Kal. Januar. in cervulo vel vitulâ vadit, id est in ferarum habitus se communicant, et vestiuntur pellibus pecudum et assumunt capita bestiarum: qui vero taliter in ferinas species se transformant . . . quia hoc dæmoniacum est." Saxons in England, i. 525, 528.

<sup>3</sup> Bede, *De Temp. Rat.* c. 12; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 32, 34, 35; Vigfússon and Powell, *Corp. Poet. Boreal.* i. 429.

and of Augustine in his journey to the West breaking to pieces the image of an idol adored by the villagers.<sup>1</sup> Ancient traditions preserve the remembrance of the Woden-Hill within sight of the missionaries' landing-place, and of a temple on the site where Westminster Abbey stands, once "a place of dread" on the march-land where several kingdoms joined, but dedicated to the service of St. Peter by the wealthy "King of London," at the request of his protector Ethelbert.<sup>2</sup> Bede records the power of the priests, and the rules by which they were restrained from active service in war.<sup>3</sup> His friend Aldulf was a personal witness to the Samaritan indifference of King Redwald, whose temple contained a Christian altar beside the blood-stained stone on which the cattle

<sup>1</sup> Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 25, Thorn's Chronicle, Dec. Script. 1760. "Cerne Abbey was built by Austin, the English apostle, when he had dash'd to pieces the idol of the pagan Saxons called *Heil*, and had delivered them from their superstitious ignorance." Camden, Britannia (Gibson), i. 56; Will. Malmesb. Gesta Pontificum, 142.

<sup>2</sup> Woodnesborough stands on a high water-shed near Richborough. Compare Kemble's account of Wanborough on the Hog's-back. Saxons in England, i. 344. The legends as to the foundation of Westminster Abbey are very conflicting. The story that Sæbert of Essex was the under-king of London appears in a charter of King Edgar, of which the authenticity was doubted by Kemble. "*Imprimis ecclesiam B. Petri quæ sita est in loco terribili qui ab incolis Thorneye nuncupatur, ab occidente scilicet urbis Londoniæ, quæ olim, i.e. A.D. 604, B. Æthelberti hortatu, primi Anglorum regis Christiani, destructo prius ibidem abominationis templo regum paganorum, a Sabertho prædivite quodam sub-regulo Londoniæ, nepote videlicet ipsius regis, constructa est.*"—Cod. Diplom. 555, 969; MSS. Cotton. Titus, A. viii. 4; Stowe, Survey of London, 850; Dugd. Monast. i. 265, 291; Stanley, Mem. Westm. Abbey, 10.

<sup>3</sup> "*Mellitum vero Londonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris magis pontificibus servire gaudentes.*" Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 6. "*Non licuerat pontificem sacrorum vel arma ferre vel præter in equà equitare,*" *ibid.* ii. 15.

were offered to Woden.<sup>1</sup> The Northumbrian Annals supplied the historian with his picture of the destruction of idols at Godmundham. "The place is still shown," he says, "not far from York towards the East, beyond the River Derwent, where the king's chief-priest polluted and destroyed the altars which he himself had blessed." Edwin had assembled his Witan, as was usual in such cases, to deliberate on the proposed change of religion. The high-priest spoke throughout as one of the royal officers, and complained that others had received more favours and dignities, though no one had ever applied himself more carefully than he to the service of the ungrateful gods. "It is for you, oh king! to look into this new doctrine; but I confess my own firm belief that there is nothing good or useful in the religion which we have hitherto held. If our gods were good for anything they would have helped me, who have always done my best to serve them." And so, girding himself with a sword and taking a lance in his hand, he mounted the king's war-horse; and first he profaned the temple by casting the lance against its wall, and then proceeded with his companions to destroy and burn the altars and the idols' shrines, and all the hedges and palisades with which the sanctuary had been surrounded.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum." Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 16. The actual procedure at a sacrifice is only known from the Norse authorities. Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 48. The King, or some noble acting as his deputy, presided; "all kinds of cattle as well as horses were slaughtered, and the blood was called *hlaut*; '*hlaut*-staves' were made, like sprinkling-brushes, with which the whole of the altars and the temple-walls both outside and inside were sprinkled over, and the people also were sprinkled with the blood; but the flesh was boiled into savoury meat for those who were present." Heimskringla, Hakon's Saga, c. 16; Eyrbyggja Saga, c. 10; Laing, Sea-Kings of Norway, i. 329.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 13; Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 72.

Another story of the heathen times is told in the *Life of St. Wilfrid*. The Bishop was crossing from the French coast to Sandwich, when his little vessel was caught in a storm and cast upon the shore of Sussex. The king of the district hurried down with his soldiers to claim the spoil and wreck. In the battle that ensued the chief-priest of the pagans took his stand on a high mound, cursing the strangers and striving to bind their arms by his spells. But one of the Bishop's companions took a stone and slung it, "and smote this Goliath in the forehead," so that the magician fell dead upon the sand as he raved his curses at the Christians; and after a time the tide came in and lifted the boat again, and so they escaped the danger.<sup>1</sup> But Wilfrid returned soon afterwards to accomplish the conversion of his enemies; and the pagans of both sexes, some of their own accord and others compelled by the king, abandoned their idols, and confessed, and were baptized."<sup>2</sup>

During the greater part of the century which followed the coming of Augustine, the people of each kingdom relapsed into paganism as often as their careless rulers allowed them a greater liberty, or a pestilence or a defeat in battle recalled the power of the ancient gods. Even in Kent the heathen temples were not formally abolished until the year 640, and it is recorded that five years before that time not a single church or outward sign of Christianity had been set up in the whole kingdom of Bernicia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Quem . . . sicut Goliatum in arenosis locis mors incerta prævenit." *Ædde, Vita Wilfrid. Dec. Script. 57.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ædde, Vita Wilfrid. Dec. Script. 72.* The King and Queen had been previously baptized, the one in Mercia and the other at her home in Hwiccia. *Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 12.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 30; ii. 5, 15; iii. 3; iv. 27; Epist. ad Egbert, 5*

It seemed as if paganism had only changed its name, while the wooden temples were used as churches, and the rustics still built their booths round the holy sites, and brought their oxen to be killed for a dedication-feast, as once without much outward difference the sacrifices had been offered to the idols. When the prospect seemed darkest a new conversion was effected by the zeal of the Irish missionaries. But they in their turn had to yield to the stronger claims of Rome; the men who had finally prevailed against heathenism were overthrown in the Synod of Whitby; and England, at last united under the rule of one spiritual obedience, was ready to take the lead in the conversion of the neighbouring barbarians, and to assert her claim to an important place among the civilised nations of the West.

Gregorius, "Ad Mellitum," Epist. xi. 76. For the defeat of the Irish monks at Whitby in A.D. 664, see Bede, Hist. Eccl. iii. 25.

---

## APPENDIX I.



### KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANCIENTS AS TO NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE.

- |   |                             |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Extracts relating to the<br>voyage of Pytheas. | 7. Cornelius Tacitus.       |
| 2. C. Julius Cæsar.                               | 8. C. Julius Solinus.       |
| 3. Diodorus Siculus.                              | 9. Dionysius Periegetes.    |
| 4. Strabo.  | 10. Rufus Festus Avienus.   |
| 5. Pomponius Mela.                                | 11. The Ravenna Geographer. |
| 6. C. Plinius Secundus.                           | 12. Dicuil.                 |
|   | 13. Gassendi.               |

# I. EXTRACTS RELATING TO THE VOYAGE OF PYTHEAS.

a. COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES. (Montfaucon. Coll. Patr. ii. 149.)

Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀκεανοῦ οὕτως φησὶν ὥς ὅτι παραγενομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς βορειοτάτοις τόποις ἐδείκνυν οἱ αὐτόθι βάρβαροι τὴν ἡλίου κοίτην ὡς ἐκεῖ τῶν νυκτῶν ἀεὶ γνωμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς.

b. PLUTARCH. De placitis Philosophorum, iii. 17.

Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης, τῇ πληρώσει τῆς σελήνης τὰς πλήμμυρας γίνεσθαι, τῇ δὲ μειώσει τὰς ἀμπώτιδας.

c. CLEOMEDES. Cycl. Theor. Lib. i. c. 7.

Περὶ τὴν Θούλην καλουμένην νῆσον, ἐν ᾗ γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθέαν τὸν Μασσαλιώτην φιλόσοφον, ὅλον τὸν θερινὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς εἶναι λόγος, αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρκτικὸν εἶναι. Παρὰ τούτοις, ὁπόταν ἐν καρκίνῳ ὁ ἥλιος ᾗ, μηνιαία γίνεται ἡ ἡμέρα, εἴ γε καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα τοῦ καρκίνου ἀειφανῆ ἐστί παρ' αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἀειφανέσιν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἥλιος ἐστί.

d. HIPPARCHUS. Arat. Phænom. Lib. i. c. 5.

Επὶ τοῦ πόλου οὐδὲ εἰς ἀστήρ κείται, ἀλλὰ κενὸς ἐστὶ τόπος ᾧ παρακεῖνται τρεῖς ἀστέρες, μεθ' ὧν τὸ σημεῖον τὸ κατὰ τὸν πόλον τετράγωνον ἑγγιστα σχῆμα περιέχει καθάπερ καὶ Πυθέας φησὶν ὁ Μασσαλιώτης.

e. Scholiast. APOLLON. RHOD. iv. 761.

Ἐν τῇ Λιπάρᾳ καὶ Στρογγύλῃ (τῶν Αἰόλου δὲ νήσων αὖται) δοκεῖ ὁ Ἥφαιστος διατρίβειν· δι' ὃ καὶ πυρὸς βρόμον ἀκούεσθαι καὶ ἦχον σφοδρὸν. Τό δε παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο, τὸν βουλόμενον ἀργὸν σίδηρον ἀποφέρειν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐλθόντα λαμβάνειν ἢ ξίφος, ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο

ἤθελε κατασκευάσαι, καταβαλόντα μισθόν. ταυτά φησι Πυθέας ἐν γῆς περιόδῳ, λέγων καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκεῖ ζεῖν.<sup>1</sup>

f. GEMINUS. Elem. Astron. v. 22.

Φησὶ γοῦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ πεπραγματευμένοις αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐδείκνυνον ἡμῖν οἱ βάρβαροι ὅπου ὁ ἥλιος κοιμᾶται. Συνέβαινε γὰρ περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους τὴν μὲν νύκτα παντελῶς μικρὰν γένεσθαι ὥρων οἷς μὲν β' οἷς δὲ γ' ὥστε μετὰ τὴν δύσιν μικροῦ διαλείμματος γενομένου ἐπανατέλλειν εὐθέως τὸν ἥλιον.

g. PTOLEMY. Magna Constructio 2.

Ὁ παράλληλος ἀπέχει τοῦ ἰσημερινου μοιρῶν ξγ' καὶ γράφεται διὰ Θούλης τῆς νήσου· πρῶτος δ' ἔστιν οὗτος τῶν περισκίων . . . καὶ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν θερινὸς τροπικὸς ἀεὶ φανερός.

h. STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS. De Urbibus.

Ὡστίνωνες· ἔθνος παρὰ τῷ δυτικῷ Ὠκεανῷ οὗς Κοσσίνους Ἀρτεμίδωρός φησι· Πυθέας Ὡστιαίους.

ι. Νῦν γὰρ δὴ λυγρῇ τε καὶ ἀλγεινῇ κακότητι  
Ἐξομαι, ἣν νήσοισιν Ἰέρνησιν ἄσπον ἴκωμαι.  
Εἰ γὰρ μὴ μ' ἱερῇσιν ἐπιγναμψάντες ἄκρησιν  
Κόλπον ἔσω γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης  
Ἰξεσθ', ἅμ' πέλαγός κεν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐκτὸς ἴκωμαι.

Orpheus. Argon. 1170.

j. Οἶαν φέρει που καὶ Στράβων τὸν Πυθέαν  
Θούλην διαγράφοντα τὴν νήσον λέγειν,  
Γῆν ἀέρα θάλασσαν οὐ πεφυκέναι,  
Ἐοικέναι δὲ πλεύμονι θαλασσίῳ.  
Ὅποῖα δεσμῷ τῶν ὄλων ὑπηργμενῳ,  
Μήτ' οὖν πορευτῷ, μήτε πλωτῷ τὴν φύσιν.

Tzetzes.

<sup>1</sup> These five extracts are given in the order in which they occur in "Pytheæ Massiliensis Fragmenta," by A. Arvedson: Upsala, 1824.

NOTE.<sup>1</sup>

Omnium primus veterum scriptorum PYTHEAS *Thulen* nominat, quem etiam solum, quicumque dein hujus mentionem fecerint, auctorem secuti fuisse videntur. ANTONIUM DIOGENEM, qui haud ita multo post ALEXANDRUM MAGNUM vixit, quique *incredibilia de Thule* composuit, quorum ideam Bibliothecâ suâ servavit PHOTIUS (Rothom. 1653, p. 355 sq.), ex PYTHÆ narrationibus suarum quoque hausisse fabularum materiem, omni procul dubio est. Quam terram per *Thulen* innuerit PYTHEAS, diu multumque inter eruditos disceptatum. Omnia, quæ de Thule sive PYTHEAS sive alii tradiderunt, pro figmentis habuit STRABO. Thulen sub Arctico circulo nostro sitam fuisse PLINIUS autumavit. Sic propemodum MELA et SOLINUS. Tacitus autem, *Thylen*, quam adhuc nix et hiems abdiderat, a classe Romanâ, Britanniam circumvectâ, conspectam tradens, et CLAUDIANUS, Pictorum in Britannico bello cæsorum sanguine eam incaluisse canens, vix aliam quam Schetlandicarum insularum quandam notasse existimandi sunt. Thulen eâdem etiam latitudine sitam accepit PTOLEMÆUS et STEPHANUS BYZANT. PROCOPIUS vero Scandinaviam sine dubio respexit. HENRICUS *Huntingdoniensis*, qui sæculo duodecimo vixit, Thulen extremam esse Orcadum insularum asseruit. Ex quo vero Islandia sæculo nono a Normannis fuit detecta, eadem, cum remotissimam versus septemtrionem illam statuerent, jam *Thules* nomine a plerisque prædicari cœpit, reliquos forsân præeunte ADAMO *Bremensi*, quem dein secuti fuerunt SAXO Grammat., PONTANUS, HENDREICH, BOUGAINVILLE, MANNERT, ZEUNE etc. Alii recentiorum, ut D'ANVILLE et FORSTER Schetlandicarum insularum aliquam pro Thule habuerunt, alii vero, ut DALIN, LAGERBRING, MURRAY, SCHÖNING, ADELUNG Scandinaviæ borealis partem. Unus omnium, quantum scimus, MALTE BRUN, Jutiam Thules nomine a PYTHEA fuisse indicatam opinatus est. Loca ipsa adeas ap. STRAB. p. 109, 163; PLIN. *Hist. Nat.*,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Arvedson's tract is so rare, and so valuable for its compressed learning, that it will be as well, for the reader's profit, to quote his encyclopædic note on Thule in its entirety.

L. 4, c. 10; MELAM, L. 3, c. 6; SOLIN. *Polyhist.* c. 22; TAC. *Agric.*, c. 10; CLAUDIAN., *de quart. Cons.* HONORII, v. 32; PTOLEM. tab. ad Geogr.; STEPH. BYZ. voc. Θούλη; PROCOP. *Hist. Goth.*, p. 260; HENR. *Huntingdoniensis, Histor.* L. 1. p. 297, Frkf. 1601; PONTAN., *Rerum Danic. Hist.*, p. 745; ADAM. *Bremensis, de Situ Daniæ*; SAXO Gramm., *Hist. Dan.* in præf.; HENDREICH *Massil.*, sect. 2, in GRONOV. *Thesaur.* p. 2973; BOUGAINVILLE, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, T. 19, p. 146; D'ANVILLE, *ib.* T. 37, p. 436; MANNERT, *Geogr. d. Griechen und Römer*, 1. p. 83; ZEUNE, *Erdansichten*, Berl. 1820, p. 40; FORSTER, *Gesch. der Entdeckungen und Schiffahrten im Norden*, Frkf. 1784, p. 33; DALIN, *Svea Rikes Hist.* 1. p. 58; LAGERBRING, *Svea Rikes Hist.* 1. p. 31; MURRAY, in *Nov. Committ. Goett.* T. 6; SCHÖNING, in *Allgem. Nordische Gesch.* von SCHLÖZER, Halle 1771, p. 18. De Thule insuper consulas: ARNGRIM. JON., *Comment. de Islandia*; PRÆTOR. *Orb. Goth.*; TORFÆI *Hist. Norveg.*; RUDBECK. *Atl.*, T. 1. p. 511 sq.; CAMD. *Britann.* T. 2. p. 1482; GATTERER, *Univers. Gesch.*; CARLSTRÖM, *Diss. de Thule*, Holmiæ, 1673; GRUPEN, *Orig. Germ.*, 1. p. 326; VOSS, *über Thule* in BREDOW'S *Untersuch. über alte Gesch.*, p. 122-129; BREHMER, *Entdeckungen im Alterthum*, 2te Abth. Weimar, 1822, p. 357 cet.—Τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης. PLIN. ait Lib. iv. c. 16: *A Thule unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium, appellatum, et in c. 13, Septentrionalis Oceanus; Amalchium eum HECATÆUS appellat, a Paropamisio amne, quæ Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis [linguâ significat congelatum. PHILEMON narrat Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, usque ad promontorium Rubeas: ultra deinde Cronium.—TACITUS de Moribus Germ. c. 45: Trans Svionas, aliud mare pigrum, ac prope immotum. Apud DIONYS. Perieg.; v. 32, 33 legitur:*

Πόντον μὲν καλέουσι πεπηγότα τε, κρόνιον τε  
 "Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐφήμισαν, εἴνεκ' ἀφαιρουῷ  
 'Ἡελίου.

Apud. ORPH. *Argonaut.* v. 1079, 1080.

Ἐμπεσε δ' Ὀκεανῷ, Κρόνιον δ' ἐπικικλήσκουσι  
 Πόντον Ὑπερβορέην μέροπες, Νεκρὴν τε θάλασσαν.

Quos retulimus scriptores, omnes omnia hæc nomina ex PYTHEA *Massiliensi* mutuati sunt, qui ipse sine dubio a Celticis vel Geticis incolis illa audita excepit. Morimarusa a *mor* 'mare,' et *mario* 'mortuus est,' compositum habetur, quod PLINIUS ideo recte explicavit per *mare mortuum*. *Muir-croinn* Hibernice significat *mare congelatum*.—Cf. SCHÖNING, loc. cit. p. 73; SCHLÖZER, p. 114; FORSTER, p. 34; ARVEDSON, p. 21.

## II. C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

*De Bell. Gall.* iv. 20. Exiguâ parte æstatis reliquâ, Cæsar, etsi in his locis, quod omnis Gallia ad septemtriones vergit, maturæ sunt hiemes, tamen in Britanniam proficisci contendit, quod omnibus fere Gallicis bellis hostibus nostris inde subministrata auxilia intelligebat: et, si tempus anni ad bellum gerendum deficeret, tamen magno sibi usui fore arbitrabatur, si modo insulam adisset, genus hominum perspexisset, loca, portus, aditus cognovisset: quæ omnia fere Gallis erant incognita. Neque enim temere præter mercatores illo adit quisquam, neque iis ipsis quidquam, præter oram maritimam, atque eas regiones quæ sunt contra Gallias, notum est. Itaque, evocatis ad se undique mercatoribus, neque quanta esset insulæ magnitudo, neque quæ aut quantæ nationes incolerent, neque quem usum belli haberent, aut quibus institutis uterentur, neque qui essent ad majorum navium multitudinem idonei portus, reperire poterat.

v. 12. Britanniae pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insulâ ipsâ memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgis transierant; qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt et bello illato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere cœperunt. Hominum est infinita multitudo, creberrimæque ædificia, fere Gallicis consimilia: pecorum magnus numerus. Utuntur aut ære, aut taleis ferreis, ad certum pondus examinatis, pro nummo. Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus, in maritimis ferrum; sed ejus exigua est copia: ære utuntur importato. Materia cujusque generis ut in Galliâ est præter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare

fas non putant; hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatisque caussâ. Loca sunt temperatiora, quam in Galliâ, remissioribus frigoribus.

13. Insula naturâ triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam. Hujus lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Galliâ naves adpelluntur, ad orientem solem; inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc latus tenet circiter millia passuum D. Alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem, quâ ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut æstimatur, quam Britannia; sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Galliâ est in Britanniam. In hoc medio cursu est insula, quæ adpellatur Mona; complures præterea minores objectæ insulæ existimantur: de quibus insulis nonnulli scripserunt, dies continuos XXX sub brumâ esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percuntationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex aquâ mensuris breviores esse, quam in continente, noctes videbamus. Hujus est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum opinio, DCC. millium. Tertium est contra septemtriones, cui parti nulla est objecta terra; sed ejus angulus lateris maxime ad Germaniam spectat: huic millia passuum DCCC. in longitudinem esse, existimatur. Ita omnis insula est in circuitu vicies centum millium passuum.

14. Ex his omnibus longe sunt humanissimi, qui Cantium incolunt, quæ regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallicâ differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne vivunt pellibusque sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem: atque hoc horridiore sunt in pugnâ adpectu: capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasâ, præter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed, si qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quæque deducta est.

vi. 21. Germani multum ab hâc consuetudine differunt: nam neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præsent, neque sacrificiis student. Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt et quorum aperte opibus juvantur, Solem et Vulcanum et Lunam: reliquos ne fama quidem acceperunt. Vita omnis in venationibus

atque in studiis rei militaris consistit : ab parvulis labori ac duriæ student.

24. Ac fuit antea tempus, quum Germanos Galli virtute superarent, ultro bella inferrent, propter hominum multitudinem agrique inopiam trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea quæ fertilissima sunt Germaniæ loca circum Hercyniam silvam (quam Eratostheni et quibusdam Græcis famâ notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam adpellant), Volcæ Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi consederunt.

25. Hujus Hercyniæ silvæ, quæ supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet; non enim aliter finire potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectâque fluminis Danubii regione pertinet ad fines Dacorum et Anartium : hinc se flectit sinistrorsus, diversis ab flumine regionibus, multarumque gentium fines propter magnitudinem adtingit; neque quisquam est hujus Germaniæ qui se aut adisse ad initium ejus silvæ dicat, quum dierum iter LX processerit, aut quo ex loco oriatur acceperit. Multa in eâ genera ferarum nasci constat, quæ reliquis in locis visa non sint : ex quibus quæ maxime differant ab ceteris et memoriæ prodenda videantur, hæc sunt.

26. Est bos cervi figurâ, cujus a mediâ fronte inter aures unum cornu exsistit, excelsius magisque directum his, quæ nobis nota sunt, cornibus. Ab ejus summo, sicut palmæ, rami late diffunduntur. Eadem est feminæ marisque natura, eadem forma magnitudoque cornuum.

27. Sunt item quæ adpellantur Alces. Harum est consimilis capreis figura et varietas pellium; sed magnitudine paullo antecedunt mutilæque sunt cornibus et crura sine nodis articulisque habent; neque quietis causâ procumbunt, neque, si quo adflictæ casu conciderint, erigere sese aut sublevare possunt. His sunt arbores pro cubilibus : ad eas se adplicant, atque ita paullum modo reclinatæ quietem capiunt : quarum ex vestigiis quum est animadversum a venatoribus, quo se recipere consuerint, omnes eo loco aut ab radicibus subruunt, aut accidunt arbores tantum, ut summa species earum stantium relinquatur. Huc quum se

consuetudine reclinaverint, infirmas arbores pondere adfligunt atque una ipsæ concidunt.

28. Tertium est genus eorum, qui Uri adpellantur. Hi sunt magnitudine paullo infra elephantos; specie et colore et figura tauri. Magna vis eorum et magna velocitas: neque homini, neque feræ, quam conspexerint, parcant. Hos studiose foveis captos interficiunt. Hoc se labore durant homines adolescentes atque hoc genere venationis exercent; et qui plurimos ex his interfecerunt, relatis in publicum cornibus, quæ sint testimonio, magnam ferunt laudem. Sed adsuescere ad homines et mansue fieri ne parvuli quidem excepti possunt. Amplitudo cornuum et figura et species multum a nostrorum boum cornibus differt. Hæc studiose conquisita ab labris argento circumcludunt atque in amplissimis epulis pro poculis utuntur.

*Epist. incert. (Ex Eumenii Paneg. iv. c. 11).* Quam (Britanniam) Cæsar, ille auctor vestri nominis, quum Romanorum primus intrasset, alium se orbem terrarum scripsit repperisse, tantæ magnitudinis arbitratus, ut non circumfusa Oceano, sed complexa ipsum Oceanum videretur.

### III. DIODORUS SICULUS.

v. c. 21. Κατοικεῖν δὲ φασὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν αὐτόχθονα γένη καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν βίον ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς διατηροῦντα. ἄρμασι μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους χρῶνται, καθάπερ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἥρωες ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πολέμῳ κεχρῆσθαι παραδίδονται, καὶ τὰς οἰκῆσεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἢ ξύλων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον συγκειμέναι· τὴν τε συναγωγὴν τῶν σιτικῶν καρπῶν ποιοῦνται τοὺς στάχους αὐτοὺς ἀποτέμνοντες καὶ θησαυρίζοντες εἰς τὰς καταγείους οἰκῆσεις· ἐκ δὲ τούτων τοὺς παλαιοὺς στάχους καθ' ἡμέραν τίλλειν, καὶ κατεργαζομένους ἔχειν τὴν τροφὴν τοῖς δὲ ἡθεσιν ἀπλοὺς εἶναι καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένους τῆς τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων ἀγχινοίας καὶ πονηρίας. τὰς τε διαίτας εὐτελεῖς ἔχειν καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ πλούτου γεννωμένης τρυφῆς πολὺ διαλλάττοντας. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πολυάνθρωπον τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος ἔχειν διάθεσιν παντελῶς κατεψυγμένην, ὥς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτὴν

τὴν ἄρκτον κειμένην. βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας πολλοὺς ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰρηνικῶς διακεῖσθαι.

с. 22. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωμάτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν εἰς Βρεττανίαν παραγεννηθῶμεν, νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν φυομένου κασσιτέρου διέξιμεν· τῆς γὰρ βρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοί τε διαφερόντως εἰσὶ, καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπόρων ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημερωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγάς. οὗτοι τὸν κασσίτερον κατασκευάζουσι φιλοτέχνως ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν φέρουσιν αὐτὸν γῆν. αὕτη δὲ πετρώδης οὔσα, διαφυὰς ἔχει γεώδεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν πόρον κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τήξαντες καθαίρουσιν. ἀποτυποῦντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμοὺς κομίζουσιν εἷς τινα νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἰκτιν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀναξηραίνομενον τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου, ταῖς ἀμάξαις εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψιλῇ τὸν κασσίτερον. ἴδιον δέ τι συμβαίνει περὶ τὰς πλησίον νήσους τὰς μεταξὺ κειμένας τῆς τε Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς πλημμυρίδας τοῦ μεταξὺ πόρου πληρουμένου νῆσοι φαίνονται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀπορρέουσας τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ πολλὸν τόπον ἀναξηραίνουσας, θεωροῦνται χερρόνησοι. ἐντεῦθεν δ' οἱ ἔμποροι παρὰ τῶν ἐγγχωρίων ὠνοῦνται καὶ διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πεζῇ διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας ὥς τριάκοντα κατάγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ φορτία πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ.

с. 23. Περί μιν οὖν τοῦ καττιτέρου τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθηςόμεσθα, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλουμένου ἡλέκτρον νῦν διέξιμεν· τῆς Σκυθίας τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν Γαλατίαν κατ' ἀντικρὺ νήσός ἐστι πελαγία κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἢ προσαγορευομένη Βασιλεία· εἰς ταύτην ὁ κλύδων ἐκβάλλει δαψιλές τὸ καλούμενον ἡλεκτρον, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης φαινόμενον· περὶ δὲ τοῦτου πολλοὶ τῶν παλαίων ἀνέγραψαν μύθους παντελῶς ἀπιστομένους καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐλεγχομένους.

#### IV. STRABO.—*Geographica*.

I. iv. 2 (Cas. 63). Ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀφορίζων φησὶν (ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης) ἀπὸ μὲν Μερόης ἐπὶ τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς μεσημβρινοῦ μέχρι Ἀλεξανδρείας εἶναι μυρίους, ἐνθὲνδεεῖς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἑκατὸν σταδίους, εἴτ' εἰς Βορυσθένη πεντακισχιλίους, εἴτ' ἐπὶ

τὸν κύκλον τὸν διὰ Θούλης (ἣν φησι Πυθέας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐγγὺς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης) ἄλλους ὡς μυρίους χιλίους πεντακοσίους, κ.τ.λ. . . .

3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διαστήματα δεδόσθω αὐτῷ· ὡμολόγηται γὰρ ἱκανῶς· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ Θούλης κύκλον τίς ἂν δοίη νοῦν ἔχων; ὃ τε γὰρ ἱστορῶν τὴν Θούλην Πυθέας ἀνὴρ ψευδίστατος ἐξήτασται, καὶ οἱ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν [καὶ] Ἰέρνην ἰδόντες οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς Θούλης λέγουσιν, ἄλλας νήσους λέγοντες μικρὰς περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν· αὐτὴ τε ἡ Βρεττανικὴ τὸ μῆκος ἴσως πῶς ἐστὶ τῇ Κελτικῇ παρεκτεταμένη, τῶν πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων οὐ μείζων καὶ τοῖς ἄρκτοις τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις ἀφοριζομένη. ἀντίκειται γὰρ ἀλλήλοις τὰ τε ἐῶα ἄκρα τοῖς ἐῶις καὶ τα ἐσπέρια τοῖς ἐσπερίοις, καὶ τὰ γε ἐῶα ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ μέχρις ἐπόψεως, τό τε Κάντιον καὶ αἱ τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολαί. ὁ δὲ πλείονων ἢ δισμυρίων τὸ μῆκος ἀποφαίνει τῆς νήσου, καὶ τὸ Κάντιον ἡμερῶν τινων πλοῦν ἀπέχειν τῆς Κελτικῆς φησι· καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ὠστιμίους δὲ καὶ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου τὰ μέχρι Σκυθῶν πάντα κατέψευσται τῶν τόπων. ὅστις οὖν περὶ τῶν γνωριζομένων τόπων τοσαῦτα ἔψευσται, σχολῇ γ' ἂν περὶ τῶν ἀγνωστούμενων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀληθεύειν δύναίτο.

Τὸν δὲ διὰ τοῦ Βορυσθένους παράλληλον τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ διὰ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς εἰκάζουσιν Ἰππαρχός τε καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τοῦ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τὸν διὰ Βυζαντίου τῷ διὰ Μασσαλίας· ὃν γὰρ λόγον εἴρηκε [Πυθέας] τοῦ ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἰππαρχος κατὰ τὸν ὁμώνυμον καιρὸν εὑρεῖν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ φησίν. . . .

. . . . Δεῖν δὲ ἔτι προσθεῖναι τὸ ἐκτὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν κύρτωμα τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἀντικείμενον μὲν τοῖς Ἰβηρσι προπεπτωκὸς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, οὐκ ἔλαττον σταδίων τρισχιλίων, καὶ τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὠστιμίων, ὃ καλεῖται Κάβαιον, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τοῦτο νήσους, ὧν τὴν ἐσχάτην Οὐξισάμην φησὶ Πυθέας ἀπέχειν ἡμερῶν τριῶν πλοῦν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν τὰ τελευταῖα οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ μῆκος συντείνοντα προσέθηκε τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ τῶν Ὠστιμίων καὶ τῆς Οὐξισάμης καὶ ὧν φησι νήσων· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα προσάρκτιά ἐστι καὶ Κελτικά, οὐκ Ἰβηρικά, μᾶλλον δὲ Πυθέου πλάσματα.

II. i. 18 (Cas. 75). Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰππαρχος κατὰ τὸν Βορυσθένην καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐν ὅλαις ταῖς θεριναῖς νυξὶ παραυγάζεσθαι τὸ φῶς

τοῦ ἡλίου περιστάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν, ταῖς δὲ χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς [τὸ] πλεῖστον μετεωρίζεσθαι τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ πῆχεις ἑννέα, κ.τ.λ. . . . οὗτος δὲ Πυθέα πιστεύων κατὰ τὰ νοτιώτερα τῆς Βρεττανικῆς τὴν οἴκησιν ταύτην τίθησι.

iv. 1. (Cas. 104). Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἔαν φησι, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν Δικαί-  
αρχόν τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν τελευταῖον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας, καὶ Πυθέαν, ὅφ' οὗ παρακρουσθῆναι πολλούς, ὅλην μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐμβατὸν ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον πλειόνων ἢ τεττάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νήσου, προσιστορή-  
σαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ' αὐτὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἔτι οὔτε θάλαττα οὔτ' ἀῆρ, ἀλλὰ συγκριμά τι ἐκ τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἑοικός, ἐν ᾧ φησι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὄλων, μήτε πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα· τὸ μὲν οὖν τῷ πλεύμονι ἑοικὸς αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι, τὰλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθέου, καὶ διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνθένδε πᾶσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν παρωκεανῆτιν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως Τανάιδος.

2. Φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ Πολύβιος ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πῶς ἰδιώτῃ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τὰ τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένοιτο ; τὸν δ' Ἐρατοσθένη διαπορήσαντα εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν τούτοις, ὅμως περὶ τε τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πεπιστευκέναι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· πολὺ δὲ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ τούτῳ. ὁ μὲντοι γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν λέγει πλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τὴν προσ-  
άρκτιον τῆς Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν ἡνοῦδ' ἂν τῷ Ἑρμῇ πιστεύσαι τις λέγοντι. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαῖον καλεῖν, Πυθέα δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος.

v. 8 (Cas. 114). Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μασσαλιώτης Πυθέας τὰ περὶ Θούλην τὴν βορειοτάτην τῶν Βρεττανικῶν ὕστατα λέγει, παρ' οἷς ὁ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ τῷ ἀρκτικῷ ὁ θερινὸς τροπικὸς κύκλος· παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἱστορεῖν, οὔθ' ὅτι Θούλη νήσος ἐστὶ τις οὔτ' εἰ τὰ μέχρι δεῦρο οἰκῆσιμά ἐστιν, ὅπου ὁ θερινὸς τροπικὸς ἀρκτικὸς γίνεται, νομίζω δὲ πολὺ εἶναι νοτιώτερον τοῦτο τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης πέρασ τὸ προσάρκτιον· οἱ γὰρ νῦν ἱστοροῦντες περαιτέρω τῆς Ἰέρνης οὐδὲν ἔχουσι λέγειν, ἢ πρὸς ἄρκτον πρόκειται τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πλησίον,

ἀγρίων τελέως ἀνθρώπων καὶ κακῶς οἰκούντων διὰ ψῦχος, ὥστ' ἐνταῦθα νομίζω τὸ πέρασ εἶναι θετέον. τοῦ δὲ παραλλήλου τοῦ διὰ Βυζαντίου διὰ Μασσαλίας πὼς ἰόντος, ὥς φησιν Ἰππαρχος πιστεύσας Πυθέα (φησὶ γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τοῦ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιάν, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Πυθέας ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ), τοῦ δὲ διὰ Βορυσθένους ἀπὸ τούτου διέχοντος περὶ τρισχιλίου καὶ ὀκτακοσίου, εἴη ἂν ἐκ τοῦ διαστήματος τοῦ ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐνταῦθά που πίπτων ὁ διὰ τοῦ βορυσθένους κύκλος. πανταχοῦ δὲ παρακρούμενος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Πυθέας κἀνταῦθά που διέψευσται· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ στηλῶν γραμμὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ῥόδον τόπους ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου κείσθαι ὁμολόγηται παρὰ πολλῶν.

III. ii. 11 (Cas. 148). Καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὴν συνεχῇ τῇ Κάλπῃ Ταρτηρσίδα καλεῖσθαι φησι καὶ Ἐρυθείαν νῆσον εὐδαίμονα· πρὸς δὲ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀντιλέγων καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῶς λέγεσθαι φησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθάπερ καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀκρωτήριον διάστημα ἀπέχειν ἡμερῶν πέντε πλοῦν, οὐ πλείονων ὄντων ἢ χιλίων καὶ ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων, καὶ τὸ τὰς ἀμπώτεις μέχρι δεῦρο περατοῦσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ κύκλου περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην συμβαίνειν, καὶ τὸ τὰ προσαρκτικὰ μέρη τῆς Ἰβηρίας εὐπαροδώτερα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἢ κατὰ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν πλέουσι, καὶ ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα εἴρηκε Πυθέα πιστεύσας.

IV. ii. 1 (Cas. 190). Ὁ δὲ Λίγηρ μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμνιτῶν ἐκβάλλει· πρότερον δὲ Κορβιλῶν ὑπῆρχεν ἐμπορίον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ, περὶ ἧς εἴρηκε Πολύβιος, μνησθεὶς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέου μυθολογηθέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμιξάντων Σκιπίωνι οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Ναρβῶνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλῶνος, αἵπερ ἦσαν ἄρισται πόλεις τῶν ταύτῃ, Πυθέας δ' ἐθάρρησε τοσαῦτα ψεύσασθαι.

iv. 1 (Cas. 194). Μετά δε τὰ λεχθέντα ἔθνη τὰ λοιπὰ Βελγῶν ἐστὶν ἔθνη τῶν παρωκεανιτῶν, ὧν Οὐένετοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ναυμαχῆσαντες πρὸς Καίσαρα· ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν κωλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλοῦν χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ. . . . Ὅσιςμιοι δ' εἰσὶν, οὓς [Ωσ]τιμίους ὀνομάζει Πυθέας, ἐπὶ τινος προπεπτωκυίας ἱκανῶς ἄκρας εἰς τὸν Ὀκεανὸν οἰκούντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνός φησι καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐκείνῳ.

IV. v. 5 (Cas. 201). Περὶ δὲ τῆς Θούλης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀσαφὴς ἡ ἱστορία διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν· ταύτην γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀρκτικωτάτην τιθέασιν. ἃ δ' εἴρηκε Πυθέας περὶ τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτῃ τόπων, ὅτι μὲν πέπλασται, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν γνωριζομένων χωρίων· κατέψευσται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλείστα, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, ὥστε δῆλός ἐστιν ἐψευσμένος μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν ἐκτετοπισμένων· πρὸς μέντοι τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν θεωρίαν ἱκανῶς δόξει κεχρηῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι . . . τοῖς τῇ κατεψυγμένῃ ζώνῃ πλησιάζουσι τὸ τῶν καρπῶν εἶναι τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ ζώων τῶν μὲν ἀφορίαν παντελεῖ τῶν δὲ σπάνιν, κέγχρω δὲ καὶ ἀγρίοις λαχάνοις καὶ καρποῖς καὶ ῥίζαις τρέφεσθαι· πᾶρ' οἷς δὲ σῖτος καὶ μέλι γίγνεται, καὶ τὸ πόμα ἐντεῦθεν ἔχειν· τὸν δὲ σῖτον, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς ἡλίους οὐκ ἔχουσι καθαρούς, ἐν οἴκοις μεγάλους κόπτουσι, συγκομισθέντων δεῦρο τῶν σταχύων· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλω ἄχρηστοι γίνονται διὰ τὸ ἀνῆλιον καὶ τοὺς ὄμβρους·

VI. ii. 4 (Cas. 294). Τῶν δὲ Γερμανῶν, ὡς εἶπον, οἱ μὲν προσάρκτιοι παροικοῦσι τῷ Ὀκεανῷ. . . . Τοὺς δὲ ἀκριβεῖς ὄρους οὐκ ἔχομεν φράζειν διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀγνοίαν τῶν τόπων τούτων οἱ τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους μυθοποιοῦντες λόγου ἡξίωται, καὶ ἃ Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης κατεψεύσατο ταῦτα τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος, προσχῆματι χρώμενος τῇ περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ ἱστορίᾳ.

## V. POMPONIUS MELA.

*De Situ Orbis*, iii. c. 6. [*Insulæ*] in Celticis aliquot sunt quas quia plumbo abundant uno omnes nomine Cassiteridas appellant. Sena in Britannico mari, Osismicis adversa littoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est : cujus antistites, perpetuâ virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur : Galli Senas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus præditas ; maria ac ventos concitare carminibus ; seque in quæ velint animalia vertere ; sanare, quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt ; scire ventura et prædicare.

Triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se diductæ spatiis : septem Hæmodæ, contra Germaniam vectæ. In illo sinu, quem Codanum diximus, sex ; ex iis Scandinavia, quam adhuc Teutoni tenent, ut fœcunditate alias, ita magnitudine antestat. Quæ Sarmatis adversa

sunt, ob alternos accessus recessusque pelagi, et quod spatia quâs distant modo operiuntur undis modo nuda sunt, alias insulæ videntur, alias una et continens terra. In his esse Oæonas qui ovis avium palustrium et avenis tantum aluntur: esse equinis pedibus Hippopodas, et Panotos, quibus magnæ aures et ad ambiendum corpus omne patulæ nudis alioquin pro veste sunt, præterquam quod fabulis traditur, auctores etiam quos sequi non pigeat invenio. Thule Belgarum litori opposita est, Graiis et nostris celebrata carminibus. In eâ, quod ibi sol longe occasurus exsurgit, breves utique noctes sunt: sed per hiemem, sicut aliubi, obscuræ; æstate lucidæ, quod per id tempus jam se altius evehens, quanquam ipse non cernatur, vicino tamen splendore proxima illustrat; per solstitium vero nullæ, quod tum jam manifestior non fulgore modo, sed sui quoque partem maximam ostentat.

## VI. C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS.

*Hist. Nat.* ii. c. 77. Sic fit ut, vario lucis incremento, in Meroë longissimus dies XII horas æquinoctiales et octo partes unius horæ colligat: Alexandria vero XIV horas: in Italiâ XV: in Britannîâ XVII. Ubi æstate lucidæ noctes, haud dubie repromittunt id quod cogit ratio credi; solstitii diebus accedente Sole propius verticem mundi, angusto lucis ambitu, subjecta terræ continuos dies habere senis mensibus; noctesque e diverso ad brumam remoto. Quod fieri in insulâ Thule Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septemtrionem a Britannîâ distante.

ii. c. 99. Omnes autem æstus in Oceano majora integunt spatia inundantque, quam in reliquo mari . . . Octogenis cubitis supra Britanniam intumescere æstus Pytheas Massiliensis auctor est.

iv. c. 27. Exeundum deinde est, ut extera Europæ dicantur, transgressisque Riphæos montes, litus Oceani septemtrionalis in lævâ, donec perveniatur Gades, legendum. Insulæ complures sine nominibus eo situ traduntur. Ex quibus ante Scythiam, quæ appellatur Raunonia, unam abesse diei cursu, in quam veris tempore fluctibus electrum ejiciatur, Timæus prodidit. Reliqua litora incertâ signata famâ. Septemtrionalis Oceanus: Amalchium eum

Hecataeus appellat; à Paropamiso amne, quâ Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis linguâ significat congelatum. Philemon Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est, mortuum mare, usque ad promontorium Rubeas: ultra deinde Cronium. Xenophon Lampsacenus, a litore Scytharum tridui navigatione insulam esse immensæ magnitudinis Baltiam, tradit. Eandem Pytheas Basi-  
liam nominat.

iv. c. 30. Ex adverso hujus sitûs Britannia insula, clara Græcis nostrisque monumentis, inter septemtrionem et occidentem jacet: Germaniæ, Galliæ, Hispaniæ, multo maximis Europæ partibus magno intervallo adversa. Albion ipsi nomen fuit, cum Britannia vocarentur omnes: de quibus mox paullo dicemus. Hæc abest a Gessoriaci Morinorum gentis litore proximo trajectu quinquaginta M., circuitu vero patere tricies octies centena viginti quinque M. Pytheas et Isidorus tradunt.

Sunt autem XL Orcades, modicis inter se discretæ spatiis: VII Acmodæ, et XXX Hæbudes: et inter Hiberniam ac Britanniam, Mona, Monapia, Ricina, Vectis, Limnus, Andros. Infra vero Siambis, et Axantos. Et ab adverso in Germanicum mare sparsæ Glessariæ, quas Electridas Græci recentiores appellavere, quod ibi electrum nasceretur. Ultima omnium quæ memorantur Thule: in qua solstitio nullas esse noctes indicavimus, Cancris signum Sole transeunte, nullosque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidam senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur. Timæus historicus a Britanniâ introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in quâ candidum plumbum proveniat. Ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare. Sunt qui et alias prodant, Scandiam, Dumnam, Bergos: maximamque omnium Nerigon, ex quâ in Thulen navigetur. A Thule unius diei navigatione mare concretum a nonnullis Cronium appellatur.

xxxvii. c. 11. Sotacus credit in Britanniâ petris [*electrum*] effluere, quas Electridas vocat. Pytheas Guttonibus, Germaniæ gente, accoli æstuarium Oceani, Mentonomon nomine, spatio stadiorum sex millium: ab hoc diei navigatione insulam abesse Abalum: illuc verè fluctibus advehi, et esse concreti maris purgamentum: incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo, proximisque

Teutonīs vendere. Huic et Timæus credidit, sed insulam Basiliam vocavit.

## VII. CORNELIUS. TACITUS.

*Germania*, c. 44. Trans Lygios Gothones regnantur, paullo jam adductius quam ceteræ Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem. Protinus deinde ab Oceano Rugii et Lemovii, omniumque harum gentium insigne rotunda scuta, breves gladii, et erga reges obsequium. Suionum hinc civitates ipso in Oceano præter viros armaque classibus valent.

c. 45. Trans Suionas aliud mare pigrum ac prope immotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortus edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet. Sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque deorum et radios capitis aspici persuasio adjicit. Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Æstyorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior. Matrem deum venerantur; insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omnique tutelâ securum deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solitâ Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi *glesum* vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt.

*Agricola*, c. 10. Formam totius Britannicæ Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium, eloquentissimi auctores, oblongæ scutulæ vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum fama. Est transgressis immensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo jam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus jussum, et hiems appetebat. Sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus; perhibent ne ventis quidem proinde attolli; credo, quod rariores

terræ montesque, causa ac materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque æstus neque quærere hujus operis est, ac multi rettulere. Unum addiderim, nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

c. 12. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extremâ Britannîæ parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere sed transire adfirmant.

### VIII. C. JULIUS SOLINUS.

*Polyhistor.* c. 22. Saltus Hercynius aves gignit, quarum pennæ per obscurum emicant et interlucent, quamvis densa nox obtegat et denset tenebras. Unde homines loci illius plerumque nocturnos excursus sic destinant, ut illis utantur ad præsidium itineris dirigendi præjectisque per opaca callium rationem viæ moderentur indicio plumarum refulgentium. In hoc tractu sane et in omni septentrionali plagâ bisontes frequentissimi, qui boves feris similes setosi, colla jubis horrida. Ultra tauros pernicitate vigentes, capti assuescere manu nequeunt. Sunt et uri . . . Taurina cornua in tantum modum protenduntur, ut dempta ob insignem capacitatem inter regias mensas potuum gerula fiant. Sunt et alces, mulis comparandæ, adeo propenso labro superiore, ut nisi recedentes in posteriora vestigia pasci non queant. . De Germanicis insulis Scandinavia maxima est.

c. 24. Multæ et aliæ circum Britanniam insulæ e quibus Thyle ultima, in quâ æstivo solstitio, sole de Cancrî sidere faciente transitum, nox pæne nulla: brumali solstitio dies adeo conductus, ut ortus junctus sit occasui. A Caledoniæ promontorio Thylen petentibus bidui navigatione perfectâ excipiunt Hebudes insulæ, quinque numero, quarum incolæ nesciunt fruges: piscibus tantum et lacte vivunt. Rex unus est universis: nam, quotquot sunt,

omnes angustâ interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil suum habet, omnia universorum: ad æquitatem certis legibus stringitur: ac ne avaritia divertat a vero, discit paupertate justitiam utpote cui nihil sit rei familiaris: verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur femina propria, sed per vicissitudines, in quamcumque commotus sit, usurariam sumit. Unde ei nec votum, nec spes conceditur liberorum. Secundam a continenti stationem Orcades præbent: sed Orcades ab Hebudibus porro sunt septem dierum totidemque noctium cursu, numero tres. Vacant homine: non habent silvas: tantum juncis herbis inhorrescunt. Cetera earum nudæ arenæ. Ab Orcadibus Thylen usque quinque dierum ac noctium navigatio est. Sed Thyle largâ et diutinâ pomonâ copiosa est. Qui illic habitant, principio veris inter pecudes pabulis vivunt, dein lacte. In hiemem compercunt arborum fructus. Utuntur feminis vulgo, certum matrimonium nulli. Ultra Thylen pigrum et concretum mare. Circuitus Britanniae 4875 millia passuum sunt. In quo spatio magna et multa flumina: fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus præsul Minervæ [*var. lect. præest Sul-Minervæ*] numen, in cujus æde perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit, vertit in globos saxeos.

## IX. DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES.

Orbis Descriptio, v. 286.

Ὠκεανοῦ κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥόος, ἔνθα Βρετανοὶ  
Λευκά τε φύλα νέμονται ἀρειμανέων Γερμανῶν,  
Ἐρκυνίου δρυμοῖο παραθρώσκοντες ὀρόγους.

Κεῖθι δὲ Κελτῶν παῖδες, ὑφήμενοι αἰγείροισι,  
Δάκρυ' ἀμέλγονται χρυσαυγέος ἡλέκτροιο.

v. 561.

Αὐτὰρ ὑπ' ἄκρην  
Ἴρην, ἣν ἐνέπουσι κάρην ἔμεν Εὐρωπείης,  
Νήσους Ἐσπερίδας, τόθι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη,

Ἀφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγαυῶν παῖδες Ἰβήρων.  
 Ἄλλαι δ' Ὀκεανοῖο παρὰ βορεώτιδας ἀκτὰς  
 Δισσαὶ νῆσοι ἔασι Βρετανίδες, ἀντὶα Ῥήνου  
 Κεῖθι γὰρ ὑστατίην ἀπερεύγεται εἰς ἄλλα δίνην  
 Τάων τοι μέγεθος περιώσιον, οὐδέ τις ἄλλη  
 Νήσοις ἐν πάσῃσι Βρετανίσιν ἰσοφαρίζει.  
 Ἄγχι δὲ νησίδων ἕτερος πόρος, ἔνθα γυναιῖκες  
 Ἄνδρῶν ἀντιπέρηθεν ἀγαυῶν Ἀμνιτάων  
 Ὀρνύμεναι τελέουσι κατὰ νόμον ἱερὰ Βάκχω,  
 Στεψάμεναι κισσοῖο μελαμφύλλοιο κορύμβοις,  
 Ἐννύχαι· παταγῆς δὲ λιγύθροος ὄρνυται ἡχή.

Πολλὴν δὲ προτέρωσε ταμὼν ὁδὸν Ὀκεανοῖο,  
 Νήσόν κεν Θούλην εὐεργεῖ νηὶ περήσαις·  
 Ἐνθα μὲν, ἡελίοιο βεβηκότος ἐς πόλον ἄρκτων,  
 Ἦμαθ' ὁμοῦ καὶ νύκτας ἀειφανὲς ἐκκέχυται πῦρ.

## X. RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS.

### *Ora Maritima.*

- V. 85 Hic Gaddir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius :  
 Hic sunt columnæ pertinacis Herculis,  
 Abila atque Calpe ; hæc læva dicti cespitis,  
 (Libyæ propinqua est Abila) duro perstrepunt  
 Septentrione, sed loco certæ tenent.  
 Et prominentis hic jugi surgit caput,  
 (Æstrymnin istud dixit ævum antiquius)  
 Molesque celsa saxei fastigii  
 Tota in tepentem maxime vergit Notum.  
 Sub hujus autem prominentis vertice  
 Sinus dehiscit incolis Æstrymnicus,  
 In quo insulæ sese exserunt Æstrymnides,  
 Laxe jacentes, et metallo divites

Stanni atque plumbi. Multa vis hic gentis est,  
Superbus animus, efficax sollertia,  
Negotiandi cura jugis omnibus :  
Notisque cymbis turbidum late fretum  
Et belluosi gurgitem Oceani secant.  
Non hi carinas quippe pinu texere  
Acereve nôrunt, non abiete, ut usus est,  
Curvant phaselos, sed rei ad miraculum,  
Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,  
Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum,  
Ast hinc duobus in Sacram, sic insulam  
Dixere prisci, solibus cursus rati est,  
Hæc inter undas multa cespitem jacet,  
Eamque late gens Hibernorum colit.  
Propinqua rursus insula Albionum patet.  
Tartessiisque in terminos Æstryrnidum  
Negotiandi mos erat ; Carthaginis  
Etiam coloni, et vulgus, inter Herculis  
Agitans columnas, hæc adibant æquora :  
Quæ Himilco Pœnus mensibus vix quatuor,  
Ut ipse semet re probâsse rettulit  
Enavigantem, posse transmitti adserit,  
Sic nulla late flabra propellunt ratem,  
Sic segnis humor æquoris pigri stupet.  
Adjicit et illud, plurimum inter gurgites  
Exstare fucum, et sæpe virgulti vice  
Retinere puppim ; dicit hic nihilominus  
Non in profundum terga demitti maris,  
Parvoque aquarum vix supertexi solum :  
Obire semper huc et huc ponti feras  
Navigia lenta et languide repentia  
Internatare belluas. Siquis dehinc  
Ab insulis Æstryrnicis lembum audeat  
Urgere in undas, axe quâ Lycaonis  
Rigescit æthra, cæspitem Ligurum subit  
Cassum incolarum.

V. 380

Porro in occiduam plagam  
 Ab his columnis gurgitem esse interminum,  
 Late patere pelagus, extendi salum,  
 Himilco tradit. Nullus hæc adiit freta,  
 Nullus carinas æquor illud intulit,  
 Desint quod alto flabra propellentia,  
 Nullusque puppim spiritus cœli juvet :  
 Dehinc quod æthram quodam amictu vestiat  
 Caligo, semper nebula condat gurgitem,  
 Et crassiore nubilum perstet die.  
 Oceanus iste est, orbis effusi procul  
 Circumlator, iste pontus maximus.

V. 404 Longo explicatur gurgis hujus ambitu,  
 Produciturque latere prolixè vago.  
 Plerumque porro tenue tenditur salum,  
 Ut vix arenas subiacentes occulat.  
 Exsuperat autem gurgitem fucus frequens  
 Atque impeditur æstus hic uligine.  
 Vis belluarum pelagus omne internatat  
 Multusque terror ex feris habitat freta.  
 Hæc olim Himilco Pœnus Oceano super  
 Spectâsse semet et probâsse rettulit :  
 Hæc nos, ab imis Punicorum annalibus  
 Prolata longo tempore, edidimus tibi.

# XI. THE RAVENNA GEOGRAPHER.

*Geogr.* i. 3. Duodecimâ ut horâ diei Britonum est patria, cujus post terga, infra Oceanum ubi longius est, duorum dierum cum suis noctibus prospere navigantibus iter, magna insula Britannia rejacet: quam Græcorum philosophi quasi *micosmin* appellant. Et trans ipsam Britanniam trecentis milliariis spatiis, ubi longius, Scotorum insula invenitur quæ et Hibernia conscribitur. Nam

jam ultra illam, ut ad occidentalem dicamus plagam, nullo modo ab hominibus terra invenitur.

## XII. DICUIL.

*De mensurâ Orbis.* c. 29. Thile ultima in quâ æstivo solstitio, Sole de Cancrî sidere faciente transitum, nox nulla. Brumali solstitio, perinde nullus dies. Trigesimus nunc annus est a quo nuntiaverunt mihi clerici qui a Kal. Febr. usque Kal. August. in illâ insulâ manserunt, quod non solum in æstivo solstitio, sed in diebus circa illud, in vespertinâ horâ sol abscondit se quasi trans parvum tumulum, ita ut nihil tenebrarum in minimo spatio ipso fiat . . . In medio illius minimi temporis medium noctis fit in medio orbis terræ; et idcirco mentientes falluntur qui circum eam concretum fore mare scripserunt, et qui a vernali æquinotio usque ad autumnale continuum diem sine nocte atque ab autumnali versâ vice usque ad vernale æquinotium assiduam quidem noctem, dum illi navigantes in naturali tempore magni frigoris eam intrabant ac manentes in ipsâ dies noctesque semper præter solstitii tempus alternatim habebant: sed, navigatione minus diei ex illâ ad Boream congelatum mare invenerunt.

## XIII. GASSENDI.

*Vita Peireskii.* 5. Exoptaverat Wendelinus maximam sive solstitialem Solis altitudinem observari Massiliæ: ut Diatribam suam de Solis obliquitate posset . . . expendere ex nostrâ observatione, comparata cum eâ quam sub Alexandri Magni tempora Pytheas Massiliensis peregit . . . Dicere sufficiat . . . fuisse ex nostrâ observatione gnomonem ad umbram eâ proportionem quam habent 120 ad  $42\frac{2}{3}$ ; qui fuit juxta illum "*eâ proportionem quam habent 120 ad  $41\frac{4}{5}$ .*"

*Proportio Gnomonis, Epist. 2.* “Ad Pytheam redeo, cuius propterea fidei nihil detrahitur, tametsi idem potuit cum illis proceribus Ptolemæo, Hipparcho, Eratosthene, peccatum peccare. Venit ille potius mihi commendandus et amore patriæ et civitatis gratiâ, quæ ut Euthymenem in Austrum sic ipsum in Boream emisit per Atlanticum, recitatuos quid in terris usque ultimis viseretur. Nec refert quod, ut Seneca mentitum Euthymenem scribit, sic Strabo, Polybium secutus, plurima mendacia Pythæe adscribit. Quippe et Philosophus, ex Cleomede, fuit, ac veri proinde studiosus; et quod ad cælestes quidem observationes attinet, id videtur sufficere, quod fuerit Matheseos ac ipsius adeo Astronomiæ valde peritus. Peritiorem certe vel ipso Eudoxo ab Hipparcho accipimus, cum Eudoxum quidem reprehendit dicentem esse quandam stellam in eodem semper loco consistentem, quæ quidem Polus mundi fit, et Massiliensem Pytheam commendat dicentem “*in Polo nullam esse stellam, sed vacuum esse locum cui tres stellæ adjaceant, quibuscum ipsum Poli punctum quadrangulam circiter figuram efficiat*”: ut illud præteream, quod ipsi propterea fidem adhibuit, Eratosthenem imitatus, dum ex ejusdem laboribus Geographiam locupletaverit. Nempe et descripsit terræ ambitum, opus Scholiastis celebratum, et memoratos Gemino de Oceano scripsit commentarios. Quin Strabo quoque ipse tacere non potest illius peritiam *περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ μαθηματικά*; causatur solum voluisse illum eruditionis suæ prætextu conciliare fabulis fidem. Et vide tamen, ut experientia nos jam edocuerit illa reverâ contingere in plagis Borealibus . . . quæ Strabo voluit Pythean descripsisse solum *πρὸς μὲν τοὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὴν μαθηματικὴν θεωρίαν*: ejusmodi sunt, “*fructum mitiorum nihil, animaliumque mansuetorum parum ibi nasci, miliis et aliis oleribus, fructibus, et radicibus vesci homines.*” Quod fabulæ locum potissimum dedit, ipsa est Thules historia, quam hodie etiam plerique volunt non esse dictam Islandiam, sed insulam quandam ex Orcadibus, adhærentes Ptolemæo, qui eam statuit quatuor gradibus citra Circulum Polarem. Sane vero, si nihil terrarum sub eo circulo detectum jam foret, posset Pytheas haberi mendax, referens “*se eo pervenisse, ubi æstivus Tropicus gereret vicem Arctici,*

*hoc est maximi circulatorum semper apparentium*": et quia jam etiam navigando pervenitur in Islandiam, ubi Tropicus pro Arctico est; quidni habeamus Pytheæ fidem et hanc Thulen esse credamus, quam sic nominatam primus prodidit? Quem ceteri certe supponunt, aut fingunt, situm non habet hujusmodi; et Cleomedes, melius quam Strabo, Thulen reliquit ubi Pytheas collocasse memorabatur. Et ne dubitare quis possit de Pytheæ sagacitate ac solertiâ, quasi loca citeriora habere potuerit pro eo in quo dies maximus 24 foret horarum, verba sunt illius apud Geminum, "*Monstrabant nobis barbari ubi Sol cubaret &c.*" Quæ refero, ut innuam quemadmodum Pytheas eo paulatim pervenerit ubi nulla tandem nox foret in æstivo solstitio, ac simul insinuem, quam grata esse debeat illius memoria qui primus mortalium tam longe processit. At fabulam sapit "*neque terram ibi porro esse, neque mare, neque aerem, sed quidpiam ex iis concretum, pulmonis marini simile &c.*" Sed nota potius hominis fidem, siquidem dixit solum Pytheas "*se pulmonis formam vidisse, referre autem cetera quasi auditu solo recepta.*" Addit Strabo dixisse "*solum ibi Tropicum pro Arctico esse,*" quod superest autem non commemorasse, neque an insula sit Thule, neque utrum habitationes eo usque pertingant, et alia similia; quæ, si voluisset imponere, haud dubie profecto scripsisset . . . . alia quoque sunt quæ improbat Strabo, ut *abesse Thulen a Britannîâ sex dierum navigatione* (quod Plinius quoque ex Pytheâ habet), *Cantium Britannîæ a Celticâ aliquot*, et *Sacrum Promontorium a Gadibus quinque*; sed nimirum videtur Pytheas conscripsisse totius suæ navigationis diarium, commemorasseque quantum temporis inter superandum locorum intervalla consumpsisset . . . . Quomodo proinde non Pytheas diario, sed Hipparchus ductâ a se consecutione, deceptus est, cum Pytheæ fidem dicitur secutus, asserendo maximum diem in australiore Britannîâ esse 18 horarum, ac simili modo Eratosthenes in assignandis Britannicis affinis. Vocat præterea ille figmenta, quæ Pytheas rettulit de *Ostidamniis*, *Calbio*, *Uxisamâ*, aliisque locis: et, quasi nunquam possit ipsi non esse ob Thulen infensus, hominem appellat mendacissimum, quod qui viderint Hiberniam non ejusmodi insulæ sed aliarum solum parvarum circa Britanniam

meminerint . . . . . At quonam modo id excusetur, quod ait Pytheas "*se peragrâsse quidquid est Europæ regionum ad Oceanum ex Gadibus ipsis ad Tanain usque.*"? Sane, quod potuerit Hispaniæ Galliæ ac Germaniæ oras perlustrare ac fortassis quoque Daniâ superatâ penetrare longe ad Balthicum Sinum, qui fuit olim Sarmaticus Hyperboreusque creditus Oceanus, creditus complecti Scandiæ Insulas, quas nunc esse Noruegiæ Sueciæque continentes constat, nemo inficias ierit. Quod existimaverit autem se "*ad Tanain usque*" pervenisse, Deum immortalem! quam id videtur pro caligine eorum temporum esse excusatione dignum!

---

## APPENDIX II.

A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS  
TO WHICH REFERENCES HAVE BEEN MADE.

*(The numbers refer to the pages on which the writers are cited.)*

- ÆLIAN (2nd century A.D.) lived at Rome under Hadrian, and wrote on the "Nature of Animals." Pp. 53, 221.
- AGATHARCIDES of Cnidos, published a work on the Erythræan Sea about B.C. 113. P. 54.
- AMMIANUS, MARCELLINUS (4th century A.D.), a Greek of Antioch, who wrote a Latin History of the Roman emperors from Nerva to Valens. Pp. 109, 114, 259, 339, 368.
- AMOMETUS (3rd century B.C.), one of the Greek writers of imaginary travels. P. 89.
- APULEIUS (2nd century A.D.) wrote, besides the famous "Golden Ass," various religious and philosophical tracts. Pp. 297, 335.
- ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.). Pp. 7, 48, 53.
- ARTEMIDORUS of Ephesus (circa 100 B.C.). He travelled in Spain and Gaul, and wrote a geography, abridged by Marcian of Heraclea. Pp. 15, 23, 91.
- ATHENÆUS (circa 220 A.D.). His "Deipno-Sophistæ" contains fragments of 800 writers now mostly lost. Pp. 92, 117.
- AUSONIUS, D. MAGNUS, the Poet, was born about 320 A.D., and lived till the end of the 4th century. Pp. 223, 252.
- AVIENUS, RUFUS FESTUS (circa 350-400 A.D.), translated Aratus and Dionysius Periegetes, and wrote a poem describing the shores of the Mediterranean, which is important as preserving some fragments of the tablets relating to the Carthaginian voyages. Pp. 19-21, 23.

- CÆSAR, C. JULIUS (103-44 B.C.). Pp. 18, 26, 34, 51, 102-3, 108, 112, 115, 230-2, 235, 250-5, 258-261, 266, 295.
- CASSIODORUS, M. AURELIUS, was born in A.D. 468, and lived beyond the middle of the next century. He was the minister of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. P. 45.
- CICERO, M. TULLIUS (106-43 B.C.). Pp. 113, 250, 297.
- CLAUDIANUS, CL. (4th century A.D.). He wrote panegyric poems chiefly in honour of Stilicho and the Emperor Honorius. Pp. 164, 294, 297, 341.
- CLEOMEDES (3rd century A.D.) wrote on the circular theory of the heavenly bodies. P. 64.
- CONSTANTIUS LUGDUNENSIS (circa 450 A.D.), wrote the "Life of St. Germanus," and corresponded with Sidonius Apollinaris. P. 344.
- DEMOSTHENES the Orator (384-322 B.C.). P. 204.
- DICÆARCHUS, the pupil of Aristotle and an eminent geographer, lived in the 3rd century, B.C. Pp. 7, 27, 75-6.
- DIODORUS SICULUS (latter part of 1st century A.D.). Pp. 17, 28, 35, 46, 50-1, 86, 92, 109, 111-2, 117-8, 260, 266, 275.
- DIOGENES, ANTONIUS (2nd or 3rd century B.C.), author of the "Wonders beyond Thule." Pp. 76, 78, 81.
- DION CASSIUS the Historian (155-240 A.D.). Pp. 107, 164-6, 286, 295-8, 310.
- DION CHRYSOSTOMUS, the Orator, flourished in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. P. 260.
- DIOSCORIDES (latter part of the 1st century A.D.), a Greek physician, who wrote on "Materia Medica." P. 254.
- EPHORUS the Historian (363-300 B.C.) described the Celts from the reports of the early Greek travellers. P. 48.
- ERATOSTHENES (276-196 B.C.), librarian at Alexandria, astronomer and geographer, was the first to measure the obliquity of the ecliptic: he also made an improved map of the earth. Pp. 10, 13, 14, 25, 27, 45, 51-2, 65, 75-6.
- EUEMERUS of Messene, lived about the time of Alexander the Great. His "Sacred History" was translated into Latin by Ennius. Pp. 75-6.
- EUMENIUS (flor. 296-310 A.D.), an orator, and author of the Panegyric on Constantius. Pp. 320, 322.
- EUSTATHIUS, Archbp. of Thessalonica (12th century A.D.), wrote commentaries on Homer and Dionysius Periegetes. Pp. 8, 81, 92, 109, 117.

- FLORUS, L. ANNÆUS JULIUS (2nd century A.D.), wrote an epitome of Roman history, which appeared soon after the publication of Ptolemy's geography. P. 107.
- FRONTO, M. CORNELIUS (consul in 161 A.D.), a famous orator under the Antonines. P. 297.
- GEMINUS of Rhodes (1st century A.D.) wrote an "Introduction to Astronomy." Pp. 64, 68.
- GRATIANUS, FALISCUS (beginning of the 1st century A.D.), wrote on hunting. P. 294.
- HECATÆUS of Miletus (circa 500 B.C.), one of the earliest writers on Greek history and geography. P. 5.
- HECATÆUS of Abdera (circa 300 B.C.), author of the romance of "The Hyperboreans." Pp. 5, 85-7.
- HERODIAN (170-240 A.D.). His history is almost the sole authority for the age of Severus. Pp. 164, 168, 252, 317.
- HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus (484-408 B.C.). Pp. 8, 10, 16, 81, 132-3, 144, 154, 337.
- HIPPARCHUS (2nd century B.C.), was the greatest astronomer of antiquity, and the discoverer of the precession of the equinoxes. He commented on Aratus, and attempted to determine latitudes and longitudes. Pp. 13, 27, 66.
- ISIDORE, Bishop of Seville (570-646 A.D.), wrote 20 books of "Origines sive Etymologiæ." Pp. 114, 222, 235.
- JAMBULUS (3rd century B.C.) wrote the romance of "The Fortunate Islands," a translation of which will be found in Purchas' Pilgrims. P. 89.
- JEROME, ST., lived 331-420 A.D. Pp. 94, 95, 337.
- JORNANDES, wrote his history of the Goths about 552 A.D. Pp. 31, 65.
- JUVENALIS, D. JUNIUS, was born 42 A.D. and wrote his Satires about the end of the first century. Pp. 115, 164, 220.
- LACTANTIUS, L. CÆLIUS FIRMIANUS, flourished at the beginning of the 4th century. The account of the Diocletian persecution, known as "De Mortibus Persecutorum," is frequently attributed to him. P. 335.
- LAMPRIIDIUS, ÆLIUS (3rd century A.D.), wrote a life of Alexander Severus. P. 267.
- LUCAN (M. ANNÆUS LUCANUS), the Poet, was a native of Cordova: he died in 65 A.D. at the age of 26. Pp. 109, 115, 164, 232, 254, 266, 292.
- LUCIAN (2nd century A.D.). His "Vera Historia" is a burlesque of the older geographical romances. Pp. 77, 79, 276.

- MACROBIUS, AURELIUS (5th century A.D.), grammarian and philosopher. P. 335.
- MANILIUS, M. (1st century A.D.), was the author of a poetical treatise on Astronomy. P. 13.
- MARTIALIS, M. VALERIUS, born in Spain, flourished between 40 and 104 A.D. He mentions Britain in several of his Epigrams. Pp. 3, 112, 294.
- MAXIMUS of Tyre (2nd century A.D.), a celebrated Platonist who wrote in the age of the Antonines. P. 272.
- MEROBAUDES, a Frankish Poet (circa 450 A.D.). His chief poem, now extant, is the "Third Consulship of Aetius." P. 346.
- OLYMPIODORUS (circa 425 A.D.). He wrote a history of the Western Empire from 407-425 A.D. P. 342.
- OPPIAN (circa 200 A.D.). The author of the "Cynegetica." Pp. 164, 294.
- OROSIUS, PAULUS, the Historian, flourished at the beginning of the 5th century. Pp. 295, 338, 355.
- PAUSANIAS wrote the "Description of Greece" about 174 A.D. Pp. 55, 111, 237, 297.
- PHILEMON. A writer upon Geography, who was quoted by Pliny and Ptolemy. He is supposed to have written in the 2nd century B.C. Pp. 57, 60.
- PHILOSTRATUS of Lemnos (end of 2nd century A.D.). Wrote the "Imagines" and other works, for the Empress Julia Domna. P. 293.
- PHOTIUS the Patriarch (9th century A.D.). Wrote the "Myriobiblon," an epitome of 300 authors, many of whose works are only preserved in this way. Pp. 78, 342.
- PLATO the Philosopher (429-347 B.C.). Pp. 77, 297.
- PLINY the Elder (C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS) lived 23-79 A.D. His "Natural History" was finished in the last year of his life. Pp. 9, 23, 29, 34-5, 40-1, 44, 49, 50, 53-6, 59-61, 71, 87, 89, 103, 111-2, 116, 138, 221, 224-5, 235, 251-4, 259, 267, 272, 275, 295, 297.
- PLUTARCH (born 50 A.D.). Many of the philosophical tracts in the *Moralia* were by later authors. Pp. 13, 69, 71, 79, 81.
- POLYBIUS the Historian (born about 200 B.C., died 120 B.C.). His works contain many valuable notices of Spain, Gaul, and Britain. Pp. 16, 27.
- POMPONIUS MELA, a Spaniard (1st century A.D.). His book "De Situ Orbis" is a valuable compilation of the earlier traditions. It is arranged for a traveller voyaging from Spain. Pp. 17, 31, 35, 115, 235, 266-7, 293.
- POSIDONIUS the Stoic (1st century B.C.). A philosopher, astronomer, and

geographer, with whom Cicero studied at Rhodes. He made one of the earliest calculations of the earth's circumference, and left a description of his travels in Western Europe. Pp. 9, 17, 26, 30-1, 34, 38, 91-2, 108-9, 260.

PROCOPIUS (6th century A.D.) was secretary to Belisarius, and wrote a descriptive history of his wars. He is generally credited with being the author of the secret history of the Court of Justinian. Pp. 65, 81-3, 88, 358.

PROSPER of Aquitaine flourished in the first half of the 5th century. He continued the Chronicle of St. Jerome to A.D. 445. Pp. 342, 344-5.

PRUDENTIUS the Christian Poet, (circa 390 A.D.) engaged in a religious controversy with Symmachus. P. 317.

PTOLEMEUS, CLAUDIUS, (PTOLEMY), the astronomer and geographer, lived about 50 to 150. A.D. His great work on geography was published about 120 A.D. Pp. 28, 35-6, 104, 107, 151, 160, 227, 234, 308, 354, 356.

"RAVENNAS," or "The Ravenna Geographer," an anonymous writer who lived in the 7th century A.D. He is supposed to have had access to the official Imperial maps of Britain, and mentions some towns not otherwise known. P. 355.

SENECA, L. ANNÆUS (A.D. 2-68). Pp. 69, 80, 317.

SERVIUS, HONORATUS MAURUS, the Grammarian (5th century A.D.), wrote the best commentary on Virgil. Pp. 114, 317.

SIDONIUS, C. SOLLIUS APOLLINARIS, Bp. of Clermont (lived circa 431-484 A.D.). His poems and letters give a graphic picture of life in Gaul about the time of the fall of the Western Empire. Pp. 235, 320-1, 339, 344, 346, 383.

SILIUS ITALICUS, the Poet (25-100 A.D.). Pp. 109, 114, 173.

SOLINUS, C. JULIUS (lived about 240 A.D.). He wrote a collection of geographical and historical notes, known as the Polyhistor, which was based on Pliny's Natural History. Pp. 53, 55, 60, 69, 83, 138, 175, 221-3, 232, 270.

SOZOMENUS, HERMEIAS (5th century A.D.). Wrote an Ecclesiastical History extending to about 423 A.D. P. 340.

SPARTIANUS, DELIUS, one of the six writers of the Historia Augusta (3rd century A.D.). Pp. 308, 312-3, 319.

STATIUS, P. PAPINIUS, the Poet (born 61 A.D.). P. 311.

STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS flourished about the earlier part of the 6th century. His great work on topography is now only extant in the epitome "De Urbibus." Pp. 6, 8, 39, 46, 81.

STRABO (born in Cappadocia about 66 B.C.). His great work, the *Geographica*, was finished when he was nearly 90 years old. Pp. 9, 12-13, 23-4, 26-8, 31-2, 48-50, 54, 62-5, 69, 76, 92, 108-110, 112-3, 117-8, 149, 163-4, 234, 258, 260-1, 275, 291.

SUETONIUS (C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS), author of the *Lives of the Cæsars*, was born about 70 A.D. Pp. 221, 267, 295-6, 299.

TACITUS, CORNELIUS (55-135 A.D.). Pp. 40-5, 50-2, 55, 70, 80, 90, 110, 118-9, 123, 132, 138, 159, 221, 234-5, 238-240, 258, 260, 274, 291-3, 295-307, 309, 310, 312, 335, 353, 356, 364, 368, 370, 384.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS wrote his collection of 'Memorabilia' about the year 30 A.D. Pp. 259, 266.

VIRGIL (85-26 B.C.). Pp. 56, 109, 114, 154-5, 297, 317.

VITRUVIUS, the Architect (85-26 B.C.). Pp. 163-4, 336.

VOPISCUS, FLAVIUS (end of 3rd century A.D.), was one of the six writers of the *Historia Augusta*. Pp. 267, 335.

ZOSIMUS, the Historian, wrote in the latter part of the 5th century A.D. Pp. 340-2.

---

## INDEX LOCORUM.

*The letter "a" prefixed to a name indicates that the place is mentioned  
in connection with customs of inheritance.*

	PAGES		PAGES
Abalus, Isle of . . . . .	61	Atlas Mt. . . . .	22, 323
Aberdeen . . . . .	63, 168	a. Audruic . . . . .	191
Abergavenny . . . . .	332	Aulton . . . . .	387
Abergeleu . . . . .	285	Austrania (Glessaria) . . . . .	41, 44, 60
Aberthaw . . . . .	144	Auvergne . . . . .	11
Abingdon . . . . .	365	Avebury . . . . .	142
Achil . . . . .	289	Aylesbury . . . . .	374, 375
a. Acton . . . . .	189	Aylesford . . . . .	127, 362, 363-4
Ad Ansam . . . . .	333	Azores . . . . .	17, 20
a. Adinfer . . . . .	190		
Ad Taum . . . . .	330, 333	Badbury . . . . .	352
Aegils-threp . . . . .	360	Badon, Mt. . . . .	351
Alnwick . . . . .	390	Bala Lake . . . . .	247
a. Alresford . . . . .	184	Ballintober . . . . .	136
a. Altenburg . . . . .	193	Baltia (Basilia) . . . . .	61
a. Amiens . . . . .	190	Bamborough . . . . .	381
Amnis (Samnis) . . . . .	23	Bangor . . . . .	382
Ampurias . . . . .	8	Banstead . . . . .	300
Ancaster . . . . .	257	Barbury Hill . . . . .	374
Anderida . . . . .	103-4, 367-9, 375	Barra . . . . .	136
Anglesea (Mona) . . . . .	142, 160, 174, 234, 258, 260, 269, 302, 306	a. Barnes . . . . .	189
Anio . . . . .	122	Bath . . . . .	124, 252, 270-1, 292, 352, 375
Applecross . . . . .	284	a. Battersea . . . . .	189
a. Archenfield (Irchenfield) . . . . .	198	a. Bavaria . . . . .	192-3
Arden, Forest . . . . .	218-9	a. Bavaincourt . . . . .	190
Armorica . . . . .	24, 246, 267, 346	a. Bayeux . . . . .	203, 252
Aspatria . . . . .	167	a. Beaumont . . . . .	184
a. Arracan . . . . .	181	a. Begare . . . . .	183
Arran . . . . .	160	Belerium (Land's End) . . . . .	34-5, 229
a. Arras . . . . .	190	Belfast (Lugia) . . . . .	287
a. Artois . . . . .	190	Belisama, R. (Ribble R.) . . . . .	158, 252
Ashbury . . . . .	126	Bennaventa . . . . .	305
Aston . . . . .	390	Bensington . . . . .	375
		Berendon . . . . .	274

	PAGES		PAGES
Bergi . . . . .	41, 66	Calbion (Cabaion) . . . . .	25
a. Berkshire . . . . .	199, 227	Calcaria . . . . .	368
Bernicia . . . . .	246, 380, 381, 397	Caledonian Forest . . . . .	223-4, 246
Bernwood Forest . . . . .	372	a. Callien . . . . .	190
Bettws . . . . .	159	Cambeck . . . . .	107
Biddenden . . . . .	392	Camboricum . . . . .	329
Bignor . . . . .	298	Cambridge . . . . .	106
Billingsgate . . . . .	277	Campodunum (Slack) . . . . .	255, 368
Birmingham . . . . .	329	Camulodunum (Colchester) . . . . .	106,
Black Forest . . . . .	51, 52, 295	255, 274, 294, 298-303, 311,	
a. Blairville . . . . .	190	329-31, 333	
a. Bornholm . . . . .	193	Canterbury 36, 333, 361, 368, 394	
Boroughbridge . . . . .	327	Cantion . . . . .	26, 28, 45
Bosham . . . . .	366	Cardigan . . . . .	4, 159, 233, 325
Bouden Hill . . . . .	352	Carlisle (Luguballium) . . . . .	228, 310,
Boulogne . . . . .	29, 137, 320	312-4, 326-8, 331	
Bowlby . . . . .	359	Carnarvon . . . . .	322, 331
Bowness . . . . .	228	Carnoban . . . . .	246
a. Boxgrove . . . . .	188	Carnuntum (Petronell) . . . . .	44
a. Boxted Hall . . . . .	184	Carthage 7, 8, 10-12, 19-22, 336	
a. Brabant . . . . .	125, 191	a. Carvei . . . . .	193
Brancaster (Branodunum) . . . . .	330	a. Cashibury . . . . .	108, 199
a. Bray . . . . .	199	a. Cassel . . . . .	183, 190-1
Brecknockshire . . . . .	137	Cassiterides . . . . .	8, 11, 14, 16-19, 23
a. Bredegarde . . . . .	191	Castleacre . . . . .	330
Bristol . . . . .	64	a. Castlerigg . . . . .	199
a. Brittany 8, 14, 24-5, 81, 94-5, 124,		Cataracton (Catterick) . . . . .	277-8, 288,
126, 129, 141, 162, 167, 174, 176,		326-8, 368	
183, 210, 229, 256, 276, 286, 350		a. Caux . . . . .	203-4
Brocéliande Forest . . . . .	229	Canion . . . . .	230
a. Brontelle . . . . .	190	Cerne . . . . .	395
Brough . . . . .	327	Cerdic's-Ford, Cerdic's-Ore . . . . .	372-3
Buckholt Forest . . . . .	330	Channel Islands . . . . .	129
Burchana (Fabaria) . . . . .	41	Chatelherault . . . . .	56
Burford . . . . .	377	a. Cheltenham . . . . .	199
Burgh Castle (Garianonum) . . . . .	330, 368	Chepstow . . . . .	227
Burrough Hill . . . . .	305	a. Chertsey Beaumont . . . . .	199
Burwen (Birrens) . . . . .	310	Chester 308, 310, 323, 325-6, 328-9,	
Bury (Salop) . . . . .	387	331, 337	
Bury St. Edmunds . . . . .	392	a. Chesterford . . . . .	106, 184
		Chichester . . . . .	300, 331, 366, 367
Cadiz (Gades) . . . . .	12-16, 20, 22, 39	Chillingham . . . . .	4, 56, 117
Caerleon 277, 309, 323, 329, 331,		Chiltern Hills . . . . .	330
332, 338, 347		a. Chishall . . . . .	184
Cæsaromagus (Chelmsford) . . . . .	333	Cirencester . . . . .	329-332, 375, 377
Caistor . . . . .	227, 330, 331	Cissbury . . . . .	57
Caithness 53, 129, 228, 283, 325		Cleveland . . . . .	328

	PAGES
Clyde . . . . .	237, 307, 312-3, 315-6
Clynnog . . . . .	284
a. Coity . . . . .	182, 184
Cold Friday . . . . .	378
Coleshill . . . . .	391
Connaught . . . . .	173, 228
Conway R. (Tisobius) . . . . .	159
Corbelo (Coiron) . . . . .	12
a. Corlay . . . . .	183
a. Cornwall . . . . .	8, 9, 23, 26, 31, 33-7, 92, 137-8, 144, 153-4, 183-4, 228-9, 246, 253, 257, 274, 325, 333, 364
Cote . . . . .	390
Cotswold Hills . . . . .	390
a. Courland . . . . .	47, 58-61, 213
Cranborne Chae . . . . .	137
Crayford (Crecgan-ford) . . . . .	360, 362
Cromer . . . . .	63, 144, 330
a. Croy . . . . .	190
Croyland . . . . .	224
a. Cumberland . . . . .	144, 167, 199, 237, 299, 343, 347-8, 350
Cymens-ore . . . . .	367, 372
Danube, R. . . . .	51, 310, 315, 321
Dartmoor . . . . .	33
Dean, Forest . . . . .	219, 329
Debden . . . . .	106
a. Dedham Hall . . . . .	184
Dee, R. . . . .	219, 226-7, 233, 236, 247-8, 306, 345, 382
Deeping . . . . .	244
Deira . . . . .	246, 380-1
Denbigh, Forest . . . . .	219
Denmark . . . . .	125, 140, 166, 171, 193, 210, 353-5
Dent . . . . .	391
Deorham (Dyrham) . . . . .	375-6
a. Derby . . . . .	137, 184
Derbyshire . . . . .	144, 184, 329
Derventio (Derwent) . . . . .	362, 368, 396
a. Derwentwater . . . . .	199
a. Devon . . . . .	33-4, 37, 138, 144, 183-4, 228-9
a. Dimetia . . . . .	182
Dingwall . . . . .	284
Ditmarsh . . . . .	48, 61, 128, 167

	PAGES
a. Douai . . . . .	190
Doncaster . . . . .	326-9
Dorchester . . . . .	143, 229, 332
Dorset . . . . .	128, 142-5, 229, 236
Dover . . . . .	26, 32, 311, 325-6, 330-1
a. Down . . . . .	189
Drumkellin . . . . .	133
Dublin . . . . .	160, 228
Dumna (Dumni) . . . . .	41, 71
Dunstable (Forum Dianæ) . . . . .	331
Durham . . . . .	199
Durolevum . . . . .	333
a. Ealing . . . . .	189
Ebbsfleet . . . . .	362
Eden, R. . . . .	313
a. Edmonton . . . . .	189
Eider, R. . . . .	357
Eiderstedt . . . . .	354
Elbe, R. . . . .	38-9, 43, 45-7, 57, 60-1, 126, 213, 295, 344, 354, 371
Elmet . . . . .	379
a. Elsass . . . . .	193
Ely . . . . .	224
Ems, R. . . . .	191
Eningia (Epigia) . . . . .	40
Ensham . . . . .	375
Epeiacum (Ebchester) . . . . .	159
Episford . . . . .	362
Eshton . . . . .	322
a. Essex . . . . .	104-5, 184, 322, 378
Esthonia . . . . .	157, 213
Estian Marsh . . . . .	46-7
Exe, R. . . . .	230
Exeter (Isaca, Isca) . . . . .	230, 327, 332-3
Falmouth . . . . .	230
a. Farnham . . . . .	199
Faroe Islands . . . . .	72
Fern Hill . . . . .	322
Fethan-lea (Faddiley) . . . . .	376
Finisterre, Cape . . . . .	16, 23, 25, 139
a. Finland . . . . .	40, 62, 212, 215
Finsbury . . . . .	105
Fiskerton . . . . .	387
Flamborough . . . . .	228, 235-6, 292, 331
a. Flanders . . . . .	160, 183, 191

	PAGES		PAGES
Ford . . . . .	136	a. Hofe Or . . . . .	193
Forfarshire . . . . .	228	Holderness . . . . .	63, 158, 292, 358
Forth, Firth of . . . . .	236-7, 307, 312-6	Holyhead . . . . .	144
a. Framfield . . . . .	188, 199	a. Hornoy . . . . .	190
Frensham . . . . .	128	Horsted . . . . .	363
a. Friesland . . . . .	41, 48, 64, 125, 191-2, 315	Housesteads . . . . .	315
a. Fulham . . . . .	189	Humber, R. . . . .	228, 323, 328, 375
Galloway . . . . .	237, 338	a. Hungary . . . . .	121, 181, 213-4
Garonne . . . . .	14, 72, 149	a. Huntingdonshire . . . . .	184
Gibraltar . . . . .	4, 15, 25	Hutton-Conyers . . . . .	390
a. Glamorganshire . . . . .	137, 144, 182, 184	Ictis (Mictis) . . . . .	34-7
a. Gloucester . . . . .	184, 326, 330, 375	Ilkley . . . . .	326
Gloucestershire . . . . .	129, 131, 137, 184, 232, 279, 391	Isca (Damnon.) . . . . .	230, 327, 332-3
Godmundham . . . . .	396	Isca Silurum . . . . .	331
Gothland . . . . .	88	Ischalis (Ilchester) . . . . .	229, 292
a. Gouy . . . . .	190	a. Isleworth . . . . .	189
Grampians (Graupius) . . . . .	158, 164, 303	a. Islington . . . . .	189
Greenwich . . . . .	104	Isurium (Aldborough) . . . . .	308, 328
a. Grimberghe . . . . .	191	Itius Portus . . . . .	35-6, 45
Grimthorpe . . . . .	293	Jutland . . . . .	14, 40, 46, 58, 70, 364
a. Grisons . . . . .	193	Kemble-in-the-Street . . . . .	330
Gristhorpe . . . . .	163	a. Kent . . . . .	14, 29, 72, 102, 183-187, 201-2, 258, 293, 326, 354, 359, 361, 365, 371, 375, 377, 391, 397
Groveley, Forest . . . . .	218	Kidlington . . . . .	390
a. Guémappes . . . . .	190	Kildare . . . . .	270-1
a. Gwynedd (N. Wales) . . . . .	182	Kintyre . . . . .	159
Hackney . . . . .	380	a. Kirkby Lonsdale . . . . .	199
a. Hainault . . . . .	190	Kirkcudbright . . . . .	284
Haloughton . . . . .	391	Lanarkshire . . . . .	144
a. Hampshire . . . . .	184, 224, 230	Lea, R. . . . .	104-5
Hampstead . . . . .	4	a. Leicester . . . . .	137, 184, 202, 234, 280, 311, 327
Harde . . . . .	354	a. Leicestershire . . . . .	184, 202, 326
Hartz Forest . . . . .	51	Lenborough . . . . .	375
Hebrides . . . . .	84, 282-4	Léonnais . . . . .	126, 137
a. Hebuterne . . . . .	190	a. Lewes . . . . .	187
Henwick . . . . .	3	Lexden . . . . .	294
Hercynian Forest . . . . .	51-4, 80	a. Lignièrès . . . . .	190
a. Herefordshire . . . . .	137, 176, 184, 391	a. Lille . . . . .	183, 190-1
a. Herford . . . . .	191	Lilleshall . . . . .	326
a. Hertfordshire . . . . .	184, 199, 255	Lincoln (Lindum) . . . . .	227, 234, 311, 327, 331, 368
Hexham . . . . .	312		
High Cross . . . . .	327, 331		
Highfield . . . . .	131		
a. Hochstadt . . . . .	193		
a. Hofe Chor . . . . .	193		

	PAGES		PAGES
Lindsey . . . . .	363, 379	Naas . . . . .	286
Linlithgow . . . . .	227, 352	Narbonne . . . . .	12, 70
Lismore . . . . .	159	Narburgh . . . . .	107
a. Liswery . . . . .	184	Natan-lea . . . . .	372
Lithuania . . . . .	51, 55	Neath . . . . .	174
a. Livonia . . . . .	62, 213, 216	Netherbie . . . . .	310, 331
Loch Ness . . . . .	4	Newark . . . . .	327
Lodebrook . . . . .	392	Newcastle . . . . .	312-4, 326
Lofoden Islands . . . . .	67, 137	New Forest . . . . .	229, 355, 373
Loidis . . . . .	379	Newmarket . . . . .	330-1
Loire, R. . . . .	12, 23-5, 246, 260	Nithsdale . . . . .	237
a. London 3, 105, 184-5, 189, 300-3,		a. Norden . . . . .	191
311, 320-1, 326, 329,		Nordstrand . . . . .	354
331, 333, 338-340, 361,		a. Norfolk 130, 132, 142, 184, 227	
368, 378, 395		a. Normandy . . . . .	203-4, 257
Lorne . . . . .	159	a. Northamptonshire . . . . .	3, 199
Loughborough . . . . .	137	North Sea 38, 48, 59, 70, 80-1,	
a. Lübeck . . . . .	193	244, 277, 295	
Lucopibia . . . . .	159	Northumberland . . . . .	144, 167, 237
Lydney . . . . .	233, 279	a. Northumbria 169, 197, 347-9,	
Lympne, (Lymne) . . . . .	311, 330-3	378-82	
a. Maldon . . . . .	184	Norway . . . . .	14, 40, 66-7, 70, 204
Malmesbury . . . . .	226	Norwich . . . . .	3, 327, 329-30, 333
Manchester . . . . .	328, 331	a. Nottingham . . . . .	154, 179, 184, 224
Man, Isle of 94-5, 160, 199, 272, 281		a. Nottinghamshire . . . . .	179, 184
a. Marden . . . . .	199	a. Novgorod . . . . .	213
Markredes-Burn . . . . .	367	Noviomagus . . . . .	300, 333
Marlborough . . . . .	392	Ocetis . . . . .	71
Marseilles 12-4, 17-8, 30-2, 295		a. Odenwald . . . . .	193
Matlock . . . . .	299	Œstrymnides . . . . .	19, 21
a. Mayfield . . . . .	188	Orbelus, Mt. . . . .	133
Mediolanum . . . . .	331	Orkneys . . . . .	70-1, 129, 168, 210
Mendip Hills . . . . .	143, 262, 299	Osericta . . . . .	35
Meon, Hundreds . . . . .	355	Ossory . . . . .	287-8
Mercia 107, 354, 357, 375-380, 397		Othona (Ythan-Cæstir) . . . . .	368
Mersey, R. . . . .	226, 228, 235	Owerbie . . . . .	310
Middlebie . . . . .	310	Oxfordshire . . . . .	198, 374
a. Middlesex . . . . .	3, 104-5, 184-5, 189	a. Pallacrec . . . . .	183
a. Middleton Cheney . . . . .	199	Parret, R. . . . .	226, 229, 292
a. Mongolia . . . . .	213-4	a. Pencarne . . . . .	184
a. Monmouthshire 137-8, 160, 184, 227		Pengwern (Shrewsbury) . . . . .	376
Morbihan . . . . .	11, 25	Perthshire . . . . .	307
Moridunum . . . . .	332-3	Peterborough . . . . .	379
a. Mortlake . . . . .	189	Petuaria . . . . .	292
Mull . . . . .	282	a. Pevensey . . . . .	188, 367
Muridunum (Carmarthen) 309, 331			

	PAGES		PAGES
<i>a.</i> Picardy . . . .	190, 203-4	Sandy . . . .	106
Piersebridge . . . .	116	Saxon Islands . . . .	61, 344, 354
<i>a.</i> Pirbright . . . .	199	Saxon Shore 324, 331-3, 339, 367	
<i>a.</i> Plumpton . . . .	188	<i>a.</i> Saxony . . . .	192
Plumstead . . . .	104	Scania . . . .	39, 121, 360
Plymouth . . . .	230	Scarborough . . . .	163
Poitou . . . .	257	Schleswig-Holstein 43, 126, 354-8	
Pomona . . . .	71	Scilly Isles 16, 19, 129, 138, 154	
<i>a.</i> Ponthieu . . . .	190	<i>a.</i> Scrooby . . . .	179, 184
Powys . . . .	233, 375	<i>a.</i> Scythia . . . .	39, 60-1, 172, 213
Princes Risborow . . . .	330	Sedgmoor . . . .	229
<i>a.</i> Punjab . . . .	181, 198	Segedunum (Walls-End) . . . .	328
<i>a.</i> Putney . . . .	189	<i>a.</i> Selincourt . . . .	190
Pyrenees . . . .	7, 9, 16, 23, 134, 149, 150, 298, 315	Selsey . . . .	366-7
Pytchley . . . .	3	Selwood . . . .	223
Radnor . . . .	137	Sena (Sein) . . . .	17, 245
Ramsgate . . . .	63	Setantii, Port of . . . .	237
<i>a.</i> Rassery . . . .	190	Severn, R. 222, 226, 232-3, 260, 280, 292, 299, 300, 329, 375-6	
Rataë (Rhage) . . . .	234	Shannon, R. . . .	135-6, 159
Ratby . . . .	390	<i>a.</i> Sheen . . . .	189
Raunonia . . . .	61	Sheffield . . . .	392
Reculver . . . .	36, 330, 368	Sherwood Forest . . . .	218-9
Regni . . . .	299, 300, 367	<i>a.</i> Shetland . . . .	14, 32, 64, 70-1, 181
<i>a.</i> Rellec . . . .	183	<i>a.</i> Shropshire . . . .	144, 184
<i>a.</i> Rettembes . . . .	190	Silchester . . . .	292, 311, 331-3
<i>a.</i> Rézencourt . . . .	190	<i>a.</i> Silesia . . . .	41, 192
<i>a.</i> Rhine Provinces . . . .	192	Sitomagus (Dunwich) . . . .	333
Rhine, R. 2, 14, 38-9, 42, 45-7, 51, 58, 60, 80-1, 96, 295, 320, 340-2, 353-4, 357, 365, 370		Snowdon . . . .	159, 219, 264
Richborough (Rutupiæ) . . . .	36, 104, 308, 311, 330-3, 339, 368	Soham Fen . . . .	144
<i>a.</i> Richmond . . . .	189	Solent . . . .	189, 229, 292, 330-1
Riddesdale . . . .	3	Solway . . . .	236-7, 306, 312
Ripon . . . .	390	<i>a.</i> Somerset 137, 142, 144, 184-5, 189, 223-4, 272, 347	
Rochester (Durobrivæ) 333, 361, 368		Southampton . . . .	325
<i>a.</i> Roehampton . . . .	189	<i>a.</i> South Bersted . . . .	184
<i>a.</i> Rohan . . . .	183	<i>a.</i> Southwell . . . .	179, 184
Romney Marsh . . . .	103	St. Austell . . . .	33
Rotherfield . . . .	188	St. Agnes . . . .	33
<i>a.</i> Russia . . . .	181, 193, 209, 213	St. Bees . . . .	167
Ryknild Thorpe . . . .	329	St. Davids (Menevia) 160, 174, 325	
Salisbury (Sarum) 292, 331-2, 374		St. Hilary . . . .	333
Sandwich . . . .	45, 397	St. Ives . . . .	33, 333
		St. Michael's Mount . . . .	37, 269
		<i>a.</i> St. Omer . . . .	190-1
		<i>a.</i> St. Petersburg . . . .	213
		<i>a.</i> St. Stephens . . . .	199

	PAGES		PAGES
St. Vincent, Cape .	8, 13, 15, 16, 20, 29	Twickenham . . . .	392
a. Stafford . . . .	184	a. Tynemouth . . . .	199, 312, 325
a. Staffordshire . . . .	184, 329		
Stainmoor . . . .	328, 331	a. Ural Mountains . . . .	181, 212
a. Stamford . . . .	137, 184, 353	Uriconium . . . .	311, 331-2, 375
Stansa, Stans Ore . . . .	230	Uxisama (Ushant) . . . .	25
Stirlingshire . . . .	307		
Stonehenge . . . .	32, 130, 142	Vannes . . . .	25-6, 231
Strathclyde . . . .	94-5, 169	Venta Belgarum . . . .	227, 292, 332
Stratton (Foss-way) . . . .	327	Venta Icenorum . . . .	227
a. Stretford . . . .	198	Venta Silurum . . . .	138, 227, 309
Stretton . . . .	327	Vent-land (Gwent) . . . .	227
a. Suabia . . . .	163, 193	Verulam (St. Albans) . . . .	108, 302-3, 345
a. Suffolk . . . .	184	Vistula, R. 10, 14, 39-41, 45, 51, 59, 157, 235, 357	
a. Surrey . . . .	104, 183-4, 199, 371	a. Vivier . . . .	190
a. Sussex 63, 104, 122, 130, 142, 179, 183-5, 187-8, 198, 366, 397			
Sutherland . . . .	144	a. Wadhurst . . . .	187-8
Swaffham . . . .	358	a. Walthamstow . . . .	184
Sweden . . . .	65, 88, 139, 166, 210	Wanborough . . . .	377, 395-6
a. Switzerland . . . .	121, 286	a. Wancour . . . .	190
		a. Wandsworth . . . .	189
Tadcaster . . . .	322	Wantsume, R. . . .	36
Tamara (Oreston) . . . .	230	Wareham . . . .	226
Tanais, R. . . .	14, 39	Warlingham . . . .	391
Tanaus, R. (Taus) . . . .	306-7	a. Warlus . . . .	190
Tara . . . .	170-1, 259, 263, 265, 267	a. Warwickshire . . . .	184, 226, 326
a. Taunton-Deane . . . .	185, 189-90	Watchet . . . .	144
Tavistock . . . .	33	a. Weardale . . . .	199
Teivy, R. . . .	4	West Fjord . . . .	67
Teneriffe . . . .	20, 22	Westminster . . . .	171, 395
Thames, R. 14, 31, 36, 45, 62, 222, 274, 277, 292, 294, 321, 331, 333, 374, 376		a. Westmoreland . . . .	199, 379
Thanet . . . .	34-8, 330, 362, 388	Weston (Norfolk) . . . .	106
Thorney . . . .	395	a. Westphalia . . . .	51, 192, 197
Thule . . . .	6, 29, 39, 41, 44, 47, 49, 64-6, 71, 76-81, 83-5	Westra . . . .	168
Tilshead . . . .	142	Wexford . . . .	154, 228
Tothill . . . .	253, 255	Weymouth . . . .	143
Totnes . . . .	325, 327	Whitby . . . .	3, 143-4, 398
Tranabie . . . .	168	Wight, Isle of 35-6, 320, 355, 372-3	
Tréguier . . . .	176	a. Wikes . . . .	184
Treves . . . .	322, 334, 339, 340, 388	a. Wimbledon . . . .	189, 377
Trieste . . . .	11, 59	Windermere . . . .	315, 328, 331
a. Turkestan . . . .	177, 212	Winwidfield . . . .	380
		Wippedsfleet . . . .	361

---

	PAGES		PAGES
<i>a.</i> Wivenhoe . . . .	184	York (Eboracum) 311, 318, 320-3,	
<i>a.</i> Woodford . . . .	184	326-8, 331, 335, 337-8, 350,	
<i>a.</i> Worplesdon . . . .	199	368, 396	
<i>a.</i> Wrabness . . . .	184	Yorkshire 3, 103, 129, 141-4, 163,	
Wrexham . . . .	285	210, 236-7, 292, 299, 321	
<i>a.</i> Württemberg . .	192-3, 197-8	Ypwine's Fleet . . . .	360

---

## GENERAL INDEX.

	PAGES		PAGES
Ælle, of Deira . . . .	381	Anna, King . . . .	380
Ælle, of Sussex . . . .	367, 375	Antonine Itinerary . . . .	324, 331-4
Æscings . . . . .	361	Antoninus Pius, Emp. . . .	237, 313, 316
Æthelfrith . . . . .	381	Apollo, worship of . . . .	5, 86, 251, 256, 336
Æsty . . . . .	43-47, 383	Aquitani . . . . .	23, 149, 150
Aerfen . . . . .	247	Arduinna . . . . .	257
Aetius . . . . .	345	Artabri . . . . .	8, 9, 16-7, 19
Agnatic system . . . .	156, 170	Arthur, King . . . . .	243, 269, 277, 347-8, 351-2, 373
Agricola, campaigns . .	218, 233-4, 306-7	Arvald, King . . . . .	373
— policy in Britain . . .	217-8, 239, 301	Aryan customs . . . . .	89, 148, 156-7, 161, 206
— plans as to Ireland . .	239, 307	Asclepiodotus . . . . .	321-2
Albinovanus, poem of . .	80	Asega-buch . . . . .	358
Albiones, of Spain . . .	19	Assart-land . . . . .	188, 199
Aldulf . . . . .	395	Astre . . . . .	186
Alexander the Great . .	4, 10, 32, 78, 85	Athens, custom of inheritance .	204
Alexander Severus, Emp. .	267	Atrebates . . . . .	292
Alfred, King . . . . .	223, 326, 355, 373	Attacosi, romance of . . . .	89
Allectus, reign of . . . .	319-322	Attacotti . . . . .	237, 338-9
Allobroges . . . . .	250	Augustine, mission of . . . .	378, 391, 397
All Souls' Day . . . . .	207, 210	Augustus, Emp. . . . .	291
Amber, ornaments . . . .	63, 111, 143, 276	Aurochs (Zubr) . . . . .	51, 55-57
Amber-shore . . . . .	10, 35, 41-47, 58-62	Auster-land . . . . .	186
Amber-trade with Adriatic	5, 10, 11, 59		
— with Britain . . . . .	62-3	Badb (Irish) . . . . .	277
— with Carnuntum . . . .	44	Badger . . . . .	145, 219, 241
— with Courland . . . . .	47, 59, 61	Balder, worship of . . . . .	371, 377
Ambrosius Aurelius . . .	348, 350-1, 372	Baltic . . . . .	14, 40, 86, 124, 155, 157, 212,
Amometus . . . . .	89	Bambothus, R. . . . .	13
Ancestor-worship . . . .	206-214	Bards . . . . .	2, 63, 86, 134, 151-2, 244-9, 277, 346, 375-6, 381
— feast of the dead . . . .	207, 210	Barrows, Long . . . . .	124-131, 137-142, 166-7, 362-4, 377, 393
Andred's-Lea . . . . .	367	— Round . . . . .	122, 139-145, 151, 163, 236
Aneurin, the Bard . . . .	63, 277, 346, 381	— Continental . . . . .	124-6, 129, 167
Angles (Anglii) . . . . .	45, 351-7, 381	— Irish, Scotch, Welsh . . . .	126-7, 129, 131, 167, 263
Angles and Saxons . . . .	291, 353-8	— Fairy Toote . . . . .	124
Anglian Kingdoms . . . .	379-82	— Gavr Innis . . . . .	167
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle . .	367, 371-8, 381-2		
Animals, sacred . . . . .	255, 285-9, 364, 383		

	PAGES		PAGES
Barrows, Hilda's-Lowe	127, 359, 393	Box-woods	223
— Hob o' th' Hurst	125	Bracton	203
— Hwittuc's-Lowe	127	Brand-eerbe	211
— Kits Coty House	127, 142, 363	Branwen	278, 280-1
— Maes Howe	129	Brehon Law	268
— Wayland's Smithy	126-7, 393	Bretwalda	375
Basques	149, 150	Brigantes	228, 232-240, 305, 318-320
Batavi	295, 309	Brigantia (goddess)	317
Baths, Roman	220, 270, 329	Brit (fire-goddess)	162, 276, 317
Bear	3, 288, 297	Britain, agriculture in	115-7, 235-6
Beaver	3, 4, 224	— conquest by English	226, 342-373
Bede (cited)	197, 220-3, 312-3, 345, 353-5, 362, 366, 368, 371, 378, 381-2, 387-8, 391-398	— dark tribes in	133-138, 147-155, 158-162, 174
Bee-culture	2, 222, 387	— descriptions of	2, 3, 28-32, 85, 224-5, 235
Beer, use of	30	— division into provinces	323-4
Belgæ	102, 105, 112, 115, 158, 232, 292, 299	— dress and ornaments	63, 110-113, 240-1
Belinus (Beli)	252, 254, 267, 277-8, 325	— Finnish tribes in	140-8, 162-167, 173
Belisama	158	— Gaulish settlements in	92-3, 97, 101-117, 158, 226-7
Beltain-feast	261-2, 267	— junior-right in	183-190
Beowulf	344, 352, 359-60, 365, 382-4	— lake-dwellings in	132-3
Berroc, Wood of	223	— languages of	94-101, 156, 158-9, 162, 226-7
Beuvray enamel	293	— legends as to	81, 83, 86
Boadicea ( <i>see</i> Boudicca).		— neolithic age in	124, 130
Boar, wild	3, 117, 130, 218, 224, 287	— paganism in	238, 242-289
Boar-crest	43, 383	— Roman conquest of	290-307
Bolanus, Vett. campaign of	306, 311-2	— Roman legions in	294, 308-311
Boomerang, use of	114	— Roman roads in	324-333
Bondage	386-7	— Roman walls in	312-317, 339
Bond-land	187-8	— scythed chariots	114-5, 240
Boor-land	365	— tattooing, custom of	164, 235
Boreads, legends of	5, 86	— trade	12, 18, 35-6, 45, 230-1, 293
Borough-English, meaning of	180-1	Britanni, continental	103
— origin of custom	179-80, 194-7, 213-16	Brittany, migrations to	229, 346, 350
— in Cornwall and Devon	183	— cromlechs in	124, 129, 167
— in Kent	183, 185-6	— junior-right in	183
— in Somerset	189	— language of	94-5, 162
— in Sussex	183-5, 187-8	— paganism	126, 210, 256
— round London	189	— Pytheas, visit of	14, 17, 23-25, 270
— in other counties	183-4, 189, 199	— tin-trade in	8, 11, 37
— prerogative of abolishing	201-2	Brittia, legends of	81-3, 358
— extension to females	190	Bronze Age	99, 117, 121, 139-146, 162-8
Borvo, worship of	252		
Boudicca	274, 286, 296, 300-304		
Bovinda (Boyne)	256		

	PAGES
Bronze Age, weapons	112-5, 121-2, 144
— lake-dwellings . . . . .	132
— tin-trade . . . . .	11
Brownies (Boggarts) . . . . .	209-10
Bructeri . . . . .	49
Brythonic tribes	96-101, 108, 226, 233, 246, 306
Bustard . . . . .	130, 224
Cæsar, J. invasion of Britain	26, 37, 102-7, 114-5, 226, 231-235, 258, 291-2, 295
— his description of Veneti	26, 37, 230-2
— of Hercynian Forest . . . . .	51, 56
— of Gaulish religion	250-5, 258-61, 266
Caledonia	134, 154, 164, 224, 306, 322
Callais, ornaments . . . . .	139
Camelot . . . . .	309
Camulus, worship of . . . . .	255, 317
Cangi . . . . .	159
Cannel-coal . . . . .	144
Cantii . . . . .	103-4
Caracalla, Emp. . . . .	319, 324
Caractacus . . . . .	238-9, 281, 294
Carausius, the chieftain . . . . .	322
Carausius, Emp. . . . .	316, 319
Carthaginian Voyages	13, 15, 19-23
Cartismandua . . . . .	237-9, 305
Carvilius, King . . . . .	104
Cassate of land . . . . .	365, 367
Cassii . . . . .	107-8
Cassivellaunus . . . . .	107
Castlesteads . . . . .	313
Castor-ware . . . . .	329
Catamanus, King . . . . .	322
Cateia, nature of . . . . .	114
Catigern . . . . .	362-3
Cattle, Celtic . . . . .	56, 117, 130
Cattle, wild . . . . .	3, 4, 117
Catuvellauni . . . . .	107-8
Cave-dwellings . . . . .	2, 123, 131-2, 224
Ceawlin . . . . .	374, 376-7
Celtiberia . . . . .	94, 149
Celtica . . . . .	17, 39, 46

	PAGES
Celtic Islands . . . . .	17, 23-5
Celtic nations	48, 96-7, 100-1, 122, 148, 170
Celtic Promontory . . . . .	23
Celts in Britain . . . . .	102-19, 226-34
— manners and customs	108-19, 145, 163-5, 171-2, 193, 207
Cenion, tin-mart . . . . .	230
Ceolwulf . . . . .	378
Cerdic . . . . .	371-3, 378
Cerealis Petilius, campaign of	305-6
Chariots (Covini) . . . . .	114-5, 240
Chatti . . . . .	52, 295
Chauci, customs of . . . . .	47-50
Chrocus, King . . . . .	323
Cimbri	39, 47-9, 57-8, 64, 92, 246
Cingetorix . . . . .	104
Circus, games in . . . . .	3, 296-8
Cissa . . . . .	367
Claudius, Emp., his invasion	294, 302, 308
— his triumph . . . . .	295-7
— suppressed Druidism . . . . .	266
Clocháns, Irish . . . . .	131
Cnebba . . . . .	377
Cogidubnus . . . . .	300
Coinage, British	32-3, 106, 230, 255, 293
— Gaulish . . . . .	94, 110, 113
Colgrim . . . . .	351
Commius, House of . . . . .	292-4
Condidan (Kynddylan) . . . . .	375
Condrustis Pagus . . . . .	310
Coneely, seal-legend . . . . .	289
Conmægl, King . . . . .	375
Conn the Hundred-fighter	135, 161
Constantine the Great, Emp.	321-4, 335
Constantine, the Usurper, Emp.	341
Constantius, Emp. . . . .	320-2, 335
Constantius II., Emp. . . . .	333
Copper implements . . . . .	121, 144
Copyhold . . . . .	179, 184, 187-190
Coracle (Curragh)	34, 152, 232-3, 341
Coral ornaments . . . . .	293
Coranians . . . . .	246
Cordelia, legend of . . . . .	280
Coritavi . . . . .	232, 234-6

	PAGES		PAGES
Cornabii (Cornavii) . . . . .	226, 228, 233	Doctor-gate . . . . .	328
Cornish language . . . . .	94-5	Dower, customary . . . . .	189, 190
Coronation-rites . . . . .	171-2	Druoidesses . . . . .	24, 267
Cotman-land . . . . .	188	Druids, British . . . . .	124, 230, 243, 247, 258-264
Cots-ale . . . . .	390	— Gaulish . . . . .	249-251, 253, 259-261, 265-7
Couvade, custom of . . . . .	150	— Irish and Scottish . . . . .	151-2, 258-260, 264-268
Cradle-holding . . . . .	184	Drusus, expedition of . . . . .	295
Crickets, superstitions as to . . . . .	209	Dubnorix . . . . .	109
Crom-cruach . . . . .	271-2	Dukes of South-Saxons . . . . .	367
Cromlechs (see Barrows) . . . . .		Durotriges . . . . .	229
Cúchulainn . . . . .	241, 288-9	Dutigirn . . . . .	381
Culand, the Smith . . . . .	289	Dwellings of Stone-Age . . . . .	123, 131-3
Cunobeline . . . . .	295	Dyes, use of . . . . .	111-2, 221
Cursing-customs . . . . .	158, 175-6, 271	Earth, worship of . . . . .	23, 43, 356
Cutha . . . . .	374, 376	Earth-nut . . . . .	165
Cuthred . . . . .	377	East Anglia . . . . .	107, 357, 378-9
Cuthwine . . . . .	375	Edgar . . . . .	395
Cuthwulf . . . . .	374, 376-7	Edwin the Fair . . . . .	371, 375, 379-81, 396
Cwichelm . . . . .	377	Eel-fishery . . . . .	220, 366
Cynegils . . . . .	377-8	Egbert . . . . .	375
Cynewulf, poems of . . . . .	352, 369, 382, 384	Egrice . . . . .	380
Cynric . . . . .	96, 373-4	Eider, R. . . . .	357
Dagda (Irish) . . . . .	114, 275-6	Electrides . . . . .	41, 60
Damnonii . . . . .	139, 228-230, 232	Eleutherius, Pope . . . . .	338
— (Irish) . . . . .	152, 228	Elixoia, legend of . . . . .	86
— (Scotch) . . . . .	228	Elk . . . . .	51, 54-6, 162
— in West Britain . . . . .	228-232	Embankments . . . . .	106-7, 218, 224
— in Brittany . . . . .	229	Enamelling, art of . . . . .	293
Dancing-customs . . . . .	149, 391	Eostra, goddess . . . . .	391
David I. (Scotl.) . . . . .	171	Epiphany-fires . . . . .	391
De Coulanges, on inheritance . . . . .	204-6	Epona, worship of . . . . .	317
Diana . . . . .	331, 336	Ercenwine . . . . .	378
Diancecht . . . . .	279	Eric the Ash . . . . .	359-61
Dimetian Code . . . . .	182	Ermin Street . . . . .	325-332
Diocletian, Emp. . . . .	267, 320-3, 334-5	Etirun, a British god . . . . .	256
Dis-gavelling, right of . . . . .	201-2	Esus (Silvanus) . . . . .	254
Dis Pater . . . . .	114	Ethelbald . . . . .	377
Divitiacus (Druid) . . . . .	250	Ethelbert . . . . .	368, 375, 377-380, 394-5
Divitiacus (King) . . . . .	102	Ethelwulf . . . . .	360, 373
Dobuni . . . . .	232	Etruscans . . . . .	114, 149, 161
Dogs, British . . . . .	130, 294	Euric, King . . . . .	383
Doles of land . . . . .	167, 191, 389	Euthymenes, voyage of . . . . .	13
Dolichenus (Jupiter) . . . . .	336		
Dolicho-cephaly . . . . .	137		
Dôn, family of . . . . .	278-9		

	PAGES
Evenus, (Evan III) . . . . .	84
Exeter Book . . . . .	353, 369, 382, 384
Fairs . . . . .	175, 262-3
Fairies . . . . .	135, 152, 243, 272, 281
Familiar spirits . . . . .	209-10, 214-216
Family-club . . . . .	88
Farinmægl, King . . . . .	375
Farthing-land . . . . .	188
Fenni, customs of . . . . .	123
Finn, King of Friesland . . . . .	359, 360
Finn Mac Cumhal . . . . .	248
Finnish tribes . . . . .	122, 140, 146-8, 155, 162, 212-5
Fir-Bolgs . . . . .	135-6, 151-4
Fir-Domhnan . . . . .	152-3, 228
Fir-Gailiun . . . . .	152-3
Fire-worship . . . . .	157, 209, 211-4
Flint-mines . . . . .	130
Fortunate Isles . . . . .	89
Fosse-Way . . . . .	325-327, 331, 393
Francalmoigne . . . . .	211
Franks . . . . .	126, 320-1, 338-9, 357, 378
Fraomar, King . . . . .	323
Freia (Fricge) . . . . .	391
Freyr (Freá) . . . . .	360, 377, 390
Frisians . . . . .	47, 192, 315, 356-8
Frontinus, Julius . . . . .	305
Funeral-ale . . . . .	208-9
Gadeni . . . . .	236-7
Gaelic tribes . . . . .	2, 96-9, 154, 227
Galatian language . . . . .	94-5
Galgacus . . . . .	307
Gargantua . . . . .	125, 250, 257
Gaul, Druidism in . . . . .	249-254, 259-267
— language of . . . . .	94, 97-8, 100, 104, 106, 227-8
— Pytheas, visit to . . . . .	25-6, 72
— religion of . . . . .	158, 243, 249-258, 272, 275, 317
— tin-trade in . . . . .	11
— trade with Britain . . . . .	12, 18, 35-6, 45, 230, 293
— troops from . . . . .	314, 319

	PAGES
Gauls in Britain . . . . .	92-3, 97, 101-119, 158, 226-7
— their customs . . . . .	109-19, 234, 293
— Attrebates . . . . .	292
— Belgæ . . . . .	227, 232, 292, 299
— Cantii . . . . .	103-4
— Catuvellauni . . . . .	107-8
— Icenii . . . . .	106-7, 227, 300-304
— Parisii . . . . .	292
— Regni . . . . .	299-300, 367
— Trinobantes . . . . .	105
Gelondan . . . . .	387
Gavelkind . . . . .	185-9, 201-2
Genealogies, English . . . . .	359-60, 371, 378-9
— Swedish . . . . .	352
— Welsh . . . . .	268-9, 288-9
Genuni . . . . .	237
Germany, descriptions of . . . . .	38-45, 58-61
— ethnology . . . . .	155, 163-4, 295
— floods . . . . .	48-9
— forests of . . . . .	51-57
— legends . . . . .	39, 47-49, 78-83, 85, 90
— inheritance in . . . . .	338-41, 343-73
— invasions from . . . . .	191-3, 196-7, 205-6
— manners and customs . . . . .	50, 92, 118-9, 131-2
— paganism . . . . .	125, 171, 326, 336, 356, 359, 364-366, 371, 377- 379, 380, 382-3, 385, 390-398
— Pytheas, visit of . . . . .	39, 45-47
— regiments from . . . . .	295, 302, 310, 314, 320-1, 323, 339
— village-customs in . . . . .	387-389
Germara, legend of . . . . .	3
Gerontius . . . . .	342
Geta, Emp. . . . .	319
Gevisi . . . . .	369, 378
Gildas . . . . .	222-3, 271, 313, 349-51
Gillings-rock . . . . .	88
Glanville . . . . .	200
Glass-ornaments . . . . .	62, 111-2, 143, 235
Glendower, Owen . . . . .	244
Gnomon, use of . . . . .	27
Gnostics . . . . .	337
Goidelic tribes . . . . .	96-100, 154, 226-7

	PAGES		PAGES
Gothones (Goths)	39, 42, 58-9, 61, 235	Ida	371, 380-2
Graham's-Dyke.	316-7	Ikenild Street	325-327, 330-1, 393
Gratian, Emp.	340	Incense-cups	143
Greek legends	5, 10, 77, 358	Inscriptions, British	94, 257
Greek romances.	4, 5, 74-89, 358	— of Bronze Age	166
Greek trade	6-8, 11-14, 17-19, 32-6	— Carthaginian	19, 20
Gregory, Pope	344	— Gaulish	94, 249, 256
Grimsdyke (Grimesditch)	107	— Irish and Welsh	96, 99-101, 160-1
Gruagach-stone	209	— Ogam	99, 100, 322
Gwyn (Gwydion)	243, 246-8, 278-280	— Roman	308, 310, 315-7, 336
Gyrvian kingdoms	379	— Runic	362-3
		Iolo, the Bard	244-5
Hadrian, Emp.	308, 312, 335	Ireland, described	65, 78, 221-224, 240
Hair-dressing	112, 164, 320	— customs	109, 118-9, 157-8, 165, 169-173, 181, 195, 240, 260-265
Hallamshire, customs	391	— dark races	135-6, 147-149, 158-160
Hare	219, 286-7, 391-2	— fair races	96-100, 173
Head-hunters	108-9	— invasions from	338, 343
Hearth-superstitions	206-212	— kings	263, 267, 307
Hecanas, Kingdom of	376	— lake-dwellings	132-3
Heil, a Saxon idol	395	— legends	78, 134-5, 151-154, 161, 171-2, 240-1, 288
Heinzelmann, legend of	210	— migrations to	93-6, 100-1, 133-5, 152-4, 171
Heirlooms	182-3, 190-1, 196, 198	— paganism	153, 207, 209, 256, 261-8, 270-82
Helena, Empress	321, 322	— tribes, Hy-Many	135-6
Hengist and Horsa	127, 344, 353, 359-365, 371	— Hy-Nyall	170
Heruli	88, 357	— Milesians	135-6, 151-5
Hercynian Forest	51-6	— Picts (Cruitnigh)	154-5, 170, 268
Hide of land	367, 388	— Scots of Ulster	155, 339
Hilda, the war-goddess	127, 359, 393	— Ui-Duinn	287
Hiller, legend of	127	Irmin	326
Hindoo Law	205, 211	Iron, use of	114, 122, 144, 164, 167, 220
Hippopodes	80	Ith, the hero	135
Hoel the Good	181	Ivory, use of	145, 240
Hof-güter	193		
Honorius, Emp.	342	Jade	139
Hrede, Anglian goddess	391	Jammerholz	89
Hugh the Mighty	244-6, 269	January-fires	250
Human sacrifice	254-5, 261-6	Jet	143-4
Hwiccas, Kingdoms of	376-7	Julia Domna, Emp.	293
Hy-Many	135-6	Junior-right, extent of	179-216
Hy-Nyall	170	— in Brittany	183
Hyperboreans, legends of	5, 87-9	— England	183-190
		— Wales and Shetland	181-2
Iberians	9, 11, 17, 21, 23, 134, 148-150, 154, 258		
Iceni	106, 227, 300-4		

	PAGES		PAGES
Junior-right, in France . . .	183, 190-1	Lutin, offerings to . . .	214
— Friesland and Flanders . . .	191-2	Lutons, legend of . . .	128
— Germany . . .	192-3	Lygians . . .	42
— Hungary . . .	181, 212-14		
— China, India, Asia . . .	181, 213-4	Macha (Irish) . . .	277
— among Ugrian tribes . . .	181	Madelstad, custom . . .	190-1
— in Russia . . .	193, 213	Mael-Brigd . . .	162
Jungsten-recht . . .	179, 180	Magic . . .	151-2, 215, 248-9, 253, 259, 264, 269
Jupiter, worship of . . .	75, 247, 251, 254, 257, 320, 336	Maine, Sir H. S., on Brehon Laws . . .	268
Justinian, Emp. . .	6	— on primogeniture . . .	195, 205-207, 211
Jutes . . .	355, 373	— on village communities . . .	389
Juveignerie . . .	180	Magyars . . .	212-3
		Maineté, custom of . . .	191
Kent, ancient accounts of . . .	26-31, 37, 72	Manannán (Manawyddan) . . .	278-282
— Gaulish kingdoms in . . .	102-4	Mandrake . . .	215-6
— local laws of . . .	185-189, 200-2	Manu, laws of . . .	205
Kerridwen, worship of . . .	24-26, 247-8	Marcian, Emp. . .	348
Kimmeridge shale . . .	144	Marcus Aurelius, Emp. . .	310
Kobolds, legend of . . .	210	Marl, use of . . .	116
Kynddylan (Condidan) . . .	346, 376	Mars, worship of . . .	251, 255, 317, 328, 336
		Mataris, use of . . .	113
Lake-dwellings . . .	2, 132-3, 286	Mâth (Mathonwy) . . .	279
Landevennec, Abbey of . . .	350	Matres, worship of . . .	257, 272
Land-marks . . .	167	Maximian, Emp. . .	320
Lear, Llyr . . .	278-282	Maximus, Emp. . .	340-1
Lemovians . . .	42	May-games . . .	250, 261
Leprachaun . . .	209	Medb, Queen . . .	272
Lignite ornaments . . .	144	Melkarth (Melicertes) . . .	10, 14-5
Lindsey, kings of . . .	379	Mello, Bishop . . .	338
Lindisfaras . . .	379	Menapii . . .	160, 320
Lipari Isles (Stromboli) . . .	72, 125	Meonwaras . . .	355
Lir, family of . . .	278-9	Merchetum . . .	387
Livonians, customs of . . .	45, 212-3	Mercury-worship . . .	251-2, 256, 317, 377
Lludd . . .	279	Merlin . . .	244
Llywarch, the Bard . . .	375-6, 381	Mertæ . . .	287
Lollius Urbicus . . .	316	Metals and mining, calamine . . .	11
Lombards . . .	357	— copper . . .	10, 11, 121, 144, 220
Lot-land . . .	191-2, 388-9	— gold . . .	9, 10, 122, 143-4, 164, 260, 293
Lot-meadows . . .	167, 389	— iron . . .	122, 164
Lucius, King . . .	338	— lead . . .	9, 10, 121-2, 220, 293
Luga, the fire-god . . .	279	— silver . . .	10, 122, 144, 220, 293, 304
Lugi . . .	287	— tin . . .	5-26, 31-7, 121, 152-3, 221
Lugotorix . . .	104	Metempsychosis . . .	247, 248, 249, 266
Luridan, legends of . . .	210		

	PAGES		PAGES
Metheglin . . . . .	30, 32	Offa, legends of . . . . .	356-7
Midnight Sun . . . . .	67, 68	Offa, King . . . . .	379
Midsummer Fires . . . . .	250	Ogam writing . . . . .	99, 100, 322
Milesian tribes . . . . .	135-6, 151-5	Ogma (Ogmios) . . . . .	276
Minerva, worship of . . . . .	251-2, 270	Ogyrfen . . . . .	247
Minne-drinking . . . . .	208-9	Ordovices . . . . .	233-4, 306, 323
Mistletoe . . . . .	253	Osburga . . . . .	373
Mithras . . . . .	337	Osiris, worship of . . . . .	337
Moedre Necht . . . . .	394	Osismii (Ostidamnii) . . . . .	25
Mogh-Néid . . . . .	162	Oslac . . . . .	373
Mogh-Nuadhat . . . . .	162	Oslac, Duke . . . . .	367
Monoxylic coffins . . . . .	163	Osmund . . . . .	367
Moon-worship . . . . .	149, 276-7, 336	Ossian . . . . .	319
Morgan la Faye . . . . .	272	Ostiones . . . . .	39, 46-7, 51, 57, 62
Mórigu . . . . .	277	Ostorius Scapula . . . . .	159, 299, 300
Morimorusa . . . . .	39, 43, 57-8, 71	Oswald . . . . .	375, 380
Moths, superstition as to . . . . .	209	Oswy . . . . .	375
Moytura, battle of . . . . .	279	Otadeni . . . . .	236-7, 278
Mutter-recht . . . . .	150	Othere, voyage of . . . . .	355
		Owain . . . . .	278, 288, 381
Names, in Aryan languages . . . . .	161		
Natanleod . . . . .	372	Palæolithic age . . . . .	2, 3, 121-123
Neckar (Nisse) . . . . .	210, 393	Parisii . . . . .	158, 292
Nectarides . . . . .	339	Paulinus Suetonius . . . . .	258, 302, 305
Néid (Irish) . . . . .	162, 256, 277	Pearl-fishery . . . . .	220-1
Nemetona (Gaulish) . . . . .	256	Penda . . . . .	377, 380
Nemon (Irish) . . . . .	256, 277	Peutingerian Table . . . . .	330-3
Nennius . . . . .	322, 351-2, 361-2	Phœnicians . . . . .	7-11, 14-5, 19
Neolithic Age 100, 124, 128-33, 137-9,	154-5, 174	Picts . . . . .	94, 154-5, 161, 164-166, 168-71, 226, 237, 246, 343, 353
Nerigo . . . . .	66	— of Scotland . . . . .	155, 237, 338-9
Nero, Emp. . . . .	60, 305	— of Ireland . . . . .	154-5, 170, 268
Nights, reckoning by . . . . .	251	Picts-houses . . . . .	131
Nodens (Nuadha, Nudd) 136, 162,	278-280	Picts' Wall . . . . .	312
Nothelm, King . . . . .	366-7	Pig-nuts . . . . .	165
Nud, the Damnonian . . . . .	161	Pixies . . . . .	209
Nudd, family of . . . . .	278-9	Plautius, Aulus . . . . .	298-9
Nunna, King . . . . .	367	Ploughland . . . . .	388
Nutons, legend of . . . . .	128	Pomerania . . . . .	41, 88, 391
O'Brasil . . . . .	272-3	Pooka . . . . .	209
Oæones . . . . .	80	Port, the chieftain . . . . .	382
Oceanus . . . . .	42, 45, 80	Portunes, legend of . . . . .	209, 210
Odal-law . . . . .	204	Potteries . . . . .	129, 143-145, 308, 328-9
Odin-ponds . . . . .	88	Prasutagus . . . . .	106, 301
		Préciput . . . . .	191, 198
		Primogeniture, origin of custom	205-6

	PAGES		PAGES
Primogeniture, domestic religion		Rock-carvings . . . .	166-168
— duties of eldest . . . .	205-216	Rolf Kraka . . . .	208, 322
— sanctity of hearth . . . .	206-212	Roman conquest of Britain	290-311
— offerings to the dead	206, 209-10	— Cæsar's invasion	26, 37, 102-107, 114-5, 231-5, 258, 291-2, 295
— in England . . . .	188, 197-203	— camps in Britain . . . .	230, 310, 311, 314
— in Germany . . . .	193, 196-7, 205	— divisions of Britain . . . .	323-4
— in Normandy and Picardy	203-4	— religion . . . .	336-7
— in Scandinavia . . . .	193, 204	— roads in Britain	314, 322, 324-33
— among females . . . .	188, 193, 199	— government and taxation . .	321, 323-5, 334
Principals . . . .	191, 198	— trade with Britain . . . .	12, 61-2, 221, 293
Publius Crassus . . . .	18	— with Germany . . . .	44, 60
Purple dye . . . .	221	— legions	257, 302, 304, 307-317, 320-1, 338, 374
Pygmies, legends of . . . .	81	— walls . . . .	81-2, 311-317, 338
Pytheas, expedition of . . . .	7, 12-14	— wall of Antoninus	316-7, 322-4
— voyage to Cadiz . . . .	14-16	— of Hadrian	312-315, 319, 323-4
— to North Spain . . . .	16-24	— of Severus . . . .	313
— to Celtic Islands . . . .	25-6, 270	Rosmerta . . . .	256
— to Kent . . . .	26-31, 37, 72	Rugii . . . .	42
— to Scotland . . . .	32, 71	Ryknild Street . . . .	325-6, 329
— to the Rhine and Elbe	38-9, 45-6		
— to the Ostians . . . .	46-8, 51, 59	Saeberht . . . .	378, 395
— to the Cimbri . . . .	57	Sæfugel . . . .	288
— to the Baltic . . . .	58-60	Sæmil . . . .	380
— to the Amber Coast . . . .	61	Samolus (water-pimpernel)	254
— to Thule . . . .	67-71	Sarmatian regiments . . . .	310, 315
— his return . . . .	71-2	Sarn Helen . . . .	322
— influence of his travels	74-84, 91	Saxnoth . . . .	171, 378
— account of his works . . . .	12-14, 72-3, 125	Saxon invasions . . . .	338-54, 357, 369, 372-3
Quains . . . .	212-3	Saxon Kingdoms	361, 366, 369-78
Quaternary age . . . .	123	Saxons, description of	235, 382-3
"Quatuor Chimini" . . . .	325	Saxony, law of . . . .	192
Quern, use of . . . .	145	Scandinavia . . . .	129, 139, 148, 168, 171, 193, 204, 257
Quévaise, custom . . . .	183	Scipio . . . .	11, 12
Quief-mez, custom . . . .	191	Scota . . . .	171
		Scotland, descriptions of	29, 32, 164-6
Radulf . . . .	351	— archæology . . . .	121, 129, 132-3, 144, 155, 167
Redbald . . . .	375	— barrows in . . . .	129, 131
Redwald . . . .	379, 395	— customs . . . .	164-5, 169-72, 181, 200, 207
Red-deer . . . .	53, 104, 222, 224, 287		
Redon, Abbey of . . . .	350		
Regni . . . .	299, 300, 367		
Reindeer . . . .	52-54, 123		
Richard of Deeping . . . .	224		
Riggate . . . .	322		

	PAGES		PAGES
Scotland, ethnology of	136, 228, 236-7	St. Carannog . . . .	269
— invasions from	171, 338-43, 353	St. Clou . . . .	365
— languages . . . .	94, 97, 159-62	St. Colman . . . .	287
— legends . . . .	162, 172	St. Colomba . . . .	265, 267, 268
— paganism	258, 261, 267-8, 283-5	St. Cuthbert . . . .	284, 285, 328
— Roman government in	506-7, 316-19, 331, 338-43	St. Dominic . . . .	221
Scots of Ulster . . . .	155, 339	St. Dubricius . . . .	269
Scéf . . . . .	360	St. Ethelreda . . . .	329
Scyld . . . . .	360	St. Germanus . . . .	344-5
Seals . . . . .	220, 289	St. Gertrude . . . .	208
Segonax . . . . .	104	St. Jerome . . . .	95, 337
Selago (club-moss) . . . .	253	St. John . . . . .	209
Selgovæ . . . . .	237	St. Lupus . . . . .	344
Semnones . . . . .	356	St. Michael . . . .	208-9
Serapis, worship of . . . .	335	St. Mourie . . . . .	285
Severus, Emp. . . . .	312-3, 318, 324	St. Oswald . . . . .	380
Sevo, Mt. . . . .	40	St. Patrick . . . . .	135, 267, 271
Sheep-farming . . . . .	117, 130, 219, 236	St. Samson of Dol . . . .	350
Sheldrake . . . . .	224-5	St. Teuth . . . . .	255
Shony, offerings to . . . .	284	St. Tydew . . . . .	255
Sigbert . . . . .	380	St. Vodoal . . . . .	154
Sigefugel . . . . .	288, 380	St. Wilfrid . . . . .	366, 397
Silurians . . . . .	134, 138, 147-150, 154, 174, 227, 258, 299, 305	St. Winifred . . . . .	366
Simon de Montfort . . . .	202	St. Almedha's fair . . . .	175
Sin-eater . . . . .	176-7	St. Branwen's well . . . .	269, 281
Slavonians . . . . .	140-1, 210, 256	St. Cuthbert's beads . . . .	145
Sledda . . . . .	378	St. Elian's well . . . . .	176
Snakes, superstitions as to . .	209	St. George's well . . . .	285
Soke, socage . . . . .	187	St. Hilary's church . . . .	333
Spain, description of . . . .	7-24	St. Iltyd's house . . . . .	167
— languages of . . . .	94-5, 149-51	St. John's feast . . . . .	133, 261-2, 392
— legends of . . . .	134, 149	St. Tegla's well . . . . .	285
— mining in . . . . .	7-9, 77	St. Winifred's well . . . .	273
St. Adamnan . . . . .	151	Stane-gate . . . . .	314
St. Alban . . . . .	335	Stilicho . . . . .	338, 341
St. Anne . . . . .	256, 262	Stone-circles . . . . .	169
St. Beanus . . . . .	287	Stonehenge 5, 32, 86, 125, 130, 141-2	
St. Benedict . . . . .	197	Stone Street . . . . .	300
St. Beuno . . . . .	284, 285	Streams, worship of . . . .	257
St. Birinus . . . . .	378	Stromboli, described . . . .	72, 125
St. Boniface . . . . .	125	Stuf . . . . .	373
St. Brendan . . . . .	287	Suevi . . . . .	45, 341, 356-358, 360
St. Bridget . . . . .	270, 271, 287	Suiones . . . . .	43
St. Brychan . . . . .	269	Sulèves (Sylphs) . . . .	270
St. Cadoc . . . . .	269	Suli-Minerva . . . . .	270
		Suling, Kentish . . . . .	388
		Sun-worship 24, 65, 244, 255, 337, 353	

	PAGES
Swend of Norway . . . . .	208
Sword-play . . . . .	119
Taliessin . . . . .	247-249, 381
Tanarus . . . . .	336
Tarandus . . . . .	53
Taranis . . . . .	254, 256
Tattooing . . . . .	164, 235
Taximagulus . . . . .	104
Tschudic tribes . . . . .	213-4
Teutates . . . . .	254-5
Teutones . . . . .	48, 58-9, 61
Theel-land . . . . .	181, 191-2
Theodoric, of Anglia . . . . .	44-5, 381
Theodosius, Emp. . . . .	345
Theodosius, the General . . . . .	338-40
Thiodolf . . . . .	352
Thor (Thunar) . . . . .	256, 336
Thracian language . . . . .	94
Thule . . . . .	6, 29, 39, 41, 44, 64-71, 75, 78-9, 81-85, 194
Tides . . . . .	13, 48-9, 71-2
Timaëus . . . . .	34, 46, 61
Tin-trade, in Asia . . . . .	121
— of Britain . . . . .	12, 18, 33-6, 45, 230-1, 293
— with Carthaginians . . . . .	7-10
— of Cassiterides . . . . .	10, 14, 16-19, 153-4
— Cornwall . . . . .	9, 16, 19, 26, 31-34, 37, 152-4, 221
— Devon . . . . .	33, 37
— Gaul . . . . .	11
— Ictis . . . . .	34-37
— Marseilles . . . . .	7, 32, 35
— Morbihan . . . . .	11, 37
— Phœnicians . . . . .	7-10
— Portugal . . . . .	9
Tiowulfinge-cæstir . . . . .	378
Titus, Emp. . . . .	299
Tiw, worship of . . . . .	378
Toliapis . . . . .	104
Toot-hill . . . . .	255
Totemism . . . . .	288-9
Trajan, Emp. . . . .	308
Triads, Welsh . . . . .	2, 244-246
Trinobantes . . . . .	105

	PAGES
Truro, R. . . . .	230
Tuatha-Dé Danann . . . . .	135, 152-154
Turkistan . . . . .	77, 212
Turquoise . . . . .	125, 139
Uffings . . . . .	379
Ugrian tribes . . . . .	122, 181, 212-4
Ui-Duinn . . . . .	287
Uisneach, children of . . . . .	241
Ultimogeniture . . . . .	180
Upsala . . . . .	171, 352
Urbgen of Reged . . . . .	381
Urus . . . . .	55-7, 130, 117, 218, 224
Uxella . . . . .	228
Uxellodunum . . . . .	228
Valentinian III, Emp. . . . .	348, 365
Valhalla-cliffs . . . . .	88
Vand, a customary holding . . . . .	181
Vandals . . . . .	341-2
Varro . . . . .	111
Vegetius . . . . .	232
Vellaunodunum . . . . .	107
Venedotian Code . . . . .	182
Vellaus Pagus . . . . .	310
Veneti, trade of . . . . .	26, 231-2
Vennicnii (Vennicones) . . . . .	228
Venus, worship of . . . . .	247, 336
Venusius . . . . .	238-9
Vêpses, customs of . . . . .	213-4
Vercassivellaunus . . . . .	107
Verulam, walls of . . . . .	303
Vespasian, Emp. . . . .	299, 305, 312
Vicarius Britanniae . . . . .	323
Vikings . . . . .	208, 283
Village-communities . . . . .	387-390
Village-feasts . . . . .	377, 387, 390
Villeinage . . . . .	386-7
Visigoths . . . . .	206
Vitellius, Emp. . . . .	298
Vitrum (woad) . . . . .	235
Vol du Chapon . . . . .	196
Völuspà . . . . .	347
Vortigern . . . . .	264, 353, 375
Vortimer . . . . .	361-2
Vosges, funeral-customs . . . . .	215
Vôtes, customs of . . . . .	213-4

	PAGES		PAGES
Wales, customs of inheritance	181-2	Westminster Abbey . . .	171, 395
— Druidism . . .	243-4, 260-4	Wexford, legends of . . .	154
— ethnology of . . .	96-100, 136-9, 147, 153-5, 159-60, 174-5, 233-4	Whale . . . . .	220
— holy tribes . . . .	268-9	Whitby, Synod of . . . .	398
— language . . . . .	94-100, 161-2	Whitsun-ale . . . . .	390
— paganism in . . . .	174-7, 271-2, 277-86	Widsith . . . . .	352
— Roman roads . . . .	322, 325, 331-2	Wight, conquest of . . . .	355, 372-3
— wars with Romans	233-4, 306	Wihtgar . . . . .	373
— with Angles . . . .	381-2	Winta . . . . .	279
— with Saxons . . . .	374-8	Wipped . . . . .	361
Watling Street . . . .	325-7, 331-333	Wissent (Aurochs) . . . .	51, 56-7
Wattus, King . . . . .	367	Witta . . . . .	360
Wayland Smith . . . .	126-7, 359, 393	Wlencing . . . . .	367
Wealds . . . . .	104-5	Woad . . . . .	235, 383
Weapons and armour, bronze	112	Woden (Odin) 88, 125, 171, 359-360, 364, 366, 371, 377-9, 391, 395-6	
— . . . . .	121-2, 139-40, 293	Woden-hills . . . . .	377, 395
— copper . . . . .	144	Wolf . . . . .	3, 145, 218, 224, 262, 288
— reflexive . . . . .	113-4	Wonred . . . . .	364
— stone . . . . .	114, 123, 133, 143	Wood, weapons of . . . .	44, 113
Week, days of . . . . .	378, 393	Written-stone . . . . .	362
Weird, Weird Sisters . .	257, 369	Wætla (Wætlings) . . . .	326-7
Weland . . . . .	126-8, 140, 359	Yew-forests . . . . .	222
Wells, respect paid to . .	174-5, 268-70, 274-5, 282, 285, 321-2, 390, 393	Ylfings . . . . .	208
— cursing-wells . . . .	175-6	Ynglinga-tal . . . . .	352
— laughing-wells . . . .	274	Youling, custom of . . . .	391
— pin-wells . . . . .	274-5	Yule-feast . . . . .	391-2
— wishing-wells . . . .	282	Ypwine's-fleet . . . . .	360
Wends . . . . .	40, 88, 357, 359	Zend-Avesta . . . . .	337
Wessex, conquest of . . .	369-378	Zeuss, theories of . . . .	94
Westmere, kingdom of . .	379	Zubr (Aurochs) . . . . .	51, 53, 55-7









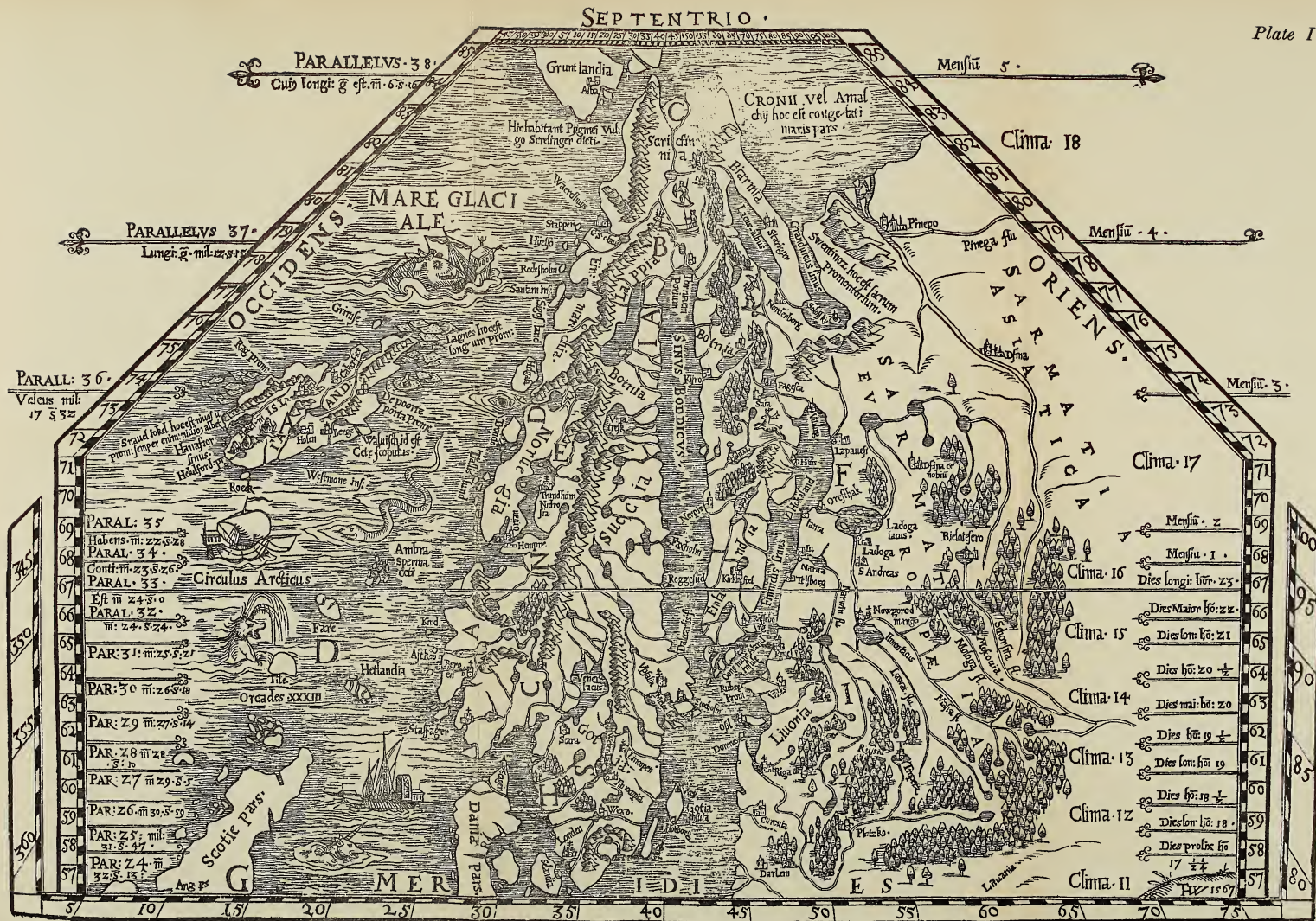
THE WORLD OF THE ANCIENTS. (FROM THE LATIN PTOLEMY, 1478.)





(EASTERN EUROPE FROM THE LATIN PTOLEMY, 1525.)







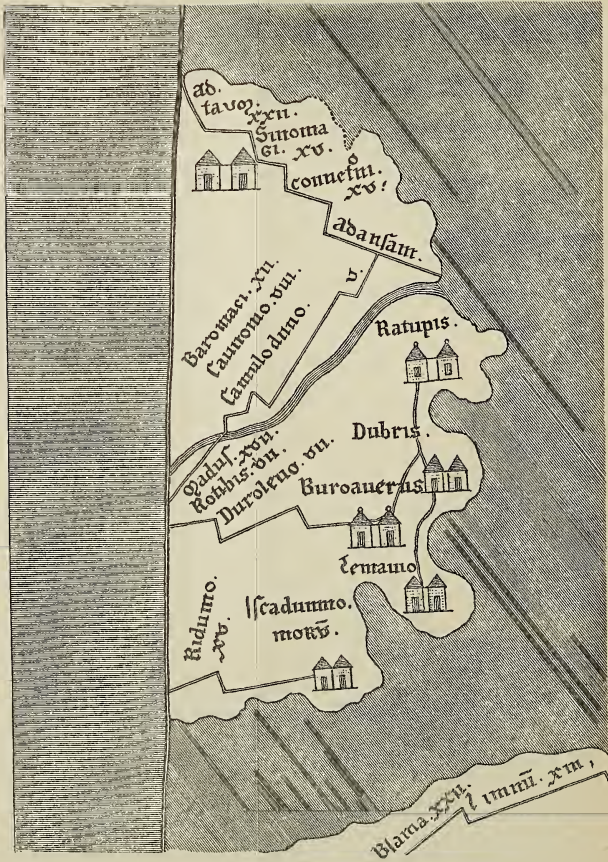






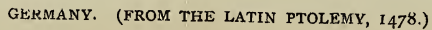
THE BRITISH ISLANDS. (FROM THE LATIN PTOLEMY, 1478.)



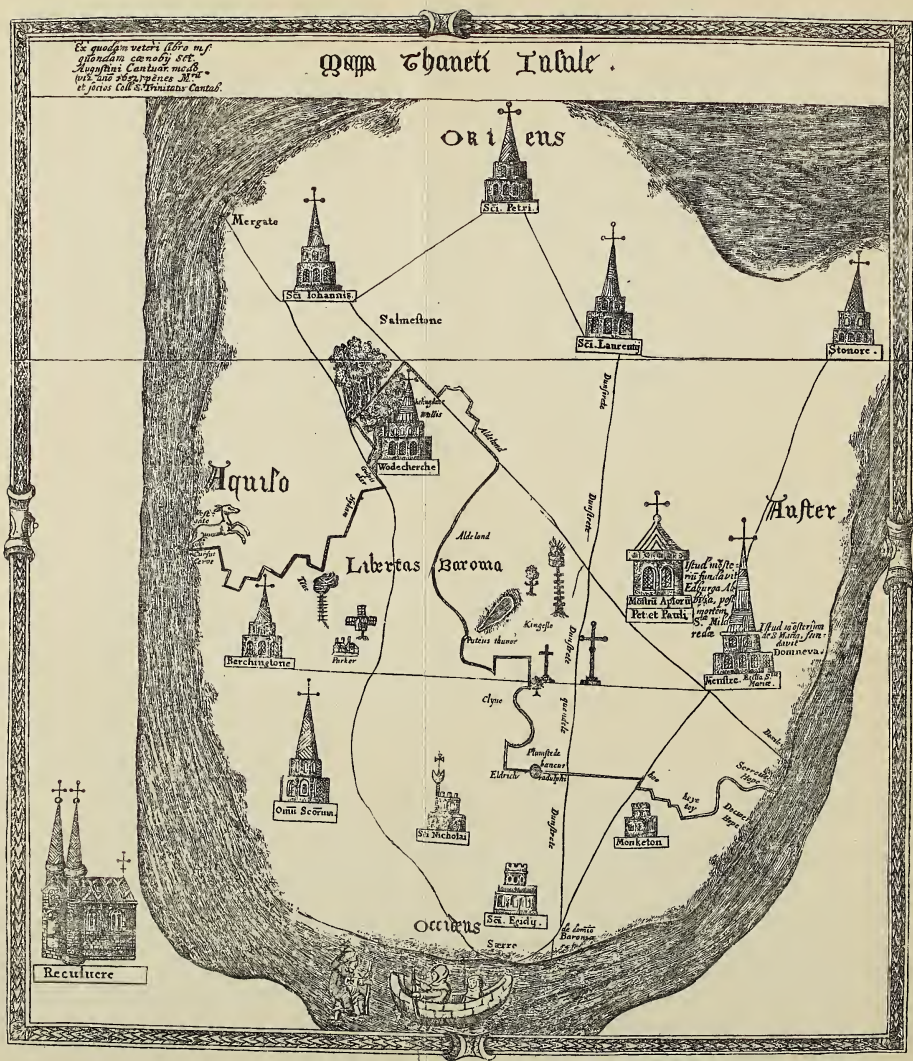


SOUTH EASTERN BRITAIN (FROM THE PEUTINGER TABLES.)









THE ISLE OF THANET. (FROM DUGDALE'S MONASTICON, EDIT. 1655-73.)



*Plate X.*









BINDING OCT. APR 18 1967

DA	Elton, Charles Isaac
140	Origins of English history
E47	2d ed., rev.
1890	

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---

