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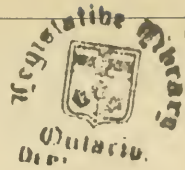
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ORIGINS
OF
ENGLISH HISTORY.

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ORIGINS

OF

ENGLISH HISTORY

BY

CHARLES ELTON,

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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.

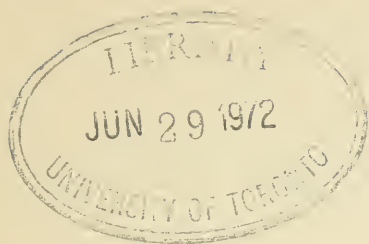


LONDON:

BERNARD QUARITCH, 15 PICCADILLY.

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WYMAN AND SONS, PRINTERS,
GREAT QUEEN STREET, LINCOLN'S-INN FIELDS,
LONDON, W.C.



P R E F A C E.

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 afterwards 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 the 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 under-lie the dominant Aryan race. The description of the British Gauls is accordingly followed by an account of the traces of several 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. The inquiry into customs and tenures is followed by a description of the Britons of the Interior as they first became known to the Romans, and by an account of the ancient Celtic Religions of which traces have remained in France as well as in the British Islands. The work ends with a concise history of the Roman Province of Britain, and an account of the English Conquest down to the period when Christianity was established.

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.

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ORIGINS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

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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 gleaning-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 late in the historical period the Scottish bears were known in the Roman circus, the beavers' colonies were remembered in Wales and Yorkshire, and the wolf and wild boar lingered until the end of the 17th century in the more remote recesses of the island.¹

¹ The Scotch bear is mentioned by Martial: "Nuda Caledonio sic pectora præbuit urso." Wolves became extinct in England soon after the reign of Edward I., but the last is said to have been destroyed in Scotland in A.D. 1697. In Ireland they lasted for another generation. 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 in pale sable armed and langued gules." The service of the Luvets is recognised in a fine between Engaine and Luvet, in the 10th year of King John. The record called the "Testa de Nevil" contains an entry as 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 they pleased. (Pleas of the Crown, 3 Edw. I., r. 20.) An inquisition on the death of John Engaine, in 31 Edw. I. (Calend. Geneal. 777), showed that he held other lands there by the service or rent of feeding the King's brach-hounds, kept for hunting wolves, wild cats, &c. The City of Norwich paid every year to Edward the Confessor "a bear, and six dogs for the bear:" but the bears in the 11th century would be imported from abroad. 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 hills of Hampstead. The reindeer was found in the north of Scotland as late as the 12th century, as will be afterwards more fully mentioned.

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

The wild cattle still remain at Chillingham, and in several other parks. The beaver was common in Wales, and has left its name at Beverley, and Nant-y-ffrangan, near Snowdon. "The beaver (says Prof. Boyd Dawkins) was hunted for its fur on the banks of the Teivi, in Cardiganshire, during the time of the first Crusade, and became extinct shortly afterwards." (Cave-hunting, p. 76.) See p. 290 of the same learned work for a passage describing the fauna of the western districts in the Pleistocene age : "We must picture to ourselves a fertile plain occupying the whole of the Bristol Channel, and supporting herds of reindeer, horses, and bisons, many elephants, and rhinoceroses, and now and then traversed by a stray hippopotamus, which would afford abundant prey to the lions, bears, and hyænas inhabiting all the accessible caves, as well as to their great enemy and destroyer, Man." On the whole subject of the prehistoric fauna see this work, and the same author's "Treatise on the Relation of the Pleistocene Mammalia to those now living in Europe, Palæont. Soc., 1874."

a rumour or tradition that somewhere to the north of the 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 :¹ but we will pass at once to a detailed

¹ Hyperboreans.—There are two distinct sets of Hyperborean legends, that appear to be generally confused together in those 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, and 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 Hecataeus 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 (Cosm. ii. 141, Sabine's Edn.) considered that the six gold-bearing regions of Altai, the kingdoms of the Arimaspi and griffins, were the sites of "the meteorological mythus" of these Hyperboreans. 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 iv. c. 36, "smiled to think that people were already writing circumnavigations of the world without knowing anything about geography." The earliest trace of acquaintance with the brief nights of the Northern summer is, perhaps, to be found in Odyssey x. 36, ἐγγὺς γὰρ νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματός εἰσι κέλευθοι.

The other set of traditions begins with the romance of Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Pytheas, who wove the stories about Britain and Scandinavia into connection with the more ancient legends. This at least is the author's theory, which he will endeavour to fortify by authority in a later chapter.

examination of the discoveries of Pytheas, "the Humboldt of antiquity," whose writings for several centuries were the only source of knowledge respecting the north of Europe. His "Diary" was extant in a connected form as late as the 5th century, since a copy of his works seems to have been in the possession of Stephen of Byzantium, not long before the time of the Emperor Justinian.¹ It has now to be sought in fragments, extracts, and references, preserved by the 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 travels² from Marseilles

¹ Stephen of Byzantium, the last person who is believed to have actually possessed the works of Pytheas, was a grammarian and professor in the University of Constantinople, who flourished about A.D. 490, living in the reigns of Zeno and Anastasius, and perhaps as late as the reign of Justinian, A.D. 527. He wrote a treatise on "Words and Places," a dictionary of geographical names, called Ἐθνικά, which only survives in an epitome by Hermolaus the Grammarian, called Περὶ Πολέων, known also as the treatise "De Urbibus," which has several times been published.

This may be a convenient place for saying that, to save the reader from the trouble of looking up names in the biographical dictionaries, a short account will be given in alphabetical order in the Appendix, containing references to the dates and works of the Greek and Latin writers whose fragments are quoted in the text, or whose works contain important passages to which several references are made in the text. The list is merely compiled from the ordinary sources, and makes no pretence to any freshness of information; but without it any criticism of a statement of Hermolaus, or Cleomedes, or Jamblulus, might be unintelligible to any reader who has not at command a large library of works of reference.

² The passages in which the "Fragments" of Pytheas are embodied

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. And in connection with the first part of his voyage we shall deal incidentally with some other traditions relating to our 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 debatable time, worn out by age and obscured by neglect, are preserved piece-meal in imperfect extracts from books which have perished, in the notes of a scholiast or epitomist, or the ancient criticisms which have chanced to survive the objects of their attacks.

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

will be found collected and arranged in the Appendix. For the life of Pytheas the student should consult Arwedson's "Fragments" (Upsala, 1824); Gassendi Opera, vol. iv. "Essay on the Ratio of the Gnomon to the Solstitial Shadow;" papers published by the French Academy of Inscriptions, vol. xix.; the references under "Pytheas," which may be found in the *Biographie Universelle*; and many German and French essays on the subject, by Bessell, Meyer, Fuhr, Aout, Lelewel; and a great number of others. They are mostly in the form of small tracts or pamphlets, and it therefore seems unnecessary to give the full titles and places of publication, which can be easily collected by any one undertaking a study of this subject.

facts that the astronomical discoveries of Pytheas were not mentioned by Aristotle, but were controverted on some points by Dicaearchus. He was the pupil of Aristotle, and his writings were published not long after the famous philosopher's death.

The merchants of Marseilles, and the other Greek colonists of the "Ligurian shore," were at that time 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 coast, 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."¹ The

¹ 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, Ps. xlvi. 7, cf. Strabo, iii. 144. See also Isai. 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 the Guadiana and Cape Trafalgar. The Bætis or Guadalquivir and the Anas or Guadiana River 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 Roman times, however, the name was more widely extended, and

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.¹ It must always be remembered that Spain

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, iii.)

¹ The Greek name for tin, *κασσίτερος*, *cassiterus*, is derived from *kastira*, the Sanskrit name for the metal. The island Cassitira must of course have been in the Straits of Malacca, the source of our modern supplies. Stephen of Byzantium is the authority for the description of "Cassitira, an island in the ocean near India, as Dionysius says in his *Bassarici*, whence the tin comes." For details of the modern tin trade, see Sir Henry De la Beche, "Geological Report on Cornwall, &c." For the ancient trade, consult Heeren's "Essay on the Carthaginians" and Kenrick's "Phœnicia." Humboldt (*Cos.* ii. 128), though he agreed that the Cassiterides were in the British seas, according to the common theory, pointed out that the ancients were acquainted with the existence of tin, one of the rarest metals in the globe, in the country of the Artabri and Callaici, in the N.W. part of the Iberian mainland. "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." It may also be remarked, that tin-deposits have been found at Montebrias in Auvergne, where the newly-described mineral "montebriasite," a phosphate of alumina, is found enveloping the metallic lode. 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 (*Eust. ad Dion. 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 much neglected 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

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 Bilboa, and the whole coast from the Tagus to the Pyrenees was said to be "stuffed with mines of gold and silver, lead and tin;"

"genitrix hæc ora metalli
Albentis stanni."—Avien. Descr. Orb. 741.

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

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 Artabrians, the most remote in the north-west, the soil glitters with silver, tin, and white gold (Strab. iii. 147). The tin was stream-tin, and no lodes of it appear to have been worked in Spain. The account given by Pliny is the same: "Tin, it is now well ascertained, is produced, in Lusitania and Gallæcia, 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. 16). The geological structure of Galicia and the adjacent part of Portugal is very similar to that of the metalliferous country 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 Borraco di Stanno, in the neighbourhood of Viseu, in Portugal, indicates the working of a tin-mine (Kenrick, Phœnic. 214).

with silver. We learn the ancient wealth of the country 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,¹ a century before, had heard

¹ Herod. iii. 115. On this passage the learned authors of the "*Monumenta Historica Britannica*" make the following remark: "Few historical data are extant relating to Britain anterior to its invasion by Julius Cæsar: the only authors who have referred to it are Herodotus, under the name of the Islands of the Cassiterides, Aristotle, and Polybius. It does not appear that the ancients, with the exception of the three writers just mentioned, knew for certain whether it was an island or an isthmus joined eastward to the continent of France, nor were they certain from what countries the inhabitants first migrated." (*Monum. Hist.* 49.) The writer hopes to establish a theory completely opposed to this statement; and, in the first place, would observe that Herodotus never heard of Britain at all, that the book "*De Mundo*" is not now attributed to Aristotle, and that the criticisms of Polybius, remaining in Strabo's comments, were themselves concerned with the descriptions of Britain by Pytheas, which had been accepted by Eratosthenes and Hipparchus; in fact that, from the time of Alexander the Great, the ancients had a very fair notion of the geography of Britain, and certainly referred to it in a vast number of instances, which will be separately dealt with in the text. The "*Monumenta*" is framed on the plan of citing all the passages in which Britain is named, and omitting all those which only contain indirect allusions to it: and, what is of more importance, the "only authors who have referred to Britain" must point, excepting Polybius, to those only who have left complete works: it is

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 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?" (Is. lx. 8.) 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 Malayan Cassitera. The Indian name of the western Cassiterides of itself attests the wide spread of their commerce.

Such were the rivals with whom the Greeks were about to compete. Tin had been found in Gaul, perhaps in several districts, 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,"

difficult to understand how the numerous writers whose "Fragments" relate to Britain could have been omitted from consideration. It may seem ungracious to blame in any way a compilation without which these chapters could not perhaps be written; and the writer is the first to acknowledge the importance of the work, while reserving to himself the liberty of disputing the foregone conclusion, which seems to have been taken for granted when the "Classical Excerpta" were arranged.

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 statues of tin and amber being erected on an island, near the trade-route which all the barbarian tribes respected, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Venice or Trieste.

A Roman named Scipio, the first of the Cornelian clan whose name appears in history, had some time since arrived at Marseilles to inquire as to the chance of establishing a new trade: hoping to do an injury to the wealth of Carthage. Pytheas 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,"¹ which in the age of Pytheas was said to be a flourishing place, though the later Romans were ignorant even of its situation. The foreigner was told what perhaps he knew already, 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.”

The project of a voyage of discovery became popular at Marseilles, and a committee of merchants engaged the services of Pytheas, an eminent mathematician of that city, who was already famous for his measurement of the decli-

¹ Corbelo is said to be Coiron on the Loire, near Nantes (Martin, *Hist. France*, i. 90). Polybius described its situation (Strabo, iv. 190).

nation of the ecliptic, and for the calculation of the latitude of Marseilles, by the method which he had recently invented of comparing the height of a gnomon or pillar with the length of the solstitial shadow. What kind of gnomon he used is uncertain. Pytheas was also 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"; and for his studies on the influence of the moon upon the tides.¹

¹ On the use of the gnomon by Pytheas, see Gassendi, iv. 530. He fixed the ratio at 24 : 7. Strabo misquoted him, as if he had made it out to be 600 : 29 (see Strabo, Geo., i. 92). Modern experiments conducted at Marseilles have shown Pytheas to be correct within a trifling fraction of 40 seconds (see a pamphlet on the subject, "Étude sur Pythéas," by L. Aout. Paris : 1866). With respect to his fixing the place of the pole-star, 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 (Humb. Cosm. ii. 103. See Strabo, i. 3). Kenrick says that the discovery of the pole-star was attributed by the Greeks to Thales. The spurious writings of Eratosthenes call it *Φοινίκη*, or the lode-star of the Phœnicians. Kenrick puts the matter clearly in the following passage:—"The most important peculiarity in their navigation, however, was, that while the Greeks and Romans long continued to direct their course at night by the Great Bear, the Phœnicians early discovered that the Cynosure, the last star in the constellation of the Little Bear, being nearly identical in position with the pole, afforded them by its unchangeableness the means of ascertaining the true north, whenever the heavens were visible. The Phœnicians were not the first cultivators of astronomy; in this the Egyptians and Babylonians preceded them; but they applied it practically to navigation, combining with it the art of calculation, so necessary in reckoning a ship's course" (Phœn. p. 235). The Greeks for a long time did not dare to imitate the Phœnicians' nocturnal voyages. The same author appositely cites Manilius, l. 304:—

"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."

Pytheas was chosen as the leader of a northern expedition to explore the Iberian coast, and 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, and that the records of his voyage are almost completely lost. It will be seen hereafter that Pytheas was more fortunate, a good many fragments of his diary 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 work 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 Tanais." But a comparison of the fragments shows clearly enough that only one voyage was described, its course being from Cadiz round Spain to Brittany, from Brittany to Kent and several other parts of Britain, from the Thames to the Rhine, round Jutland along the Baltic to the Vistula (which was mistaken for the Tanais); thence out of

The Phœnicians were experienced observers of the tides. Pytheas and Posidonius both noticed the ebb and flow of the tide at Gaddir (Cadiz), and attempted to give explanations of the phenomenon (Strabo, iii. 173).

the Baltic and up the Norwegian coast to the Arctic Circle; thence 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.¹ The voyage to

¹ The Greeks altered the name to Melicertes; and it is also believed to be the original of the "*Midacritus*, who first brought tin from the Cassiterides" (Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 57). Gaddir, Gadeira, or Cadiz, was founded about 1100 B.C. The description of the city by Pytheas has either been lost, or cannot be disentangled from the details presented by the later narratives of Artemidorus and Posidonius. The following is the best modern account:—"An island (*Erytheia*) twelve miles in length is separated from the coast of Spain by a strait only a furlong in breadth at its narrowest part, and it is again broken into two parts, which are connected by a narrow sandy isthmus, a furlong across, the recess between the island and the opposite shore forming one of the noblest roadsteads in Europe. Two smaller islands contract the entrance and break the force of the mighty waves of the Atlantic, which render the outer bay unsafe. The Phœnician name Gaddir, 'an enclosure,' probably was derived from the fortification carried across the sandy isthmus to protect the city, which stood, like the modern Cadiz, on the western end of the island. In Strabo's time, Gades was second only to Rome in numbers.

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

Œstrymnis, 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. 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.¹

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 ascer-

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, Phœn. 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 afterwards they were identified with the columns above mentioned.

¹ The exact expression was ἀμώπεις περατοῦσθαι, that "the ebb came to an end" when they had reached the western point of Spain.

C

tain the situation of the Cassiterides: they are often taken for the Scilly Isles, but are found by a comparison of the oldest authorities to be the islands situated in the neighbourhood of Vigo Bay.

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 the Greeks called Cassiterides. They are described by many writers as lying close to the Iberian shore, and north of Lusitania:—"Above the country of the Lusitanians," said Diodorus, "there are many mines of tin in the little islands, on that account called Cassiterides, lying off Iberia in the ocean." "The Cassiterides," said Strabo, "are ten in number, and lie near each other in the ocean towards the north from the haven of the Artabri;" but added in another passage, "the Cassiterides lie over against the Artabri to the north, situated out at sea somewhere within the Britannic region." Pliny placed them correctly on the Spanish coast, which he knew to be at a great distance from Britain; but Strabo, following older calculations, believed that the north of the Peninsula (by which he meant the

neighbourhood of Lisbon) was not more than about 500 miles from the south of Britain. The originals of all these passages will be found in the first part of the Appendix.

The well-known description of the tin-islanders (which is often taken as applying to the ancient inhabitants of Cornwall) appears to have been first taken from the travels of Posidonius, who visited Spain, Gaul, and Britain some generations after Pytheas. "The islands 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."

Publius Crassus conquered the north-west of Spain about a century before Christ, and found the Cassiterides, the situation of which was not up to that time known to the Romans. "As soon as he reached them," says Strabo, "he perceived that the mines were very slightly worked, and that the natives were peaceable, and already employing their leisure in learning navigation: so he taught all that were willing, how to make the voyage:" *i.e.* the voyage from Vigo to Marseilles. He adds, that "this passage was longer than the journey to Britain;" by which he appears to mean, 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.

It has been a common belief, ever since the revival of archæology in the days of Camden, not only that the Cassiterides were the Scilly Isles, 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.¹

¹ Mr. Kenrick adopts the view that the Cassiterides were the Scilly Isles. He is struck by the description of the coracles and of the fact that Finisterre slopes to the south; but the Iberian coracles were as well known as those of the Britons, and Cape St. Vincent resembles "Œstrymnis" in stretching to the south, as well as Cape Finisterre. If the lines immediately preceding the extract from Avienus are consulted, it will be seen that Cape St. Vincent is intended. "That by the Cassiterides, or Œstrymnides, the ancients meant the Scilly Islands is highly probable, because, though they do not in all points correspond with their description, no others answer so well; and in all attempts to identify ancient with modern geography we find difficulties arising from vague language and inaccurate knowledge. The following is the account of them given by Avienus (*Ora Maritima*, 114):—'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 part is derived from some other authority than that of Himilco; but in his account we recognise the coracle, the characteristic boat of Britain, navigating the stormy sea between the Land's End and the Scilly Islands. Pliny describes the coracle still more exactly, as made of wicker-work, round which leather was sewed. Boats of similar construction are still used on the west coast of Ireland, and can live in seas which would be fatal to craft of more solid materials. It is true, that in the Scilly Islands tin is not now worked; and according to Borlase, the ancient workings were neither

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 Azores, and to the region of the Sargasso Sea: and he appears to have discovered 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 on votive tablets in the temple of Moloch; and Hanno's account is still extant in a Greek translation. Himilco's tablet is lost, though it was 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 preserved in certain extracts to be found in Pliny, the poems of Festus Avienus, and the "Book of Wonderful Stories," which long passed current under the name and authority of Aristotle.¹

numerous nor deep." (Kenrick, Phœn. 217; Borlase, Cornw. 30; Lyson's Cornw. 337.) The passage from Avienus is less confused than most of the other passages in which he describes the Sacred Cape and the Phœnician factories; his whole account of the Spanish coast is a mixture of various old traditions of Greece and Carthage.

¹ Several extracts relating to Himilco's voyage will be found in the Appendix. Hanno's voyage may be read in Cory's "Fragments of Phœnician, Carthaginian, and other Authors;" and also in a very good version contained in the first volume of "Purchas' Pilgrims."

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 or "Æstrymnic 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 ;¹ 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

¹ Himilco's description of the fog in the paraphrase of Avienus will be found in the Appendix. A more graceful version of the incident by M. Flaubert, the author of a 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 an incident of the possible voyage : " Ils continuaient dans l'Ouest durant quatre lunes sans rencontrer de rivages, mais la proue des navires s'embarrassait 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."

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 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."¹ The Carthaginian fleet

¹ Kenrick (Phœn. 225) says that the tunny fishery was carried on by the people of Tartessus, and that the figure of this fish appears on the coins of Gades. "In the waters of the Atlantic, four days' sail from Gades, the marine plants on which they feed grew to unusual size, and the tunnies and conger-eels of this coast were delicacies sought after in Athens and Carthage; the latter city, after she obtained possession of the south of Spain, forbidding their export to any other place." This is taken from the "Book of Wonderful Stories" improperly ascribed to Aristotle (De Mir. Ausc. s. 132; see the same work, s. 35, for an allusion to Hanno's nocturnal fires). Compare the true Aristotle (Meteor. ii.) where the sea outside the Pillars of Hercules is described as being calm, muddy, and shallow. So in the Periplus of Scylax. A great number of legends were current among the Greeks about the Carthaginian voyages.

appears to have turned homewards from this point and to have come upon the Azores and the Island of Madeira, which they 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 certainly took his picture of "Mount Atlas" from one or other of the Carthaginian voyagers, to whose authority he refers. "The wonderful high crown of the mountain reached above the clouds to the neighbourhood of the circle of the moon, and appeared at night to be all in flames, resounding far and wide with the noise of pipes, trumpets, and cymbals" (*Hist. Nat.* v. i.).

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 reached Nerium or Finisterre, then occupied by Iberian tribes, but afterwards known as the Celtic promontory. Little is recorded of this passage round the northern coast, but it seems probable that the diary of Pytheas was the authority for the description in the poem of Avienus of the flat-bottomed punts in which the Carthaginian settlers traversed the numerous estuaries, the natives keeping to their often-described Lusitanian coracles. There is an old notice of the native superstitions, which also seems to have come from the writings of Pytheas. Passing Nerium at night, they heard the women worshipping the Earth-goddesses

with shrill music and noisy rites, in honour of Earth and Proserpina.¹

Coming to the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, they made a passage of two days to "a deserted shore of the Ligurians," if we can trust the careless Avienus, and at any rate in a short time arrived at the mouth of the Loire, then the northern boundary of the Iberian population, and the limit of the Celtic advance.² Here Pytheas declared (and was afterwards followed by Artemidorus) that it would have been far easier to have come to Celtica by the overland route from Marseilles than to have undertaken the difficult and tedious journey by sea. In a bay near the mouth of the river they visited an island inhabited by women, who worshipped a barbarous god with bloody and orgiastic rites. The island was called Amnis or Samnis, and the tribe to whom it belonged were called Amnites, the noble Amnitæ of the poets. They are only known by the report of what Pytheas saw, which was treated as incredible by Eratosthenes and later writers. No man might land on the 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

¹ See the passage from Dionysius Periegetes, in the Appendix. The Greek traveller Artemidorus 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. This may, however, have applied to the ritual found in the island at the mouth of the Loire, of which the description was preserved by Strabo.

² Vibius Sequester, an author of unknown date, who wrote a treatise on rivers, describes the Loire as dividing the Celts and Aquitanians, and flowing into the British Ocean (Vib. Seq. 224).

down. Each woman had an allotted burden of materials, and an appointed share of the task; and 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. The other 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.¹

¹ M. Martin (Hist. de 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. On assure qu'elles guérissent les maladies qui échappent à la science des Ovates (*Druids*), 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 dominent 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." M. Martin adopts the best reading of Pomponius Mela, iii. 6, "Galli Senas vocant," in-

Shortly after leaving the mouth of the Loire, then called the Liger (as if its banks were occupied by the Ligurian population, who in historical times are only found on the Mediterranean coast), the travellers skirted the shores of the Morbihan, and found themselves among the "Celtic Islands." The mainland in the vicinity of Vannes, the home of the people called Veneti in the time of Julius Cæsar, was then held by people whom Pytheas called "Ostimii," a name otherwise unknown. The extremity of the Breton mainland as far as Finisterre was held by tribes called "Ostidamnii," or "Osismici," or "Osistamnii," words which are either corrupt and various readings of a manuscript, or the names of different clans living near each other. Cape Finisterre itself was known to Pytheas as "Calbion." Opposite to this promontory they found an island then known as "Axantos" or "Uxisana," and now called the Isle of Ushant, where they landed, and found another temple, where nine Gaelic priestesses maintained a perpetual fire in honour of their god, 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. Here, without knowing it, Pytheas was at his nearest point to the Cornish tin-country of which he was in search : and

stead 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 (Uxisana), and the other as L'île des Saints (Sein), not far from Brest.—See Keysler, *Antiqu. Septent.* 453, 455.

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, the North Foreland, or a port in its neighbourhood: and he noted that "Britain was several days' journey from Celtica," and that it lay about 170 miles to the north of the Isle of Ushant. It appears that the whole group of islands were called Britain, or the Britannic Isles, the two largest being even then distinguished by the names of Albion and Ierne. The "Book of the World," a very ancient compilation, which was long attributed to Aristotle, describes them in the following passage:—"In the ocean are two islands of great size, Albion and Ierne, called the Bretannic Isles, lying beyond the Celti; and not a few smaller islands around the Bretannic Isles and around Iberia encircle as with a crown the habitable world, which itself is an island in the ocean."

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 its eastern side. He appears to have taken a great number of astronomical notes and measurements, which became the foundation of the system of geography

founded by Eratosthenes, and improved by the celebrated Hipparchus : it was afterwards superseded by the Ptolemaic system, which enjoyed a long popularity, until it was superseded 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 consistently maintained that Pytheas was a great philosopher and student of truth, as well as an eminent mathematician, 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 magnetic needle and of the use of the compass rendered the most detailed itineraries of the Greeks and Romans extremely uncertain, from 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."¹ 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. He considered that the island of Britain was of a three-cornered shape, something like the head of a battle-axe, and that (taking about 9 stadia to the mile) the southern side, lying obliquely near the coast of Gaul, was about 833 m. in length; the eastern side about 1,666 m.; and the western side, which he had not visited in person, about 2,222 m. in length. The total circuit of the British Isle or Isles was therefore about 4,721 m., or, according to another version of his story, about 4,400 m. When we read 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 spicy regions of Ceylon to the frozen shores of Scythia, being taken at about 3,400 miles; the length, from Cape St. Vincent to the ocean east of India, at about 6,800 miles. From the latitude of Byzantium or Marseilles it was about 500 miles to the mouths of the Borysthenes or Dnieper, and a like distance was thought to reach to the northern limit of habitation.

¹ Humb. *Cosm.* ii. 190 (Sabine's edition).

All these calculations were upset by the exaggerated measurements of Pytheas, which (it must be confessed) appear to have been inconsistent among themselves, as well as contradictory of the ideas which were then most generally received.

Accepting the line of 2,900 miles from Ceylon to the north of the Euxine, which he thought to be in the same latitude as the Baltic, he proposed to add 1,300 miles as the distance between the Borysthenes and the countries which he had discovered within the Arctic Circle; thus making the breadth of the world 4,700 miles, and being compelled by the accepted formula to extend its length to a line of 9,400 miles. At the same time he 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 2,700 miles from that city, the distance from Scotland to the south of 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 Pytheas.

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, 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."

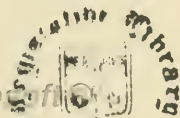
In the southern districts he saw an abundance of wheat in the fields, and observed the necessity of thrashing it out in covered barns, instead of using the unroofed floors to which he was accustomed in the sunny climate of Marseilles. "The natives," he said, "collect the sheaves in great barns and thrash 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 its 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 may also be 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." 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 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.

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

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small islands lying north of Scotland, but did not say anything about Ireland: a place which in their view must 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 travellers who followed him may easily 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 soon after his time on the route between Marseilles and the Straits of Dover. It will be recollected that almost all the ancient British coins (of which specimens exist which at any rate are older than the second century B.C.) are modelled on Greek money of the age of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great, or in other words, that the first British money of which any knowledge remains was copied from pieces that were struck in the lifetime of Pytheas.¹ There is one piece of direct evidence (to be quoted presently) which goes to show that

¹ Some of the coins, however, are of an even older date, "the types of fabric being unlike any which have been discovered in other countries, and having all the appearance of being some centuries older than Cæsar's first expedition to Britain" (Remarks on British Coins in the "Monumenta Historica"). The whole subject is best studied in Dr. Evans's work on British Coins.

Pytheas did not visit the districts where tin was then produced. These may be briefly subdivided into the district of Dartmoor and the country round Tavistock, at one time a very fertile source of surface-tin; the district 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 district 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." (Geol. Report, Cornw. 401.)

The point of evidence mentioned above consists in the fact, that Timæus the historian, a contemporary of Pytheas and fond of quoting from his travels, mentioned "an island called Mictis, lying 'inwards,' at a distance of six days' sail from Britain, where the tin is found, to which island the natives make voyages in their canoes of wickerwork covered with hides." Whatever the meaning

may be of the phrase "inwards from Britain," and from whatever point these natives may be supposed to have commenced their six days' voyage, the important fact remains that the tin was only dug up in the west of Devon and Cornwall; so that the island of Mictis cannot be thought to have been at a distance from the British coast. To make any sense of the passage, it must be supposed to have lain at six days' voyage from the mineral district; and it seems probable that we can 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. 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 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 off 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 (*i.e.* the junction of the Rhone and Sâone, where the wharfs for the tin-barges were erected).” The trade is also described in the following passages, which may be cited as showing the distinction which was known to exist between the Cornish tin trade and the commerce with the Cassiterides, which was of a much higher antiquity :—“ Posidonius says that the tin is not found on the surface, as many authors have alleged, but is dug up ; and that it is produced both among the barbarians beyond Lusitania and also in the islands called Cassiterides. And that from the British Isles tin is carried to Marseilles.” And, after giving the account already quoted of the “ many mines of tin in the little islands called Cassiterides lying off Iberia,” Diodorus proceeds as follows : “ Much tin is also carried across from Britain to the opposite shore of Gaul, and is thence carried on horseback through the midst of the Celtic country to the people of Marseilles, and also to the city of Narbonne.”¹

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, who crossed from the Portus Itius,

¹ Diod. Sic. v. 38 ; Strabo, iii. 177.

supposed to be the village of Wissant, near Cape Grisnez, then called the Itian Promontory. The island, which was 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 Wantsome 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.¹ There would probably have been no doubt about the identity of the "Mictis" of Pytheas, and the "Ictis" of Posidonius and Diodorus, with the island lying so nearly opposite to the "Itian Port," if it were not for the silting up of the channels: these 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 became usual to look for "Ictis" in another direction; and it is now generally 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

¹ Twine, "De Reb. Albion." i. 25. The old map of Thanet in this chapter was first published by Dugdale in the "Monasticon."

of the ancient 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 more than probable that in the age of Pytheas the present island or peninsula would not have corresponded in any way with the description of the island of Ictis. And this theory is borne out by the old Cornish name for the mount, which Leland and Carew have preserved, the place being called "Cara Cowze in Clowze," or the Hoar Rock in the Wood.¹

¹ Carew, Survey of Cornwall, 154. Leland, in his Itinerary, describes the rock as "Carreg lug en Kug, or Le Hore rok in the Wodd," according to his antique manner of spelling. It is fair to say that writers of authority prefer to accept the common theory which identifies Ictis with St. Michael's Mount, though Ptolemy's identification of the place with the Isle of Wight is of course rejected by every one. Mr. Kenrick says of the passage in Diod. Sic. v. 22. (Phœn. 220): "In this passage the true site of the tin-mines is described: they are found chiefly in the south-western corner of Cornwall, in Gwennap, Polgooth, and Redruth; and the island which at low water is joined to the mainland can be no other than St. Michael's Mount, which was excellently adapted from this circumstance to be the place of trade between foreign dealers and the inhabitants of the continent. Some of the principal tin-mines are in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount's Bay. As the Phœnicians made no settlements in Britain, and merely anchored their vessels first at the Scilly Islands, and afterwards at Mount's Bay, returning at the close of summer to the south of Spain, it is not wonderful that no inscriptions or monuments of any kind attest their presence or their influence in our island. It is, however, by no means improbable that the tin which came originally from Cornwall may have returned thither from Gaul or Spain, in the form of those instruments of bronze which are some of the earliest of our British antiquities in metal." He adds: "From a similarity of sound Vectis (the Isle of Wight) has been supposed to be the Ictis of Diodorus; but it can never have been joined at low water to Hampshire in the Roman times; nor would it be at all a convenient market for the tin of Cornwall." Pliny (iv. 16) places Vectis between England and Ireland; and Timæus, pro-

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 to the Arctic regions.

bably misunderstanding Pytheas, has transferred Ictis to the site of Thule. "Six days' sail" is the distance from Britain at which Pytheas placed Thule (Plin. ii. 75), and the *introrsus* of Pliny (iv. 16) means, on the eastern side of Britain, as Pytheas certainly navigated the German Ocean. See also Barham, Tract on the subject of Ictis, Geol. Soc. Corn. iii. 88, and De la Beche's Geol. Report, p. 524.

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 Amber Coast.—The Sitones.—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.—Return 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," 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 Scythian tribes called "Guttones," as far as the great river the Vistula, which seemed to be the same as the Tanais (which falls into the Sea of Azof): another great river was 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 Rubeas, 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 to the north a frozen or encrusted ocean.¹

¹ The word "Germara" was applied to "a Celtic nation" very soon after the return of Pytheas. See the false Aristotle's "Wonderful Stories," *De Mir. Ausc.* 5, and Stephan. Byzant. *sub voce* "Germara." Pytheas made the Don or Tanais the limit of his northern discoveries, but he seems to have doubted the identity of the Vistula and the Don. His follower, Timæus, distinctly said that the northern Tanais was unconnected with the Don (*Diod. Sic. iv.* 58). The summary given above is believed to

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 was acquainted with the great range of mountains which separates Sweden from Norway. "Mount Sebo" (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. "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,'¹ 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.² On the other side of the promontory the islands

harmonize the fragments in which the voyage of Pytheas is mentioned: but those who are interested should consult Mannert's "Geographie," or the essays of Bessell and Lelewel on Pytheas, in each of which works there are slight variations from the theory adopted in the text.

¹ "Eningia" is taken by Bessell (*Über 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 accompanying map of the northern countries is taken from an early edition of Olaus Magnus.

² The Liim Fjord. *Cylipenus* may be the Dantzic *Frische Haf.*

begin, of which twenty-three have been reached in the Roman wars, the best known being 'Burchana,'¹ 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;² 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 "North 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 the elder naturalist had collected for a history of the German wars. And it is extremely doubtful whether Pliny the 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

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

² The island of Ameland, off the coast of West Friesland.

modern German Empire, adding Poland and Bohemia and several neighbouring countries, and should proceed to describe the whole population as having exactly the same laws, customs, and physical appearance.

Tacitus wrote in much the same way of his "Germany," 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 other boundary is the encircling ocean, which sweeps through broad gulfs and around islands of immense extent."

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. Thence, turning from the ocean, we come to the Rugians and Lemovians. And all these nations may be known by their round shields and short swords, and their loyalty towards their kings. And now in mid-ocean begin 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 rows 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. But to return,—on the right-hand shore of the Suevic Sea the Æstians dwell by the waves. Their religion and dress are Suevic, their language more 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 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 'jetsam' of 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.¹

"The Sitones live next to the Suiones, whom they resemble in all points but one, being under the rule of a woman; so low have they fallen below the state of a free man, or even of a slave. Here Suevia comes to an end."

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 Pomeranian shore. In his picture of the "vast gulf," and of the nations which fringed its southern coast, Tacitus certainly seems to have copied

¹ The "Easte," or Esthonians, sent an embassy to Theodoric the Ostrogoth, which is thus described by Gibbon, who smiled at the idea of 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 ancient traffic. (Cassiod. Var. v. 2.) See Latham's Tac. Germ. c. 45, for an argument as to the identity of the Æstii and Guttones.

passages from the older Greeks;¹ and it has even been suggested² that the whole account of "Suevia," or, at least, of the northern portions, including the country of the Angli, with which Englishmen are most concerned, was taken direct from the "Geographica" of Eratosthenes, who did not dispute his obligations to Pytheas. And much might be said in favour of the opinion; but the fact must always remain doubtful for want of explicit evidence. Perhaps we may go so far as to say that Tacitus took most of this matter from some book, and that the only books which to our knowledge had then dealt with the subject were those of Pytheas, his admirers or opponents or critics.

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," from a port either in the mouth of the Thames or in the neigh-

¹ "It must be remembered," says Dr. Latham, "that it was only through the Romans that the Greeks knew much of Germany; in other words, their knowledge was second-hand. Even such a writer as Cæsar does not wholly confine his account of Germany to what he had himself observed. On the contrary, he quotes Eratosthenes, and indicates the opinion of other Greeks. Pliny's account is pre-eminently Greek, whilst Tacitus has evidently, in more places than one, allowed his reading to stand in the place of first-hand investigation. Yet the Greeks were no safe guides; not because they had no powers of observation, but because it was impossible for them to know such a country as Germany without coming in contact with Germans" (Latham's Tac. Germ. cxviii.). With every respect for Dr. Latham's great learning, one cannot fail to be surprised at his belief that the Greek knowledge of Germany was derived from the Romans. The passages which he cites from Strabo are sufficient evidence to the contrary. But whether right or wrong on particular points, Dr. Latham's work on Germany ought to be carefully studied.

² By Bessell, in his Essay on Pytheas.

bourhood of Sandwich, where the Gallic merchants must have resorted from the "Itian Port," Pytheas crossed over to "Celtica," or "Germara," at a place near the mouths of the Rhine which cannot now be identified. The changes which have taken place in the courses of the rivers 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; an assertion based (as we may suppose) on some confused remembrance of the proximity of Cape Grisnez to the coast of Britain. It will be remembered that the distinction between Gaul and Germany was at that time unknown: except for the slight local distinction already mentioned, the whole country between Brittany and Jutland was treated as part of Celtica: and "the Gauls," or Cymric branch of the Celtic race, were thought to include all the races "who lived along the shores of the Ocean as far to the east as Scythia."¹

The people who then occupied the coast as far as 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 for some neighbouring tribe, is found in the following passage from Stephanus of Byzantium:—"The Ostiones, a nation on

¹ 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.

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,¹ and probably in that of the Estians or "Æstii" of Tacitus, who are identified by some writers with various Esthonian tribes. Dr. Latham considered them to be the occupants of the present coast of Prussia and Courland: the reference to the amber trade "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 these Estians in a very different locality from Prussia and Courland; and that they must be transferred to the fens and islands between the Elbe and the Rhine, 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, who afterwards took part in the settlement of England; so that to some extent we may regard them as probable 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

¹ See the account of "Estia Palus" in Pomponius 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 annium spargitur."

origin, and to have formed part of a vocabulary akin to the Welsh.

Our traveller, and the writers of the age of Alexander the Great 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 was 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.¹ 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.² Yet Strabo could not believe the

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

² The most important floods in this quarter of Europe are described

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 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.¹

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-

in Turner's "Anglo-Saxons," ch. i. Lelewel, in his *Essay on Pytheas*, mentions those of A.D. 1200, 1218, 1221, 1277, 1287, 1362, &c. "The Frisians," says Dr. Latham, "have ever been the people of a retiring frontier." *Germania*, 117.

¹ 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.

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.”¹ 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.

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.”²

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.”³ It must be remembered, however, that the last charge is quite unproved, though it was commonly

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 1.

² Tac. *Germ.* c. 35.

³ Diod. *Sic.* v. 32; Strabo, *iv.* 200. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi. 20; vii. 2.

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."¹

We must now return to the journey of Pytheas. It 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 physi-cists, and was afterwards embodied by Eratosthenes in his 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."²

"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

¹ Müller, Chips, ii. 328.

² The quotation is from Diodorus, v. 32. The original spelling of the name was "Arcynia," and "Orcynia." For old descriptions of the forest, see Strabo, vii. 291, and Hermolaus Barbarus, see Olaus Magnus, Hist. Septent., xviii. 1, 35. Cluver, Germania Antiqua, iii. c. 47, contains an account of "the small and scattered remains of the Hercynian Wood."—See also Gibbon, Decline and Fall, c. 9.

primeval state: the Imperial Forest of Bialowicza¹ 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."²

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, "was well known to Eratosthenes, and to certain other Greeks under the name of Orcynia."³

"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

¹ The reader may be able to consult Baron De Brincken's "Mémoire Descriptif sur la Fôret Impériale de Bialowicza," Warsaw, 1826.

² Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 26. Tacitus mentions the forest as the home 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).

³ Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 26, 27.

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 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 ‘false Aristotle’ will supply us with several other mistakes, which are only interesting as far as they confirm the fact that a Greek traveller had reached the north as early as the time 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.¹

¹ See Ælian's *Nat. Hist.* ii. 17, the false Aristotle's *Book of Wonderful Stories*, and Pliny's description of the unicorn, like an ox with white spots. The reindeer has not much to do with the history of Britain. The *Orkneyinga Saga*, however, states that in A.D. 1159 the Norsemen hunted “hránas” or reindeer in Sutherland; and Professors Huxley and Daw-

2. THE ELK.—“There are also animals called elks (*Alces*). 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.”¹

kins have found great quantities of their remains in the refuse-heaps on the shores of Caithness. The “horned horse” of the ancient Gallic coins is very like the reindeer of Cæsar’s description. The mediæval writers on Scandinavia made a mistake which is worth remarking. They had seen the real reindeer with the normal pair of horns; but they could not reject anything which had been stated as a fact by Cæsar; and they solved the difficulty by defining the animal as a three-horned deer. (See O. Magnus, 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.

¹ Cæsar’s reference to the Greek authorities for these passages shows that Pliny’s account of the animals in the Hercynian Forest must have been taken 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

Another primitive account of the elk was preserved by Hermolaus Barbarus; it is taken from some ancient book of travels, but we cannot be sure of its original date. He described the animal as "living in Transalpine Gaul, but very rarely seen: it is a beast in size between a stag and a camel, and is gifted with a surprising sense of smell."¹

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

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," &c.—Pliny, Hist. Nat. viii. 15 (Holland's version).

¹ The whole passage is cited in Ol. Magnus, Hist. Septent. xviii. 1. The old German name must have been "elg," or some word of the kind. The modern forms are "elen-thier," and "els" or "els-dyr" in Danish. The elk is not known to have inhabited Britain, though some passages in the poems of the Welsh bards have been used as arguments for including it in our ancient Fauna. The monstrous Irish Elk (*Cervus megaloceros*) was at one time common enough in Britain, but it did not survive into the historical period.



sought : they are set in silver and used by the Germans at their extravagant feasts."

This seems to be a confused account of two distinct animals, the Aurochs or Zubr (*Bos Urus*) of Lithuania, and the extinct Urus (*Bos primigenius*) which Charlemagne is said to have hunted near his palace at Aachen.¹ The latter animal was akin to the wild cattle, which are still preserved at Chillingham and Chatelhéroult, 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 least 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. "The 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

¹ 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 a mighty strong beast and a swift." (Hist. Nat. viii. 15, Holland.) 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."

tamed. When taken young they become, it is true, accustomed to their keepers, but the approach of other persons renders them furious."¹ There are only a few hundreds of 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 : "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."²

After leaving the country of the Ostians, presumably from a point near 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

¹ 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 Ol. Magnus, *Hist. Septent.* xviii. 25, 26 : "Barbas longissimas habent et cornibus breviusculis apparent." He describes the narrow pitfalls in which they were caught, the sides being constructed of solid beams on account of the strength of the animal.

² Prof. Rolleston, in *Proc. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1876 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiqu. Scotland*, ix. 667.

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 'Morimarusa,' or the Dead Sea, by the Cimbri, from their own country as far as Cape Rubeas: beyond that cape they called the ocean 'Cronium.'" ¹ 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. ²

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," the Slavonians of the Baltic coast; and 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 retained until late in the Middle Ages for the Lithuanian and Esthonian tribes who inhabited the neighbourhood of Königsberg;

¹ Pliny, Hist. Nat. iv. 16.

² 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.

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.¹

Pytheas appears to have paid great attention to the question of the amber-trade; and he may reasonably be supposed to have originated the commerce in that article between Marseilles and the country of the Teutones, which nearly superseded the old overland trade with 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 the 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.² In other

¹ Their name is variously spelled, as Gothones, Gutthones, Guddons, &c. ; and some even have proposed to identify them with the "Cossini," described by Artemidorus. (Tac. Ann. ii. 62 ; Tac. Germ. c. 43, 45 ; and Latham's notes.) Dr. Latham proposed to identify the Ostians of Pytheas with the "Æstii" of Tacitus, and the "Guttones" of Pliny : "If the Germans had one term and the Slavonians another for a nation in the amber country, that nation would be known to a Greek or a Roman under two names ; and it is nearly certain that this was the case in the present instance. The Gothones were *Æstii* when the notice came from Germany, the *Æstii* were *Gothones* when the notice came from Slavonia." (Latham's note on Tac. Germ. c. 45.) This ingenious theory rests on a supposed necessity for confining the limits of the amber-trade to the vicinity of Courland, the principal source of the traffic ; but not the only source, as will presently be shown in the text.

² Compare a well-known passage in the "Amber Witch" : "While she

parts of the Baltic, and in many places on the North-Sea coasts, the amber is washed up at the high tides and in stormy weather; and this source of the supply is thought to be due to the disturbance of submarine amber-beds.¹

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 the Roman fleet in Nero's times 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."²

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

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.

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

² "*Adeo volubile ut in vado pendere videatur.*"—Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 2.

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 furlongs by 'the 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 for kindling their fires, and also sold amber to their neighbours the Teutones; and Timæus believed this, but called the island Basilia. And Timæus 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."¹

Diodorus quotes 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

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* iv. 15; xxxvii. 2. The ancient relations between Courland and the Greeks of the Black Sea cities dated from before the days of Pytheas, as is shown by the coins struck before B.C. 376, which have been found in the Netz district (*Humb. Cosm.* ii. 128, and note). The Roman acquaintance with the Courland amber-districts was probably not earlier than the age of the Antonines, though "a Roman knight" is reported to have made the journey in the reign of Nero. The word "Raunonia" looks as if it had some connection with "rav" or "raf," the Scandinavian name for amber.

quantities in the spring of the year : it is collected on the island and carried by the natives across to the mainland opposite.”¹

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 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 most 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 the 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.²

There was a very 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.

¹ Diod. Sic. v. 23.

² Ol. Magnus, *Hist. Septent.* xi. 9.

and converted into the source of a trifling revenue.¹ 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 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 halfway 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 skeleton neck. Hence, too, the reference in the Gododin, a bardic song of the 6th century, 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."²

The amber found in the graves is of the red transparent

¹ "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).

² Ab Ithel's Gododin, stanza 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.

kind, and never of the blackish or honey-coloured varieties. The product is found in Britain, as at 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.¹

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.*"²

"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 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.³

¹ Pliny cites Sotacus, a very ancient author, for the fact that amber was found in Britain (Hist. Nat. xxxvii. 1).

² Lelewel, Pythéas de Marseille, 1.

³ Thule is usually identified with Iceland. The earliest passage to this effect is in the *Mensura Orbis* of the Irish monk Dicuil, written about A. D. 825. "Thile Ultima in quâ æstivo solstitio sole de Cancri sidere faciente transitum nox nulla. Brumali solstitio, perinde nullus dies. Trigesimus nunc annus est a quo nuntiaverunt mihi clerici quia 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, &c." (p. 29). The whole description of Thule by Dicuil is curious, and worth consulting. 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"

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.

(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 the Tract upon Iceland; Pontanus and Ramus in their descriptions of Northern Europe; Mannert. Geogr., i. 83; Bougainville, Acad. des Inscip., xix. 147; and Bessel 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. (Arvedson's Fragments of Pytheas, 21.) Before Iceland was known to them, the Byzantine writers were accustomed to identify the Thule of Pytheas with Norway, and sometimes with the whole peninsula of Scandinavia. For an elaborate description of Norway from this point of view see Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, ii. 14, 15, translated by Archbishop Johannes Magnus, in the history of the Goths and Swedes, and inserted by Olaus Magnus in the *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 love 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. Compare Jornandes, *De Getar. Orig.* c. 3, 610.

“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 (says Strabo) 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 from the Borysthenes to the parallel of Thule, which Pytheas affirmed to be ‘six days’ sail north of Britain,’ to be about 11,500 furlongs. 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 river Borysthenes I cannot understand.”

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 at least a plausible 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.¹ 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 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.²

Pytheas did not say that this new country was itself an island. It seems likely that he supposed the land to turn

¹ "Thule Bergarum litori opposita est" (Pliny. Hist. Nat. iii. 5). The name of Bergen is usually taken to mean merely "mountains," but is also derived from the old word "biorg-viin," a mountain-echo. But if the name is as old as the days of Pytheas, it is not likely that the true derivation can be ascertained. The modern city of Bergen was founded in A.D. 1070, with the object of attracting trade from England; but there are notices of an earlier town having existed there. On the proper limits of the province of Norge, see Pontopp. Nat. Hist. i. 87, and the account of the settlement of the country south of Trondhjem by the first Norwegian tribes in Worsaae's "Antiquities of Denmark" (Thoms), p. 146.

² "Inveniet vasto surgentem vertice Thulen" (Avien. Orb. Terr. 760).

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 nor 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 or explain something of the phenomena reported by Pytheas.¹

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

¹ See the passages from Cleomedes, Hipparchus, Pliny, and others, which are collected in the first Appendix.

notion that the tropic of Cancer was a physical line or groove which might be seen above the horizon.¹

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," &c. 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 so on. 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 immediately above the cave or home where the divine spirit or animal lived. There could have been nothing very strange in this to Pytheas, who had himself contested a fashionable theory, that the earth was a kind of enormous whale, whose breathings and spoutings caused the flux and reflux of the tide.²

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.

¹ See Strabo, i. 92, and the passages collected in the first Appendix. Gassendi explains the matter in his tract "Proportio Gnomonis," &c., Op. iv. 530.

² Compare Homer's "homes and dancing-places of the Dawn" :

ἄθι τ' Ἴου̅ς ἠριγενείης

Οἴκια καὶ χόροι εἶσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἡελίου.—Od. 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, Deut. Myth. 663).

"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."¹

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. Others take the matter literally, and refer it to the *medusæ*, which are abundant in some parts of Norway, and which must have been familiar to Pytheas before he commenced his journey.² 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.³

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."⁴

¹ Strabo, ii. 142.

² For the abundance of these creatures in Norway and the salt-water lake of Mortaigne, near Narbonne, comp. 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; Arvedson's *Pytheas*, 26.

³ The different opinions are very well collected and compared in Arvedson's note, reprinted in the first Appendix.

⁴ Tac. *Agric.* c. 10. "This agrees with the sea on the N.E. of Scotland,

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

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 or of its "palæocrystic" ice, he conjectured that the amber of the Baltic coast might perhaps be broken morsels from the crust of the unknown sea!

Turning from Thule they sailed south for six days and nights before they reached the shores of Britain. They

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.)

¹ 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.)

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 quotation¹ is correct, the water rose 80 cubits or 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. The criticisms already quoted from Strabo show that Pytheas did not visit Ireland, or the western coast of Britain. He must have skirted the eastern shore as far as Kent and the neighbourhood of Gaul, landing (as he said) when he could, and traversing 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 was unwilling to repeat the tedious journey round Spain; and he accordingly ascended the Garonne, and from the neighbourhood of the modern Bourdeaux 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

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* ii. 97.

isolated passage about the volcano of Stromboli from his book on the Circuit of the World.¹

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 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."² "*Habile astronome* (added Bougainville),³ *ingénieux physicien, géographe exact, hardi navigateur, il rendit ses talents utiles à sa patrie: ses voyages, en frayant de nouvelles routes au*

¹ The passage will be found in the first 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 Hephestus, for one hears the roar of fire and a terrible bellowing, and here the sea boils."

² Gassendi Opera, iv. 530.

³ Bougainville, in 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); 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 Astro-

commerce, ont enrichi l'histoire naturelle, et contribué à perfectionner la connaissance du globe terrestre."

nomie ausmachte, sich auf ferne Reisen wagt, 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: his account 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 Thule—Of the Germans and the Hercynian Forest.—Stories about Britain.—The legend of Saturn and Briareus—Demetrius the grammarian.—Story preserved by Procopius.—Island of Brittia.—The conductors of the dead.—The communism of Thule.—The King of the Hebrides—His legend.—Modern variations.—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 “Elixoia.”—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 Attacosi.”—The description of the Fortunate Islands by Jamblulus—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 such books as “Wonders beyond Thule,” and the “Hyperboreans,” stories 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 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, 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 fiction 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."¹

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."

The Greeks had a peculiar skill in the construction of geographical fiction. Every novelist was ready with a

¹ Eratosthenica (Bernhardy, 1822), 20, 22. Compare Strabo, ii. 104, and iii. 148. The Man of Berga was Antiphanes, a native of that place, only known for having published some fictitious travels. The proverbial phrases, Βεργαῖος ἀνὴρ, Βεργαίζειν, and Βεργαῖον δόχημα, preserve his reputation for mendacity.

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.¹

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."²

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 were afterwards accepted as history, by compilers who had

¹ Lucian, *Vera Historia*, c. i.

² The extracts are from "Timæus" and "Critias," in Prof. Jowett's translation. Plato, *Dial. ii.* 521, 599, 607.

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.”¹

We propose to deal somewhat more minutely with the two romances, which appear to have been based upon the voyage of Pytheas.

The book called “Wonders beyond Thule” was written by one Diogenes Antonius, soon after the death of Alexander the Great.² It was current as late as the 9th cen-

¹ Pliny's monsters continually re-appear in the mediæval records of travel, their locality being shifted to suit the circumstances of the case. 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, that 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 met “a onefoot-man of glittering appearance,” who shot one of the Greenland captains, and fled swiftly over the sea.

² For the epitome of *Ἀπιστα ὑπὲρ Θούλην* see the Myriobiblon of Photius, Passow's *Erotici Græci*, Chardon de la Rochelle, *Mélanges*. Fragments of the work will be found in Diodorus, Porphyry's Life of Pythagoras, Stephanus Byzantinus *sub voce* “Germara,” the geographical collection of Solinus, and in some of the minor essays which have been attributed to Plutarch, and especially in those upon the decay of the oracles and on the figure in the face of the moon. A modern imitation may be found in the lunar travels of the once-fashionable Cyrano de Bergerac.

ture, 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 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.

The plot turns on the loves of a Syrian maiden and a shepherd of Arcadia, whose adventures were recorded in a manuscript which Alexander the Great was supposed to find in their tomb in a country beyond the Caspian Sea. By a surprising series of events the principal personages in the story were assembled in the polar circle with leisure to verify all the wonders which had been announced to the world. They make friends with the simple inhabitants of Thule, and pass beyond their 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 travels. The story appears to have contained fanciful descriptions of the whole of the north of Europe. The "Germara" or Germans were described as blue-eyed men who could not see by day. They were guided at night through the Hercynian gloom by the light of strange luminous birds. Some of the Germans of the fens had horses' hoofs for feet, others had flapping and monstrous ears. We find several legends relating to Britain, which from their context must be attributed to the same romance. According to the pseudo-Plutarch there was an island five days west of Britain "where 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." The rest of the legend may be quoted in the translation of the "Monumenta Historica :"
"A little time before Callistratus celebrated the Pythian games, two holy men from the opposite ends of the world came to us at Delphi: Demetrius the grammarian from Britain, returning home to Tarsus, and Cleombrotus the Lacedæmonian. And Demetrius said, that there are many small islands scattered round Britain, some of which are called after genii and heroes: that he had been sent by the Emperor for the sake of describing and viewing them, to that one which lay nearest to the desert isles, and which had but few inhabitants, all of whom were esteemed by the Britons to be sacred and inviolable. Very soon after his arrival there was great turbulence in the air, and many portentous storms; the winds became tempestuous, and fiery whirlwinds rushed forth. When these ceased the islanders said that the departure of some one of the superior genii had taken place. Lofty spirits afford an illumination benignant and mild, but their extinction and destruction frequently excite winds and storms, and often infect the atmosphere with pestilential evils."

We may here add the 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 others call Britain. On the eastern side of the wall all is civilized : 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.” We will cite the rest of the story in the words of the *Monumenta Historica*. “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 pos-

sessed 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."¹

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 the state of communism that prevailed in Plato's republic and was found by More in Utopia. Solinus has preserved a picture of the life in Thule, which connects this accusation with a great number of fanciful stories, which long passed current as genuine history. They have hardly yet lost their effect as useful political weapons.

"*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

¹ For a modern version of the fable the reader may be referred to "Les Derniers Bretons," by E. Souvestre. Procopius may have taken the story from the "Wonders beyond Thule," or possibly the whole legend may be a late invention founded on the German name of Thanet, which some wrote Tanatos, a form which a Greek would naturally associate with stories about death.

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. 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.¹

¹ See Solinus, Polyhist. c. 22. 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.*;

The celebrated novel of "The Hyperboreans,"¹ was as remarkable as the romance of Thule for its humorous exaggeration of the contemporary discoveries of Pytheas. It contains a description of Britain which must always be interesting, though its importance is sometimes exaggerated. We cannot admit that the work of the later Hecataeus is on the subject of ancient Britain "the one voice that breaks the ominous silence of antiquity." A more accurate estimate of its value may be found in the following extract from the works of an eminent Polish scholar :²—

"Hécátée 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. Hécátée, 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

Fischer, *Hochzeit*; 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 Campagnard à un Parisien*. 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 Plançy, may be found in an Essay on Manorial Rights by Labessade (Paris, 1878).

¹ The work, Ὑπερ τῶν Ὑπερβορείων, is supposed to have been written not long after the age 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.

² Lelewel. Pythéas, 45.

puisées dans les relations véridiques de Pythéas pour les entrelacer dans les plages superboréennes."

We will not discuss the details of the imaginary geography, except to notice that the Polar Sea was called "*Amalciun*," a name which was adopted by science, as may be seen in the preceding map of Scandinavia in early times. The traveller's route from the Indian Paropamisus to the Baltic and the German Ocean may be studied in the "Library" 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 climates, and the habits of the northern savages, which are deserving of attention, as will be seen from the following extracts taken from Diodorus, and from Holland's picturesque version of Pliny.

We will first deal with the temple, identified so often with Stonehenge, and "the Boreads," in whose name is 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."

Our next extract relates to the "happy suicides," and incidentally to certain barbarous customs which once prevailed in the Baltic regions.

"Behind the Rhipœan hills and beyond the North Pole there is a blessed and happy 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 longe, 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 happy."

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."

The story of the old men, "tired of the feast of life," is

obviously based on a tradition of customs which once existed in the North. Even in comparatively modern times the Swedes and Pomeranians killed their old people in the way which was 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 custom 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 still well 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."¹ "Similar stories are told of the Heruli

¹ Geijer, *Hist. Sweden*, 31, 32. One of the family clubs is said to be still preserved at a farm in East Gothland. For the Heruli, see Procopius, *De Bell. Goth.* ii. 14, and Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, c. 39. For instances among Icelanders, Westphalians, Slavs, and Wends, see Grimm, *Deut. Alterth.*, 486, 489. "Die Kinder ihre altbetagte Eltern Blutfreunde und andere Verwandten, auch die so nicht mehr zum Kriege oder Arbeit

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":¹ practices as remote from the poetry of the Greek description as from the reverence for the parents' authority which might have perhaps been expected from descendants of "the Aryan household."

We have not time to investigate the other *minutiæ* of history which might be illustrated by the Greek novels, and of some of these works it is sufficient to know the names and subjects. One Amometus published a poetical account of a nation of "Attacosi" in a sunny country beyond the Himalayan range, which seems to have closely resembled the account of the Hyperboreans, and to have dealt with the habits of certain cannibal tribes who were supposed to live in the Scythian deserts. Jamblulus, 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's Pilgrims ;" and it will be found that he was responsible for the creation of many of the mon-

dienstlich, ertödteten darnach gekocht und gegessen, oder lebendig begraben, &c." (*ibid.* 488).

¹ 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.

strous kinds of men, whose fantastic 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 who 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."¹

¹ 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.—Præ-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, Celtic of Thrace and Galatia, Celtiberian.—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, Gael and Cymry.—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 one 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."¹ 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 the Stoic, or to Artemidorus the famous geographer of Ephesus, or some

¹ Plutarch, Jul. Cæsar, 16.

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

Of these later travellers Posidonius¹ is the most important. 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

¹ 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. Sic., v. 28, 30; Athenæus (Deipno soph.) iv. 153, vi. 233; Eustath. in Odyss., viii. 475; and in Iliad., p. 915, 35.

from the discoveries of modern research, we shall endeavour to 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 civilized 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 the older migration were established to the north and west, ruling 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 exploring the 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 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 Cornish¹ 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," or Welsh of Brittany, carried across the seas by the refugees from Britain. There remain traces and remnants besides of several idioms, which may all be classified as Gaulish; there were similar forms once used in Thrace

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

and Galatia,¹ and others in "Celtiberia," of which we can only know that they were confused by intermixture with the lost languages of Spain.²

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, and of the idiom which has survived in Brittany: and from the names in Ptolemy's lists and on the roll of the Pictish kings, we might justify the addition to this group of the ancient language of Scotland. 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 corrupted by admixture with the Norse, and of the Gaelic of the Western Highlands, which, from its close kinship to the Erse, has been thought to take its origin from the language of the Irish invaders. And in like manner a great number of the continental dialects may be summed up in one description as derivatives 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

¹ "Galatas . . . propriam linguam, eandemque penè habere quam Treviros, nec referre si aliqua exinde corruerint."—St. Jerome, Comment. ad Gal. ii. Pref.; Valroger, *Gaule Celtique*, 52. M. Perrot (*Revue Celt.* ii. 179) shows that St. Jerome is very untrustworthy on points of this kind.

² For the attempt to recover the lost languages of Spain, see W. v. Humboldt, *Urbewohner Hispaniens* (Berlin, 1821), and De Belloguet, *Gloss. Gaul.* 330.

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 Welsh was more like the Irish or the Gaulish, since those forms are found to differ so widely from each other. Were the Britons, so far as the evidence of language goes, more nearly akin to the Irish Gael, or to the semi-Latin tribes of Cisalpine and Transalpine Gaul? Or to put the matter in another form, were "the Gael and the Cymry" near relatives, or only connected together by descent from a distant ancestor? 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 the 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 has been traced in Europe.

It is conjectured, by those who adopt this view, that the Gael were the first to arrive from Asia, 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 "Cymry" (a name which should be confined to the modern Welsh) 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, it is supposed, some tribes of their company were led or driven to Britain, where they attacked and drove before them the long-settled clans of the Gael.¹

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,

¹ See Dr. Isaac Taylor's "Words and Places," 129, 157. "By far the greater number of Celtic names in England are of the Cymric type. Yet there is a thin stream of Gaelic names, which extends across the island from the Thames to the Mersey, as if to indicate the route by which the Gaels passed across to Ireland."—*Ibid.*, 163. See Arnold's *Hist. Rome*, i. 433, and the Bishop of St. David's in "Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynnedd," p. 48.

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 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 Gauls used the sounds in question for some centuries before the Welsh had learned them; and by the time that they were established among the Welsh, 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.¹ But it appears that the Welsh and Irish languages, during the same centuries, resembled each other in the very points on which they afterwards differed; and came, in fact, as near together as the Welsh came afterwards to the Gaulish.²

¹ "*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.

² The whole subject is explained by Professor Rhys in his Lectures on Welsh Philology (see pp. 17, 19, 26, 194, and W. H. Stokes, Irish Glosses, No. 216).

It is true that the oldest of the 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. But the answer lies in the fact that the forms of the ancient Welsh have been recovered from sepulchral inscriptions, containing Latinized proper names and sometimes bearing epitaphs in the same "Ogam character" as is used for the oldest Irish inscriptions.¹

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."² In the lapse of centuries many

¹ The Ogam character will be explained in a later chapter. For the authorities on the subject of Ancient Welsh see Prof. Rhŷs, Lectures, 136, 138. The oldest of the Welsh MSS. is the "Juvenus Codex," assigned to the ninth century. There are several poems by authors who lived in the sixth century, and who described some of the incidents of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest ; but they survive in versions of which the language has been considerably modernised. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Introd. ; Villemarqué, *Manuscrits des Anciens Bretons* (Paris, 1856).

² 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. "All the most tangible differences between Welsh and Irish can be assigned to various periods of time posterior to the separation."—Rhŷs, Lectures, 35.

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 change and shift its form, exhibiting like an organized 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 insensibly approached the 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.¹

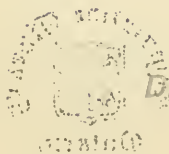
There are several passages from Tacitus² which support the view, that the language of the insular Britons was different from that of the Gauls. But enough reasons have been already adduced in support of the theory. Taking it therefore to be sufficiently established for our purpose, we shall now endeavour 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

¹ William of Malmesbury noticed but a slight difference in his time between Welsh and Breton. "Lingua 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.

² "Gothinos gallica lingua coarguit non esse Germanos."—*Tac. Germ.* c. 43. And of the Æsty, "lingua Britannicæ proprior."—*Ibid.*, c. 45. And of the Gauls and Britons, "sermo haud multum diversus."—*Agric.* c. 11.

will help us to fix approximately the sites of the Gaulish colonies. There are proper names enough, 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.¹

¹ Cic. Pro Font. 14. Compare the "voces ferinæ," Ovid, Trist. v. 12 ; Pomp. Mela, Geog. iii. c. 3 ; and the complaints of the Geographer of Ravenna about the names of places in Britain : "attamen nomina volumus, Christo nobis adjuvante, designare," Ravenn. c. 32.



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 Iceni.—The Catuvellaunian Confederacy.—Civilization 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 Soissons¹ 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 civilized 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

¹ "Apud eos (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.¹ 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;² and several hundreds of square miles were covered by the dense Forest

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

² See Prof. Pearson's Historical Maps with reference to the configuration of the coast at this time; and with respect to Romney Marsh, which was not reclaimed until long afterwards, see Sir G. Airy's Essays on the Invasion of Britain. The Astronomer Royal states 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.¹ The Gaulish² 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.³

¹ 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.

² *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.

³ The Astronomer Royal 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, &c. (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.¹ 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.²

¹ For the Gaulish characteristics of this tribe see Evans' *Ancient British Coins*, and Rhys, *Lectures*, 192. For a description of the forest, of which some small remains exist in our own time, see Robinson, *Hist. Hackney*, 38. Compare Fitzherbert's description of London in the reign of Henry the Second, cited in Stowe's *Survey*. "On the north side are pastures and plaine meadowes, with brooks running thorow them, turning water-mils with a pleasant noise. Not farre off is a great forest, a well-wooded chase, having good covert for harts, does, boars, and wild bulls." Dr. Guest describes part of the tribal boundaries in an *Essay on the Origin of London* (Athen. 1866, No. 2022). "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."

² 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

Above them lay the territory of another Gaulish nation. The Icenii, or "the Ecene" (if we name them according to the legends on their coins),¹ 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

Stort; and this, like the gate of a castle, presents the facilities required for sallying out upon the rest of the country." The Astronomer Royal is here referring to a Roman occupation of Essex; but the description is equally valuable when applied to the earlier invasion of the Trinobantes.

¹ 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 "anth"; the last is taken for "Antethrigu," a title found on coins from the West of England. See Rhys, Lectures, 193, 194; Dr. Evans, Tract upon Coins found at Frome, and 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 (Archæol. xxxiii.) to map the positions of the tribes by means of the discoveries of buried coins. Applying his method to the Icenii 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 Mr. Akerman's essay and map in the Archæologia, "Pieces with the letters 'ecce' and 'ecen,' which in the opinion of numismatists are coins of the Icenii, have been found at Weston, between Norwich and Dereham, Numis. 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.

dry and higher-lying portions of the district which was afterwards known as East Anglia. On the western side, where a ridge of open country rose between the fens and "the dense woodlands of Suffolk," Icenia¹ was guarded by a rampart and fosse, now called the Devil's Dyke, which in time became the limit between East Anglia and Mercia.²

The other Gaulish settlements of Cæsar's age were included in the "Catuvellaunian State,"³ a central kingdom which had been formed or much extended by the con-

¹ For the Icenian boundaries, see Spelman's *Icenia*; Camden's *Britannia*, 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 *Cygni Cantil.* 62, and for early instances of draining and inclosure, Gale, *Decem Script.* 77, 94; Hallam, *Midd. Ages*, iii. 362.

² "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. Cambr.* 64.

³ 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 an entry by Ptolemy. 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." Rhÿs, *Lectures*, 187, 194; and De Belloguet, *Gloss. Gaul.* 363.

quests 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 Brockley Hill to the woodland of the Colne Valley, and thence to the Brent, and down the Brent to the Thames."¹ 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. We must postpone the description of the colonies in the north and west, which appear to have proceeded from Gaul in the century before the invasion of Claudius ; and the remainder of this chapter will be concerned with what is known of the earlier settlers.

Though nearly as much civilized 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.² When peace was

¹ Dr. 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." *Archæol.* (Salisbury, 1849).

² Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. v. 21. Compare vii. 3, 14, 28, 42, 58.

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.¹ 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 confessed 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.²

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

¹ Strabo, iv. 297.

² Strabo, iv. 302; Diod. Sic. v. 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 "Malbride with the buck-tooth"; *Ynglinga-tâl*, c. 4; Harald Haarfagre, *Saga*; Laing, *Seakings*, i. 218, 291; 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.*"—Napoleon, *Vie de César*, ii. 36, 361.

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;¹ but, as between the two stocks in question, we learn from Strabo that the Gauls were the shorter and the stouter of limb, and with hair of a paler colour.² 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."³

The men and women wore the same dress, so far as we

¹ See Livy, xxxviii. 17, 21; Lucan, Phars. ii. 108; Amm. Marc. xv. 10. "Πλεονάζοντες μόνον ἀγριότητι 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.

² Strabo, iv. 278. Compare Tac. Agric. c. 11.

³ "Quum illa . . . ponderans niveas ulnas et vastas, admistis calcibus, emittere cœperit pugnos ut catapultas tortilibus nervis excussos."—Amm. Marc. xv. 12. See Athen. Deipnos. xiii. 8.

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, of 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 vinegar, and to have been so tough as to resist the stroke of a sword.¹ 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."² 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."³

¹ Pliny, Hist. Nat. viii. 48.

² Strutt. Chron. 275.

³ Pliny, Nat. Hist. 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, & to set all other colours that can be devised, with the juice onely of certaine herbs" (Holland's Transl. ii. 115). Then follows the sentence quoted in the text. For the other passages, see Diod. Sic. v. 30; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xvi. 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.

They seem to have been fond of every kind of ornament.¹ 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."² A ring was worn on the middle finger, at the time 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.³

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 "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" (*ibid.* 237).

¹ Diod. Sic. v. 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. (Napoleon, *Vie de César*, ii. 30).

² Thurnam, *Brit. Barrows*, *Archæol.* xliii. 499. The glass is thought to have been brought from the Alexandrian factories. It is unlikely that it could have been made in 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" (*Figuier*, *Prim. Man.* Tylor's *edit.*, p. 261). As to the green glass found in Scandinavian tombs, and attributed to a commerce with Phœnicia, see *Nilson*, *Stone Age* (*Thoms' edit.*), p. 82.

³ "Galliæ Britannicæque in medio (annulum) dicuntur usæ. Hic nunc solus excipitur; ceteri omnes onerantur, atque etiam privatim articuli minoribus aliis" (*Pliny*, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 24).

that they looked for all the world like Satyrs, or "wild men of the woods."¹

The equipment of the Belgians in war² has been often 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." Their spears, or harpoons, are drawn with a double or a triple barb on the medals which were struck for Claudius. 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,³

¹ Diod. Sic. v. 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. 12). The same wash or dye was used by the Germans. "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."

² For the Gaulish weapons, see Diod. Sic. v. 30; Strabo, iv. 197. "*Le Musée de Zurich possède une cuirasse gauloise formée de longues 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.)

³ "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ γρόσφω ἑοικὸς ξύλον, ἐκ χειρὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀγκύλης ἐπιέμενον, τηλεβελώτερον καὶ βέλους, ᾧ μάλιστα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ὀρνέων χρῶνται θήρας." (Strabo, iv. 197.)

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.¹

¹ The *mataris* is described in the same passage of Strabo, *Ματαρίσ πάλτρον τι εἶδος*. Cicero mentions it as a distinctive weapon of the Gauls (*Ad Her. iv. 32*). The coins mentioned in the text are copied in the *Revue Celtique*, 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, the "Great-Fire" of 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 *aquisfolia* 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. The "*cateia*," or spear, is treated as having been at one time identical with the Australian implement. The minor authorities cited are the line of Virgil already mentioned, Festus, *sub voce* "Clava," "pandâ cateiâ," *Sil. Ital. Punic. iii. 274*; "torquens cateias," *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 lasso mentioned by Servius. "Clava est qualis fuit

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 charioteers 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 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

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 maximè lentâ: quæ jactu quidem non longè, 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." (Isid. 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.)

on the pole and stand on the yoke, and get back to their place in a moment."¹

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; 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.²

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."³ The effect of the ordinary marl was of even

¹ Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. iv. 33; Tac. Agric. c. 12; Pomp. Mela, iii. 3; Juvenal, iv. 126. Compare Lucan,—

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

(Lucan, Pharsal. 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. They were adopted by the Swedes, and were sometimes loaded with stones, and made to run down the *glacis*, when a fort was assaulted. (Olaus Magnus, Hist. Septent. ix. 2.)

² For the invention of the wheeled plough, see Pliny, Hist. Nat. xviii. 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.

³ Arthur Young, Annals of Agric. (1793), xxii. 547, 553, where the

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.¹ The chalk, we are told, was dug from funnel-shaped pits, sometimes a hundred feet deep; and in course of time it became a valuable article of export.²

Their stock was much the same as that which their 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*

whole subject is discussed with reference to Pliny. The chalk-marl was called "argentaria"; 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.* xvii. 4.)

¹ "Alioquin novitate, quæcunque fuerit (marga), solum lædet, ne sic quidem primo post anno fertilis." (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvii. 4.)

² See the same passage of Pliny. Several of these pits, or chalk-mines, have been found in the Southern Counties. Old Sarum is said to have become a centre of the chalk-trade (Keysler, *Antiqu. Septent.* 284). A British chalk merchant set up an inscription to Nehalennia, a goddess of the Lower Rhine, "ob merces servatas," which has been the subject of frequent discussions. (Keysler, *ibid.*; Montfaucon, *Antiqu. Expliqu.* ii, under "Nehalennia"; and see Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 256.)

Longifrons) which is called "the Celtic short-horn," and others of the Kyles 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 superseded by the sheep as early as the beginning of the British Age of Bronze.¹

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 description² 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 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

¹ On this part of the subject, see Prof. Rolleston's "Essay on the Prehistoric Fauna," in *British Barrows* (Greenwell & Rolleston), 730, 750. As to the domestic fowl, *ibid.* 730; the pig, *ibid.* 737; the sheep, *ibid.* 740; as to *Bos Primigenius*, *ibid.* 743.

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

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,¹ 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 sang² and the harpers

¹ Compare the little tables of the Germans, "Sua cuique mensa" (Tac. Germ. c. 22). "Id est (says Brotier, in his Commentary) ex veteri populorum usu, et quum vorax erat hominum genus."

² 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. 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 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.) See the Irish travels of Barnaby Rich, Logan, Scottish Gael. ii. 147.

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,¹ 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.

¹ 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 Fírbolgs.—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 an 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 Clans; 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 and steel. 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, axes in Scotland, Scania, Italy, and Hungary :¹ while the word "axe" itself is said to be phonologically the same as old Celtic names 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, and its Eastern names imply that it was introduced to supply for some purposes the place which had before been given to lead; its western names have come from some unknown tongue prevailing in the countries frequented by the merchants.

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

¹ Westropp, *Prehist. Phases*, 71; Wilde, *Catal. R. I. 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. Their rough "dug-out" canoes are found in the mouths of the estuaries. 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."¹

¹ Tac. Germ. c. 46. Good descriptions of the palæolithic societies will be found in Figuier's *Primitive Man* (Tylor's edit.) and in "*L'Homme pendant les Ages de la Pierre*," by Dupont (Paris, 1872). Prof. Rolleston

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,"¹ "Hob o' th' Hurst's

aply cited, in a late Address to the British Association, the complaint of Job against the 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.)

¹ 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.¹ Monuments of this kind are known to

¹ 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."¹ 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 colonized 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,"² at Ashbury, in Berkshire, so named

et Sedibus Francorum; Matthæus, *Analecta*, i. 36. It may be useful to mention 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 ethnica Cimbrorum*; *Wormius*, *Monum. Dan.* i. 8; *Schaten*, *Hist. Westphal.* vii. 486; *Hamcon*, *Frisia*, 76; *Van Slichtenhorst*, *Gelderse Geschieden.* 78. Of the pyramidal *tumulus* at Mentz, *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.

¹ "Quæ faciunt suprâ petras." See the *Indiculus Superstitionum*, among the Ordinances of the Merovingian kings.

² For "Wayland's Smithy," see Dr. Thurnam's tract in the *Wilts. Archæol. Mag.* vii. 321; *Anc. Brit. Barrows*, *Archæol.* xliii. 205; and Mr. Akerman's account, *Archæol.* xxxii. 312; *Hoare's Anc. Wilts.* ii. 47; and the notes to Sir W. Scott's *Kenilworth*. *Aubrey's* description in the still unpublished *Monumenta Britannica* is 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," &c. 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

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 shoed horses in a

Y Leche at 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 country 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 Beda and the others do assigne to be the tomb of Horsa." *Peramb. Kent*, 409.) The oldest mention of the monument 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 translation (Pickering, London, 1847). It is somewhat remarkable that King Alfred did not recognise the legend in his *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, *Deut. 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.¹ And 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

¹ 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 all 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.¹ According to a prevalent

¹ 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. (Thurnam, *Anc. Brit. Barrows*, *Archæol.* 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." (*Brit. Barrows*, 750.) And though the natives may have trapped and tamed the young of the *Urus* and wild swine, it appears by the authorities

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";¹ 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 (the historian said) to dig caves underground, which they cover with heaps of manure: this

already quoted, that the *Bos Longifrons* and the Asiatic breed of swine were certainly possessed by the Britons of the Stone Age.

¹ Thurnam, *Anc. Brit. Barr. Archaeol.* xliii. 223; Nilsson, *Primitive Inhab. Scandin.* 132, 152. For the Picts-houses, see *Archaeol.* 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 5½ 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."

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." (Germania, c. 16.)

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 all 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 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. 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.”¹

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 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

¹ 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's edition), 231 ; Lyall, *Antiqu. Man*, 31.

dark complexion of the Silures, their usually curly hair (*colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines*¹), and the fact that Spain is the opposite shore to them, are evidence that Iberians of a former date crossed over and occupied those parts."

The Irish bards had some remembrance of the passage, and played upon the similarity of such local names as Braganza and Brigantes, Hibernus and Iberia, Gallicia and Galway; and it became an article of faith among their countrymen, that the island was discovered soon after the Flood by three Spanish fishermen²; and according to the Book of Invasions, "and particularly by that choice volume called the *Leabhar dhroma Sneachta* or the Snow-backed Book, which was written before St. Patrick arrived

¹ 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*": Jornandés 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.) And this is probably the correct interpretation.

² For the bardic traditions see Keating's History of Ireland, and O'Flaherty's Ogygia. They might be passed over in silence, if it were not that these wild legends are even now persistently quoted to prove the Spanish descent of the Irish Gael. See Brash, Ogam Inscribed Monuments (1879), 407, 409. They 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 Huntingd. lib. 1, "Hibernia." For the modern discussion, see Huxley's Critiques and Addresses, 134, 167; Boyd-Dawkins, Cave-hunting, 225; "The Basque and the Kelt," Journ. Anthrop. Inst. v. 5; Webster, Basque Legends; Bladé, Études, 217, 537; and M. Martin in the *Congrès Celtique* (St. Brieuc) p. 171.

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 with a telescope from the top of the tower of Brigantia; but it appears that the inhabitants of both countries were known to each other long before Ith was born, in consequence of Eochaid, the last king of the Feru-Bolg, having married the daughter of the King of Spain. They used then on either side to practise traffic and commerce, and an exchange of their wares and valuables, so that the Spaniards knew Eirin, and the Irish were acquainted with Spain."¹ 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.²

¹ Keating, *Hist. Ireland*, 265.

² A celebrated antiquary named Duaid Mac Firbis, who compiled genealogical works in 1650 and 1666, mentions the remnant of the Feru-Bolg. "There are many of their descendants till this very day in Ireland, but their pedigrees are unknown." He describes them in his first work as "the black-haired, mischievous, tale-loving, inhospitable churls, disturbers of assemblies, who love not music or entertainment, these are of the Fir-Bolg, the Fir-Domhnan, and the other conquered races." See Fitzgerald, *Anc. Irish* (Fraser, 1875), and *Tribes of Hy-Many* (*Ir. Arch.*

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.¹ 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."² And it is a matter of familiar knowledge, that

Soc. 1843), p. 85; O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, pt. 3, c. 11. 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." (*Tribes*, 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). 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).

¹ "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," &c. (*Tribes*, 83). This tribe, the editor adds, were generally called Dealbhna Nuadhat (*ibid.*, and O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, pt. iii. c. 82). This is a reference to Nuadha or Nudd, the famous god of darkness. 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 Dorchaide, people of darkness, whose territory was called "the night-country." *Anc. Irish* (Fraser, 1875). Compare Wilde, *Ethnol. Anc. Irish*, 6, 7, and Girald. *Cambr., Conqu. Hibern.* ii. 18.

² McLean, *Highland Language and People*, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* vii. 76. "In

in many parts of England and Wales the people are also short and 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; and 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."¹

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."

¹ Prof. Rolleston, in *Brit. 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 *Mem. Soc. Anth. London*, ii. 350" (*ibid.*). The same passage contains a description of the Breton population, where the hair is generally dark and the head short and broad, except in the *Léonnais*,

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 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."¹ 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

the district colonized by the refugees from Britain. See as to the short, dark, round-headed stock in South Germany, *ibid.* 678. For the dark short subject races in Scandinavia, compare the well-known legend in the Rigs-Mål. As to Belgium, it has lately been ascertained by a Government inquiry, reported in 1879, that the people of the Walloon Provinces (and of the French coast as far as Boulogne) are of the exceptionally dark type which is attributed to a survival of the pre-historic population.

¹ 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 (Wright's edit. p. 371).

said, "divides the Silurian island¹ from the region held 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.² So far however as

¹ Solinus, *Polyhist.* 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. 30.) The Damnonia of Solinus included Devon and Cornwall.

² There is a bronze dagger in the Museum of Northern Antiquities at

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. Rolleston¹), "if developed at all in correspondence

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.

¹ Brit. Barr. 644, citing similar descriptions given by Dr. Thurnam of

with the large underlying frontal sinuses and supra-orbital 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 and mode of the conquest. In the intrenchments of 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."¹ 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

the round-headed people of the Bronze Age in the South-west of England. "We have [he adds], 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, justify us very entirely in speaking of as the Teutonic or Germanic type. Secondly, we have the same hair, complexion, and stature, combined with brachycephaly, in the Finns, in the Danes, in 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 brachycephaly in South Germany, and in some other parts of the Continent, as for example in Brittany." (*Ibid.* 68o.) "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." Proceedings Congrès Celtique (St. Brieuc).

¹ Gen. Lane Fox, in *Archæol.* xlii. 52.

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 hitherto been found in the multitudinous graves which are crowded round the ruins of the temple; 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.¹

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;

¹ 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. An ancient intrenchment (of the kind to which Dr. Guest has given the name of "Belgic Ditches") which stretches across Salisbury Plain near Tilshead passes near one of the long-barrows, "and makes a decided curve to avoid the *tumulus*." (Anc. Wilts, i. 90.) Another ancient boundary called Bokerley Ditch, in the same county, has been diverted in order to avoid a long-barrow. (*Ibid.* 233.) The ditch is by other authorities regarded as a trackway. (Guest, Belgic Ditches, Arch. Journ. viii. 147; Thurnam, Anc. Brit. Barr. *Archaeol.* xlii. 175.) Dr. Thurnam adds, 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." (*Archaeol.* xliii. 306.)

in Wiltshire and Dorset they are mostly oval or shaped like a bell or a circular disc.¹ 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 in shards and fragments, but in vases, perfect though still hand-made, and in urns, "incense-cups,"² 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

¹ 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 the Mendip Hills, and on the noble Ridge-way between Dorchester and Weymouth." (*Archæol.* 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.)

² 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 Greenwell, *Brit. Barr.* 81, 99, 286; Thurnam, *Archæol.* xliii. 359, 388.)

beads or amber ; or, according to the nature of the locality, were worked in jet or some other bitumenized 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 or thin plates of jet, graduated and strung side by side in the form of a flexible necklace.¹ 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.² Many

¹ 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 Thurnam's account, *Archæol.* xliii. 514, 517.)

² Thurnam, *ubi supra*, 532. These ornaments are found chiefly in places where the native gold was worked, as in Cornwall and Devon, parts

other kinds of ornament have been from time to time 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 of nerite-shells, and the joints of the fossil sea-lily that are known as "St. Cuthbert's beads."¹

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 civilized 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

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's edit.) 138. Compare the account given by Herodotus of the Massagetæ, a Finnish nation 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.)

¹ *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. (*Archæol.* xliii. 540.)

hut-circles prove that they were sufficiently civilized 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 to separate it from the stock of the later 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. Examples to illustrate this theory will be found in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER VII.

PRE-CELTIC ETHNOLOGY.

Beginning of the Historical period.—Theories of British Ethnology.—Fair and dark races.—Iberian theory.—Aquitanians.—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 civilizing influence was as important in the north of Europe as that of the Celts in the west.¹ 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

¹ See Worsaae. *Prim. Inhab. Denmark* (Thoms's edition), 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 dark and 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, horses, 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 *Cowade*, 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 seems now to be settled 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 hopeless task to compare its root-words with the "non-Aryan *residuum*" which may be found on 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.¹

If we ask for the source of these last-named traditions, we are referred to the "Genealogies" of MacFirbis, from which a quotation was made in the last preceding chapter. O'Curry² cites passages to the following effect from its 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 Damann in Erin." But every

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 177.

² *Manus. Mater. Irish Hist.* 223. See *ante*, p. 139.

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."¹ "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 by Mr. Skene, 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."² And 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,³ 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."

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

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 179.

² *Ibid.*, 167.

³ Camden, *Britannia* (Gough), 1112.

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 :—¹

1. *The Neolithic Tribes.*

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, who traded with Spain :
- b. The tribe of the Silures in South Wales :
- c. The people called the Firbolg in the legendary history of Ireland.

2. *The Celtic Peoples.*

The people of the round-headed skulls, otherwise called the Celtic Race. They are divided into two chief branches, marked respectively by their Gaelic and British forms of language, both branches having originally belonged to one race. Each of these great branches is taken to have been further subdivided, as follows :—

A. The Gaelic branch is thus subdivided :—

(a.) A fair-skinned, large-limbed, and red-haired race, represented in Britain by the people of the interior, whom the Romans thought to be indigenous, and who were afterwards called the Picts or painted people :

(b.) “ In the legendary history of Ireland, they are represented by the Tuatha Dè Danann, and by the

¹ The summary is abridged from Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 164, 226, 227, the same words being used as nearly as possible.

‘Cruithnigh,’¹ a name which was the Irish equivalent of the Latin *Picti*, and was applied to the Picts of Scotland, and to the people who preceded the Scots in Ulster.”

(c.) A fair-skinned, brown-haired race, “of a less Germanic type,” represented by the Milesians in the legendary history, and after the fourth century, called the Scots.

B. The British branch.

This branch is taken to have extended itself over the whole of the regions which were formed into the Roman province. The people “resembled the Gauls in their physical appearance.” They were subdivided into the following varieties :—

1. Those whose language afterwards appears as the Cornish :
2. Those whose language afterwards appears as the Welsh.

¹ According to the Irish legends, it was in the reign of Eireamhnon 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, that is (says Mr. Skene), 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 writes, ‘*pictosque Gelonos*,’ and from that time till now they are called Picts.” *Ethnol. Brit. Isl.* 256. Compare the “*sagittiferi Geloni*,” *Æneid.* viii. 725. The usual derivation for “Cruitnigh” is a word for corn or grain, which appears in the Manx language as *cornaght*, and in Gaelic as *cruit-neaght*. Fitz-Gerald, *Anc. Irish*, Fraser (1875), xii. 99.

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.¹

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.

As to language, we must trust to those who (in the words of Professor Rhÿs²) 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

¹ *Congrès Celtique (St. Brienc, 1867)*, 358. Compare "British Barrows," 646, 656, 712; *Archæol.* xxxvii. 432, xlii. 175, 460; *Proc. Royal Inst.* 1870, p. 118.

² Lectures on Welsh Philology, 6, 89.

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 civilization. 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 organized in communities framed on the model of the patriarchal household. They had adopted a 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. 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 riding and the oxen for drawing 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 law and 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 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 Lorn 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 south as "Lucopibia" in Wigtonshire, and "Epeiacum," a town 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 probably the same as the "Cangi," or "Decangi" 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 Conwy, 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.¹

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 preva-

¹ Tac. Ann. xii. 32:—"Ductus inde in Cangos exercitus." Another reading has been proposed:—"Ductus in Decangos exercitus." The stamps "Kian" and "De Ceangi," impressed on Roman pigs of lead (Monum. Hist. Brit., Nos. 134, 135), will support either view. See as to these people, Rhys, Lectures, 181, and Girald. Cambr. Itin. Cambr., cc. 5, 6, 7.

lence 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"; and in Ptolemy's map 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." And 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.¹ And Professor Rhys concludes 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."

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 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;

¹ Rhys, Lectures, 181, 182. See also Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. 69.

or the epitaph of Nud 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.¹

A few old words are found imbedded in the Celtic languages which seem to have been derived from an earlier

¹ See an article by Professor Rhys, in *Nature*, July 24, 1879, on the subject of such names as "Mogh-Nuadhat," the slave of Nudd or Nuatha, "Mogh-Néid," the slave of Néid the Irish god of war; and compare his Lectures, 426.

source, as "cimb," the word for silver, preserved in Cormac's Glossary; *corca*, a tribe, and *lon*, when used in the sense of 'an elk,' in the Welsh and Gaelic tales.

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.¹

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 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."² These may well have been the descendants of the great-statured, round-headed men whose remains have been found both in Denmark and

¹ Sayce, *Science of Language*, i. 85. Compare the discussion on "The Basque and the Kelt," *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, V. i. 26.

² "Sub Septentrionibus nutriuntur gentes immensis corporibus, candidis coloribus, directo capillo et rufo, oculis caesiis, sanguine multo." *Vitruvius*, vi. 1. See *Camden's Britannia* (Gough), xxi. Compare *Strabo*, iv. 200; vii. 290; *Arnold's Rome*, i. 441.

Yorkshire, buried in the canoe-shaped chests of oak which are known as the "monoxylic coffins."¹ 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-brown hair, and Germans with their pale locks twisted into knots and curls.²

Every one 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,

¹ See the account of the Gristhorpe interment, *Worsae's Prim. Antiqu. Denm.* 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.

² 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.



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.¹ 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 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,

¹ Herodian, iii. 14; Dion Cassius (Xiphilinus), lxxvi. 12. Compare Oppian's "Ἀγρια φῦλα Βρετάνων αἰολοκώτων," Cyneg. i. 470; Claudian, Bell. Get. 417; Solinus, Polyhist. c. 24.



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, of a sweet, cloying taste, which can 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."¹

They lived naked, and barefooted, in a savage communism, without any organization 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 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

¹ Bonwick, *Anc. Irish*, 72. Compare Ware, *Antiquit. Hibern.* c. 22; Campion, *Tract on the Ancient Irish*, 25. As to the pig-nut, or *bulbo-castanum*, see Mannert's *Geograph.* ii. 2, 100; and Logan's *Scott. Gael.* ii.

about them when the Pictish sculptures are interpreted. The materials for one part of the inquiry may be roughly classed as follows:—

1. 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 only been lately removed, there are pictures of war-canoes, and crosses contained in circles which seem to be intended for chariot-wheels. Even in the time of Olaus Magnus, who was perfectly familiar with Runic, the object and meaning of the inscriptions were quite unknown, and he could only say that the written rocks were carved with most wonderful characters.

2. Some of the rocks and tombstones (those especially at Tegneby, Kivik, and Axevalla in Sweden) contain sketches 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; in other scenes we have the sketch of a man driving a chariot through a pasture where sheep are feeding, a swordsman leading a string of naked captives, and rows of hooded figures draped in long black robes. These pictures help us to realize the life of the tribes described by Herodian; but the more important point is, that some of the same stones contain characters from some unknown alphabet, like those which have been found in the British Isles, and in several of the tombs in Brittany.

3. 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,¹ and other figures which appear on the older monuments.

4. A comparison of the impressions, collected by Mr. Fergusson, in his "Rude Stone Monuments,"² 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 inevitably to the conclusion that they were all due to one race of men who used these signs as an alphabet. And there are 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*, which look like the first beginnings of what is known as the Ogmic alphabet.

5. The sculptured stones of Scotland are found on the coasts and islands from Aberdeen to Shetland, and in

¹ 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, *Archæol.* xxxvii.

² See also Olaus Magnus. Hist. Septent. i. cc. 16, 18, 21; Stuart's "Sculptured Stones of Scotland"; Brash. Ogam Monuments.

some of the caves in Fifeshire. They contain a few "Ogam" inscriptions, which cannot be read into Celtic words, like those of England, Wales, and Ireland. Even those of a late mediæval date are covered with the symbols of some forgotten heraldry, eagles and dragons, worm-knots, conventional figures of the elephant, dogs, or sea-snakes fighting; some of which have also been found on the Scandinavian monuments. There may be some historical 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." He adds many interesting particulars of megalithic monuments existing in his time, of which some have been since disturbed; and his in-

stances of the visits of the Eskimo, paddling in their sealskin canoes, and armed with harpoon and bladder, show how the earliest immigrants may have crossed the German Ocean before any great advance had been made in the art of boat-building.¹

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

¹ "Description," 23, 24, 27. Other instances of the arrival of castaways or explorers from Greenland may be found in Pontoppidan's *Natural History*.

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.¹ 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 civilized 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 civilized 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,² which has been vehemently denied by writers

¹ McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, 101, 145; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, i. 233; Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 153.

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

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 which 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 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.¹ 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

¹ "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.

electd 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 sacred block of sandstone "*la pierre de Escose*" in the Abbey Church at Westminster.¹ The chiefs sat or stood on other stones, sometimes arranged in a circle of twelve 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 other barbarous usages 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 swears by their king's hand; and so do the Irish

¹ 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." The following lines from a MS. in the Bodleian Library show one form of the ancient fancy:—

*"En Egipte Moise a le poeple precha,
Scota la file fata ou bien Pescota,
Quare il dite en espirite, qui ceste pierre avera
De molt estraunge terre conquerour serra."*

See Keyser, *Antiqu. Sept.* 25, 30; Bonwick, *Anc. Irish*, 50; Skene, "Coronation Stone," 1869 (*Proc. Soc. Antiqu.* vii. 68); Celtic Scotland, i. 283. For the Scandinavian examples, see Olaus Magnus, *Hist. Sept.* viii. 1, Keyser, *Antiqu. Sept.* 93, and Scheffer, *Upsalia*, c. 17.

use now to swear by their lord's hand, and to forswear it they hold it more criminall than to swear 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."¹

We will take our last example from Giraldus.² 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

¹ Spenser's "View," &c., 82, 99. Compare the customs mentioned in *Campion's Tract* 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. Gael.* ii. 112. Compare the classical descriptions 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 satiaris, Concane, venâ."

Sil. Ital. *Punic.* iii. 360.

² *Topogr. Hibern.* iii. 26.

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

We will 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 wholly 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, and 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 which 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 holidays. "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.”¹

In the same connection we may mention the “Cursing-wells,” 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 of the well would cause the victim to pine and die unless the curse should be willingly removed.²

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.

¹ Girald, *Cam. Itin. Cambr.* i. c. 2; *Descr. Cambr.* i. c. 16.

² 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. Sikes’ recent work upon the Welsh folk-lore, *Brit. Gobl.* 355. Among the authorities cited are *Camb. Pop. Antiq.* 247; *Archæol. Cambr.* 1st Ser. i. 46. Compare Souvestre’s account of the Chapel of *Nôtre 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. See as to Cursing-stones in Devon and Ireland, *N. & Q.*, 5, v. 223, 363.

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."¹

¹ Aubrey, in the "Remains of Gentilisme," now in the course of publication by the Folk-lore Society; Sikes, Brit. Gobl. 325; Hone, Year-book, 858. "I remember," says Aubrey, "one of these Sin-eaters, he was a long, lean, ugly, lamentable, poor rascal, and lived in a cottage on Rosse highway. This ceremony, though rarely used in our days, yet by some people was observed in the strictest days of the Presbyterian government." And he adds several examples of its use in the seventeenth century. Mr. Sikes adds an apposite quotation from Schuyler's "Turkestan," ii. 28:—"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."

CHAPTER VIII.

CUSTOMS OF INHERITANCE AND FAMILY RELIGION.

Customs foreign to Celtic and Teutonic usage.—Anomalous laws of inheritance.—Borough-English.—*Maineté*.—*Jungsten-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.—Priesthood of the youngest.—Early extension of 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 *Jungsten-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 Yearbook 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."¹ 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.²

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

¹ Yearbook, 1 Edw. III. 12 *a*; Robinson's "Gavelkind," Appendix.

² Corner's "Borough-English in Sussex," 14. He notices its prevalence in Scrooby and four other manors, and in the district called the Soke of Southwell. The custom in the last-named district is or 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; Blount's Tenures (Hazlitt), 290.

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 coheireses.

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 *Jungsten-Recht*, and *Juвеignerie*, 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 mountains of Arracan, and even, it is said, among the New Zealand Maories. 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.¹ 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.²

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 inheritance 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

¹ 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.

² Wallace, *Description of Orkney*, 91.

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."¹ 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.¹

The privilege of the youngest existed in other Celtic districts, as in parts of Cornwall and Devon, and in several extensive lordships in Brittany. But 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

¹ *Leges Walliæ* (Dimet. Code), ii. 23, (Venedot. Code), ii. 12, 16. Compare 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 patrimonie, 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 séparés, le burg du puich, et tous arbres portant fruicts et renforcez, et autres choses réputées pour héritages, &c. En deffaut de fils la fille maisnée a pareil droict en faisant recompense telle que dessus.*" *Coutûmier Général*, ii. 901. Compare also the similar customs of Cassel, *ibid.*, i. 699.

century the area in which it survived was almost daily diminishing.¹

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, in a ring of manors encircling ancient London, and to a less extent in Essex and the East-Anglian kingdom. 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—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.²

¹ The districts affected by the custom are enumerated in the *Coutûmier Général*. They included the Duchy of Rohan the Commandery of Pallarec and the domains of the Abbeys of Rellec and Begare. The peculiar descent was an incident of the servile tenure known as *Quévaize*. “*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 Quévaize* 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 Quévaize, 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 Quévaize, qui journellement s’altère en droit convenancier.*” *Usage de Cornouaille*, *Cout. Gén.* iv. 410.

² Mr. Corner gives the following list of instances:—“The custom is much more extensive than is generally supposed. In Cornwall I have

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 Customal.

1. "If any tenant in gavelkind die, having inherited

found one manor subject to it ; in Derbyshire the town of Derby ; in Devon two manors ; in Essex eight (this should be 'fourteen': *vide* Charnock's Customs of Essex, p. 9, and authorities there cited) ; in Glamorganshire one ; in Gloucestershire the city of Gloucester, where it governs the descent of freeholds ; in Hampshire nine ; in Herefordshire four ; in Hertfordshire one ; in Huntingdonshire three ; in Kent one manor, (this should be corrected to include the whole county) ; in Leicestershire one ; Stamford in Lincolnshire ; in Middlesex sixteen ; in Monmouthshire one, (this should be two, Pencarne and Liswery) ; 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 Shropshire three ; in Staffordshire part of the borough of Stafford and two manors ; in Suffolk 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, 13, 14. See other lists in Robinson's "Gavelkind," and Watkins "On Copyholds." Some of the districts here counted as simple manors are in reality Sokes, comprising in each case a number of subordinate manors.

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.”¹

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, making contribution to the rest as before.

2. “In like manner of 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

¹ a. “*Si ascun tenant en gauylekende murt, et seit inherité de terres e de tenementz in gauylekende, que touz ses fitz partient 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 autrei entre eux départi, mes le astre demorra al puné [ou al punéc], e la value seite de ceo livré a chescun des 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 Kanciae*,” 1556, and in the MS. at Lincoln's Inn, which are considered to be of inferior authority.

his co-parceners for their share by the award of good men."¹

These, it is added, were among the usages of the Kentishmen "before the Conquest, and at the Conquest, and ever since until now."² 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.³ 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

¹ *b. Ensement de mesons que serront trouets en tieus mesuages, soient 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 parcnens 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.

² "*Ces sont les usages de gavylekend, e de gavylekencois en Kent, que furent devant le conquest e en le conquest e totes houres jeskes en ça.*" This conclusion is only found in the best copy of the Customal.

³ Corner, 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.

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 writer¹), "such as that of the manor of Wadhurst, where there are two sorts of copyhold tenures; and the custom is, that if 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

¹ Nelson, *Lex Maneriorum*, citing the observations of Chief Justice Anderson, in *Kemp v. Carter*, 1 Leonard, 55. Most of the customs mentioned in the text will be found in the Appendix to Coventry's edition of "Watkins on Copyholds."

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."¹

In Pevensey also there are three different tenures of freehold lands, of which the first goes to the common-law heir and the rest go to the youngest son. And in other parts of the 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.

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.² 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. But it is of greater 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 partible value, as five pounds; but if it is worth more, it is parted among all the sons."³

¹ 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.

² As at Fulham, Putney, Sheen, Mortlake, Battersea, Roehampton, Wimbledon, Wandsworth, Down, Barnes, and Richmond. See "Tenures of Kent," 169.

³ First Report, Real Property Commission; Evidence, p. 254.

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. And we shall now turn to that extensive district in Somerset which is known as the Manor of Taunton-Deane. It extends over five hundreds and no less than twenty-six parishes besides the town of Taunton; and throughout this large tract of country 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 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 only 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."¹

¹ Shillibeer, Customs of Taunton Deane, 42; Locke, Customs of the Manor of Taunton, 2; Watkins, Copyh. App. 12; Collinson, Hist. Somerset, iii. 233.

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.¹ The same custom has been noticed at Grimberghe in Brabant.²

¹ 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*.” See Corner’s *Borough-English*, 13 ; Merlin, *Répertoire*, “*Maineté*” ; Ducange, “*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 la manoir ainsy que l’avoit le dernier vivant, en grandeur de cinq quartercons 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.

² “*C’était le plus jeune fils qui héritait de la propriété paternelle dans le Pays de Grimberghe en Brabant*.” Bastian, *Rechtsverhältniss*. 185.

b. Similar customs were prevalent in many parts of Friesland. The most noticeable of these was the "*Jus 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-boors" 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.¹

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

¹ "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 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, *Jus Theelacticum Redivivum* (1759), p. 69. See Edinb. Rev. (1819), vol. xxxii. for an article on the Frisian Customs; and Robertson's "Early Kings," ii. 253, 266. But the rules are difficult of comprehension except by the light of the cases and references in Wenckebach's elaborate treatise.

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 die without making the usual will the children acquiesce in the passing of the undivided inheritance to the youngest son."¹

d. A fashion of a similar kind has grown up in Silesia and in certain parts of Würtemberg, where the laws of succession have failed to break down the time-honoured privilege of the youngest, whose rights are preserved by a secret settlement or by the force of the local opinion.²

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. And many examples might be found in Suabia, in the Grisons, in Elsass and other German or partly German countries, where old customs of this kind have existed and still influence the feelings of the peasantry although they have ceased to be legally binding.³

f. There is no sign of the Junior-right in Denmark or on the Scandinavian mainland. But the youngest son has

¹ Foreign Office Report on Tenure of Land, 1869, i. 235, 424 (Harris-Gastrell).

² Report on Tenures, i. 79, ii. 133. A similar practice has been noticed in the country round Winhöring on the Inn, near Neu-Otting in Bavaria.

³ Report on Tenures, i. 94. For other instances see Ducange, "*Maineté*," "*Locum habuisse in familiâ Hochstatanâ auctor est Guicciardinus in Descriptione Belgii.*" "*In Carvei erbte 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; as to Altenburg, see Götting. *Gelehrt. Anz.* (1865), 453.

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.¹

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 common principle, as it would appear 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 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 the wider survey which has only of late years become possible we are forced to surrender the arguments which found an 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, wild tales of barbarism, and fantastic legends of Thule. Nor need it be supposed that (in the words of an eminent antiquary) "the custom

¹ Report on Tenure of Land (1869), 9, 194.

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.”¹ Nor do we attach importance to that passage in the preface of Thomas de Walsingham where he derives the Danish practice from an age before the taking of Troy.² 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 casting the inheritance upon him.”³ 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 con-

¹ N. Bacon, *Laws of England* (1739), 66; Corner, *Borough-English*, 4.

² See Blackstone, *Comm.* ii. 2, 6; Walsingham, *Ypodeigma Neustriæ*, 1.

³ Littleton’s *Tenures*, s. 167, 211; *Year-book*, 8 Edw. IV., 19a.

dition, 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."¹

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."² Others have traced it, by 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."³ 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.⁴ While there was land enough to spare the emancipated children would be independent of the family; and by the time that all the lands had been distri-

¹ These comments on the origin of Borough-English are taken from the Appendix to Robinson's "Gavelkind."

² Maine, *Early Hist. Inst.* 224.

³ Tac. *Germ. c.* 13.

⁴ Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, ii. 268.

buted, in a later stage of society, the right of the youngest would have risen in dignity, and his brothers would have lost their inheritance merely because some of their ancestors had received an original allotment.

When we look to the actual words of Tacitus,¹ 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 was secured by the customs of many districts 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: and in some parts of Westphalia the descent of the peasants' farms has always been from father to eldest son.²

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

¹ Tac. Germ. 18, 20, 32. In the last passage the usual reading is, "Excipit filius non ut *cetera* maximus natu." The MSS. have "ut exstat," which makes no sense. It is open to conjecture that "ut *ceteri*" may have been the original.

² Report on Tenures, i. 235, 427. Compare Grimm: "Die oldeste sohne were neger bi den lande to 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;" Alterth. 475. Compare the French customary privilege called "*Vol du chapon*." "*Gentil-homme qui n'a que des filles, les doit partager également; mais l'ainée outre sa portion aura la maison paternelle et le vol du chapon.*" Etabliss. St. Louis, i. 10.

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 collected 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.¹ In some parts of the country this birth-right took the form of a succession to the house or the best of the houses, or to the best of each kind of furniture. In the district known as Archenfield, between Hereford and Monmouth, where the oldest 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 the ancient record of their laws,² 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

¹ "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.

² Rot. de Quo Warr. 20 Edw. I. ; Blount's Tenures, 165 ; and Hazlitt's edition under "Irchinfield."

table and the like, all which the men of Archenfield retain as derived to them from great antiquity even before the Norman Conquest. And so by the custom of the Hundred of Stretford¹ in Oxfordshire the eldest son was entitled to keep for his "principals" the best article of every 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 succession to the cottages and little tenancies of the copyholders in several English districts appears to indicate the survival of some ancient leaning towards primogeniture, independent in its origin from the maxim of the feudal policy that certain dignities offices and castles held by "the law of the sword," should be inheritable by the eldest co-heiress.² The traces of such a custom are found in the Isle of Man, in the extensive domains of Castlerigg and Derwentwater in Cumberland, Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland, Weardale in Durham, and in several parts of the Southern and Midland Counties.³ At Tynemouth it

¹ Coke, First Inst. 18 b.

² Bracton, *De Legibus*, ii. 76; Coke, First Inst. 165 a.

³ For the custom in the Isle Man, see Camden's *Britannia*, 1454; King, *Descr. Isle of Man*; *Isle of Man Statutes*, 1643, 1703, 1777. For the Northern Counties, Nicholson and Burn's *Hist. Westmorland*, and other local histories; *Real Prop. Comm.* 3rd Rep. App. 4; Kenny, *Primogeniture* (Cambridge, 1878), 39. For the custom of Tynemouth, see Robinson, *Gavelkind*, c. 2, and Appendix. See also Watkins, *Copyholds*, Appendix; and Blount's *Tenures*, and Coke, First Inst. 140 b, for similar customs in the following list of manors: Bray in Berkshire, Marden in Herefordshire, Cashiobury and St. Stephens in Hertfordshire, Middleton Cheney in Northamptonshire, Chertsey Beaumont, Farnham,

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 that remarkable passage from Glanville which is equally applicable to the state of England and Scotland in the twelfth century. In the first place he took 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. "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 this socage tenement were partible by ancient custom; the chief messuage being, however, reserved for the firstborn son in honour of his seniority, but 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

Worplesdon, and Pirbright, all in Surrey; the same usage appears at Cheltenham, according to one edition of the customs, and at Framfield in Sussex, where it applied only to "Assart Lands."

some places the firstborn son will take the whole inheritance but by the custom of others the youngest son is the heir."¹

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 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.²

¹ "Cum quis hæreditatem habens moriatur, si unicum filium hæredem habuerit, indistinctè 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 dividitur 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 satisfaciat aliis ad valentiam. Si vero non fuerit antiquitus divisum, tunc primogenitus secundum quorundam consuetudinem totam hæreditatem obtinebit; secundum autem quorundam consuetudinem postnatus filius hæres est. Item si filiam tantum unam reliquerit quis heredem, tunc id obtinet indistinctè quod de filio dictum est. Sin autem plures filias, tunc quidem indistinctè inter ipsas dividetur hereditas, sive fuerit miles sive sokemannus pater earum, salvo tamen primogenitæ filię capitali messuagio sub formâ præscriptâ."—Glanv. vii. 3.

² The question was discussed in Gatewyk'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 Tenures of Kent, 369. This "notable record" contains a plea,

There are even 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

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 diminuere 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 gavelykendam 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 possit ad victum: Nos obsequium laudabile dilecti et fidelis nostri Johannis de Cobeham, 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

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."¹ 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 by requiring special proof of the existence of a custom to exclude the eldest son.

In the time of Bracton, whose treatise was published at the end of the reign of Henry III., the old customs of primogeniture (as opposed to the Norman rule), appear to have been confined to those more privileged holdings of the peasants, which were then known as "villein-socage," and which developed afterwards into copyholds.²

The same kind of custom occurred in Normandy, not only in the fiefs held by military service, but in the case of

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.

¹ Corner, Borough-English in Sussex, 12.

² "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." *De Legibus*, ii. 76; *Fleta*, v. c. 9, fol. 313.

the farmers and cottagers, whose eldest sons might retain their parents' homesteads. And 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.¹

There are other relics of the same ancient system to be found among 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."² And so in Norway, under

¹ "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, en baillant récompense à ses puisnés." *Ibid.* 356. "L'aîné faisant partage . . . peut retenir par précipu le Lieu Chevets . . . anciennement appelé Hébergement, soit en ville ou en champs, de quelque estendue qu'il soit, &c." Usage locale de Bayeux, *Coutumier Général*, iv. 77, 78, 94. "Demeurant le manoir et pourpris en son intégrité au profit de l'aîné, sans qu'il 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 différens dans leurs mœurs que par les Coutûmes des Belges qu'ils avoient tirées des Allemands leurs voisins tout l'héritage demouroit à l'aîné, 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 aînez y est avantageuse. Les Cauchois, quoique réunis sous un même Souverain avec la resie de la Normandie, continuèrent d'en user comme auparavant."

² Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 80, 82; Sullivan, *Introd. to O'Curry's Lectures*, clxxix.

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."¹ 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.² And so by the Laws of Manu the eldest son was entitled to a double share.³ The sons were directed to divide the patrimony; but before the partition they were all under the rule of the eldest.

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 has drawn a distinction between such

¹ Pontoppidan, Nat. Hist. Norway, ii. c. 10, s. 6; (English edition, p. 289).

² Demosth., Pro Phormione 34; and see Coulanges, *La Cité Antique*, 92. The most ancient Roman customs are unknown, owing to the Revolution in B.C. 450, resulting in the establishment of the Laws of the Twelve Tables.

³ Laws of Manu, ix. 105, 106, 107, 126; see the whole section on "*Le droit d'Aïnesse*," in c. 6 of "*La Cité Antique*."

“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 says, 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 at his death, when it was divided at all, equally between his sons or equally between his sons and daughters.”¹

There is no necessary opposition between this statement and the theory of M. De Coulanges. The former is dealing with that official primogeniture which became the bond of the feudal society, a prerogative of the King the chief or the manager of the undivided household over a demesne which belonged to them in a special sense and descended as an appanage of office to their successors. The other is confined to those old customs of the Aryan household which connected the position of the eldest son with the duty of guarding the hearth and performing the family rites : and from that 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

¹ Maine, *Early Hist. Inst.*, 198. The admission of the daughters to inherit by the Visigoths and other Teutonic nations must apparently be ascribed to the influence of the Roman Law.

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 a privilege of retaining the hearth-place on condition of making compensation to the others who shared the inheritance.

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, the 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 fathers were thought to haunt the fireplace 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.¹

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 fire or by their family graves. 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 one or two 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

¹ Maine, *Anc. Law*, 191; De Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, 33, 71; *Revue Celtique*, ii. 486.

and candles, of the special sanctity of the hearth-place, so that the "trampling of the cinders" was the worst of indignities for the household, of the prohibition to take fire from a cottage when the owner is attacked with illness. We might 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.¹ Or one might recur to the "heirship-ales" and solemn feasts described in the Northern Sagas, where before the high-chair was ascended the loving-cup or "remembrance-bowl" must 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 the 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, some 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 he 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

¹ Pennant, *Tour in the Highlands*, iii. 46; O'Curry's *Manners of the Anc. Irish*, *intr.* 278; Spenser's *State of Ireland*, 82, 99; Wood, *Anc. Irish*, 170; Logan, *Scott. Gael.* ii. 337; Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 51.

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 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.¹

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, the 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,² 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.³

¹ "Enn er that minni var afdruckit, thà scyldi drecka Cristz-minni aller menn. Hit thridia var Michials minni, oc drucko that allir. Enn eptir that drack Sigvalldi Jarl minni födor sins," &c. Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga, Heimskr. vi. c. 39. Compare Sagas, i. c. 41; iv. c. 16; vii. c. 113; Laing's Sea-kings of Norway, 1404; 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 is blessed by the priest and handed to the congregation to drink as *Johannis-Segen*, "St. John's Blessing;" Deutsch. Mythol. 52.

² Ralston, Songs of Russia, 120, 138.

³ Anatomy of Melancholy, i. 2, 1. p. 125.

In almost every family in Iceland, said his ancient authors, they had some such familiar spirits, and they were common in many places of 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 known in England.¹ 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," Luridan of 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.²

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,³ a yearly feast is held for the dead, to which the departed souls are actually believed to return: "silently little bits of food

¹ Gerv. Tilbur. *Otia Imperialia*, Script. Rer. Brunov. i. 980. A translation and many illustrative passages will be found in Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*, 285.

² Keightley, 147; Grimm, *Deutsch Mythol.* 473, 492.

³ Hearne, *Aryan Household*, 60; Spenser, *Sociol. I. App. A.*

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."¹

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.² This certainly looks as if there was a distinct connection between the ideas of inheritance and of performing the family ceremonies, just as among the 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 dis-

¹ Tylor, Prim. Cult. ii. 34. "*Les mets sont laissés sur la table : car une 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.*" Silvestre, Dern. Bret. 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.

² Robertson, Early Kings, ii. 323. These endowments were replaced in Christian times by the numerous gifts in "francalmoigne."

tributed under a will "without a strict apportionment of the expenses of these ceremonies among the different co-heirs."¹

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; 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 their careful research into the history of the peoples who spread outwards from the Ural and Altai Ranges, their possible identity with the men of the Bronze Age in Northern Europe, and the

¹ 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.

traces which they may have left on the languages and customs of the nations of our 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 is regarded as highly probable that one branch or layer of these earlier inhabitants should be attributed to that Ugrian stock, which comprises the Quains, Finns, Magyárs, 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:¹ and we have seen that there is reason to think that at one time some branches of the Finnish race had reached as far west as the Atlantic shores. On the other side of the world all the above-mentioned nations are connected by blood with the Mongols of Central Asia.

¹ M. De Mesö-Köwesd, in the Report on the French Scientific Expedition to Russia, Siberia and Turkestan (vol. iii. c. 3), has provisionally classified the remaining 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 "Vêpses" 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 Amour and Volga, see Aspelin, *Ant. Nord. Finno-Ougrien* (Paris, 1879), i. 45, 77.

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.¹ In Hungary it was the law of the country districts that the youngest son should inherit the father's house, making a proper compensation to the other coheirs 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.²

We find traces among the same peoples of a worship of ancestors connected with a respect for the family hearth.³ 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

¹ "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.

² See the Essay by M. De Mezö-Kövesd, "*Les Vêpses et leur pays*." "*Le grand-père ou l'aieul 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.*" Report iii. 81, 82. For the Hungarian law, see Kövy, Summ. Jur. Hung. 351.

³ Keightley, Fairy Mythol. 488. Compare Burton, Anat. Melanch. i. pt. 2, p. 125.

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.*”¹

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 the domestic worship in the mediæval German households, which we find passing at the father’s death to the youngest son upon the express condition that he performed certain heathenish rites in

¹ De Mezö-Kövesd (*Les Bachkirs, les Vêpres, &c.*) iii. 84. Compare Mr. Lang’s Essay on the Folk-lore of France, Folk-lore Record, i. 101. “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.”

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.¹ 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

¹ 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 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 unserm Scharff-Richter, und ich habe ihn dafür geben als nehmlich 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 Briefe wen du den Erdman in deinen Hause oder Hofe überkümest so lass es drey Tage ruhen ehr 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."

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 held that the domestic god would fall into his share, provided always that he had fulfilled the ceremony of the bread and money on the occasion of his younger brother's funeral.¹

¹ For a plant-superstition among the Finns, resembling the belief in the powers of the Mandrake, see Keightley, *Fairy Myth*. 488.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BRITONS OF THE INTERIOR.

Physical condition of the country—Misrepresented by Roman orators—State under Agricola, the Plantagenets and Elizabeth—Absence of genuine early descriptions—Sources of the statements of Bede and his school—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—The tribes of the West of low civilization 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—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 to 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 organized 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 making the charcoal required in 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 that even in modern times 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 the 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 description¹ 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 silver-lead. The rest would be more useful for our purpose if we had reason to believe it correct. Some parts of the picture 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 adds that whales seals and dolphins were continually caught; but the statement is probably a mere reminiscence of Juvenal's simile.² 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 men

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. c. 1.

² 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.

hardly believed in the British origin of the corslet which Cæsar suspended in the Temple of Venus.¹ "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."²

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 grains of tin³; 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.⁴ "The island is rich in meadows

¹ "Uniones . . . in Britannîâ 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. 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.

² Tac. Agric. c. 12.

³ Hawkins, Tin Trade of the Ancients, 24.

⁴ Girald. Cambr. Topogr. Hibern. i. c. 6. He adds, that it may be alleged that in Bede's time there were possibly some few vineyards there,

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 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 never possessed 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

and that St. Dominic of Ossory, as some say, introduced bees long after the time of Solinus. The bees were probably very scarce until the disappearance of the yew-forests.

have strung together the "jewels five-words-long" which Ausonius had thought to be appropriate to his Idyl on the scenery of the Moselle.¹ 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" into 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 of the writers who have dealt with a more general kind of history. From Asser, for example, we hear something of the great forest in Somerset² which the Britons called "*Coet Mawr*," of that

¹ Gildas, De Excidio Britanniaë, s. 1. Compare Ausonius,
 "Telluris medio quæ pendet in aere Libra est,
 Et Solis Lunæque vias sua libra coerces.
 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 Idyl on the Moselle.

"Lucetque latetque
 Calculus et viridem distinguit glareæ 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.

² "In the seventh week after Easter Alfred rode to the Stone of Egbert which is 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

wood of Berroc, "where the box-tree grows in abundance," from which Berkshire was thought to derive its name, and of the Cave-houses of Nottingham which the Welsh called "*Tig-ogobanuc*." 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."¹

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:² it is implied in Aneurin's

the neighbouring 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. Selwood reached from Frome to Burham.

¹ Girald. *Cambr. Topog. Hibern.* i. c. 10. Bishop Hatfield's Survey of Durham, in 1343, contains entries of estates held by the rent of "one wood-hen," which may be the capercailzie, or perhaps the hazel-hen or *gelinotte*.

² Girald. *Cambr. Itin. Camb.* ii. c. 3. His examples apply to Scotland as well as to Wales.

picture of the British chief in his coat of the speckled skins of young wolves, in Pliny's story of the fondness of the Britons for the meat of the sheldrake, which is now a rare and transitory visitor of our streams.¹

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 'churming' 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

¹ Aneurin, Gododin. st. 90. Pliny describes the bustard, capercailzie, and sheldrake in the same chapter. "Quibus lautiores epulas non novit Britannia, chenerotes fere ansere minores." Hist. Nat. x. 29.

white chalk or red with the mould of a new burial, and others green with the grass of long years.”¹

We have endeavoured to give a general description of the physical aspect of the country, and may now proceed to consider in greater detail the manners and institutions of the Celtic nations which had occupied the interior of the island. 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 civilized Gaulish settlers. The Gauls lived mostly in the south-eastern half of England,² 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

¹ Barnes, Notes on Ancient Britain, 53.

² 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. Against this may be set the *Cornavii*, whose territory consisted of a strip of land running from the Avon along the east of the Severn and stretching to the mouth of the Dee. The tract of country over which the English (in the beginning of the seventh century) ruled south of the Humber, coincided almost exactly with the Gaulish portion of Britain.” Lectures, 185. It does not seem to be quite necessary to include the *Cornavii* among the Gauls, though the Gaulish name of “*Pennocrucium*” in the Itinerary of Antoninus shows that there were Gauls in the Severn valley in the fourth century.

the smaller bands of adventurers": and multitudes of the Celtic women must have been retained in marriage or servitude.¹ 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; 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 settlements in almost all parts of Britain and Northern Ireland. The Ptolemaic map of Britain (Plate 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 Iceni, at Winchester in the territory of the Belgæ and at "Venta Silurum" in Monmouthshire.²

¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 62.

² The "Venta Icenorum" seems to have been at 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"



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, Stour Avon or Dee, or "Alaunus" and "Alauna," which are found in every quarter. In such cases it is clear that words belonging to several nations 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.¹ 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 not in Cornwall and Devon only but all over Central Scotland from Galloway to the mouth of the Tay.² The limits of a third Damnonia can be traced

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 Engl. Settle. in the *Archæologia* (Salisbury Vol. 1849), and Taylor, Topogr. East. Count. 4, 22.

¹ 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 Gaelic form in such words as *Ocelum* for Flamborough Head, *Tunnocelum* for Bowness, Ochiltree and the Ochil Hills, with the Gaulish *Uxella*, *Uxellodunum* near Carlisle and an identical name in Gaul. Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. viii. 32; Rhys, Lectures, 181. For the names of rivers see the articles by M. Pictet, *Revue Celtique*, i. 299, ii. 1. Joyce, Irish Names, 434.

² Skene, Celtic Scotland, i. 127; Robertson, Early Kings, ii. 231.

in the midland and western parts of Ireland. The Kings of Connaught and the famous dynasty of Tara traced their descent from the "Fir-Domhnoin," whose remembrance has survived in the Celtic names for the Malahide River near Dublin and the Damnonian Peninsula on the western coast of Mayo.¹ And another home of the race was founded 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.²

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 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 Sedgemoor, the remains found far inland

¹ Reeves. Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, 31; Robertson, Early Kings, ii. 355, 388; Rhys, Lectures, 35.

² Valroger, Gaule Celtique, 288; De Coursions, Hist. Bret. i. 200; Halléguen, Armorique, i. 17; *Revue Celtique*, ii. 74.

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.¹ 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 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 is shown 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

¹ De la Beche, *Geol. South-West Counties*, 421, 422.

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 civilized society.¹

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 civilization 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

¹ The principal sources of information on the subject of the commerce of the Damnonians are Woodward's "Isle of Wight"; Chattaway's "History of the Damnonians"; Short, "Sylva Antiqua Iscana"; Hawkins' "Tin-trade of the Ancients"; Pulman, "Book of the Axe"; and Davidson, "Roman and British Remains."

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.”¹ We are told by a later writer that the ships and their sails were painted blue for the purpose of making them less conspicuous at a distance.

We say nothing for the present about the Belgæ, the neighbours of the Damnonians to the eastward, because they seem to have been a Gaulish people whose conquests were of a later date 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, and the “Cornavii” who held a narrow territory between the Malvern Hills and the mouth of the Dee.

None of these tribes 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 the frail “currachs” in which they were bold enough to cross the Irish Sea. Boats of

¹ Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* iii. 9, 13; Vegetius, *De Re Milit.* iv. 37. See Hawkins, *Tin-trade of the Ancients*, 50. With this description should be compared that of the boats which have at various times 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 greenstone 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; Ferguson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, 303.

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.¹ There are figures on the tessellated pavements that have been 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."²

¹ 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.

² 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 Antiqu.* Lydney Park; and an article by Professor Rhys on this subject, *Nature*, July 24th, 1879.

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,¹ appear to have been a nation of Gaelic descent. 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 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.²

¹ "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. "It is not improbable that the Dee was associated with war long before the English reached its banks." Rhys, Lectures, 308.

² Tac. Agric. c. 18. As to the differences in physical appearance between the Ordovices and their neighbours see De Belloguet: "*Les habitants du comté de Flint sont petits avec un teint basané, une chevelure*

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*.¹ 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.”² Their customs, he said, were in part like those of the Celts 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

brune, et des yeux de couleur foncée . . . Le type Cimbrique est représenté comme ayant fait simplement une trouée dans le pays de Galles septentrional où le type brun l’entoure encore à droite et à gauche, et en face dans l’île d’Anglesey.” Ethnog. Gaul. 263. Compare Giraldus Cambrensis. “Venedotia robustis virorum corporibus fecundior.” Descr. Cambr. i. c. 6; and *ibid.* ii. c. 15. Basil Jones, *Vestiges of the Gael*, 72.

¹ In Ptolemy’s time their principal towns were in the neighbourhood of the modern Lincoln and Leicester. “Next to the Cornavi are the *Coritavi* whose towns are *Lindum* and *Rhage* (or *Ratæ*).” See Plate VI.

² Strabo, iv. 278.

of the island people grow no corn at all, but live off meat and milk and are clad in the skins of beasts."¹ 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, for they thought like the savages on the Vistula that an enemy could never withstand an army of such grim aspect.²

Long after Cæsar's time the Romans observed that some of the British tribes were too careless to trouble themselves with agriculture,³ 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 permanent villages, raising crops of oats or some rougher kind of grain for food, and weaving 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

¹ Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. v. c. 14.

² Tac. Germ. c. 43; Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. v. c. 14; Pomp. Mela. iii. 3; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxii. 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; Grupen, 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's Britannia, lvi.

³ Tac. Ann. xiv. c. 38.

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."¹

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 mouth of the Dee 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 was precisely on a line where nature presents no physical demarcation."²

¹ Relations of Archæology (Phillipps). Archæol. Journ. vol. 39.

² 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. There were probably a great number of Brigantian clans both of Celtic and pre-Celtic origin of which the names have now been forgotten.

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.¹

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 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

¹ Pausanias, viii. 43. The Brigantes had invaded the lands of the "Genuni," a people who are not elsewhere mentioned.

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," said 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."¹

Cartismandua was of such noble blood, so near to the line of the gods, 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 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

¹ Tac. Agric. c. 12.

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 gathered round the camps and fortresses along the line of Hadrian's wall.¹

Tacitus, or perhaps Agricola, who was fond of discussing with him the projects for the conquest of Ireland, thought that the Brigantes were very like the Irish in their character and habits of life.² Solinus has left 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

¹ For the story of Cartismandua, see Tac. Ann. xii. c. 36; Hist. iii. c. 45, and compare Agric. cc. 12, 24.

² Tac. Agric. c. 24.

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."¹ 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 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 Cúchulain passes in his chariot brandishing the heads of the slain: he speaks with his horses, the Gray and the "Dewy-Red," like Achilles on

¹ Solinus, Polyhist. c. 24.

the banks of Scamander.¹ 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.

¹ See the "Death of Cúchulain," abridged from the Book of Leinster, by Mr. Whitley Stokes; *Revue Celtique*, iii. 175; the legend of Fionn's Enchantment (Campbell), *Revue Celtique*, i. 174, and the story of the Princess Deirdre in "Loch Etive and the Sons of Uisneach."

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—Talesin—Nature of the poems written under his name—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—Esus—Teutates—Camulus—Taranis—Goddesses and helpmates of gods—Local deities—The Mothers—Giants—Inferior gods—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—From the Roman provinces—From 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—In the fabulous history—In the heroic songs—Principal families of gods—Children of Don—of Nudd—of Lir—Legends of Cordelia—Bran the Blessed—Manannan Mac Lir—Ritual—Relics of Sun-worship—Of fire-worship—Rustic sacrifices—Offerings of animals to saints—Sacred animals—Prohibition of certain kinds of food—Connected with claims of descent from animals—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 divine 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.¹ "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 Bourdeaux. 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,"² 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.³ In the teaching of another school the Druids are credited with the learning of Phœnicia and Egypt. The mysteries of the "Thrice-

¹ Girald. Cambr. Spec. Eccles. c. 9; Itin. Cambr. i. c. 8.

² "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 "Gwynn 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 (*ibid.* 263) 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."

³ "*Les Druides ne nous apparaissent que dans la splendeur de Dieu.*" Reynaud, L'Esprit de la Gaule, 5; Leflocq. Mythol. Celt. 49.

great Hermes" were transported to the northern oak-forests, and every difficulty was solved as it rose by a reference to Baal or 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 Cymry 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.¹ 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, whose bard "Iolo the Red" was the chief compiler of the history of Hugh the Mighty, whom the Welsh call "Hu Gadarn." The principal collection is preserved in the Red Book of Hergest in the library of Jesus College at Oxford, and the pre-

¹ 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.

ceding 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 in our own country they have 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."¹

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. There are further allusions which imply that all this mystical doctrine was nothing but orthodoxy in disguise; and the change may have become necessary when the legend was accepted as the plot of a popular miracle-play.

The language of some of the poems would suggest that Hugh the Mighty was a solar god. His chariot is de-

¹ "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.

scribed as "an atom of glowing heat": he is said to be greater than all the worlds, "light his course and active, great on the land and on the seas"; and his two great oxen are bright constellations in the firmament.¹

In the first age of the world he instructed the Cymry 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 which 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 Cymry 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 Cymry 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 then read of the 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 Cymry: 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."²

The Welsh bards retained a stock of tropes and allu-

¹ Nash, Taliesin, 307; Guest's Mabinogion, 284.

² This district is described in the Triads as being "in the Kingdom of Deira and Bernicia."

sions which derived their origin from the ancient British paganism. There was enough reality for the purposes of an ode or sonnet in the Enchanter "Gwydion" who fashioned a woman out of flowers of the oak the broom and the 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 with ourselves 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 poets 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."¹ The songs ascribed to Taliesin 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 religious beliefs prevailing in Gaul and 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 White Fairy Ceridwen makes war upon

¹ Kennedy, *Irish Fiction*, 311; Skene, "Four Ancient Books of Wales," i. 16.

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 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 tale of the "Second Royal Calender."¹ 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 the Taliesin, 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 idealized 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:

¹ Nash, Taliesin, 180, 182; Stephens, Literature of the Kymry, 170.

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 lose, except wild Wales."¹ And yet through all changes he still claims to be Taliesin, "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 recognize 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 Gaelic paganism.

The religion of the Gauls appears to have borne some general resemblance to that of the Gaelic tribes.² It has become known, in part of course by the sketch in Cæsar's Commentaries, by Pliny's chapters on magic and a few

¹ Nash, Taliesin, 162, 304.

² Tac. Agric. c. 11

scattered allusions of the Latin poets, but in a greater degree by the comparison in modern times of inscriptions upon ruined altars and of legends and observances in which some fragments of 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 dances and devotions of the peasantry, have all helped in their turns to explain the nature of the old beliefs. When the Christian Church took possession in the fourth century of the temples and sanctuaries of paganism more than one Gaulish god was enrolled among the provincial saints. The heathen rites were preserved under Christian names; and the older religion survived in the dedication-feasts, the January-fires, the May-games and the Midsummer-fairs, the garlands set by the fountains and the sacrifices made at favourite shrines to avert sterility or to procure good fortune in marriage.¹

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

¹ See the article on the gods of the Allobroges by M. Vallentin, *Revue Celtique*, iv. 2, and his work on the local gods of Vocontium (Grenoble, 1877), and Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois*" (Paris, 1879).

merely observes that of all the gods they seemed only to recognise those 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: it was clear that if Druidism could 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; and their worshippers held much the same doctrine about them as all the rest of the world. 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.¹

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 have come 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.² 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

¹ Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. vi. c. 16.

² *Ibid.* c. 17; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xvi. 98.

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.

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 sciences¹: the other taught mankind their useful arts and labours, to spin and weave, to work in the smithy, to sow and till the ground.² The goddess was worshipped in Britain under the title of "Belisama," and a relic of her worship is found in the name of the river Ribble in Lancashire, to which the later Gaulish settlers gave the title of their favourite goddess.

Next to the merchants' god in dignity 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

¹ For an account of the worship of Mercury under his Gaulish names of Dunates, Vasso, Visucius, and Marunus, see Montfaucon's *Antiquité Expliquée*. Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois*, 9, 10; De Belloguet, *Gloss. Gaul.* 327, 392; *Ethnog. Gaul.* 213. Some of the temples of the god are described in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiv. 18; Minuc. Felix, 49; Greg. Turon. *Hist. Franc.* i. 30; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 70. For British notices of his worship see an inscription of A.D. 191, to "the god who invented roads and paths," Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 271, and the passage in the Welsh Triads, as to "Beli the constructor of roads and the protector of travellers." The identification of Mercury with "Teutates," now abandoned, was founded on a false reading in Livy, xxxvi. 44.

² Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 17; Orelli, *Inscr.* 1431, 1969; Valroger, *Les Celtes*, 145; De Belloguet, *Ethnog. Gaul.* 240.

was connected with solar rites 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.¹ The ceremonies observed in gathering the herbs and simples are recounted by Pliny in the 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.²

¹ Ausonius, *Profess.* 4, 10; Herodian, viii. 7; Tertullian, *Apolog.* c. 24; Orelli, *Inscr.* 1967, 1968; Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois*, 10; De Belloguet, *Gloss. Gaul.* 379; Valroger, *Les Celtes*, 145.

² "*Tanta gentium in rebus frivolis plerumque religio est.*" Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xvi. 95; Keysler, "*De visco Druidum*," *Antiqu. Septent.* 304.

The club-moss (*Selago*) was a *fetish* of another kind. The man who carried the divine object was secure against all misfortune : and blindness could be cured by the fumes of a few of its leaves, which were dried and thrown into 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 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*,"¹ 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*" 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.²

¹ Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxiv. 4 ; Villemarqué, Barzas Breiz. 62, 76. The plant mentioned in the text may either be the club-moss or one of the plants of the family "*Selago*," some of which are the foundations of powerful drugs. Davies identified it with a plant which the Welsh called "*grâs Duw*" or "the grace of God," and the *samolus* with the *Anemone Pulsatilla*. Brit. Myth. 274, 280. Compare Virg. *Æneid*, vi. 187, 204.

² Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxiv. 4. For an account of the henbane, called "*Belinuntia*" and "*Apollinaris Insana*," see Pliny, Hist. Nat. xxv. 17 ; Dioscorides, iv. 69, 115. It was also called "*Belisa*," and in modern

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.¹ Very little need be said about "Hesus," because no trace of his worship has been found in Britain. His statues have been found in France; at Rheims he was represented as a bearded figure of a man with horns on his head, seated with an ox and a stag feeding at his feet.² Nothing however is known as to his attributes; and it may be to this obscurity that he owes the exaggerated respect which has been paid to the "*Jéhovah des Gaulois*" by the Continental historians.

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.³ Many ingenious attempts have been made to connect the name of the god

German is "*bilsen-kraut*." De Belloguet, *Gloss. Gaul.* 150. Compare the instances collected by Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 1150.

¹ Lucan, *Pharsal.* i. 445; Lactantius, *Inst.* i.; Schedius, *De Dis German.* 346; Valroger, *Les Celtes*, 145.

² The name of *Hesus* or *Esus* has been derived from a root "*is*," signifying to wish. *Revue Celtique*, i. 259, ii. 303. Compare Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 126; Martin, *Hist. France*, i. 57, 469. The name of the god is set over one of the figures in the slab found in 1711 under the choir of Notre-Dame; but the figure seems to be meant for a Druid cutting the mistletoe. Keysler, *Antiqu. Septent.* 366.

³ Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 16; *Revue Celtique*, i. 451; Valroger, *Gaule Celtique*, 145. For an attempted identification of Teutates with "Gwion," the dwarf who appears in the romance of Taliesin, see Martin, *Hist. France*, i. 57.

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.¹ The name "Teutates" seems to have been hardly ever used in this country,² and in any case it is clear that 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.³

Taranis was the Northern Jupiter, and was worshipped by the Britons under titles derived from words for fire and thunder. He was the summer-god who brought the rain and sunshine and dispensed the fruits of the earth. He is the Red-bearded Thor of Scandinavia, and the Thunder-

¹ 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." Grupen, *De Uxor. Theotisc.* 164. The derivations of "Belenian hills" and "Hessary Tors" from Belenus and Hesus may be also disregarded.

² An Inscription "*Marti Toutati*" was found in Hertfordshire in A.D. 1748. Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 84.

³ Examples may be found in the names of *Camulodunum*, *Camunlodunum* or *Cambodunum* (Slack, in Yorkshire), and *Camulosessa*, a place which is only mentioned by the Ravenna Geographer. The god was also called *Cocidius*, and *Belatucadrus*. For the inscriptions "Deo Marti Belatucadro" and the like, see Hübner, *ubi suprâ*, 318, 746, 885, 957.

god to whom the Esthonians prayed "that their straw might be red as copper and the grain as yellow as gold."¹ The Slavonians have transformed him into the Prophet Elijah, driving in the tempest with a chariot and horses of fire, who can withhold the rain and dew or blacken the heavens with clouds and wind. He is the "*Dieu tonnant*" of the mediæval songs, and the "*Tonans*" of Merlin's prophecy: "therefore shall the revenge of the Thunderer show itself, for every field shall disappoint the husbandman." He was worshipped in the forests, and captives were offered in his honour beneath a tall "Thunder-oak." His sacred plants were the house-leek or "*joubarbe*" the ash and the hawthorn which were thought to avert the lightning: and it seems likely that the old festival of the Summer-king and the Cornish jubilees in May were originally held in honour of Taran or "Etirun" the god of the heathen Britons.²

The names of a host of minor deities appear in the inscriptions or are vaguely preserved in the country

¹ Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 153, 157, 160; Uhland, "Mythus von Thor."

² The Irish *Dinn-Senchus* mentions "*Etirun*, an idol of the Britons." The name *Taran* appears in the Welsh legendary tales, *Mabinogion*, 251. For Merlin's prophecy, see Geoff. Monm. Hist. Brit. vii. 3. The Helstone "Furry-Day" festival is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1790, and in Bell's *Ballads of the Peasantry*, 168. The procession of the King of Summer at Lostwithiel is described in Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, ii. 137, and Hazlitt's *Tenures of Land*, 206. For Celtic instances of the mock-battle on May-day between the Kings of Summer and Winter, and its connection with the burning of the "bell-tree" in the Beltain fire, see *Revue Celtique*, iv. 194. A description of certain *statuettes* found in France, and supposed to be figures of Taranis, will be found in Gaidoz, *Réligion des Gaulois*, II, 22.

M. Gaidoz finds a reference to the same name in the inscriptions "Deo Taranuco" and "Iovi Taranuco." Compare *Revue Celtique*, i. 1.

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.¹ 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 figures which show 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.²

¹ "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.

² Wright, "Roman Celt and Saxon," 347. The best British example is

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 the pagan origin of the giants "Gurgunt" and "Goemagot" who appear in the fabulous histories of Britain.¹ The monsters of the children's tales may have been drawn from the many-headed gods of the Slavonians, or from such figures as the three-headed idols which have sometimes been found in France. There are other images to which no meaning can now be attached with certainty.

A woman sitting on horseback is taken to be "Epona," a goddess concerned with the breeding and management of horses. "Tarvos Trigaranus," or the bull with the three cranes, is believed to represent the Sun.² "Cernunnus," in the shape of an old man with stag's horns, is represented on the bas-relief dug up in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame; but the details of his worship have been

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.

¹ 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. The local legends of the Castle of Gurgunt at Norwich and the Gogmagog Hills near Cambridge will be found in Taylor's "Eastern Counties."

² See the figures in Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*; Gaidoz, *Esquisse de la Religion des Gaulois*, 11, 13. The bull and cranes may be connected with the Welsh myth of Gwyddno Garanhir, whose horses and basket of abundance seem to have some relation to a solar deity, Mabinogion, 286, 472.

forgotten. Other images have been found both in France and England, to which not even a name can be assigned. Those found in our own country have been almost all destroyed; they have been burnt or lost or built into walls. In the rural *communes* of France, where sacred images are matters of a deeper interest, the figures have occasionally been accepted as the gift of miracle and the "*Vierges Noires*" have been again adored in the churches which stand on the sites of the heathen temples.¹

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 makes it easy to suppose that it was devised by the wild Silurians.² 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

¹ "*Les statues miraculeuses de la Vierge Marie trouvées dans la terre à diverses époques étaient sans doute les statues de déesses-mères gauloises ou gallo-romaines.*" Gaidoz, *Esquisse de la Religion des Gaulois*, 12.

² "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. Professor Rhys refers the adoption of Druidism by the Insular Celts to a time before the British and Irish Celts had separated. "Druidism is probably to be traced to the race or races which preceded the Celts in their possession of the British Isles. The Irish word for Druid is *draoi*, which in Irish literature mostly means a magician or soothsayer, and is usually rendered by *magus* in the lives of the saints. It has not been proved, as is pointed out by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville in the *Revue Archéologique* (Paris, 1875), that Druidism found its way into Gaul before 200 B.C. When it did get there, it was undoubtedly through the Belgæ who had settled in Britain." Lectures, 33.

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 Paullinus 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.¹

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 troop of wizards at command; but 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 the holding of 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 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

¹ 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.

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."¹

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."² 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 in fact ecclesiastics of the mediæval type, and men of the highest rank were eager to belong to their church. The Druids of Strabo's description walked in scarlet and gold brocade and wore golden collars and bracelets³; 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.⁴

¹ O'Curry, Lect. 9, 10; Cormac's Glossary, 94; *Revue Celtique*, i. 261; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 114.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 21; Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* vi. c. 13; Valer. Max. ii. c. 6; Timagenes, cited in Ammian. Marcell. xv. 9.

³ Strabo, iv. 275.

⁴ In the little comedy of "Querolus," written in the 4th century, the discontented hero is bidden by the familiar spirit to go to the banks of

Their doctrine seems to have belonged to that common class of superstitions in which the magician pretends to have secret communication with the spirits; and in such cases it is almost inevitable that the mediator should judge and rule the nation. 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. A rite which seemed to Posidonius "so strange as to be almost incredible" is familiar to us from stories of the sacrifice of Antinous and the pedantic iniquities of the Renaissance. 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.¹

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 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." Quærolus, ii. 1.

¹ Diod. Sic. v. 31; Strabo, iv. 277; Tac. Ann. xiv. 30.

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.¹ 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.² In many parts of France the sheriffs or the mayor of a town burned baskets filled with wolves foxes and cats in the bonfires at the Feast of St. John; and it is said that the Basques burn vipers in wicker panniers at Midsummer, and that Breton villagers will sacrifice a snake when they burn the sacred

¹ Strabo, iv. 275; Cæsar, De Bell. Gall. vi. 15.

² See Cornac's Glossary under "Beltene." *Revue Celtique*, iv. 193; Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 579.

boat to the goddess who has assumed the title of St. Anne.¹

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.² The lives of the saints and the household fairy-tales are full of the miracles by which the innocent queen or princess is saved from an unjust doom.

The gods were propitiated with a human victim 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

¹ "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 d'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.

² O'Curry, *Manners of the Ancient Irish*, introd. ccxxii.; *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.

captive prince is immolated. It appears that prisoners were also 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 an Ogam-stone, "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."¹

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. The mason in the Greek legend builds his bride into the wall that the king's palace may

¹ The first story is from the description of the Fair of Taité, in the old topography called the "Dinn-Senchus." O'Curry, *Manners of the Ancient Irish*, ii. 222, introd. cccxxv. dcl. 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." Compare the Scandinavian legend of the slaying of hostages, when "the men of Vanaland suspected that the men of Asaland had deceived them in the exchange of chieftains." *Heimskringla, Ynglinga-Tâl*, c. 4.

stand. The Romans are said to have drowned the victim's cries with a noise of flutes and trumpets, and they distracted the child's attention with caresses or handed in toys and sweetmeats until the last stone was ready for closing the aperture.¹

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."² A somewhat similar rite is mentioned in an Irish story called the "Courtship of

¹ Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 40, 1095. "Auf der Burg Liebenstein um sie fest und unüberwindlich zu machen wurde ein Kind eingemauert das eine Mutter um schnödes Gold hergab, der Sage nach soll es beim einmauern eine Semmel gegessen und gerufen haben: 'Mutter! ich sehe dich noch.' Dann später: 'Mutter! ich sehe dich noch ein wenig': und als der letzte Stein eingefügt wurde, 'Mutter! ich sehe dich nun nicht mehr.'" Compare the instances mentioned in the *Revue Celtique*, iv. 121.

² 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, Mann. Anc. Irish, ii. 9.

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 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."¹ 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 obviously point to 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."²

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)

¹ 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.

² 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.

'can never be destroyed: but the elements are at war, and Fire and Water will prevail in the end.' It will be remembered that the legend of Hugh the Mighty is interwoven with the story of a deluge of fire and water, and there is another allusion to the dogma in the description of a later personage in the Welsh mythical tales.¹

The Gauls had once believed, like their Latin neighbours, in some shadowy existence of the dead in a Hades or Elysium fashioned after the type of the present world. They used to cast on the funeral-pyre whatever things the dead man had loved 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 and sent 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."²

¹ The "son of Kynyr" is thus described in the parade mythological of personages in the story of "Kilhwch and Olwen." "His heart will be always cold and there will be no warmth in his hands . . . and no one will be able to resist fire and water so well as he." *Mabinogion*, 226.

² *Valer. Max.* ii. c. 6; *Diod. Sic.* v. 28; *Cæsar, De Bell. Gall.* vi. 13, 18; *Pomp. Mela*, iii. 2. Compare *Lucan's* phrase:—

"regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longæ, canitis si cognita, vitæ,
Mors media est."—*Pharsal.* i. 451.

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 symbolizing the desire of the gods by the infliction of a ceremonial wound. But the gods themselves went out of fashion. They were either merged in the greater splendour of the deities of the state religion 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 among the outlaws of the forests in Armorica, but their religion as a system became extinct, and at last we find its titles assumed by every old witch in the country-side. 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.¹

It is clear that the class of Druids remained in Ireland and Scotland until the people were converted by the

¹ Lampridius, "Alexander," 60; Vopiscus, "Carinus," 14; Pompon. Mela, iii. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxx. 4; Suetonius, "Claudius," 25. See the article, "*Comment le Druidisme a disparu*," by M. De Coulanges, *Revue Celtique*, iv. 37.

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 the sacrifices at the Beltaine Feast in Tara; and he is tried for a breach of the law that every light in the kingdom must be re-kindled 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 subordinates 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 incantations."¹

After the conversion of Ireland was accomplished the Druids disappear from history. Their mystical powers were transferred without much alteration to the abbots and bishops who ruled the "families of the saints." The authority in matters of law, which must have been their prerogative so long as their sorcery was feared, may have passed in Ireland to the "Brehons" or hereditary lawyers, though there is no positive evidence that such a succession took place.²

¹ 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.

² See Sir Henry Maine's observations on this theory, *Hist. Early Instit.* 28, 31, 32, 35; Gaidoz, *Esquisse de la Religion des Gaulois*, 17.

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 nursery tales : the ritual of the ancient sacrifices has survived in the unconscious heathenism of the peasantry, and even the lives of the saints will be found to be full of 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 a certain saint created a miraculous spring on the "Hill of the Sun," which became St. Michael's Mount : others were the owners of wandering bells and flying rocks, and of trees and animals which can never be hurt or destroyed ; and some of them were fierce and gloomy beings, ever ready to smite their enemies with monstrous kinds of vengeance.¹ The heads of the saintly families, as Caw of North Britain and the mythical King Cunedda, have ancestors and descendants who bear the names of Celtic gods and heroes. "Edeyrn son of Nudd" was the child of a god of darkness whose worship will be presently described ; but he also appears in Welsh history as an ancestor of the King Cunedda, as a knight of the Round Table, as a bard who became a hermit, and as a holy person to whom a chapel at Holyhead was dedicated.² The great saints Brychan and Dubricius were of the kindred of those "maniac kings," whose flocks were the

¹ See the lives of Cadoc and Carannog in Rees, *Brit. Saints*, 358, 397 ; and Girald. *Cambr. Topogr. Hibern.* ii. 55.

² Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 298 ; *Mabinogion*, 195.

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."¹ The goddess of love was turned into St. Brychan's daughter, as "St. Hermes" grew out of the worship of the Gaulish Mercury: 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.²

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 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."³

¹ Mabinogion, 229, 236, 281.

² Sikes, Brit. Gobl. 350.

³ *Ante*, p. 27; Solinus, Polyhist. c. 24; Geoff. Monm. Hist. Brit. ii. c. 10. A full account of the temple will be found in Lyson's *Reliquiæ* and

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 sacred animals were an undying falcon and goats which never brought forth young.¹

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

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 protected the district of Chamonix. Orell. Inscript. 2051, 2099, 2100, 2101; De Belloguet, Ethnog. Gaul. 240.

¹ Girald. Cambr. 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 Brighids" 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 her connection with the superstition of the "Cursing-stones," *ibid.* 120.

tradition or from a comparison of the pagan observances which have been noticed in Scotland Wales and Ireland.

When the Britons became civilized they built temples and set up statues of the 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.¹ 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 native deities. The image called "*La Couarde*" or the "*Venus of Quinipily*," which was worshipped in Brittany till the end of the 17th century, may furnish us with a notion of the appearance of the Celtic idols. It is described as a huge mis-shapen figure about 7 feet high with "a large and uncouth body, a flattened bust, and eyes nose and mouth like those of an Egyptian god."² St. Patrick found the Irish worshipping an idol

¹ Gildas, Hist. s. 4. Besides figures which might be taken for Hercules Mars and the Sun's face surrounded with flaming curls, there was a hare running, a naked girl carrying two crested snakes, and a youth in the British dress holding as a wand a snake or dragon of the same kind. Among the nineteen bronze idols which were dug up at Devizes in 1714 there are some which cannot be identified with any of the classical divinities. A figure in tunic and breeches has a snake twined round its legs and arms. Others are dressed like Britons but carry no special emblems. Musgrave, Antiqu. Romano-Brit. (1719). For a description of these statues see Hearne's Leland Itin. ii. 62, 64, 65, and Camden's Britannia (Gibson) 88.

² The worship of the goddess continued until the removal of the statue from its old altar in 1696. "Offerings were made to it, the sick touched

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 the twelve subordinate deities were ornamented with plates of bronze.¹

Before the Celts used images a tall spear-oak was a sufficient emblem of the Thunderer:² 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

it in order to be cured of diseases, women after the births of children bathed in the large granite basin at its foot, and various foul and pagan rites were enacted before it." See the article on the Venus of Quinipily in Macmillan's Magazine, June, 1876.

¹ The "Crom-cruach" is described in the "Dinn-Senchus" and in Jocelyn's Life of St. Patrick. See Mr. Fitzgerald's article on the Ancient Irish, Fraser's Magazine, 1875, xii. 104; and *Revue Celtique*, i. 260.

² "Ἀγαλμα δὲ Διὸς κελευκὸν ὑψηλῆ ἐρούς. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 38; Pliny, Hist. Nat. xvi. 95; Schedius, De Dis Germanorum, 346.

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.¹

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 aërial 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

¹ 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 country lying to the west of Ireland. (See Plate X.) 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."

O'Curry, *ubi supra*, iii. 191.

all these natural phenomena are accepted as miracles or messages from the gods.¹ The springs and intermittent "winter-bournes" which rise suddenly at certain seasons 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 Boadicea: "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."²

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

¹ 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.

² Tac. Ann. xiv. c. 32.

Wales and Scotland. There are also wells in England which the country-girls never pass without making the customary offering.¹ There is usually a "rag-bush" by 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.²

The principal Gaelic 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.³

¹ 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 *Mabinogion*, 67. For an account of the "laughing-wells" in Cornwall see De la Beche, *Geol. Rep. Cornw.* 517, and as to the Scottish pin-wells, see Logan's *Scott. Gael.* ii. 345, and Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, 151.

² Pliny, *Epist.* viii. 8; Strabo, iv. 287; Diod. *Sic.* v. c. 9; Greg. *Turon. Gloria Confess.* c. 2.

³ Gildas, *Hist.* s. 4; Petrie's "Tara," 169. Cormac's *Glossary* explains the word "*indelba*" as an altar carved with the sign of an element, "*verbi*

The father of the Irish Olympus was a spirit of heat, who ruled all fires in earth or heaven. He was called "Dagda," or the Great Good Fire. We are told that he was "greyer than the grey mist": his cauldron was the vault of the sky and his hammer was the thunderbolt. He is attended by a company of divine artificers, and by a physician who healed all disease. His son "Luga," a personified flame, was master of all the sciences. Among his children were Angus the Smith and the fiery Brighid, and "sun-faced Ogma" the patron of music and prophecy.¹

The moon was "Aine," or "Anu," the queen of heaven and mother of the gods. Her gloomy worship was tainted with death and slaughter. She was worshipped upon the hills at Midsummer and at the winter-feasts, when the spirits of the dead were propitiated.² In one form she was

gratiâ, figurâ 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.

¹ For the supposed 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."—Franklin's transl. ii. 340; Brash, Ogam Inscr. Monum. 18, 25; Rhÿs, Lectures, 298. See also Fitzgerald's Essay on the Ancient Irish in Fraser's Magazine (1875), xii. 107, and the descriptions of the Irish gods in O'Curry's Lectures.

² *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.*" See 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.

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 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.¹

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."² Most of the gods of war were converted into

¹ *Revue Celtique*, i. 32; ii. 489. The Dinn-Senchus contains a notice of "Néib, the god of war among the pagan Gaidel, and Nemon his wife." The Irish "Badb" or battle-fury was 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 "Mor-rigain," 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.

² Geoffr. Monm. Hist. Brit. iii. c. 10.

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 Cattaeth. If we turn to Aneurin's famous poem we see them fighting in the ranks like the Olympians round the body of Patroclus. They are disguised as mortal warriors; but we recognize 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, Gwynn the fairy-king, Manannan the sea-god, and a host of other divine beings take part in the legendary conflict.¹

There seem to have been three principal families, the children of "Don" and "Nudd" and "Lir," whose worship was common to the British and Irish tribes. The

¹ See Aneurin's "Gododin," in Ab Ithel's translation. Mr. Stephens took the subject of the poem to be an expedition of the Ottadeni against the town of Cataracton in the Brigantian territory.—Lit. Kymry, 3. For an account of some of the other "historical poems," see 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.

first group consisted of the heavenly powers whose homes were set in the stars and constellations. Gwydion son of Don is celebrated in the Welsh household tales and in the poems ascribed to Taliesin. He is the great magician, the "master of illusion and phantasy," who changed the forms of men trees and animals. His home was in the Milky Way, which was known as the Castle of Gwydion. Don gave his name to the constellation of Cassiopeia, and his daughter, the Princess Arianhrod, inhabited the bright circle of stars which is called the Northern Crown. We find in the same group Amaethon the Good Husbandman, "Math the son of Mathonwy" who has been called the Cambrian Pluto, and a mystical being who was described as "the Lion with the steady hand."¹

The story of the family of "Nudd" (or "Nyth" as the name may be spelt and pronounced in English) 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 in Gloucestershire have disclosed his identity with "Nodens," a god of the deep sea, who is depicted as a Triton or Neptune borne by sea-horses and surrounded by a laughing crowd of Nereids. He appears in Ireland as King Nuada of the Silver Hand, whose magic sword prevailed

¹ There are several other members in the group whose attributes have been obscured by time. For the story of Gwydion, see Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 137, 331, 384, 1214; Nash, *Taliesin*, 190, 328; Guest's *Mabinogion*, 414. In the fabulous Welsh history Don is an Irish king who leads a colony to North Wales in A.D. 267, and Gwydion is the king of Anglesea and Carnarvon, who first taught literature from books to the men of "Mona and Ireland." For the origin of the words "Math" and "Arianhrod," see Rhys, *Lectures*, 374, 414. "Arianhrod and several of the other names resembling it are probably not of Celtic origin." *Ibid.* 426.

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."¹

"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 Erin from that time forth."² In the Welsh histories he becomes King Lud, the brother of Cassivellaunus, who "rebuilt the walls of London and encompassed it about with numberless towers"; and he appears as King Lear in another form of the legend. According to the version in Geoffrey of Monmouth's history, which Shakespeare adopted as the frame-work of the tragedy, King Lear built the town of Leicester about the time when Amos was a prophet in Israel; and his daughter Cordelia is repre-

¹ O'Curry, *Manners of the Anc. Irish*, ii. 253. For other accounts of Nuada, and his connection with "Diancecht" the divine physician and Luga the fire-god, see Joyce, *Old Celt. Romances*, 403; Fitzgerald, *Anc. Irish* (*Fraser's Mag.* 1875, xii. 106); Rhÿs, *Lectures*, 144, and the article on "Nodens" by Professor Rhÿs describing the Lydney Park discoveries, "Nature," July 24th, 1879; and Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 137, 140.

² 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 Llevelys" in the *Mabinogion*.

sented as burying him in a vault under the River Sore, which had been originally built as a Temple of Janus.¹ Cordelia herself appears in the Welsh stories as that "splendid maiden" for whom Gwynn ap Nudd and another mythical being were to fight on every 1st 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.²

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 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

¹ 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.

² 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.

captivity and returning converted from Rome to preach the faith of Christ to the Cymry.¹

The most important character of the group is the famous "Manannan Mac Lir." In him we see personified the splendour and swiftness of the sun; the god rushes over the waves like a "wheel of fire," and his three-legged shape recalls the three giant strides of Vishnu. 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 Manannan'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 Manannan'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."²

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-

¹ Rees, *Welsh Saints*, 77; Haddan "Early Councils," i. 22; Stephens, *Lit. Cymry*, 429; Guest's *Mabinogion*, 385.

² Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, 38. Compare O'Curry, *Manners of the Anc. Irish*, ii. 301. In the Welsh legends the god is called "Manawyddan son of Llyr." See Guest's *Mabinogion*, 411.

well" with its thorn-bush or ancient oak-tree hung with votive rags and ribands. 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.¹ The survival in remote districts of the habit of moving "sun-wise" from east to west, may indicate the nature of the processions in which the British women walked, "with their bodies stained by woad to an Ethiopian colour."²

The vestiges of an adoration of the sun may be seen in the devotions of the Irish peasant who crawls 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 the child daily until it was christened."³ 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 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

¹ Rhys, Lectures, 10; *Revue Celtique*, ii. 103.

² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxii. 2.

³ Martin, *Descr. West. Isl.* 113, 116, 140, 241, 277.

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 fertilizing and productive god.¹

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.

¹ Martin, *Descr. West. Isl.* 113; Toland's *History of the Druids*, 107; see an essay on Martin's work, *Fraser's Mag.* 1878, xvii. 443, Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 576, and an account of raising the "will-fire" in 1826, cited by Kemble, *Anglo-Sax. i.* 360 (Birch's edition). Several extracts from the *Chronicle of Lanercost* and from *Harl. MSS.* 2345, f. 50, will be found in the same part of Kemble's work, which will show the nature of the orgies which anciently accompanied the production of the sacred fire. For a description of the pagan practices which accompanied the "Burning of the Clavie" at Burghead, see Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, 256; Chambers, *Book of Days*, ii. 789.

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."¹

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 Hallowe'en 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.²

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

¹ Pennant. *Tour in Scotland*, 1772, p. 94. A poem on "the Sons of Llyr" which passes under the name of Taliesin contains an allusion to some similar rustic offerings in honour of Ogyrven, whose name is connected with the invention of letters. Rhÿs, *Lectures*, 303. "For praising Ogyrven the water of the brook will suffice, and new milk, dew, and acorns." Nash, *Taliesin*, 193.

² Martin, *Descr. West. Isl.* 29.

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 temple in honour of the Saint Mourie, or "ane god Mourie" as he was sometimes styled by his worshippers.¹ In other places a heifer was killed in case of a failure to produce the "forced fire" in times of pestilence, and 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.² A sacrifice of this kind is said to have been performed in Morayshire about twenty years ago,³ and it is by no means uncommon to hear of cocks and hens being buried alive or killed as a preservative against epilepsy.⁴

¹ The extracts from the parochial registers and a full account of the suppression of the idolatrous practice will be found in Mitchell's *Past in the Present*, 271, 275. A letter printed in Leland's *Itinerary* describes 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, *Brit. Goblins*, 361.

² Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 576.

³ Mitchell, *Past in the Present*, 274; Simpson, *Archæol. Essays*, i. 41, 205; Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, 293; *Revue Celtique*, iv. 121.

⁴ "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 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, *Brit. Goblins*, 330, 349; *Archæol. Cambr. I. i.* 184.

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 creatures were reared and kept for amusement.¹ The reason for the prohibition is unknown, but it should be probably connected with the fact that in some parts of Europe these animals 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.² The hare is 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.³ 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 often assumed its shape. In one part of Wales the hares are called "St. Monacella's Lambs," and it is said that up to a very recent time 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."⁴ In Ireland

¹ Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* v. c. 12.

² *Ante*, p. 219; Ralston, *Russ. Pop. Songs.* 129; *Revue Celtique*, iv. 195.

³ Figuier, *Prim. Man.* (Tylor's edition), 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, *Mann. Anc. Irish*, ii. 141.

⁴ The legend is related by Pennant in his "Tour through Montgomery-

also the local saints were believed 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; and St. Beanus protected the cranes and hazel-hens which built their nests upon the Ulster mountains.¹

We may notice in this connexion the fact that the names of several tribes or the legends of their origin show that an animal, or some other real or imaginary object, was chosen as a crest or emblem, and was probably regarded with a superstitious veneration. A powerful tribe or family would feign to be descended from a swan or a water-maiden or a "white lady" who rose from the moon-beams 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. Brigit as their kinswoman, wore for their crest the figure of a lizard which appeared at the foot of the oak-tree above her shrine.² We hear of "Griffins" by the Shannon, of "Calves" in the country round Belfast: the men of Ossory were called by a name which signifies the "wild red-deer."³ There are similar instances from

shire." See also Sikes' *Brit. Goblins*, 162. The sacred character of the animal is indicated by the legend of Boadicea who, according to Dion Cassius, "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.*

¹ 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.

² *Revue Celtique*, iv. 193.

³ O'Curry, *Mann. Anc. Irish*, ii. 208. The "Lugi" and "Mertæ" are

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 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."¹

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 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.²

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.

¹ Aneurin's *Gododin*, St. 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 and Europa. The Merovingian princes traced their origin to a sea-monster. The pedigrees of the Anglo-Saxon kings contain such names as "Sigefugel," "Sæfugol," and "Beorn," which seem to be connected with legends of a descent from animals. Compare such patronymics as "Dering," "Harting," "Baring," and the like.

² In the story of the Death of Cúchulain, contained in the Book of Leinster, some witches offer the hero a dog cooked on spits of rowan-

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 belief under which "animals were worshipped by tribes of men who were named after them and were believed to be of their breed." This 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.¹ 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 peoples in Arabia and Palestine. In countries where this belief has prevailed it is generally found that relationship was traced through females exclusively, and it appears in many cases that marriage in its modern form

wood. Cúchulain's name signified "the Hound of Culand," and was connected with the cult of a god called Culand the Smith. The story turns on the idea that "one of the things 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, *Mann. Anc. Irish*, ii. 363. The legend of Eingan, king of the birds, shows the existence of an ancient tradition that birds were formerly considered by some Irish tribes to be sacred. Conaire the Great, a mythical king of Ireland, was the son of the Bird-king, and was therefore forbidden to kill birds of any kind. O'Curry, *Mann. Anc. Irish*, introd. cclxx. Compare Martin, *Descr. West. Isl.* 273.

¹ The system mentioned in the text is usually called "Totemism" from the word "*totem*" or "*dodhaim*," which the Red Indians apply to the plant animal or other natural object representing the ancestor and protector of the group of persons who share the name and crest. 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 (especially among the Greeks) is due to Mr. J. F. McLennan, who first explained it in the *Fortnightly Review*, 1869, 1870. See with regard to the Semitic peoples an essay on the subject by Professor Robertson Smith in the *Journal of Philology*, 1880, ix. 75. See also Mr. A. Lang's article on "The Family" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

was at one time quite unknown. It is, at any rate, a plausible hypothesis that the fabled descents from animals and plants or from the divine influences of the waters or the moon or stars may have originated in a time when paternity was as yet unacknowledged and a fiction was required to keep the mother's offspring united in one family group.

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 Atrebates—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 Iceni—Victory of Paullinus—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 Constantine 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."¹

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. Civilization 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."² Others laughed at the exploits for which a three-weeks' thanksgiving had once seemed barely sufficient. "Divine

¹ Tac. Agric. c. 30.

² Strabo, iv. 278.

Cæsar," they said, "landed his army in a swamp and fled before the long-sought Britons."¹ 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

¹ "Oceanumque vocans incerti stagna profundi,
Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis."

Lucan, Phars. ii. 571.

horse-trappings, and their armour decorated with enamel and the red Mediterranean coral.¹ 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,² by a change from the bronze weapons to the steel sabres and ponderous spears of Gaul,³ 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.⁴ The returns from

¹ Thurnam's British Barrows. *Archæol.* xliii. 474, 475. These discoveries are made in the *tumuli* at Arras Hesslekeu and Cowlam in the East Riding. "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." The bronze armlets are embellished with scarlet enamel like those found at "Bibracte," the modern Beuvray. Pliny says that coral had been used by the Gauls down to his time for ornamenting their armour. *Hist. Nat.* xxxii. 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." *Philost. Imag.* i. 28.

² For an account of the silver coins of the Iceni see Sir T. Brown's *Hydriotaphia*, c. 2.

³ *Pomp. Mela*, iii. c. 6. Certain rude and unfinished blades found in sheaves of 70 or 80, or in much greater numbers, in or near British earthworks in the South-western Counties are believed to be British. Thurnam, *British Barrows*, *Archæol.* xliii. 478, 486.

⁴ *Ante*, p. 148; *Tac. Agric.* c. 12; *Carew, Surv. Cornw.* 7; *De la Beche, Geol. South-west. Counties*, 218, 611; *Philips, 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. 49. The metal, he says, lay like a thick skin on the surface of the ground.

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 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.¹

The discord of the British chieftains was the immediate cause of the second invasion. The sons of Cymbeline were at war with the house of Commius, to whose territory Kent and some bordering districts belonged. A prince of that house 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 afterwards back to some great river which may have been the Thames. The capture of their great stronghold was reserved for the Emperor's hand. The battle seems to have been arranged

¹ The small dog is the "*agassæus*" of Oppian, i. 468, also called "*petronius*," Gratian. *Cynegetica*. Falisc. *Cyneg.* 206, and afterwards "*petrunculus*," as for instance in the Burgundian Laws. The greyhound is the "*vertragus*" or "*vertraha*," the "*veltre*" of our mediæval records. Blount, *Tenures*, 9, 35. "Et pictam maculâ vertraham delige falsâ," Gratian. Falisc. *Cyneg.* 203. "The Celtic greyhound sweeps the level lea," &c, Whitaker, *Hist. Manch.* i. 226. Compare Martial, 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. See Claudian, "*Magnaue taurorum fracturæ colla Britannæ*," *Ad Stilichon.* iii. 301; Gratian. Falisc. *Cyneg.* 178, 202.

with Eastern pomp: and elephants,¹ 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.²

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.³ His father Drusus Germanicus had sailed past Friesland to visit the Baltic Straits 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."⁴ 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."⁵ "The

¹ Dion Cass. 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.

² The Batavians 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. In A.D. 98 Tacitus wrote of 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.

³ Pliny, Hist. Nat. iii. 20, xxxiii. 16; Sueton. Claud. 17.

⁴ Tac. Germ. c. 24.

⁵ "Et jam Romano cingimur Oceano." "Laus Claudii Cæsaris." See 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."¹ "One look from Cæsar has subdued the cliff-girt isle, the land of the wintry pole,—

" 'Quâ frigida semper
Præfulget stellis Arctos inocciduis.' "²

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.³

Another day was given to games in the Circus, and the factions of the Blues and Greens were promised as many

¹ 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 Boadicea's revolt, and its site has never been discovered. Tac. Ann. xiv. 29; Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 34.

² Burmann. Anthol. ii. 91.

³ Dion Cass. ix. 23; Sueton. Claud. 17.

chariot-races as could be run between morning and night.¹ 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.²

Afterwards came the brutal sports which seemed to the Romans to be the chief reward of victory. "It is the

¹ 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. 24, 101; Pausanias v. 12. On the whole subject of the games see Friedländer's *Manners of the Romans*, Book vi. (Vol. ii. of Vögel's French translation).

² Dion Cass. 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 aliique 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.

greatest pleasure in life," Cicero himself had said, "to see 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 walls 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.¹

As the conquest advanced other uses were found for the captives in the mines and public works or in military

¹ Dion Cass. ix. 30. The costume of the *retiarium* is best known by the mosaic of Cupids fighting in the Roman villa at Bignor in Sussex. *Archæol.* xviii. 203. See also Dyer's *Pompeii*, 227. Friedländer quotes the song of the *retiarium*: "Non te peto, piscem peto, quid me fugi' Galle?"; *Manners of the Romans* (Vögel's transl. ii. 274). The Roman sentiment on the subject is illustrated by the exulting words of Tacitus on the destruction of the Bructeri on the Rhine. "The gods grudged not even to let us see the spectacle: over 60,000 men fell on the field, not under the Roman sword and spear but in a still more stately fashion dying to make a show before our delighted eyes." Tac. *Germ.* c. 33; see also Statius. "Ridet Mars pater et cruenta Virtus." *Silv.* i. 6.

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.¹

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.² Meantime

¹ Tac. Agric. 15, Hist. i. 59. The head-quarters of the 2nd 6th and 20th Legions are shown by Ptolemy to have been at Caerleon York and Chester; but in other respects the "Notitia Imperii" or Official Calendar of the Empire, which was compiled about the end of the fourth century, is almost the only authority for the stations of the British regiments. It seems, however, that it was the custom to keep the legions and the auxiliaries attached to them in the same head-quarters for many generations. The "Notitia" mentions 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 indicate the presence of a British contingent. Hübner, Corp. Lat. Inscr. vii. 50, 227.

² Sueton. Vesp. 4; Tac. Agric. 13.

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.¹ The whole frontier was in confusion, the midland tribes having 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, connected by a military road, was drawn across the island from the Severn to the eastern fens: and a colony of discharged soldiers was settled at Camulodunum, where a pleasant open town was rising on the site of the ruined fortress. The "Iceni" were permitted to retain 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.²

¹ 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 dies, being quite spent with fatigue and trouble. The enemy rejoiced at his death as a general no way contemptible, and the rather because though he did not fall in battle he expired under the burthen of that war." Ann. xii. 39 (Camden).

² "Some of the states (*civitates*) were given to King Cogidumnus, 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," of which

The wantonness of the Roman tyranny appears by the complaints attributed to the provincials and the record of those evil doings which led to Boadicea's revolt. The 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."¹ 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.² The people groaned under a double tyranny; each state had formerly been governed by a single king; "but now," they said, "we are under the Legate and the Procurator; the one preys on

the site is now found in Chichester, by the 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. For the true reading of this inscription see Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 18.

¹ Tac. Agric. 20; Ann. xiv. 31. Agricola took command of the province in A.D. 79.

² Tac. Agric. 19 (Church).

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—which 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 was now become lawful booty, the chiefs of the Icenii were deprived of their paternal estates, and those of the blood-royal were treated as the meanest slaves."¹ The story of the actual revolt is too familiar to need repetition. Paullinus was recalled from Mona by the news that the Ninth Legion was 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. Paullinus 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

¹ Tac. Ann. xiv. 31 (Camden). The revolt began in A.D. 61, when Suetonius Paullinus had been two years in command.

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 were stayed behind, or tempted by their affection for the place to remain there, were destroyed by the enemy." London was sacked as soon as its defenders retreated, and before they got far they learned that Verulam was 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.¹

The fate of the province was at stake, and Paullinus 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

¹ Tac. Ann. xiv. 33 (Camden). London Verulam and Camulodunum were all open towns, though founded on the sites of Celtic fortresses. They were all fortified in later times and their walls long remained among the most conspicuous of the monuments left by the Romans. The walls of Colchester are still perfect in some places: when measured in 1746 they were found to contain an area of 108 acres. *Archæol.* (Winchester, 1849) Porch. Cast. 16. The Roman walls of London are believed to have been built by Constantine the Great. For an account of their appearance after the Great Fire see Hearne's Appendix to Leland. 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. Leland's Itin. v. introd. xviii. "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." *Archæol.* (Winch. 1849) Porch. Cast. 17.

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.¹ In this case the manœuvre was 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 poisoning their heavy javelins and never moving a step until all their missiles had been discharged with effect. Then suddenly wheeling into a wedge-shaped figure 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

¹ Compare the Battle of the Grampians: "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 smallness of our numbers, had begun gradually to descend and to hem in the rear of the victorious army." Tac. Agric. 37 (Church); Annal. xiv. 35, 36.

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, where the crowd of fugitives was entangled and the bodies of men women and horses were piled together in indiscriminate heaps.¹

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 Paullinus 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.² It was fortunate for them that Nero never heard of their contemptuous reception of his favourite. Paullinus was quietly removed, and the province remained at peace until the

¹ "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).

² *Tac. Ann.* 39; *Hist.* ii. 95.

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.¹

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.² 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 Frith; 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

¹ 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.

² 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.

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.”¹

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 with the Tay.² 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.”³ Thus at last the province of Britain was 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.

Thirty-five years after Agricola’s return to Rome the Emperor Hadrian⁴ was summoned to the defence of the

¹ Tac. Agric. 22 (Camden).

² Mr. Skene traces his route through Stirlingshire and Perthshire to the Frith 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.

³ Tac. Agric. c. 23.

⁴ 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 or maps.

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.¹

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.² The "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

¹ 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." Kenrich, *Arch. Essays*, 184.

² There is no actual record of this legion after the death of Carausius in A.D. 294. The Sixth and the Second were in this country when the "Notitia Imperii" 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, "and an examination and comparison of the tiles shows the distribution of the military forces." Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, 487.

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."¹

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 even in some cases under the command of their native chiefs.² But it must be remembered that the numbers were diminished under the later

¹ Girald. Cambr. Itin. Cambr. i. c. 10. His words "coctilibus muris" (which he also applies to *Muridunum*, the Roman Caermarthen, *ibid.* c. 5) would imply, contrary to the fact, that the city walls were of brick; it is 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. *Archæol.* 1846 (Winch.), Porch. Castle, 20; and see 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.

² Tac. Ann. iv. 5. Of the Batavi the historian says: "Mox auctâ per Britanniam gloriâ, transmissis illuc cohortibus quas veterè instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant." Hist. iv. 12. See also the "perplexed abridgement" of Vegetius "De Re Militari," iii. c. 1, and the summary of authorities in the first chapter of Gibbon's History.

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;¹ and there are records relating to German soldiers from districts now included in Luxemburg, which show that in some cases whole tribes at once were attached to one or other of the auxiliary regiments in Britain.²

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

¹ 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.

² The "Pagus Vellaus" and the "Pagus Condrustis" served in this way with the Tungrian cohorts in Eskdale, where they have left inscriptions in honour of their native goddesses "Ricagambeda" "Virudesthis" and "Harimella." Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 188. They were posted round Birrens, the "Blatum Bulgium" of the Antonine Itinerary, 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 "Burrals" 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.¹ 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."²

¹ The general character of the Roman walling is described in Harts-horne's Essay Porchester Castle. *Archæol.* 1846 (Winchester). "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 near Reading. See the same Essay for a detailed account of the Roman walls at Wroxeter and Colchester, the Jewry wall at Leicester, the Dover "Pharos," and the remains of the fortress at Richborough. For everything relating to Roman York the reader should consult Wellbeloved's "Eburacum."

² 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.¹ 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 has now prevailed 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 all 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 in each case that the Emperor built a wall between the two oceans. It is probable that he referred in the latter case

Bolanus, who governed Britain during the civil wars which preceded the reign of Vespasian. Tac. Agric. c. 16.

¹ 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 method he adopted . . . may be clearly seen at the present day. In dry weather, and particularly after wind, we may trace at intervals in the centre of this road the facing-stones of the wall *in situ*, lying in lines about nine feet apart, just where they rose above the foundations; while in many places the rough ashlar of its upper courses, thrown loosely down to the right and left, still crop up to the surface, not yet ground to dust by the wear and tear of more than a hundred years' traffic." "The Roman Wall." *Quarterly Review* (1860), No. 213, p. 122.

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, which all the archæological evidence would lead us to attribute to Hadrian. These historians were copied by the British chroniclers, and it is plain from Bede's account that in his time it was unknown whether the "Wall of Severus" ran along the upper or the lower line. The venerable historian saw the difficulty of identifying the fortifications existing in his time with the earthworks and stockades which were said to have been constructed by Severus; that Emperor, according to his biographer, had just returned from the "*vallum*" when he died at the head-quarters in York; and a "*vallum*," said Bede, "is made of turf cut regularly out of the earth and built high above ground like a wall, with the ditch before it out of which the turf has been dug and strong stakes of wood all along the brink; Severus therefore drew a great ditch and built a strong earthen wall, fortified with several towers, from sea to sea." This 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 existence of the gigantic ruins between Carlisle and Newcastle he adopted a theory which has now been completely abandoned that when the Roman armies were withdrawn, a stone wall was raised by the Britons with the assistance of 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 that had formerly been 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.”¹

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,² “rising near 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

¹ For the general history of the Roman walls, see 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.

² *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 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, Brit. (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.

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 Imperial Calendars 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 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 mortuary inscriptions set up in not a few of the stations by men of the same foreign 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 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."¹

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 a general who had already proved his capacity in a difficult campaign against the Moors.² To ensure against such dangers in the future a new line of earthworks was constructed on Agricola's frontier: and the whole garrison was summoned to the building of the Wall of which the ruins remain in the "Grahame's Dyke" on the isthmus between Forth and Clyde.³

¹ Gordon, *Itin. Septent.* 76; Hodgson, *Hist. Northumb.* 185. Compare another account of "the carcass of an ancient city" near Windermere. *Camden, Brit. (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 that looks like terraces." *Horsley, Britannia Romana,* 148.

² Lollius Urbicus had earned the title of "Africanus" by driving the Moorish marauders back "into the solitudes of Atlas." *Pausanias,* viii. 43. See Gibbon's account of the defensive wars of Antoninus in the opening chapter of his *History*.

³ For a description of the Grahame's Dyke, see *Camden's Britannia*

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 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

(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, *Britannia* (Gibson), 222.

“*Sancta Britannia*” and “*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.¹

After the peaceful age of the Antonines the debateable 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 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 despotism was maintained. “I have been all things,” he

¹ “*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. 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 in the Present*,” 245, 246.

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 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!"¹

Severus died and was deified; and his sons Caracalla and Geta admitted the Caledonians to easy terms of

¹ Spartian. *Vita Severi*, c. 19, 22.

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 Batavian 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.¹ 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 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

¹ 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." For the Welsh legend, see Geoffrey of Monmouth's History, v. 2, 3.

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.¹ The imperial forces at once pushed on to London, 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."²

¹ 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
Albet aquosa acies, ac vultibus undique rasis
Pro barbâ tenues perarantur pectine cristæ."

Carm. vii. 238, 241.

² Stow's Survey of London (1619) 6.

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 takes so many shapes in the fabulous chronicles of Wales. The child of a Dacian inn-keeper has become an island-princess, "daughter of Coil of Colchester" as learned divines have maintained, "Saint Helen" of the Yorkshire wells, and "Helen of the Mighty Host" who made the military roads "between castle and castle" in Britain.¹

¹ Usher Camden and Stillingfleet endeavoured in their zeal for the British Church to support the ridiculous 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 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 chapel 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," &c. Whitaker's Hist. Craven (Morant), 239. The Welsh legends have also transported her into another age, and

Constantius died in the year 306, soon after the close of the Caledonian war,¹ 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 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.²

made her the wife of Maximus the Usurper who was crowned in A.D. 383. She is represented in this phase as the daughter of "King Eudav" of Caernarvon, another imaginary personage. She now became "Helen Luyddawc," or "Helen of the Mighty Host," and gave her name to the "Sarn Helen" 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.

¹ 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." *Paneg. Vet.* vii. c. 4. Some take this for the Palace at Trèves. *Wytttenbach, Rom. Antiqu.* Trèves, 53; *Wellbeloved, Eburacum*, 62. According to the fable of Nennius Constantius died at Caernarvon. "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. For this piece of folk-lore, compare the first *Saga* in the *Heimskringla*. "*Seri Rólfkraki gullinu á Fyrisvöllu.*" *Ynglinga-Tal*, c. 33. "There is a long account in the *Skioldung Saga* about Rolf Krake coming and sowing gold on the *Fyrisvold*." *Laing, Sea Kings*, i. 245. As to the tomb, Nennius probably referred to the real inscription on the "Ogam-stone" 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 Caernarvon, "*Carausius hic jacit in hoc congeries lapidum.*" *Camden's Britannia* (Gibson), 811; *Rhÿs, Lect. Welsh Philol.* 364, 369.

² This chieftain was called "Crocus," a name which probably meant "the Crow"; it may be compared to that of "Rolf Krake." "Cunctis

The scheme of government which Diocletian had designed was in some respects amended by Constantine. Britain formed part 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.¹ 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 who directed the forces of the Empire in the West. But so far as this country was concerned it was under the orders of the "Count of Britain," assisted by two important though

qui aderant annitentibus sed præcipuè 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.

¹ The names of the provinces appear in the "Notitia." They were distinguished as "Britannia Prima" and "Secunda," "Flavia Cæsariensis," "Maxima Cæsariensis" and "Valentia." The last was between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus; the situation of the rest is unknown. The conventional figures of the MS. of the "Notitia" are probably taken from the original designs; but they merely represent insular tracts with the fortresses arranged on them in patterns which do not correspond with their true situations. Pancirollus, 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. The identification in the forged chronicle of "Richard of Cirencester" should be completely disregarded. 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, Lect. Welsh Philol. 203, 379, 400.

subordinate officers. The "Duke of Britain" commanded in the North, 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.¹

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.²

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 first consider whether any help can be gained from the supposed identification of these main roads with the four national highways so famous in the mediæval records, which were for centuries placed under the "King's Peace"

¹ 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 (ad Notitiam), Comment. 161.

² 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 in the mileage which appear in the earliest copy and which can hardly be amended by modern research or conjecture.



and guarded by special laws from injury.¹ "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."²

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

¹ These were the "Quatuor Chimini" of the Norman Laws. Palgrave, *Commonw.* 284; Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, 192; Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* i. 182.

² Gale, *Essay towards the recovery of the courses of the Roman Ways*; 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.'

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.¹ 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.² The Fosse-Way ran diagonally

¹ 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."

² The old name of the Watling Street is still found in Dover and London: it forms the boundary between Warwickshire and Leicestershire; 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.*" Gale's Essay, 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. Phillip's Essay, *Archæol. Journ.* No. 39. From York the Watling Street runs due north to the Wall (MacLauchlan's 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 Carlisle. "The way on Watlyngstrete from Borow Bridge to Carlil. Watlyngestrete lyethe about a myle of 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, viii. 25. Not far from Wroxeter near the Wrekin the

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 routes between their military stations were not based upon the same 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 Cathness tells the scattered Orcades." ¹

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 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.

Street passes a place called "Wattlesborough" which seems to preserve the name of "Wætla," the father of the "Wætlings." Gale's Essay, 129.

¹ 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 fables before mentioned. The Fosse can in reality 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 Chiminum Fossæ." Gale's Essay, 124. The Fosse cut the Watling Street at a place called "High Cross" in Leicestershire, the site of the Roman "Venonæ."

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; its branch towards Carlisle leading from Catterick a little north of York across the gap upon Stainmoor.¹ The third led from "Segedunum," or "Walls-end," on the Tyne through Cleveland to the Humber and thence to the colony at Lincoln.²

These were all connected by transverse routes passing east and west some through York to the coasts on either side, some from "Mancunium" or Manchester³ to York and Chester, or across the dales to Aldborough, or by the devious "Doctor-gate" to the woodland country round Sheffield.⁴

¹ "Luguballium," the modern city of 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. 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.

² This road afterwards formed part of the Ermin Street. See Gale's Essay, Hearne's Leland, vi. 125.

³ For a description of this station and the roads leading from it, see Whitaker's History, and Mr. Watkins' "Roman Manchester." Hist. Soc. Lanc. 3rd Series, vii. 12, 32.

⁴ The description of this road will be found in Phillip's Essay on the Relations of Archæology, &c. *Archæol. Journ.* No. 39. The mines and hot-baths in Derbyshire were connected by several tracks with the principal roads on either side,

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.¹ The great Lincoln road, or "Ermin Street," threw branches across the Fens² towards Norwich, and round by Colchester, and from the "Durobrivian" potteries to the station of the Thracian cavalry at Cirencester.³

The district of the Saxon Shore was intersected in the same way by roads leading from the coast to London and connected with the great trunk-roads which traversed the inland provinces.

A line of forts ran in a curve along the coast-road from "Branodunum," or Brancaster, on the Wash⁴ to a camp at

¹ This is the road afterwards called "Rykneld 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 Rikenild-Thorpe, in Yorkshire. (See Hunter, South Yorkshire, i. 309, and the Kirby's Quest. Surtees Soc. edit. p. 3.)

² It passed a station in the Fens called "Camboricum," which seems to be Granchester near Cambridge. Bede describes the finding of a coffin for St. Ethelreda at a little deserted town, "civitatum quamdam desolatam," which the English called "Granta-cestir" and which was probably on the road in question. Bede, Hist. Eccl. iv. 10.

³ For the Roman antiquities at Cirencester, see Camden, Brit. (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 bank of the Nen, where the blue or gray "Castor-ware" was made, see Birch, Ancient Pottery 528.

⁴ According to the Notitia, "Branodunum" was the station of a troop

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 which was afterwards known as the Ikenild Way.¹ Its course may be traced, with frequent intervals, from the boundary of Norfolk and Suffolk 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, once the great city of the "Atrebates" and now marked only by the fragments of a mouldering wall. 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.

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," the modern Norwich. Caistor, near Norwich, is supposed to 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, (once "Garianonum") near Yarmouth.

¹ For the course of the Ikenild Way, see Gale's Essay, pp. 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." *Archæol.* (Norwich, 1847), 22. There are certain records of the perambulations of the Hampshire forests which throw some light on

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 Caernarvon, to Carlisle, and downwards to Caerleon and South Wales; four lead from the junction at Silchester to London, to the south coast, to Caerleon by an upper and a lower route, and the remaining road connects London with Colchester and passes upwards along the circumference of the Saxon Shore.¹

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 Southamp-ton 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 Holewaye."

¹ The direction of the routes is as follows:—1. From the frontier due south along the Watling Street to York and on to the eastern coast. 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 Kentish coast, 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 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 Way as far as Silchester. 8. York to London, as in No. 6. 9. From "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 Caernarvon to Chester. 12. From "Muridunum," or Caermarthen, to Caerleon (Isca

Several of these routes are illustrated by the fragment of the "Peutingerian Table" (Plate 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 sometimes 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 "Moxidunum" and "Isca" on this route, and of similar names in the twelfth route, has led to a clerical error in the MSS., the line being made to run from Silchester to Exeter, and then on from Caermarthen, in that 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 and thence to "Durolevum" (an uncertain site) and thence to Rochester and a station on the Medway, and so in the direction of London.¹

Another road is marked running from London along the north coast of Kent, the Thames being crossed at a point due south of "Cæsaromagus," or Chelmsford, and the route continued to Colchester, and northwards round the "Saxon Shore" to the immediate vicinity of Norwich.²

A memorandum in the left-hand margin of the fragment marks the distance between "Moridunum" and the Damnonian "Isca," and shows a main road passing from the latter station towards Cornwall.³

¹ 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.

² Compare the ninth route in the Antonine 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 off from "Ad Ansam" to the coast, which is not mentioned in the Itinerary.

³ "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 Trêves, one of several Atlantic regions which were regarded as having the same political interests and a common stock of resources. The defences of Britain were 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 were 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."¹

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 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 classing them with the worshippers of his favourite Serapis.² The persecution of Diocletian had hardly

¹ Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecut.* 23.

² "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; Macrob. *Saturnal.* i. 20; Apuleius, *Metamorph.* xi. 27, 28. For an account of the "Serapeum" at York and British inscriptions in honour of the god, see Wellbeloved, "Eburacum," 75, 77, 78, and Hübner, *Corp. Lat. Inscr.* vii. 64, 74. His worship is said to have been taken from Pontus to Egypt, where he usurped the honours of Osiris. He was regarded as the "Deus Pantheus," the spirit of the universe manifested in countless forms, and was identified, as the convenience of worshippers required, with several of the older gods, such as Jupiter Apollo and Æsculapius. The Egyptian Isis, the goddess of nature, was usually worshipped with Serapis in the same temple.

extended to this country, where the Cæsar Constantius had protected the Christians though he could not prevent the destruction of their sacred buildings.¹

The old Latin religion had long ceased to satisfy the minds of educated men, though its visible emblems were respected until the destruction of the temples under Theodosius at the end of the fourth century. The high places were reserved for the Greater Gods in whose hands was 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 gods and more disturbing influences, the temples of Bellona and the furies of war, the chapel of Venus and the field of Mars.² But the altars and images were used indifferently by worshippers under many creeds; the titles of Jupiter covered gods as far apart as "Tanarus" the German thunder-god and Osiris "the nocturnal sun" who ruled in the world of the dead. 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.³

¹ Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecut.* 15, 16. The legends of St. Alban and the other British martyrs must be regarded as highly-coloured and exaggerated versions of the persecution, if the account of Lactantius is to be believed. See Gildas, *Hist.* 10, 11; Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. c. 7; Constant. *Vita Germani*, i. 25; Haddan, "Councils," i. 5.

² Vitruvius, *Architect.* i. c. 7.

³ 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

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" who was revered as the illuminator of all darkness and as the mediator and the friend of man. "Isis and Serapis had altars even in the ends of the world."¹ We learn from sculptured tablets and from inscriptions and symbols on tombs, that Mithraism

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 "Dolichemus," 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 the mention of the Consuls of A.D. 154. Among Gaulish epithets for Mars we find such names as "Camulus" "Rigisamus" "Toutates"; the meaning of such titles as "Braciaca" "Cocidius" and "Belatucadrus" is not known, though they must be assumed to refer to other local deities identified by their attributes with Mars.

¹ Renan, *Hibb. Lect.* 1880, p. 34. The religion of Isis, though deformed by archaic "mysteries," was gradually developed into an elevated form of nature-worship. The goddess was at one time regarded as the spirit of the ether through which the sun proceeds, and so by a natural transition she became the companion of Osiris the hidden and nocturnal sun, and reigned like Proserpina in the world of the dead. After the second century she united in herself the attributes of all the goddesses and became the representative of Nature. See the hymns preserved by Apuleius: "Te superi colunt, observant inferi, tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum: tibi respondent sidera, redeunt tempora, gaudent numina, serviunt elementa: tuo nutu spirant flamina, nutriunt nubila, germinant semina, crescunt gramina," &c. *Apul. Metamorph.* xi. 5, 30. As to the worship of Osiris "summorum maximus et maximorum regnator" see the same work, xi. 30, and the Dialogue of Hermes Trismegistus by the same author. *Apul. Asclep.* 41.

at one time prevailed extensively in this country : and its influence was doubtless strengthened by the artifice of its professors in imitating the Christian sacraments 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.¹ 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."²

¹ 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, see Well-beloved, "Eburacum," 79, 81, and more than twenty inscriptions recorded by Hübner, 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 pure 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 festival of Christmas in the Mithraic "Dies Natalis," of baptism and penance and many Christian ceremonies, see Justin Mart. *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, with the symbols used in initiation, *Opera*, i. 15. See Macrobian *Saturn.* i. 19; Statius, *Theb.* i. 720; Claudian. *Laud. Stilich.* i. 63.

² Haddan, "Councils," i. 10. "The statements respecting 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

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,¹ 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 foray² and to offer the bodies of Roman citizens as sacrifices to their bloodthirsty gods. Along the north-western coast and on the line of the Lower Wall we

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.

¹ The "Notitia Imperii" 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." *Celtic Scotl.* 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.

² Compare the descriptions of the Pictish invasion under David King of Scotland in A.D. 1138. "In the work of destruction no rank or age and neither sex was spared; children were butchered before the faces of their parents, husbands in sight of their wives and wives in sight of their husbands. Noble women and girls were carried away with the other plunder, bound by ropes and thongs and goaded along with the points of spears and lances. The barbarous Picts dragged away their captives without mercy into their own country . . . either retaining them as slaves or selling them like cattle to the other savages." *Ric. Hagustald.* (*Hexham Chron.*) 318; *Whitaker's Craven* (*Morant*), 13, 14.

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 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.¹

In the year 368 the Court at Trèves was startled by the news that the "Duke of Britain" had perished in a frontier ambuscade, and that the Count Nectaridus had been defeated and slain in a battle on the "Saxon Shore."² The Picts and Attacotti and the Scots from the Irish sea-board had broken through the Walls and were devastating the Northern Provinces;³ the coasts nearest to Gaul were attacked by the Franks and their neighbours the Saxons, who were ravaging the South with fire and sword.⁴

¹ "Mos est remeaturis decimum quemque captorum per æquales et cruciarias pœnas, plus ob hoc tristi quam superstitioso ritu, necare." Sidon. Apollin. viii. 3.

² Ammian. Marcell. xxvii. 8; xxviii. 3.

³ The Picts were at this time divided into two nations called the "Vecturiones" and the "Dicaledonæ." For a discussion on the meaning of these names, see Skene, *Celt. Scot.* i. 129.

⁴ "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.

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 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.¹

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

¹ Zosimus, iv. 35; Sozomen. vii. 13.

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 career of Maximus seems to have deeply impressed the Britons, whose later poets were never tired of telling how he married a lady of the island, how St. Ursula and her virgins followed his victorious army to the Rhine, and how when he was slain "at the foaming waters of the Save" his soldiers settled in Gaul and founded a Lesser Britain across the sea, "from the tarn on the Mont Saint Bernard (then the Mountain of Jupiter) to Cantguic in Picardy and as far to the west as 'Cruc-occident,' the great *tumulus* upon the shore of Armorica."¹

The Britons of a later age found consolation in thinking that the defeat of Maximus in Pannonia, and the loss of the army which he had led from their shores, were the proximate causes of the English Conquest.² It is probable enough 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. There seems to be no sufficient evidence for believing that the Irish had established themselves in settlements along the coast of Wales, or were driven away

¹ Zosimus, iv. 35; Nennius, Hist. Brit. 23; Gildas, Hist. 13; Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 12. The Welsh Chroniclers traced the pedigrees of the princes of Gwent and Powis, of Cumbria and Strathclyde, from Constantine, son of Maximus by "Helen of the Mighty Hosts." See the Mabinogion for the "Dream of Macsen Wledig," and Book V. of Geoffrey of Monmouth for one version of the legend of St. Ursula.

² "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. 14.

by that "King Cunedda" whom the Welsh regard as the head of so many of their princely pedigrees.¹ But it is clear that at least on two occasions at the end of the fourth century, fixed with reasonable certainty in the years 396 and 400, the coasts were again attacked by the Saxons, and the country between the Walls was occupied by the northern invaders 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."²

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 Spain compelled the feeble Court of Ravenna to confirm the usurper's title: but a period of anarchy followed which

¹ Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 8; compare the passage in the appended Genealogies: "Cunedag cum filiis suis . . . venerat prius de sinistrali parte, id est de regione quæ vocatur Manau Guotodin 146 annis antequam Mailcun regnabat, et Scotos cum ingentissimâ clade expulerunt ab istis regionibus," &c. For a discussion of the subject see the "Vestiges of the Gael in Gwynedd," by Dr. Basil Jones, Bishop of St. David's.

² Claudian, *Tert. Cons. Hon.* 55, cf. *Prim. Cons. Stilichon.* ii. 250 and *De Bell. Getic.* 416. See the account by Gildas of the Irish "Curraghs," "emergunt certatim de *curicis*," and of the Picts and Scots, "moribus ex parte dissidentes, sed unâ eâdemque sanguinis fundendi aviditate concordēs." Gildas, *Hist.* 19.

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.¹

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."² The final dismissal 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 good-will of the soldiers there and in all parts of the world, Honorius dwelt at ease."³

¹ Zosimus, vi. 5.

² 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 those passages of Olympiodorus which are preserved in the collections of Photius.

³ 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 Ceaulin—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.¹

¹ 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 Germanus compiled by the learned priest of Lyons.¹

The very celebrity of the event is a proof of the general ill-fortune of the Britons. The two bishops had been sent

¹ Prosper Aquit. Chron. *anno* 429; Constantius, Vita Germani. 28; Bede, Hist. Eccl. i. 17; Usher, Primord. 333; Rees, Welsh Saints, 122; Haddan, 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. ii. 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, 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":¹ 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

¹ 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.¹ It is possible, indeed, that the appeal was never made, and that the whole 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 which is usually received is based in part on the statements in the histories of Gildas and Nennius and in part upon Chronicles which seem to owe much to lost heroic 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. The poems of the sixth century, at any rate in the form in which they have descended to our times, are too vague and obscure to be useful for the purposes of history.² 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 must admire, without localising the incidents, the elegies on "the cold Hall of Cyndylan," on the graves which "the rain bedews and the thicket

¹ Gildas, *Hist.* 20; Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 13. See the poem by Mero-baudes on the Third Consulate of Aetius, *Carm.* v. 5, 8, and Sidon. *Apoll. Carm.* i. 192.

² On the whole subject of these poems, see Skene's "Four Ancient Books of Wales," from which the translations in the text are adapted, and compare Aneurin's "Gododin," in Ab Ithel's edition, and the criticisms in Nash's "Taliesin" and Stephens's "Literature of the Cymry."

covers," on the red and dappled chargers of the brave Geraint. Aneurin's 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 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."¹ We shall therefore say but little of the doings of the Blameless King who "thrust the

¹ 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.

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 war with the Princes of the Angles in Northumbria; but his glory is 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 historical 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."¹

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

¹ 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.

of Ambrosius," told in the language of the prophet who saw "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 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."¹

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, who had worn the imperial purple, had

¹ 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 Llandevennec in the National Library in Paris. Full extracts will be found in the Appendices to the Histories of Brittany by Halléguen and Du Courson.

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 by the favour of heaven they have gained a victory in answer to their prayers."¹ "So 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

¹ Aurelius Conan, the King of Powisland who is attacked so violently in the "Epistle" of Gildas, appears to have been one of the descendants of Ambrosius. Another was Pascent, who reigned in Builth and Guerthrynion, according to the tradition preserved in Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 48.

“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” show 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.”¹

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

¹ 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, *Archæol.* (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.

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 free in his gifts, longing before the nobles his greatness to raise and his lordship to show."¹

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."² 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

¹ "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.

² Ethelwerd, *Chron.* i. 1.

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 that burden and sought for safety in flight, and the Saxons took the victory and the triumph and spoil of the battle."¹

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 and 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 islands" which have been identified with parts of the North-Friesland Coast. The Ravenna Geographer was quite accurate in saying that their country "touched upon Denmark."² 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

¹ *Henr. Hunt.* ii. 1. Bede uses the expression "sumpsere victoriam," a paraphrase of the vernacular idiom showing that he copied from some Anglian original. *Hist. Eccl.* i. 15; *Guest, Early Engl. Sett.* 47.

² *Ravennas*, iv. 17; *Bede, Hist. Eccl.* v. 11. The modern names of the districts identified with the "Saxon Islands" are Nordstrand, Harde, and Eiderstedt. *Lappenberg, Hist. Engl.* i. c. 5.

described as the home of his forefathers extended across the country of the Bructeri 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 occupied the regions which were united in the Kingdom of Kent, a separate kingdom 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.¹

"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 marchland 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

¹ 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."

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."¹

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 Nairthus the Earth-goddess 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

¹ See King Alfred's Orosius, c. 20, and "The voyage of Othere out of his Country of Halgoland," in Hakluyt's Collection. The description in Ethelwerd's Chronicle dates from about the end of the 10th century.

one cared to believe it, are purified in a lonely lake, and the slaves who do the work are straightway drowned in its waters."¹

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 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."²

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."³ 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

¹ Tac. Germ. 40. His "Anglii" are described as belonging to the Semnones, the chief of the Suevic nations. They are called "Angili-Suevi" by Ptolemy.

² 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.

³ *Henr. Hunt. Hist.* ii. 17.

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."¹ There is nothing unreasonable in supposing that isolated 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.² 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, or on a passage in the fantastic description of the "Island of Brittia" by Procopius.³

¹ Lappenberg, *Hist. Engl.* i. c. 6.

² See Skene's "Early Frisian Settlements," *Proc. Soc. Antiqu.* iv. 169; Lappenberg, *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.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 9. Compare the Life of Suibert cited by Lappenberg: "Egbertus sitiens salutem Frisonum et Saxonum eo quod

The recurrence of local names based on similar patronymic forms in many parts of England and in most of the northern countries has been often regarded as a proof that our villages were in fact the colonies or the offshoots of a multitude of tribes. Such a name as "Swaffham," for instance, is taken to imply the presence of Sueves, "Thorrington" that of Thuringians, and "Wending" of the Wends. But the wideness and ease of the theory are warnings of the danger of accepting it, for it has been used with equal facility 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 in a tomb at Hilda's-Lowe. It is simpler to suppose that these local names are derived from those of families named either after a living founder, as the "Æscings" from Eric the Ash, or after some god or

Angli ab eis propagati sunt, &c." When the whole passage from Procopius is examined it will be found to have little historical importance. He distinguishes "Brittia" from Britannia, as we have already seen, *ante* 84, 85, and proceeds to the following effect. "Brittia is inhabited by three very populous nations, each governed by its king: these are the Angili, the Frisones, and the Brittones who take their name from the island: and so great is the fecundity of these nations that vast numbers migrate from them every year and go with their wives and children to the Franks, who settle them in the desert parts of the country: and it is said that the Franks lay claim to the island itself on this account; and indeed, not long since, when the King of the Franks sent ambassadors to the Emperor Justinian at Byzantium, he sent some of the Angili with them, pretending that this island was a part of his own dominions." Procop. Bell. Get. iv. c. 20.

hero from the common mythological stock. The names of the tribal form seem in reality to denote the settlements of the nobles : but 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, any more than we are bound to assign a common origin to all the kings who called themselves Children of Woden, or of those more shadowy forms 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 "Hunlífing, a war-flame and best of axes," and how the king and his castle were destroyed by fire and the edge of the sword.¹ The glee-man sang the victories of Hengist 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 to Beowulf and "Scyld" who defended the Danes, to the swift Hermoder and to "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 Chronicler, "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

¹ *Beowulf*, 1083, 1096, 1127.

chose him for king: and it was from him that our Ethelwulf traced his pedigree."¹

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 terror fled to London-Burgh."² The last battle is de-

¹ For the complete pedigrees, in which the name of Woder appears half-way down, see the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the years 547, 560, 855, the genealogies appended to "Nennius" and to the Chronicle of Florence of Worcester, and in Asser's Life of Alfred: 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 god who gave 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.

² 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.

scribed 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."¹ "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."²

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,³ "Vortimer fought fiercely 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

¹ *Henr. Hunt.* ii. 4.

² *A. S. Chron. ann.* 465, 473.

³ *Nennius, Hist. Brit.* 43, 44.

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 principal 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."¹

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 Roman alphabet.² But if there were such a memorial, its

¹ "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.

² "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." Rhÿs, *Lectures*, 321. The others were formed by modifying those which had been first adopted. Professor Rhÿs has traced the connection between the "Ogam" alphabet used in the funeral inscriptions in many parts of Ireland Scotland and Wales and occasionally in Devon and Cornwall, and an alphabet of the same kind which seems to have been used by the Germans before they adopted the Runic characters. *Ibid.* 312, 346. The order of the letters in the "Ogam" alphabet is shown to have a Phœnician origin, and it is suggested in the same lectures that the

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

knowledge of the oral value though not of the form of the letters may have come to the Germans by the trading-routes between the Euxine or Mediterranean and the Baltic. The "Ogam" inscriptions now remaining date mostly from the 5th and 6th centuries. They have been interpreted by the help of bilingual specimens in Wales where they were often supplemented by a Latin version or intermixed with Latin words. They consist of sentences engraved on the edges or faces of pillars and monoliths. An edge or angle of the stone forms a base-line on which the cuts are made. The consonants are represented by groups of straight or oblique lines crossing or resting on the base-lines, and the vowels by cuts or notches. The "Ogam" characters, like the later Runes, were used for purposes of sorcery. See the full account of the origin and nature of this mode of writing in the Lectures above-cited and copies of the inscriptions in Brash's "Ogam Inscribed Monuments." See also Keysler, *Antiqu. Septentr.* 38, 39, and the Essay on the "Ogam and Scythian Letters" by Dr. Graves, Bishop of Limerick.

settled for almost all the events in the legend of Hengist and Horsa.¹

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 death with Ambrosius, or if "Duke Horsus" fell at Aylesford beneath a giant's blow, "λελασμενος ιπποσυνάων." We are told that the evidence for their actual existence is "at least as strong as the suspicion of their mythical character."² 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."³ Kemble thought that we could hardly do otherwise than deify the chieftains, seeing beneath the myth "Woden in the form of a horse" or some such god-like or "half-godlike form."⁴ There seems however to be no valid 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:⁵ 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.

¹ *Ante*, p. 131. Camden, Brit. 251; Lambarde, Perambul. Kent, 409; Philipot, Vill. Cantian. 48; Hasted, Hist. Kent, ii. 177; *Archæol.* ii. 107.

² Freeman, Norm. Conquest, i. 10.

³ Tac. Germ. 10.

⁴ Kemble, "Saxons in England," i. 19.

⁵ 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," *Archæol.* (Winchester, 1845).

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.¹ All the old stories are fastened on his 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 at 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.²

¹ Numerous examples will be found in the *Codex Diplomaticus*. Compare the names of Hengistbury Head, Hengstdown in Cornwall, Hinxworth, and Henstridge ("Hengestes-rieg") 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 prolatum est *æt Hengestes iŷe*," &c. These "cassates" or "householders' lands" are called "búrland" in the schedule of boundaries. *Cod. Diplom.* 1216; *Leo. Rect. Sing.* Person. 6.

² *Beowulf*, 227, 1083, 1096, 1127. For the "Fight at Finnesburg,"

The Chroniclers next record the beginning of the conquest 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.¹

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. Gale, XV Script. 533. 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 temple of "Warns" or Woden at Doccum. Hamcon. Frisia, 33; Suffrid. Antiqu. Fris. ii. 11; Kemp. Hist. Fris. ii. 21, 22.

¹ *Ante* p. 91; 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; and this monastery and the newer foundation at Selsey were afterwards united in the Bishopric of Chichester. Lappenberg quotes the

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.¹ The Chroniclers however confine themselves 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."²

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.

¹ The following grants are printed by Kemble. Nothelm, King of the 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" at Wystrings, *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.

² A. S. Chron. *ann.* 477, 485, 491. The three sons of Ælle were

The sack of Anderida is a sign of the blind ferocity which distinguished the first invasions. A few ruins near Pevensey were long shown to travellers as all that remained of the "noble city."¹ Many of the towns and castles 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.² 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.³

called Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa. The name of the last is preserved in that of "Cissanceastir" or Chichester, formerly the City of the Regni.

¹ "Ita urbem destruxerunt quod nunquam postea reædificata est; locus tantum quasi nobilissimæ urbis transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus." Henr. Hunt. ii. 10.

² Tac. Germ. c. 16; Ammian. Marcell. xvi. 2, 12.

³ 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 "Derwentio," *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 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

The people as they became more civilized began to regard these remnants of the past with feelings of wonder 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."¹

See of Rochester: "Justum . . . ordinavit in civitate Dorubrevi quam gens Anglorum a primario quondam illius, qui dicebatur Hrof, Hrofæs-cæstre 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.* 1.

¹ 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

We now pass to the rise of the House of Cerdic and the foundation of the little states of the "Gevissæ" 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 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.¹ 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.² The

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.

¹ 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.

² 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 county-court on this view represents the national assembly of an extinct Kingdom, and the hundred-court the assembly of one of its original districts.

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 the states and shires.¹

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, born of the line of Balder the Fair, the brightest of the offspring of Woden.² We are told in one account that

¹ "Tradunt . . . (Francos) primum quidem littora Rheni annis incoluisse: dehinc transacto Rheno Thoringiam transmeasse ibique juxta pagos vel civitates reges crinitos super se creavisse de primâ et, ut dicitur, nobiliori suorum familiâ." Greg. Turon. Hist. Franc. ii. 9. The 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.

² With respect to this claim of divine descent we may use the saying of 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 lecturis 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,

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 attempts to break the pirates' line.¹ We are shown the spot where they disembarked, by a headland at the mouth of a stream that falls into Southampton Bay,² and can trace their advance along the coast, the places where they fought in the forest and by the ford on the Avon, and their overthrow of the King in whom some have recognised the majestic figure of Ambrosius. "Now came two Aldormen

præter duos . . . originem traxerint." Gesta. i. 44. And again of Hengist and Horsa he says: "erant abnepotes illius antiquissimi Woden, de quo omnium penè barbararum gentium regium genus lineam trahit," *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.

¹ "Insulani audacter in eos irruebant et sine persecutione revertebantur, advenis quippe nunquam locum deserentibus: sic irruendo et redeundo bellatum est, donec noctis tenebræ litem diremerunt. Inventis igitur Saxonibus asperis, Britanni se retraxerunt et neutrâ ex parte habita est victoria." Henr. Hunt. ii. 11.

² "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 fiz
Engleis l'appellèrent Chenriz;
Hors e Henges fu lur aneestre
Sicom conte la Veraie Geste."*

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."¹ "And on that day," says the historian, "a great 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."²

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

¹ 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 several places near the New Forest, as Netton and Netley. Compare the form "Natan-gráfum" or "Netgrove," Kemble, *Cod. Diplom.* 90.

² *Henr. Hunt.* ii. 17.

flight. "Now in the early dawn the Britons had drawn up their forces in most perfect battle-array: and while they moved slowly and cautiously on, some by the mountain and some by the plain, lo! the sun arose and smote with his rays on their gilded shields so that the hills shone all around and the air gleamed: and the Saxons feared with a great fear as they drew on to battle. But when the shock of meeting came, the strength of the Britons was broken, because God had contemned them: and the victory of the Saxons became manifest 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."¹

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.²

¹ *Henr. Hunt.* ii. 14. Stuf and Wihtgar are called the nephews of Cerdic, whose sister may have been married to a Jutish prince. It is possible however that interpolations were made in the Chronicle to adapt it to the history of the royal family of Wessex. The line of Stuf and Wihtgar 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 Whitgara-burgh (Carisbrook): for the other inhabitants of the island had either been slain or had escaped into exile." *Vita Alfred.* 2.

² "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

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."¹

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.² A few years afterwards three British kings were slain at the decisive battle of Deorham, and the fortresses of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester fell into the hands of the English.³ It was to these exploits that

. . . 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 prælii robur annales ad invidiam efferunt, quippe qui fuerit Anglis stupori, Britonibus odio, utrisque exitio." *Gesta*. i. 17.

¹ *Henr. Hunt*. ii. 22.

² *A. S. Chron. ann.* 571. "Now Cutha (*aliter* 'Cuthwulf') fought against the Britons at Bedford and took four towns." These places are usually identified with Lenborough a hamlet near Buckingham, Aylesbury, Bensington, and Ensham. *Kemble, Saxons in Engl.* ii. 295. *Guest's Early English Settlements, Archaeol.* (Salisbury, 1849) 71.

³ *A. S. Chron. ann.* 577. "Now Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against

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.¹

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 which is attributed to Llywarch the Aged, marched from Pengwern near Shrewsbury to the "lusty white town" by the Wrekin. The poet mourns over the death of the King Cyndylan 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

the Britons, and they slew three kings, Commail and Condidan and Farinmail at the place which is called Deorham, and took three cities from them, Gloucester and Cirencester and Bath." "Deorham" is now Derham in Gloucestershire. The descent of Farinmail King of Builth is traced to Vortigern in "Nennius." Hist. Brit. 49.

¹ Freeman, Norm. Conqu. i. 27. Opinions differ as to the meaning of the word Bretwalda. Palgrave and Lappenberg take it as equivalent to "ruler of Britain": Kemble construes it "broad-ruling," and sees 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 by some means even in the lifetime of Ethelbert, and the three great Northumbrian kings, Edwin, Oswald and Oswy, whose supremacy however did not extend to Kent. The Chronicle adds the name of Egbert of Wessex, in whose case the name was probably 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.

flesh of Cyndylan!" And he laments over the ruined towers, the broken shields and blood upon the fallows, and the churches burning beside the red clover fields.¹

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."² 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.³ 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.⁴

¹ 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," including an account of a defeat on the Wye by a king called from his hermitage to drive away the invaders with his "resistless glance." *Lib. Lland.* 133, 134.

² A. S. Chron. *anno* 584. The battle was fought at "Fethan-lea," which is thought to be Frethern in the Valley of the Severn.

³ 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.

⁴ Mr. Freeman considers that the "cession of the country of the 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 Buřford in the year 752. Dr. Plot gave 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.¹ 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."²

At the end of the 6th century Wessex had been restored

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.

¹ Will. Malmesb. *Gesta*, i. 17. See the authorities cited by 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 Aldormen, Oslaf and Cnebba, at Wibban-dûn" (Wimbledon). *A. S. Chron. anno* 568.

² *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 neighbouring hamlet of "Cold Friday" retains a trace of the name of the goddess who was "Woden's wife." *Hist. Kent*, iv. 230.

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 Angles and Welsh and against the Picts and Scots."¹

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.² The two East-Anglian "Folks" were governed by Redwald the Uffing, a prince at that time subordinate like the rest to King Ethelbert,

¹ 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.

² See Bede's account of the conversion of Essex by Mellitus: "provinciæ Orientalium Saxonum quorum metropolis Lundonia civitas est . . . in quâ videlicet gente Saberct, nepos CEdilbercti ex sorore Riculâ, regnabat quamvis sub potestate positus ejusdem CEdilbercti." Hist. Eccl. ii. 3. According to some accounts Ercenwine or CEswine 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" which was 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.

but destined within a few years to succeed to his wide prerogative.¹ 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.² 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 North-Mercians, 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;³ and there were Angles besides of the West and South, and Middle-Anglians whose country was conterminous with the ancient Diocese of Leicester, and "Peak-settlers" and "Chiltern-settlers" and many other tribes whose positions can no longer be identified.⁴

¹ 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 citrà Humbram fluvium cum suis regibus ejus nutum spectabant." *Gesta*, i. 97.

² 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*.

³ 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.

⁴ Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 80, 84; *Freeman, Norm. Conqu.* i. 25,

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 song, "the death of Anna was avenged, and the deaths of Sigbert and Egrice, and the deaths of St. Oswald and Edwin the Fair."¹

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.² Both countries were governed by judges, presiding over ten associated districts, until Ida set up a kingdom in Bernicia, and built himself a royal city at Bamborough "which at first was enclosed by a hedge and

37. Compare also the list called "*Numerus Hidarum*" under "*Hida*" in Spelman's Glossary, and Gale, i. 748.

¹ There were kings of the North-Mercians before Penda: but he was the first ruler of the united Midland Kingdom. Henr. Hunt. 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 infrendit, '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.

² See the "genealogies" appended to the history of Nennius. Hist. Brit. 56, 57, 62.

afterwards by a wall.”¹ In those days, we are told, a prince called Dutigirn fought bravely against the nation of the Angles, and Aneurin and Taliesin 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.²

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 ravin 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.”³ In the

¹ 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.

² Skene, *Four Anc. Books*, 348, 350, 366.

³ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 34; Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 63. Æthelfrith, surnamed by the Welsh “Flesaurs” or “the Destroyer,” was son of Æthelric, one of the sons of Ida, who in 588 had succeeded in his old age to the inheritance which Ælle had usurped. Will. Malmesb. Gesta, i. 46.

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."¹

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 bead-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.² 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.³ 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 swords" and long rough-handled spears, "and over the

¹ 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.

² A. S. Chron. *ann.* 501, 530.

³ Beowulf, 219, 229, 231.

face the likeness of a boar, of divers colours, hardened in the fire, to keep the life in safety.”¹ 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.² 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 fore-castle 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 sat on deck in his scarlet cloak: and when the swords became notched and blunted “he went down into the fore-

¹ *Beowulf*, 303, 305, 1229. Compare the account of the customs of the “Æstyri”: “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 sword or shield, would give safety to the servants of the Goddess, even in the midst of their foes.”—*Tac. Germ.* 45.

² *Sidon. Apoll. Epist.* viii. 3, 13.

hold and opened the chests under the throne and took out many sharp swords and handed them to his men.”¹ 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.”² 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 hands 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.”³ 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 band was honoured at home and abroad, and enriched with public gifts, “armlets and raiment and rings.” Even the

¹ 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.

² Tac. *Germ.* 14; *Beow.* 2633, 2709.

³ Thorpe, *Cod. Exon.* 286.

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."¹

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 reward for service. As the chiefs increased in dignity, the

¹ Tac. Germ. 13, 14; Beow. 1195, 1196, 1218.

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.¹

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."²

¹ Kemble, "Saxons in England," i. 178, 183; Freeman, *Norm. Conq.* i. 95.

² Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 322; *Cod. Diplom.* 461, 1077. See also the "*Rectitudines singularum personarum*," in the editions by 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 copyhold.¹ 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. r. 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. r. 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 she-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.

¹ 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 the 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.¹ 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 Trêves, 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 originally been held once in three years but afterwards at

rendered by *fratrueles*." Kemble, Saxons in England, i. 89. Compare the use of "mæg-burg" for a village belonging to kinsmen, Beow. 2887.

¹ The question as to the dimensions of the "hide" has been a fruitful subject of controversy. It was 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 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.

longer intervals. 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 and removal 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.¹

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, the admission of a new commoner to the customary privi-

¹ It is said that the Inclosure Commissioners have 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 the arable land appears to have been described as "*Terra lottabilis*." See on the whole subject, Nasse's *Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages*, and his Essay already quoted, *Contemp. Rev.* May, 1872. 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." Sir Henry Maine has pointed out how "the ancient type of ownership long served as the model for tenancy, and the common holdings, dying out as property, survived as occupations." See also his *Early History of Institutions*, 76, 77, and Mr. Morier's description of the German communities in the "Reports on the tenure of land in different countries," published by the Government in 1869.

lege, the drawing for portions in the lot-meadows and dole-moors, were so many occasions for gathering at a rustic feast.¹ It was not unusual for pièces of the common 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 being applied in others to public uses, as to mend bridges and gates, or "to make ale for the merry-meeting of the inhabitants."²

Some 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.³ In the latter class we may place the customs of whipping the fruit-trees in Spring, of eating the "Easter-hare," of leaping and clashing swords in the "giants' dance" and calling on the names of Woden

¹ 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.

² The customs of the township of Cote and Aston are described in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. 471, and xxxvii. 383, by Dr. Giles in his History of Bampton and by Professor Williams in his published lectures, "Rights of Common," Lect. 7.

³ For the connection of the boar's-head ceremony with the worship of Freá or Freyr, see Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 45; Kemble, *Sax.* 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 the places.

and Freia.¹ 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 of a ring was placed with many ceremonies on the horns of the principal ox."²

¹ For the custom of beating the trees for luck, see Hasted's description of "youling the trees" in Kent, and an account of a similar usage at Warlingham in Suffolk, Hazlitt, *Tenures*, 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 Hallerton in Leicestershire, *ibid.* 78, 141. At the latter place the profits of land called Harecrop Leys were applied to providing a meal which was thrown on the ground at the "Hare-pie Bank." These customs were probably 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 Frigga (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" &c. *ibid.* 280, and Stallybrass' *Transl.* 304.

² *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1791; Hazlitt, *Tenures*, 131, 156. Similar customs

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;¹ 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 white bulls, white hares, the goose driven round the fire, and a red rose for all services or a chaplet of roses on the Feast of St. John.²

are found in Montenegro; and a wheel-shaped cake called a *kolatch* is used in all the Christmas festivities: in certain villages they fix the cake above the threshing-floor; "next they go to the stall where the 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 and the oxen especially will be strong and lusty." Evans, "Christmas and Ancestor-worship in the Black Mountain." Macmill. Mag. Jan. 1881, 233. Similar offerings are made to the "chief goat," and to the fowls and fruit-trees, *ibid.* 228, 229.

¹ 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 Saxonîâ *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.

² Grimm, Deutsch. Mythol. 52. For the payment of a white bull, see Hazlitt's Tenures, under the names 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 instance of the goose, see Plot, Hist. Staff. 423. For the rent of the red rose, which was generally payable on the same feast-day, see Hazlitt's Tenures, 21, 57, 125, 295, 323; Rot Parl. i. 100*b*, 178*b*, 179, 451*a*

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.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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

¹ See the authorities collected in Keyser's "Antiquitates Septentrionales," in Grimm's "Deutsche Mythologie," and Kemble's "Saxons in England," i. c. 12, with its appendix, and compare Cockayne's "Leechdoms of Early England," published under the authority of the Master of the Rolls.

² "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 those of "Thunreslea" in the Jutish districts in 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.

³ 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 Dis Germ.* 493.

public assemblies held.¹ 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 solstice; but the year began on "mothers' night," now Christmas Eve, when the women took part in a nocturnal watch.² 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.³ 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, in November was 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.⁴

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

¹ Grimm, *Rechts-Alterth.* 245, 745, 821, 825, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 38.

² 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."

³ Kemble cites the chapter in the "Penitential of Theodore" devoted to the 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.

⁴ Bede, *De Temp. Rat. c.* 12; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 32, 34, 35.

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, and of Augustine in his journey to the West breaking to pieces the image of a god which was adored by the villagers.¹ The local 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.² Bede records the power of the priests, and the rules by which they were restrained from active service in war.³ His friend

¹ 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, Brit. 56 ; Will. Malmesb. Gesta Pontificum, 142.

² 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 abhominatæ templo regum paganorum, a Sabertho prædivite quodam sub-regulo Londoniæ, nepote videlicet ipsius regis constructa est."—Cod. Diplom, 555 ; Eádgar, 969 ; MSS. Cotton. Titus, A. viii. 4 ; Stow, Surv. Lond. 850 ; Dugd. Monast. i. 265, 291 ; Stanley, Mem. Westm. Abb. 10.

³ "Mellitum vero Lundonienses episcopum recipere noluerunt, idolatris magis pontificibus servire gaudentes." Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 6. "Non licuerat pontificem sacrorum vel arma ferre vel præter in equâ equitare," *ibid.* ii. 15.

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 were offered to Woden.¹ 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 speaks throughout as one of the royal officers, and complains that others have received more favours and dignities, though no one had ever applied himself more carefully 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

¹ "Atque in eodem fano et altare haberet ad sacrificium Christi et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum." Bede, Hist. Eccl. ii. 15. 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, 10; Laing, Sea-Kings of Norway, i. 329.

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.¹

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.² But Wilfrid returned, as we have seen, to accomplish the conversion of his enemy; 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."³

During the greater part of the century which followed the coming of Augustine, the people of each kingdom

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 13; Grimm, *Deutsch. Mythol.* 72. Compare Gudbrand's speech, when his image of Thor was destroyed: "We have lost a good deal on our god, but as he will not help us we will believe in the God in whom you trust." *Heimskringla, St. Olaf's Saga*, c. 119; and compare cc. 212, 228. A parallel to the high-priest's reasoning may be found in the history of the conversion of Sweden. *Vita Anschar.* c. 27.

² "Quem . . . sicut Goliath in arenosis locis mors incerta prævenit." *Ædde, Vita Wilfrid, Dec. Script.* 57.

³ *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 Hwicca. *Bede, Hist. Ecc.* iv. 12.

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.¹ 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.

¹ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 30; ii. 5, 15; iii. 3; iv. 27; *Epist. ad Ecgbert*, 5. 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 THE GEOGRAPHY OF NORTHERN AND WESTERN EUROPE.

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|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Short passages relating to the
Voyage of Pytheas. | 8. Tacitus. |
| 2. The Aristotelian Writings. | 9. Solinus. |
| 3. Julius Cæsar. | 10. Dionysius Periegetes. |
| 4. Diodorus Siculus. | 11. Marcian of Heraclea. |
| 5. Strabo. | 12. Rufus Festus Avienus. |
| 6. Pomponius Mela. | 13. The Ravenna Geographer. |
| 7. Pliny the Elder. | 14. Dicuil the Monk. |
| | 15. Gassendi. |

I. SHORT PASSAGES RELATING TO THE
VOYAGE OF PYTHEAS.

a. COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES. (Montfaucon. Coll. Pat. ii. 149.)

Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὠκεανοῦ οὕτως φησὶν ὡς ὅτι παραγενομένη αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς βορειοτάτοις τόποις ἐδείκνυον οἱ αὐτόθι βάρβαροι τὴν ἡλίου κόιτην, ὡς ἐκεῖ τῶν νυκτῶν ἀεὶ γινομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς.

b. PLUTARCH. De placitis Philosophorum.

Πυθέας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης, τῇ πληρώσει τῆς σελήνης τὰς πλημμύρας γίνεσθαι, τῇ δὲ μείωσει τὰς ἀμπώτιδας.

c. CLEOMEDES. Cycl. Theor., Lib. i. c. 7.

Περὶ τὴν Θούλην καλουμένην νῆσον, ἐν ᾗ γεγονέναι φασὶ Πυθέα τὸν Μασσαλιώτην φιλόσοφον, ὄλον τὸν θερινὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς εἶναι λόγος, αὐτὸν καὶ ἀρκτικὸν εἶναι. Παρὰ τούτοις, ὅποταν ἐν καρκίνῳ ὁ ἥλιος ᾗ, μηνιαία γίνεται ἡ ἡμέρα, εἴ γε καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα τοῦ καρκίνου ἀειφανῆ ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τοῖς ἀειφανέσειν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἥλιος ἐστί.

d. HIPPARCHUS. Arat. Phaenom., Lib. i. c. 5.

Ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου οὐδὲ εἷς ἀστὴρ κείται, ἀλλὰ κενὸς ἐστὶ τόπος ᾧ παρακεῖνται τρεῖς ἀστέρες, μεθ' ὧν τὸ σημεῖον τὸ κατὰ τὸν πόλον τετράγωνον ἔγγιστα σχῆμα περιέχει· καθάπερ καὶ Πυθέας φησὶν ὁ Μασσαλιώτης.

e. Scholiast. APOLL. RHOD. iv. 761.

Ἐν τῇ Λιπάρᾳ καὶ Στρογγύλῃ (τῶν Αἰόλου δὲ νήσων αὗται) δοκεῖ ὁ Ἥφαιστος διατρίβειν. δι' ὃ καὶ πυρὸς βρόμον ἀκούεσθαι καὶ ἤχον σφοδρὸν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο, τὸν βουλούμενον ἀργὸν σίδηρον ἀποφέρειν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔριον ἐλθόντα λαμβάνειν ἢ ξίφος, ἢ εἴτι ἄλλο

ἤθελε κατασκευάσαι, καταβαλόντα μισθόν. ταῦτά φησι Πυθίας ἐν γῆς περιόδῳ, λέγων καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκεῖ ζεῖν.¹

f. GEMINUS. Elem. Astron. v. 22.

Φησὶ γοῦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ωκεανοῦ πεπραγματευμένοις αὐτῷ ὅτι ἰδέεικνον 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. Almagest. 2.

Ὁ παράλληλος ἀπέχει τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ μοιρῶν ζγ' καὶ γράφεται διὰ Θούλης τῆς νήσου· πρῶτος δ' ἔστιν οὗτος τῶν περισκιῶν καὶ ἔστιν ἐνταῦθα ὁ μὲν θερινὸς τροπικὸς ἀεὶ φανερός.

h. STEPHAN. BYZANTIN. De Urbibus.

᾽Ωστίωνες· ἔθνος παρὰ τῷ δυτικῷ ᾽Ωκεάνῳ οὓς Κοσσίνους ᾽Αρτεμίδωρος φησὶ Πυθίας ᾽Ωστιαίους.

ι. Νῦν γὰρ δὴ λυγρῇ τε καὶ ἀλγείνῃ κακότητι
 ᾽Εξομαι, ἦν νήσοισιν ᾽Ιέρνισιν ἄσσον ἴκωμαι.
 Εἰ γὰρ μὴ μ' ἐρεῖσιν ἐπιγναμψάντες ἄκρησιν
 Κόλπῳ ἔσω γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγετοῦ θαλάσσης
 ᾽Ιξέσθ', ἄμ πέλαγός κεν Ἀτλαντικὸν ἐκτὸς ἴκωμαι.

Orpheus. Argon. 1170

⓵. Οἷαν φέρει που καὶ Στράβων τὸν Πυθίαν,
 Θούλην διαγράφοντα, τὴν νῆσον λέγειν,
 Γῆν ἀέρα θάλασσαν οὐ πεφυκέναι,
 ᾽Εοικέναι δὲ πλεύμονι θαλασσίῳ,
 ᾽Οποῖα δεσμῷ τῶν ὄλων ὑπὴρ γμένω,
 Μήτ' οὔν πορευτῷ, μήτε πλωτῷ τὴν φύσιν.

Tzetzes.

¹ These five extracts are given in the order in which they occur in "Pythæe Massiliensis Fragmenta," by A. Arvedson : Upsala, 1824. The second is from one of the minor essays falsely attributed to Plutarch.

NOTE.¹

Omniū primus veterum scriptorū PYTHEAS *Thulen* nominat, quem etiā 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, quorū ideam Bibliotheca sua servavit PHOTIUS (Rothom. 1653, p. 355 sq.), ex PYTHEÆ narrationibus suarū quoque hausisse fabularū materiē, 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 Romana, Britanniam circumvecta, conspectam tradens, et CLAUDIANUS, Pictorū in Britannico bello cæsorū sanguine eam incaluisse canens, vix aliam quam Schettlandicarū insularū quandam notasse existimandi sunt. Thulen eadem etiā latitudine sitam accepit PTOLEMÆUS et STEPHANUS BYZANT. PROCOPIUS vero Scandinaviā sine dubio respexit. HENRICUS *Huntingdoniensis*, qui sæculo duodecimo vixit, Thulen extremam esse Orcadarū insularū asseruit. Ex quo vero Islandiā sæculo nono a Normannis fuit detecta, eadem, cum remotissimā versus septemtrionem illam statuerent, jam *Thules* nomine a plerisque prædicari cœpit, reliquis forsā præeunte ADAMO *Bremensi*, quem dein secuti fuerunt SAXO *Grammat.*, PONTANUS, HENDREICH, BOUGAINVILLE, MANNERT, ZEUNE etc. Alii recentiorū, ut D'ANVILLE et FORSTER Schettlandicarū insularū 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.*, 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. BYS. voc. Θούλη; PROCOP. *Hist. Goth.*,

¹ 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.

p. 260; HENR. *Huntingdoniensis, Histor.* L. i. 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; BOUGAINV. in *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, T. 19, p. 146; D'ANVILLE, *ib.* T. 37, p. 436; MANNERT, *Geogr. d. Griechen und Römer*, i. p. 83; ZEUNE, *Erdansichten*, Berl. 1820, p. 40; FORSTER, *Gesch. der Entdeckungen und Schiffahrten im Norden*, Frkf. 1784, p. 33; DALIN, *Svea Rikes Hist.* i. p. 58; LAGERBRING, *Svea Rikes Hist.*, i. 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. i. p. 511 sq.; CAMD. *Britann.* T. 2. p. 1482; GATTERER, *Univ. Gesch.*; CARLSTRÖM, *Diss. de Thule*, Holmiæ, 1673; GRUPEN, *Orig. Germ.*, i. 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, qua Scythiam alluit, quod nomen ejus gentis lingua significat congelatum.* PHILEMON *narrat Morimarusam a Cimbris vocari, hoc est mortuum mare, usque ad promontorium Rubeas: ultra deinde Cronium.*—TACIT. *de Moribus Germ.* c. 45: *Trans Scionas, aliud mare pigrum, ac prope immotum.* Ap. DIONYS. *Perieg.*; v. 32, 33 legitur:

Πόντον μὲν καλέουσι πεπηγότα τέ, κρόνιον τε
 "Ἄλλοι δ' αὖ καὶ νεκρὸν ἐφήμισαν, εἴνεκ' ἄφουροῦ
 'Ἡελίου.

Ap. ORPH. *Argonaut.* v. 1079, 1080.

"Ἐμπεσε δ' Ὀκεανῷ, Κρόνιον δ' ἐπικικλήσκουσι
 Πόντον Ὑπερβορέην μέροςες, Νεκρὴν τε θάλασσαν.

Quos retulimus scriptores, omnes omnia hæc nomina ex PYTHIÆ *Massil.* mutuati sunt, qui ipse sine dubio a Celticis vel Geticis incolis illa audita exceperit. Morimarusam 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, l. c. p. 73; SCHLÖZER, p. 114; FORSTER, p. 34; ARVEDSON, p. 21.

II. ARISTOTLE (and writers using his name).

Τὰ δ' ἕξω στηλῶν βράχαι μὲν διὰ τὸν πηλόν· ἄπνοα δ' ἐστὶν ὡς ἐν κοίλῳ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐσης.—Meteor. ii.

The following extracts, relating to the natural history of Western and Northern Europe, were wrongly ascribed to Aristotle. They are extracted from the Book of Wonderful Stories (*De Miris Auscultationibus*).

Ἐν δὲ Σκύθαις τοῖς καλουμένοις Γελωνοῖς φασὶ θήριον γίνεσθαι, σπάνιον μὲν ὑπερβολῆ, ὃ ὀνομάζεται τάρανδος. Λέγεται δὲ τοῦτο μεταβάλλειν τὰς χροῖας τῶν τριχῶν καθ' ὃν ἂν καὶ τόπον ᾗ. Εἶναι δὲ διὰ τε τοῦτο δυσθήρατον, καὶ διὰ τὴν μεταβολήν. Καὶ γὰρ δένδρεσι καὶ τόποις, καὶ ὄλως ἐν οἷς ἂν ᾗ, τοιοῦτον τῇ χροῖᾳ γίνεσθαι. Θαυμάσιώτατον δὲ, τὸ τὴν τρίχα μεταβάλλειν· τὰ γὰρ λοιπὰ, τὸν χρώτα, οἶον ὃ τε χαμαιλέων καὶ ὁ πολύπους· τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ὡσανεὶ βούρ. Τοῦ δὲ προσώπου τὸν τύπον ὅμοιον ἔχει ἐλάφω.—Ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ τῇ ἕξω Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν, φασὶν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων νῆσον εὑρεθῆναι ἐρήμην, ἔχουσαν ὕλην τε παντοδαπὴν, καὶ ποταμοὺς πλωτοὺς, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς καρποῖς θαυμαστὴν, ἀπέχουσαν δὲ πλειόνων ἡμερῶν· ἐν ᾗ ἐπιμισγομένων τῶν Καρχηδονίων πλεονάκις, διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐνίων γε μὴν καὶ οἰκούντων, τοὺς προεστῶτας τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀπείπασθαι θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν τοὺς εἰς αὐτὴν πλευσομένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας πάντας ἀφανίσαι, ἵνα μὴ διαγγέλλωσι, μηδὲ πλῆθος συστραφῆν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον κυρίας τύχης, καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων εὐδαιμονίαν ἀφέληται.—Ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας φασὶν ἕως τῆς Κελτικῆς καὶ Κελτολιγύων καὶ Ἰβήρων εἶναι τινα ὁδὸν Ἡράκλειαν καλουμένην. Δι' ἧς ἕαν τε Ἕλληνας, ἕαν τε ἐγχωρίους τις πορεύηται, τηρεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πυροκούντων, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆ. Τὴν γὰρ ζημίαν ἐκτίνειν καθ' οὗς γένηται τὸ ἀδίκημα.—Τοὺς πρώτους τῶν Φοινίκων ἐπὶ Ταρτησοῦν πλεύσαντας λέγεται τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον ἀντιφορτίσασθαι, ἔλαιον καὶ ἄλλον ναυτικὸν ῥύπον εἰσαγαγόντας, ὥστε μηκέτι ἔχειν δύνασθαι μήτε ἐπιδέξασθαι τὸν ἄργυρον, ἀλλ' ἀναγκασθῆναι ἀποπλέοντας ἐκ τῶν τόπων τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα ἀρ-

γυρᾷ οἷς ἐχρῶντο, κατασκευάσασθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας πάσας. — Δέγουσι τοὺς Φοίνικας, τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὰ Γύδειρα καλούμενα, ἔξω πλείοντας Ἑρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπηλιώτη ἀνέμῳ ἡμέρας τέτταρας, παραγίνεσθαι εἰς τινὰς τόπους ἐρήμους, θρύου καὶ φύκους πλήρεις· οὐδς, ὅταν μὲν ἄμπωτις ἦ, [μὴ] βαπτίζεσθαι· ὅταν δὲ πλημμύρα, κατακλύζεσθαι· ἐφ' ὧν εὐρίσκεσθαι ὑπερβάλλον θύννων πλῆθος, καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ τοῖς πάχεσιν ἄπιστον, ὅταν ἐποκείλωσιν· οὐδς ταριχεύοντες καὶ συντιθέντες εἰς ἀγγεῖα, διακομίζουσιν εἰς Καρχηδόνα. Ὡν Καρχηδόμοι μόνον οὐ ποιοῦνται τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἦν ἔχουσι κατὰ τὴν βρῶσιν αὐτοὶ καταναλίσκουσιν.

III. C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

De Bell. Gall. iv. 20. Exigua parte æstatis reliqua, 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. Britannia pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis, qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant; qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum adpellantur, 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 Gallia est præter fagum atque abietem. Leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; hæc tamen alunt animi voluptatisque caussa. Loca sunt temperatiora, quam in Gallia, remissioribus frigoribus.

13. Insula natura triquetra, cujus unum latus est contra Galliam. Hujus lateris alter angulus, qui est ad Cantium, quo fere omnes ex Gallia naves adpelluntur, ad orientem solem; inferior ad meridiem spectat. Hoc latus tenet circiter millia passuum D. Alterum vergit ad Hispaniam atque occidentem solem, qua ex parte est Hibernia, dimidio minor, ut æstimatur, quam Britannia; sed pari spatio transmissus atque ex Gallia 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 bruma esse noctem. Nos nihil de eo percunctationibus reperiebamus, nisi certis ex aqua mensuris breviores esse, quam in continente, noctes videbamus. Hujus est longitudo lateris, ut fert illorum opinio, DCC. millium. Tertium est contra septentriones, 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 Gallica 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 pugna adpectu: capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa, 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.

21. Germani multum ab hac 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 duritiæ 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 fama notam esse video, quam illi Orcyniam adpellant), Volcæ Tectosages occupaverunt atque ibi conederunt. . . .

25. Hujus Hercyniæ silvæ, quæ supra demonstrata est, latitudo novem dierum iter expedito patet; non enim aliter finiri potest, neque mensuras itinerum noverunt. Oritur ab Helvetiorum et Nemetum et Rauracorum finibus, rectaque 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 ea 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 figura, cujus a media fronte inter aures unum cornu existit, 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 pellicum; sed magnitudine paullo antecedunt mutilæque sunt cornibus et crura sine nodis articulisque habent; neque quietis causa procumbunt, neque, si quo adfectæ 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, parcunt. 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 mansuefieri 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 in poculis utuntur.

Cæsar's Letters.—Fragment relating to Britain.

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.—*Ex Eumenii Paneg. Constantii Cæs.*, cap. 11.

IV DIODORUS SICULUS.

ii. c. 47. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτους κεκλιμένα μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας ἠξιώσαμεν ἀναγραφῆς, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὰ περὶ τῶν Ὑπερβορέων μυθολογούμενα διελθεῖν. Τῶν γὰρ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ἀναγεγραφότων Ἐκαταῖος καὶ τινες ἕτεροὶ φασιν, ἐν τοῖς ἀντιπέραν τῆς Κελτικῆς τόποις μετὰ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν εἶναι νῆσον οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς Σικελίας. Ταύτην ὑπάρχειν μὲν κατὰ τὰς ἄρκτους, κατοικεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων Ὑπερβορέων, ἀπὸ τοῦ πορρότερω κεῖσθαι τῆς βορείου πνοῆς· οὐσαν δ' αὐτὴν εὐγειὸν τε καὶ πάμφορον, ἔτι δὲ εὐκρασίᾳ διαφέρουσαν, διττοὺς κατ' ἔτος ἐκφέρειν καρπούς. Μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν Διτῶ γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶσθαι· κ.τ.λ.

v. 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 ἦρωες ἐν τῷ Τρωϊκῷ πολέμῳ κεχρησθαι παραδέδονται, καὶ τὰς οἰκίσεις εὐτελεῖς ἔχουσιν, ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἢ ξύλων κατὰ τὸ πλείστον συγκεκριμένας· τὴν τε συναγωγὴν τῶν σιτικῶν καρπῶν ποιοῦνται τοὺς στάχους αὐτοὺς ἀποτέμνοντες καὶ θησαυρίζοντες εἰς τὰς καταγείους οἰκίσεις· ἐκ δὲ

τούτων τοὺς παλαιοὺς στάχους καθ' ἡμέραν τίλλειν, καὶ κατεργαζομένους ἔχειν τὴν τροφήν· τοῖς δὲ ἡθεσιν ἀπλοῦς εἶναι καὶ πολὺν κευχωρισμένους 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, ὡς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἄρκτην κειμένην. βασιλεῖς τε καὶ δυνάστας πολλοὺς ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον εἰρηνικῶς διακειῖσθαι.

22. Ἄλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωμάτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράψομεν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν εἰς Βρεττανίαν παραγενηθῶμεν, νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν φουμένου 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 ἀγωγὰς. οὗτοι τὸν κασσίτερον κατασκευάζουσι φιλοτέχνως ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν φέρουσαν αὐτὸν γῆν. αὕτη δὲ πετρώδης οὖσα, διαφυσῆς ἔχει γεώδεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν πόρον κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τήξαντες καθαίρουσιν. ἀποτυπῶντες δ' εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμοὺς κομίζουσιν εἰς τινα νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἰκτιν· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπώτεις ἀναξηρανομένου τοῦ μεταξὺ τόπου, ταῖς ἀμάξαις εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψιλῆ τὸν κασσίτερον. ἴδιον δὲ 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 πολὺν τόπον ἀναξηραίνουσας θεωροῦνται χερρόνησοι. ἐντεῦθεν δ' οἱ ἔμποροι παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἰκνοῦνται καὶ διακομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Γαλατίαν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πεζῆ διὰ τῆς Γαλατίας πορευθέντες ἡμέρας ὡς τριάκοντα κατάγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τὰ φορτία πρὸς τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ ποταμοῦ.

23. Περὶ μὲν ὅν τοῦ καττιτέρου τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν ἀρκεσθῆσόμεσθα, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλουμένου ἠλέκτρον νῦν διέξιμεν. τῆς Σκυθίας τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν Γαλατίαν κατ' ἀντικρὺ νήσός ἐστι πελαγία κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἢ προσαγορευομένη Βασιλεία. εἰς ταύτην ὁ κλύδων ἐκβάλλει δαψιλῆς τὸ καλούμενον ἠλεκτρον, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης φαινόμενον. περὶ δὲ τούτου πολλοὶ τῶν παλαίων ἀνέγραψαν μύθους παντελῶς ἀπιστοῦ-
μένους καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων ἐλεγχόμενους.

V. STRABO.—*Geographica*.

A. iv. 2 (C. 63). Ἐξῆς δὲ τὸ πλάτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀφορίζων φησὶν (ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης) ἀπὸ μὲν Μερόης ἐπὶ τοῦ δι' αὐτῆς μεσημβρινοῦ μέχρῳ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἶναι μυρίουσ, ἐνξένδε εἰς τὸν Ἑλλησποντον περὶ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἑκατόν, εἴτ' εἰς Βορυσθένη πεντακισχιλίους, εἴτ' ἐπὶ τὸν κύκλον τὸν διὰ Θούλης (ἣν φησι Πυθίας ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Βρεττανικῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχειν πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἐγγυὲς δ' εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης) ἄλλους ὡς μυρίουσ χιλίους πεντακοσίους, κ.τ.λ. . . .

3. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διαστήματα δεδούσθω αὐτῷ· ὠμολόγηται γὰρ ἰκανῶσ· τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένουσ ἐπὶ τὸν διὰ Θούλης κύκλον τίς ἂν δοίη νοῦν ἔχων; ὅ τε γὰρ ἱστορῶν τὴν Θούλην Πυθίας ἀνὴρ ψευδίστατος ἐξήτασται, καὶ οἱ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν [καὶ] Ἰέρνην ἰδόντες οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς Θούλης λέγουσιν, ἄλλασ νήσουσ λέγοντες μικράσ περὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν· αὐτὴ τε ἡ Βρεττανικὴ τὸ μῆκος ἴσως πῶσ ἐστί τῇ Κελτικῇ παρεκτεταμένη, τῶν πεντακισχιλίων σταδίων οὐ μείζων καὶ τοῖσ ἄρκουσ τοῖσ ἀντικειμένουσ ἀφορίζομένη. ἀντίκειται γὰρ ἀλλήλοισ τά τε ἐῷα ἄκρα τοῖσ ἐφόισ καὶ τα ἐσπέρια τοῖσ ἐσπερίοισ, καὶ τά γε ἐῷα ἐγγυὲς ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ μέχρουσ ἐπόψεωσ, τό τε Κάντιον καὶ αἰ τοῦ Ῥήνου ἐκβολαί. ὁ δὲ πλειόνων ἢ δισμυρίων τὸ μῆκος ἀποφαίνει τῆσ νήσουσ, καὶ τὸ Κάντιον ἡμερῶν τινων πλοῦν ἀπέχειν τῆσ Κελτικῆσ φησὶ· καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺσ Ὠστιμίουσ δὲ καὶ τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου τὰ μέχρουσ Σκυθῶν πάντα κατέψευσται τῶν τόπων. ὅστισ οὖν περὶ τῶν γνωρίζομένων τόπων τοσαῦτα ἔψευσται, σχολῇ γ' ἂν περὶ τῶν ἀγνωστούμενων παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀληθεύειν δύναιτο.

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 εἶρηκε [Πυθίας] τοῦ ἐν Μασσαλίῃ γνώμονοσ πρὸσ τὴν σκιάν, τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Ἰππαρχοσ κατὰ τὸν ὁμώνυμον καιρὸν εὔρειν ἐν τῷ Βυζαντίῳ φησὶν. . . .

. . . . Δεῖν δὲ ἔτι προσθεῖναι τὸ ἐκτόσ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν κύρτωμα τῆσ Εὐρώπησ, ἀντικείμενον μὲν τοῖσ Ἰβηρσι προπεπτωκόσ δὲ πρὸσ τὴν ἐσπέραν, οὐκ ἔλαττον σταδίων τρισχιλίων, καὶ τὰ ἀκρωτήρια τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ τῶν Ὠστιμίων, ὃ καλεῖται Κάβαιον, καὶ τὰσ κατὰ τοῦτο νήσουσ, ὧν τὴν ἐσχάτην Οὐξισάμην φησὶ Πυθίας ἀπέχειν ἡμερῶν τριῶν πλοῦν. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν τὰ τελευταῖα οὐδὲν πρὸσ τὸ μῆκοσ συντείνοντα προσέθεκε τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων καὶ τῶν Ὠστιμίων καὶ τῆσ

Οὐξισάμης καὶ ὧν φησι νήσων· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα προσάρκτια ἔστι καὶ Κελτικά, οὐκ Ἰβηρικά, μᾶλλον δὲ Πυξέου πλάσματα.

B. i. 18 (C. 75). Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰππαρχος κατὰ τὸν Βορροσξένη καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν ἐν ὄλαις ταῖς Ξεριναῖς νυξὶ παραυγάξουσαι τὸ φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου περιμοσάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς δύσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολήν, ταῖς δὲ χειμεριναῖς τροπαῖς [τῷ] πλείστον μετεωρίζουσαι τὸν ἡλιον ἐπὶ πῆχεις ἐννέα, κ.τ.λ. . . . οὗτος δὲ Πυξέα πιστεύων κατὰ τὰ ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς Βρεττανικῆς τὴν οἴκησιν ταύτην τίθεισι.

B. iv. 1 (C. 104). Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἔαν φησι, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν Δικαί-
αρχόν τε καὶ Ἐρατοσξένη τὸν τελευταῖον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας, καὶ Πυξέαν, ὑφ' οὗ παρακρουσξῆναι πολλούς, ὅλην μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐμβαδὸν ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περιμέτρον πλείωνων ἢ τεττάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νήσου, προσιστορήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καδ' αὐτὴν ὑπῆρχεν ἔτι οὔτε θάλαττα οὐτ' ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ συγκριμά τι ἐκ τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἐοικός, 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 ἐοικός αὐτὸς ἑωρακέσθαι, τᾶλλα δὲ λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυξέου, καὶ διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνξένδε πᾶσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν παρω-
καινίτην τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδεῖρων ἕως Τανάιδος.

2 Φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ Πολύβιος ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πῶς ἰδιώτη ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τὰ τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένοιτο; τὸν δ' Ἐρατοσξένη διαπορήσαντα εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν τοῦτοις, ὅμως περὶ τε τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πεπιστευκέσθαι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· πολὺ δὲ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ τούτῳ. ὁ μέντοι γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν λέγει πλεῦσαι, ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων κατωπτευκέσθαι τὴν προσάρκτιον τῆς Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν, ἣν οὐδ' ἂν τῷ Ἐρμῇ πιστεύσαι τις λέγοντι. Ἐρατοσξένη δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον Βεργαῖον καλεῖν, Πυξέα δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος.

B. v. 8 (C. 114). Ὁ μ ν οὖν Μασσαλιώτης Πυξέας τὰ περὶ Θούλην τὴν βορειοτάτην τῶν Βρεττανίδων ὕστατα λέγει, παρ' οἷς ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ ἀρκτικῷ ὁ Ξερινὸς τροπικὸς κύκλος· παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἱστορῶ, οὐδ' ὅτι Θούλη νήσός ἐστὶ τις οὐτ' εἰ τὰ μέχρι δεῦρο οἰκήσιμά ἐστιν, ὅπου ὁ Ξερινὸς 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 δετέον. τοῦ δὲ παραλλήλου τοῦ διὰ Βυζαντίου διὰ Μασσαλίας πως ἰόντος, ὡς φησιν Ἰππαρχος πιστεύσας Πυθία (φησὶ γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τοῦ γνώμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιάν, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Πυθίας ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ), τοῦ δὲ διὰ Βορυσθένους ἀπὸ τούτου διέχοντος περὶ τρισχιλίους καὶ ὀκτακοσίους, εἴη ἂν ἐκ τοῦ διαστήματος τοῦ ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐνταῦθά που πίπτων ὁ διὰ τοῦ Βορυσθένους κύκλος. πανταχοῦ δὲ παρακρουόμενος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Πυθίας κἀνταῦθά που διέψευσαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἀπὸ στηλῶν γραμμὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν πορσεμόν καὶ Ἀθήνας καὶ Ῥόδον τόπους ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου κείσθαι ὡμολόγηται παρὰ πολλῶν.

B. v. 43 (C. 136). Τοῦ γὰρ ἡλίου κατ' ὄλην τὴν τοῦ κόσμου περιστροφὴν ὑπὲρ γῆς φερομένου, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ σκιά κύκλῳ περιερχθήσεται περὶ τὸν γνώμονα· κατ' ὃ δὲ καὶ περισκίους αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσεν (ὁ Ἰππαρχος), οὐδὲν ὄντας πρὸς τὴν γεωγραφίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν οἰκῆσιμα ταῦτα τὰ μέρη διὰ ψῦχος, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Πυθίαν λόγοις εἰρήκαμεν.

Γ. ii. 11 (C. 148). Καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ τὴν σινηεχὴ τῇ Κάλπῃ Ταρτησιίδα καλεῖσθαι φησὶ καὶ Ἐρῦθειαν νῆσον εὐδαίμονα. πρὸς ὃν Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἀντιλέγων καὶ ταῦτα ψευδῶς λέγεσθαι φησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰπερ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀκρωτήριον διάστημα ἀπέχειν ἡμερῶν πέντε πλοῦν, οὐ πλειόνων ὄντων ἢ χιλίων καὶ ἑπτακοσίων σταδίων, καὶ τὸ τὰς ἀμπώτεις μέχρι δεῦρο περατοῦσθαι ἀντὶ τοῦ κύκλῳ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην συμβαίνειν, καὶ τὸ τὰ προσαρκτικά μέρη τῆς Ἰβηρίας εὐπαροδότερα εἶναι πρὸς τὴν Κελτικὴν ἢ κατὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν πλέουσι, καὶ ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα εἴρηκε Πυθίᾳ πιστεύσας.

Δ. ii. 1 (C. 190). Ὁ δὲ Λίγηρ μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμιτιῶν ἐκβάλλει· πρότερον δὲ Κορβιλῶν ὑπῆρχεν ἐμπορίον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ, περὶ ἧς εἴρηκε Πολύβιος, μνησθεῖς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθίου μυθολογηθέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμαζιάντων Σκιπίωνι οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον ἐρωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορβιλῶνος, αἵπερ ἦσαν ἄρισται πόλεις τῶν ταύτη, Πυθίας δ' ἐθύρρησε τοσαῦτα ψεύσασθαι.

Δ. iv. 1 (C. 194). Μετὰ δὲ τὰ λεχθέντα ἔζη τὰ λοιπὰ Βελγῶν ἐστὶν ἔζη τῶν παρωκαινιῶν, ὧν Οὐένετοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ ναυμαχίσαντες πρὸς Καίσαρα· ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἦσαν κωλύειν τὸν εἰς τὴν Βρεττανικὴν πλοῦν χρώμενοι τῷ ἐμπορίῳ. . . . Ὅσιμοι δ' εἰσίν, οὗς [Ἔσ]τιμίους ὀνοιάζει Πυθίας, ἐπὶ τίνος προπεπτωκυίας ἰκανῶς ἄκρας εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν

οικοῦντες, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνός φησι καὶ οἱ πιστεύσαντες ἐκείνῳ.

Δ. ν. 5 (C. 201). Περὶ δὲ τῆς Θούλης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀσαφῆς ἡ ἱστορία διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμόν· ταύτην γὰρ τῶν ὀνομαζομένων ἀρκτικωτάτην τιθέασιν. ἃ δ' εἶρηκε Πυθίας περὶ τε ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ταύτῃ τόπων ὅτι μὲν πέπλασται, φανερόν ἐκ τῶν γνωριζομένων χωρίων· κατέψευσται γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ πλεῖστα, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται, ὥστε δῆλός ἐστιν ἐψευσμένος μᾶλλον περὶ τῶν ἐκτεοπισμένων. 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 παντελῆ 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 μεγάλοις κόπτουσι, συγκομισθέντων δεῦρο τῶν σταλύων· αἱ γὰρ ἄλως ἄχρηστοι γίνονται διὰ τὸ ἀνήλιον καλοὺς ὄμβρους·

Z. ii. 4 (C. 294). Τῶν δὲ Γερμανῶν, ὡς εἶπον, οἱ μὲν προσάρκτιοι παροικοῦσι τῷ Ὀκεανῷ, κ.τ.λ.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀκριβεῖς ὄρους οὐκ ἔχομεν φράζειν διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀγνοίαν τῶν τόπων τούτων οἱ τὰ Ῥιπαῖα ὄρη καὶ τοὺς Ὑπερβορείους μυθοποιοῦντες λόγου ἠξίωται, καὶ ἃ Πυθίας ὁ Μασσαλιώτης κατεψεύσατο ταῦτα τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος, προσχήμετι χρώμενος τῇ περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ ἱστορίᾳ.

VI. POMPONIUS MELA.

De Situ Orbis, iii. 6. [*Insulæ*] in Celticis aliquot sunt quas, quia plumbo abundant, uno omnes nomine Cassiteridas appellant. Sena in Britannico mari, Osismicis adverso littoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est: cujus antistites, perpetua virginitate sanctæ, numero novem esse traduntur: Gallicenas vocant, putantque ingenii singularibus præditas; maria ac ventos concitare carminibus; seque in quæ velint animalia vertere; sanare, quæ apud alios insanabilia sunt; scire ventura et prædicare: sed non nisi deditas navigantibus, et in id tantum ut se consulerent profectis.

Triginta sunt Orcades angustis inter se ductæ 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 quibus 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 alantur: 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 Belcarum litori opposita est, Graiis et nostris celebrata carminibus. In ea, 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, quam 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.

VII. C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS.

Hist. Nat. ii. 77. Sic fit, ut vario lucis incremento, in Meroë longissimus dies XII horas æquinociales, et octo partes unius horæ colligat: Alexandria vero XIV horas: in Italia quindecim: in Britannia XVII; ubi æstate lucidæ noctes, haud dubie reprovittunt 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 insula Thule Pytheas Massiliensis scripsit, sex dierum navigatione in septemtrionem a Britannia distante.

ii. 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. 27. Exeundum deinde est, ut extra Europæ dicantur, transgressisque Riphæos montes, litus Oceani septemtrionalis in læva, 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 incerta signata fama. Septemtrionalis Oceanus: Amalchium eum Hecatæus appellat, a Paropamiso amne, qua Scythiam alluit,

quod nomen ejus gentis lingua 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 Basiliam nominat.

iv. 30. Ex adverso hujus situs 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 paulo dicemus. Hæc abest a Gessoriaci Morinorum gentis litore, proximo trajectu quinquaginta M., circuitu vero patere tricies centena viginti quinque M. Pytheas et Isidorus tradunt.

Sunt autem XL Orcades, modicis inter se discretæ spatiis. Septem 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, Cancri signum Sole transeunte, nullosque contra per brumam dies. Hoc quidam senis mensibus continuis fieri arbitrantur. Timæus historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Mictim, in qua candidum plumbum proveniat. Ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare. Sunt qui et alias prodant, Scandiam, Dumniam, Bergos: maximamque omnium Nerigon, ex qua in Thulen navigetur. A Thule unius diei navigatione mare concretum, a nonnullis Cronium appellatur.

xxxvii. 11. Sotacus credidit in Britannia petris effluere, quas Electridas vocat. Pytheas Guttonibus Germaniæ genti, accoli æstuarium Oceani, Mentonomon nomine, spatio stadiorum sex millium: ab hoc diei navigatione insulam abesse Abalum: illuc vere fluctibus advehi, et esse concreti maris purgamentum: incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti eo, proximisque Teutonis vendere. Huic et Timæus credidit, sed insulam Basiliam vocavit.

VIII. TACITUS.

Germania, c. 44. Trans Lygios Gotones 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, sitæ in Oceanum, præter viros armaque classibus valent. . . .

c. 45. Trans Suionas aliud mare pigrum ac prope innotum, quo cingi cludique terrarum orbem hinc fides, quod extremus cadentis jam solis fulgor in ortum edurat adeo clarus, ut sidera hebetet; sonum insuper emergentis audiri, formasque equorum et radios capitis adspici persuasio adicit. Illuc usque, et fama vera, tantum natura. Ergo jam dextro Suebici maris litore Æstiorum gentes adluuntur, quibus ritus habitusque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior. Matrem deum venerantur. Insigne superstitionis formas aprorum gestant. Id pro armis omnique tutela securum deæ cultorem etiam inter hostes præstat. Rarus ferri, frequens fustium usus. Frumenta ceterosque fructus patientius quam pro solita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed et mare scrutantur, ac soli omnium succinum, quod ipsi *glesum* vocant, inter vada atque in ipso litore legunt.

Agric. 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 inmensum 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 adpetebat. 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 ad crescere aut resorberi, sed

influere penitus atque ambire, et jugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

c. 11. Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerit, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. . . . Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et extrema Britanniae 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.

IX. SOLINUS.

Polyhist. 22. Saltus Hercynius aveis gignit, quarum pennæ per obscurum emicant et interlucent, quamvis densa nox obtegit et denset tenebras. Unde homines loci illius plerumque nocturnos excursus sic destinant, ut illis utantur ad præsidium itineris dirigendi præjactisque per opaca callium rationem viæ moderentur indicio plumarum refulgentium. In hoc tractu sane et in omni septentrionali plage bisontes frequentissimi, qui boves feris similes setosi, colla jubarum horrida. Ultra tauros pernicitate vigentes, capti assuescere manu nequeunt. Sunt et uri, (quibus) 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 recedens 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 qua æstivo solstitio sole de cancri sidere faciente transitum nox pæne nulla: brumali solstitio dies adeo conductus, ut ortus junctus sit occasui. A Caledoniae promontorio Thylen petentibus bidui navigatione perfecta excipiunt Hebudes insulæ, quinque numero, quarum incolæ nesciunt fruges, piscibus tantum et lacte vivunt. Rex unus est universis: nam quotquot sunt omnes angusta interlue 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 junceis herbis inhorrescunt. Cetera earum nudæ arenæ. Ab Orcadibus Thylen usque quinque dierum, ac noctium navigatio est. Sed Thyle larga et diutina pomona copiosa est. Qui illic habitant, principio veris inter pecudes pabulis vivunt, dein lacte. In hiemem compercut 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 exculi apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus præsul est Minervæ numen, in cujus æde perpetui ignes nunquam canescunt in favillas, sed ubi ignis tabuit, vertit in globos saxeos.

X. DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES.

Orb. Descr. 286. Ὀκεανοῦ κέχυται ψυχρὸς ῥόος, ἔνθα Βρετανοὶ
 Λευκά τε φύλα νέμονται ἀρειμανέων Γερμανῶν,
 Ἐρκυνίου δρυμοῖο παραθρώσκοντες ὀρόγκους.

Κεῖθι δὲ Κελτῶν παῖδες, ὑφήμενοι αἰγείροισι,
 Δάκρυ' ἀμέλγονται χρυσαυγέος ἠλέκτροιο.

561. Αὐτὰρ ὑπ' ἄκρην

Ἴρην, ἣν ἐνέπουσι κάρην ἔμεν Εὐρωπείης,
 Νήσους Ἐσπερίδας, τόθι κασσιτέριο γενέθλη,
 Ἄφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγανῶν παῖδες Ἰβήρων.
 Ἄλλαι δ' Ὀκεανοῖο παραὶ βορεώτιδας ἀκτὰς
 Δισσαὶ νῆσοι ἔασι Βρετανίδες, ἀντία Ῥήνων.
 Κεῖθι γὰρ ὑστατήν ἀπερεύγεται εἰς ἄλα δίνην
 Τάων τοι μέγεθος περιώσιον, οὐδὲ τις ἄλλη
 Νήσοις ἐν πάσῃσι Βρετανίσιον ἰσοφαρίζει.
 Ἄγχι δὲ νησίδων ἕτερος πόρος, ἔνθα γυναιῖες
 Ἀνδρῶν ἀντιπέρηθεν ἀγανῶν Ἀμνιτῶν
 Ὀρνύμεναι τελέουσι κατὰ νόμον ἱερὰ Βάκχῳ,
 Στεψάμεναι κισσοῖο μελαμφύλλοιο κορύμβοις,
 Ἐννύχαια παταγῆς δὲ λιγύθροος ὄρνυται ἠχί.

Πολλὴν δὲ προτέρωσε ταμῶν ὁδὸν Ὀκεανοῦ,
 Νῆσόν κεν Θούλην εὐεργεῖ νηὶ περήσαις·
 Ἔνθα μὲν, ἡελίοιο βεβηκότος ἐς πόλον ἄρκτων,
 Ἕμαθ' ὁμοῦ καὶ νύκτας ἀειφανὲς ἐκκέχυται πῦρ.

XI. MARCIAN HERACLEOTA.

Epit. Peripl. Menip. I. 63. Οἱ γὰρ δὴ δοκοῦντες ταῦτα μετὰ λόγων ἐξητακέαι, Τιμοσθένης ὁ Ῥοδιός ἐστιν, ἀρχικυβερνήτης τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου γεγονώς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον Ἐρατοσθένης, ὃν Βῆτα ἐκάλεσαν οἱ τοῦ Μουσείου προστάντες, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Πυθίας τε ὁ Μασσαλιώτης, κ. τ. λ.

XII. RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS.

Ora Maritima. vv. 85-135.

Hic Gaddir urbs est, dicta Tartessus prius :
 Hic sunt columnæ pertinacis Herculis,
 Abila atque Calpe ; hæc læva dicti cespitis,
 (Libyæ propinqua est Abila) duro perstrepuunt
 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. . . .
 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 Æstrymnidum
 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 probasse 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. . . .

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.

.
 Longo explicatur gurges hujus ambitu,
 Produciturque latere prolixè vago.
 Plerumque porro tenue tenditur salum,
 Ut vix arenas subjacentes 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
 Spectasse semet et probasse rettulit :
 Hæc nos, ab imis Punicorum annalibus
 Prolata longo tempore, edidimus tibi.

XIII. THE RAVENNA GEOGRAPHER.

Geogr. i. 3. Duodecima ut hora 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.

XIV. DICUIL.

De mensurâ Orbis. c. 29. [*Ante*, p. 67.] Thile ultima in quâ . . . nox nulla 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 æquinoctio usque ad autumnale continuum diem sine nocte atque ab autumnali versâ vice usque ad vernale æquinoctium 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."

XV. GASSENDI.

Op. v. 327., 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 $41\frac{4}{5}$.*"

Op. iv. 530. Proport. Gnomon. Epist. ad Wendelinum 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: recituros quid in terris usque ultimis viseretur. Nec refert quod, ut Seneca mentitum Euthymenem scribit, sic Strabo, Polybium sequutus, plurima mendacia Pythæ 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, Eratosthene 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 revera contingere in plagis Borealibus . . . quæ Strabo voluit Pytheam 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 circulorum semper apparentium*": et quia jam etiam navigando pervenitur in Islandiam, ubi Tropicus pro Arctico est; quidni habeamus Pythæ fidem et hanc Thulen esse credamus, quam sic nominatam primus prodidit? Quam 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 Pythæ 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, si quidem 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 Britannia sex dierum navigatione* (quod Plinius quoque ex Pytheâ habet), *Cantium Britannia a Celtica 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 maximam diem in australiore Britannia esse 19 horarum, ac simili modo Eratosthenes in assignandis Britannicis affinis. Vocat præterea ille figmenta, quæ Pytheas rettulit de *Ostidamniis, Calbio, Uxisamiâ*, 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 meminissent At quonam modo id excusetur, quod ait Pytheas "*se peragrasse quidquid est Europa 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 continenteis 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.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GREEK AND LATIN WRITERS
TO WHICH REFERENCES HAVE BEEN MADE.

- ÆLIAN (2nd century A.D.) wrote a "History of Animals."
- AGATHODÆMON of Alexandria (4th century A.D.), a geographer who is believed to have compiled the earliest maps based upon the Ptolemaic tables.
- AMMIANUS, MARCELLINUS (4th century A.D.), a Greek of Antioch, who wrote a Latin History of the Roman emperors, continuing Suetonius.
- AMOMETUS (3rd century B.C.), one of the Greek writers of imaginary travels.
- ANTIPHANES, or the "Man of Berga," a Thracian writer proverbial for the publication of incredible stories.
- APULEIUS (2nd century A.D.) was himself a priest of Osiris, and wrote, besides his famous "Golden Ass," various religious and philosophical tracts.
- ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.). The "De Mundo," "Mirabilia," and several other books included in the Corpus Aristotelicum, were written or added to by later Peripatetics.
- ARTEMIDORUS of Ephesus (circa 100 B.C.) travelled in Spain and Gaul, and wrote a geography, abridged by Marcian of Heraclea.
- ATHENÆUS (flor. circa 220 A.D.). His "Dripno-Sophistæ" contains fragments of 800 writers, many of whom are otherwise unknown.
- AUSONIUS, D. MAGNUS (born about 320 A.D., and lived till the end of the century), was the tutor of the Emperor Gratian.
- AVIENUS, RUFUS FESTUS (circa 350-400 A.D.), translated Aratus and Dionysius, and wrote a poem describing the shores of the Mediterranean. He is important as having preserved some fragments of the Carthaginian tablets.
- CÆSAR, C. JULIUS (103-44 B.C.).

- CASSIODORUS, AURELIUS, "the Senator" (6th century A.D.) was the minister of Theodoric the Ostrogoth. Left twelve books of "Epistolarum Variarum."
- CICERO, M. TULLIUS (106-43 B.C.).
- CLAUDIUS, CL. (4th century A.D.). His panegyric poems were written chiefly in honour of Stilicho and the Emperor Honorius.
- CLEMENT of Alexandria (flor. circa 206 A.D.). His semi-theological treatises are the chief authority for the pagan mysteries.
- CLEOMEDES (3rd century A.D.) wrote on the circular theory of the heavenly bodies.
- CLITARCHUS (4th century B.C.) accompanied the expedition of Alexander to Asia, and wrote a rhetorical account of it, now lost.
- CONSTANTIUS, LUGDUNENSIS (circa 450 A.D.), wrote the "Life of St. Germanus," and corresponded with Sidonius Apollinaris.
- COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES (6th century A.D.). An Egyptian merchant, who travelled in Abyssinia, Persia and Ceylon, and knew something of China. He afterwards became a monk, and wrote against the theory of the rotundity of the earth.
- DEMOSTHENES the Athenian (384-322 B.C.).
- DICÆARCHUS, pupil of Aristotle (3rd century B.C.), geographer and philosopher.
- DICUIL (9th century A.D.), an Irish monk who wrote a work "De Mensurâ Orbis."
- DIODORUS SICULUS (latter part of 1st century A.D.) wrote a Bibliotheca Historica in 40 books, of which 15 remain.
- DIOGENES, ANTONIUS (3rd century B.C.), one of the Greek novel-writers of the post-Alexandrine age.
- DION CASSIUS the Historian (155-240 A.D.).
- DIONYSIUS PERIEGETES (end of 2nd century A.D.) wrote a Description of the Earth, translated by Festus Avienus, and by Priscian the Grammarian.
- DIOSCORIDES (latter part of the 1st century A.D.), a Greek physician.
- EPHORUS the Historian (363-300 B.C.) described the Celts from the reports of the early Greek travellers.
- ERATOSTHENES (276-196 B.C.), librarian at Alexandria, astronomer and geographer, nicknamed "Beta." He was the first to measure the obliquity of the ecliptic, and made an improved map of the earth.
- EUHEMERUS of Messene, an author of the time of Alexander the Great. His "Sacred History," in which the stories of the Greek mythology were treated as narratives of actual fact, was translated into Latin by Ennius.

- EUMENIUS (flor. 296-310 A.D.), an orator and author of the Panegyrics to Constantius.
- EUSTATHIUS, Archbp. of Thessalonica (12th century A.D.), wrote commentaries on Homer and Dionysius Periegetes.
- EUTHYMESES, a contemporary of Pytheas. Travelled (about 330 B.C.) on the African coast.
- FLORUS, L. ANNÆUS JULIUS (2nd century A.D.), wrote an epitome of Roman history, which appeared soon after the publication of Ptolemy's geography.
- FRONTO, M. CORNELIUS (consul in 161 A.D.), a famous orator under the Antonines.
- GEMINUS of Rhodes (1st century A.D.) wrote an "Introduction to Astronomy."
- GRATIANUS, FALISCUS (beginning of the 1st century A.D.), a writer on hunting.
- HANNO (date uncertain), one of the Shofetim of Carthage, commissioned to explore the western coasts of Africa. His Periplus was recorded on Punic and Greek tablets, of which part is still extant.
- HECATEUS of Miletus (circa 500 B.C.), one of the fathers of Greek history and geography.
- HECATEUS of Abdera (circa 300 B.C.), author of the romance *ὑπὲρ τῶν Ὑπερβορείων*.
- HERMOLAUS the Grammarian (date unknown) epitomised the work of Stephanus of Byzantium: not to be confounded with Hermolaus Barbarus, one of the 15th century Platonists, quoted for natural history by Olaus Magnus.
- HERODIAN (170-240 A.D.). His history is the sole authority for the age of Severus.
- HERODOTUS of Halicarnassus (484-408 B.C.).
- HIMILCO (date uncertain), brother of Hanno, and commissioned at the same time to explore the western coasts of Europe. He founded settlements in Spain. He is supposed to have been driven out into the Mid-Atlantic, and to have returned by the Azores. His voyage was recorded on tablets along with that of Hanno, and the legend of his discoveries was preserved in the *Mirabilia* attributed to Aristotle, in Pliny's *Natural History*, and in the poems of Avienus. (Cf. Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner.")
- HIPPARCHUS (2nd century B.C.). The greatest astronomer of antiquity and discoverer of the precession of the equinoxes. He commented on Aratus, and attempted to determine latitudes and longitudes.
- HOMER (circa 1000 B.C.).

- HORATIUS (QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS) lived 65 B.C. to 8 B.C.
- ISIDORUS CHARACENUS. A geographer (of the 1st century A.D.) quoted by Pliny, as copying the measurements of Britain from Pytheas.
- ISIDORE of Seville, Bp. of Seville (570-646 A.D.), wrote 20 books of "Origines sive Etymologiæ."
- "ITINERARIUM ANTONINUM." An official road-book of the Empire, named after Antoninus Caracalla (who succeeded Severus in 210 A.D.), but assigned by some commentators to the age of Constantine the Great.
- JAMBLULUS (3rd century B.C.) wrote the romance of "The Fortunate Islands," translated in Purchas' Pilgrims.
- JEROME, ST. (HIERONYMUS) lived 331-420 A.D.
- JORNANDES, a Goth (who wrote about 552 A.D.), is important as preserving portions of the lost history of Cassiodorus.
- JUSTIN MARTYR (born 103 A.D.).
- JUVENAL (D. JUNIUS JUVENALIS) was born 42 A.D. and wrote about the end of the first century.
- LACTANTIUS, L. CÆLIUS FIRMIANUS (circ. 303 A.D.), a Christian apologist. The account of the Diocletian persecution, known as "De Mortibus Persecutorum," is frequently attributed to him.
- LAMPRIIDIUS, ÆLIUS (3rd century A.D.).
- LIVY (T. LIVIUS PATAVINUS) lived 59 B.C. -17 A.D..
- LUCAN (M. ANNÆUS LUCANUS), a native of Cordova died in 65 A.D. at the age of 26.
- LUCIAN (2nd century A.D.). The "Vera Historia" is a burlesque of the older geographical romances.
- MACROBIUS, AURELIUS (5th century A.D.), grammarian and philosopher.
- MAGNUS, JOHANNES (16th century A.D.), Archbishop of Upsala, wrote a History of the Goths and Swedes.
- MAGNUS, OLAUS (16th century A.D.), succeeded his brother Joannes as Archbishop of Upsala. He wrote the History of the Northern Nations.
- MANILIUS, M. (1st century A.D.). Author of a hexameter treatise on Astronomy.
- MARINUS of Tyre (1st century A.D.). The predecessor of Ptolemy, whose work was in great part based on his calculations.
- MARTIALIS, M. VAL. born at Bilbilis in Spain, circa A.D. 40, died circa 104 A.D.
- MAXIMUS of Tyre (2nd century A.D.), a celebrated Platonist who wrote under the Antonines.
- MEROBAUDES the Frankish Poet (circa 450 A.D.). His chief extant poem is the "Third Consulship of Ætius."

- MINUCIUS FELIX (flor. circa 210 A.D.), an African lawyer, who wrote a defence of Christianity.
- NEMESIAN (M.AURELIUS OLYMPIUS NEMESIANUS) floruit circa 280 A.D. He wrote eclogues, and a poem on hunting.
- "NOTITIA IMPERII." An official list of the dignities and offices of the Eastern and Western Empires about the time of their separation. The best edition is by Pancirollus the Jurist, 1608 A.D.
- OLYMPIODORUS (flor. circ. 425 A.D.). Wrote a history of the Western Empire from 407-425 A.D.
- OPIAN (circa 200 A.D.). The author of the "Cynegetica." An earlier writer of the same name wrote on fishing.
- OVID (P. OVIDIUS NASO) lived 43-18 B.C.
- ORIGEN (died 254 A.D.).
- OROSIUS, PAULUS, the Historian (flor. circ. 417 A.D.).
- PAUSANIAS (circa 140 A.D.). Wrote the "Description of Greece."
- PHILEMON. A writer quoted upon northern Geography by Pliny and Ptolemy. He is supposed to be the same as the comic poet of that name who wrote in the 2nd century B.C.
- PHILOSTRATUS of Lemnos (end of 2nd century A.D.). Wrote the "Imagines" and other works, for the Empress Julia Domna.
- PHOTIUS the Patriarch (9th century A.D.). Wrote the "Muriobiblon," an epitome of 300 authors, many of whose works are only preserved in this way.
- PINDAR (522-422 B.C.).
- PLATO the Philosopher (429-347 B.C.).
- PLINY the Elder (C. PLINIUS SECUNDUS) lived 23-79 A.D. His "Natural History" was finished in the last year of his life. As a young man he had served in Germany.
- PLUTARCH (born 50 A.D.). Many of the philosophical and learned tracts which pass under his name are of doubtful authorship.
- POLYÆNUS (circa 180 A.D.). A writer on military tactics.
- POLYBIUS the Historian (born in Arcadia about 200 B.C., died 120 B.C.) spent the years 166-150 at Rome, and travelled in Africa, Spain, and Gaul.
- 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.
- PORPHYRY (233-305 A.D.). Wrote forty-one books on various philosophical subjects.
- POSIDONIUS the Stoic (1st century A.D.). A philosopher, astronomer, and geographer, with whom Cicero studied at Rhodes. He made one

of the earliest measurements of the earth's circumference, and left a description of his travels in Western Europe.

PROCOPIUS (6th century A.D.). 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.

PROPERTIUS the Elegiac Poet (born about 51 B.C.).

PROSPER of Aquitaine continued the Chronicle of St Jerome to 445 A.D. His work was continued by Prosper Tyro.

PRUDENTIUS the Christian Poet (circa 390 A.D.) engaged in controversy with Symmachus.

PTOLEMY (CLAUDIUS PTOLEMÆUS), the greatest ancient geographer. Floruit 50-150 A.D. in Egypt. His great work was published about 120 A.D., but the earliest maps compiled from his tables date from the 4th century.

PYTHEAS of Massilia (circa 330 B.C.), the explorer, lived in the age of Alexander the Great. He wrote his travels soon after the death of Aristotle, and is supposed to have also written a Diary and a "Circuit of the Earth."

"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 many towns not otherwise known.

SAXO GRAMMATICUS. Wrote his history of the North in the 12th century A.D.

SCYLAX (probably circa 500 B.C.), an explorer sent out by Darius. His Periplus describes the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

SENECA, L. ANNÆUS (circa 2-68 A.D.).

SERVIUS, HONORATUS MAURUS, the Grammarian (5th century A.D.). The best Virgilian commentator.

SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, Bp. of Clermont (lived about 438-500 A.D.). His poems and letters give a graphic picture of the life of Gaul about the time of the fall of the Western Empire.

SILIUS ITALICUS (25-100 A.D.). Wrote an epic on the 2nd Punic War.

SOLINUS, C. JULIUS (floruit circa 80 A.D.). He wrote a collection of geographical and historical notes, known as the Polyhistor. He was nicknamed "Pliny's Ape."

SOTACUS. An early writer quoted by Pliny concerning amber in Britain.

SOZOMEN, HERMIAS (5th century A.D.) Wrote an Ecclesiastical History extending to 440 A.D.

SPARTIANUS, ÆLIUS, the Historian (3rd century A.D.).

STATIUS, P. PAPINIUS, the Poet (born 61 A.D.).

- STEPHANUS of Byzantium (circa 460–527 A.D.), the geographical lexicographer and professor at Constantinople.
- STRABO (born in Cappadocia about 50 B.C.). His great work, the *Geographica*, was written when he was over 80 years old.
- SUETONIUS (C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS) wrote, at the end of the 1st century, the *Lives of the Cæsars*. He was born about 70 A.D.
- SULPICIUS, SEVERUS (5th century A.D.), a native of Gaul, wrote an ecclesiastical history of the world.
- SYMMACHUS, Q. AURELIUS (consul in 391 A.D.), opposed the introduction of Christianity.
- TACITUS, C. CORNELIUS (55–135 A.D.), the son-in-law of Julius Agricola, and friend of Pliny the Younger.
- TERTULLIAN, Q. SEPTIMUS FLORUS (circa 160–245 A.D.).
- THALES of Miletus, the earliest Greek natural philosopher (5th century B.C.).
- TIMEUS, the Historian of Sicily (floruit circa 350–320 B.C.). His quotations from Pytheas are copied by Pliny.
- TIMAGENES, an Alexandrian historian and rhetor (circa 85–5 B.C.), wrote among other works a history of the Gauls, which Ammianus Marcellinus used.
- TZETZES, JOHN, wrote (circa 1176 A.D.) a lengthy epic called “Chiliades.”
- VALERIUS FLACCUS, the poet (died 88 A.D.).
- VALERIUS MAXIMUS, the historian (circa 30 A.D.), wrote a collection of *Memorabilia*, dedicated to the Emperor Tiberius.
- VARRO (116–27 B.C.), the most learned of Roman antiquaries. He is said to have written 70 works, ranging from satires to treatises on agriculture.
- VEGETIUS, FL. (flor. circa 380 A.D.), the most celebrated of the military writers, wrote under Valentinian II.
- VIBIUS SEQUESTER (date uncertain) wrote a book on rivers and streams. He is one of the minor geographers published by Aldus in 1518.
- VICTOR, S. AURELIUS (flor. circa 369–400), prefect of Rome under Julian.
- VIRGIL (P. VIRGILIUS MARO 70–19 B.C.), began to write about 42 B.C.
- VITRUVIUS (85–26 B.C.), the great authority on Roman architecture.
- VOPISCUS, FLAVIUS (end of 3rd century A.D.).
- XENOPHON of Lampsacus, an early writer (post 300 B.C.), whose comments upon Pytheas and Timæus are quoted by Pliny.
- XIPHILINUS, JOHN, of Trebizond (wrote circa 1150 A.D.). He abridged the history of Dion Cassius, bks. xxxv–lxxx.
- ZOSIMUS the Historian (circa 500 A.D.).

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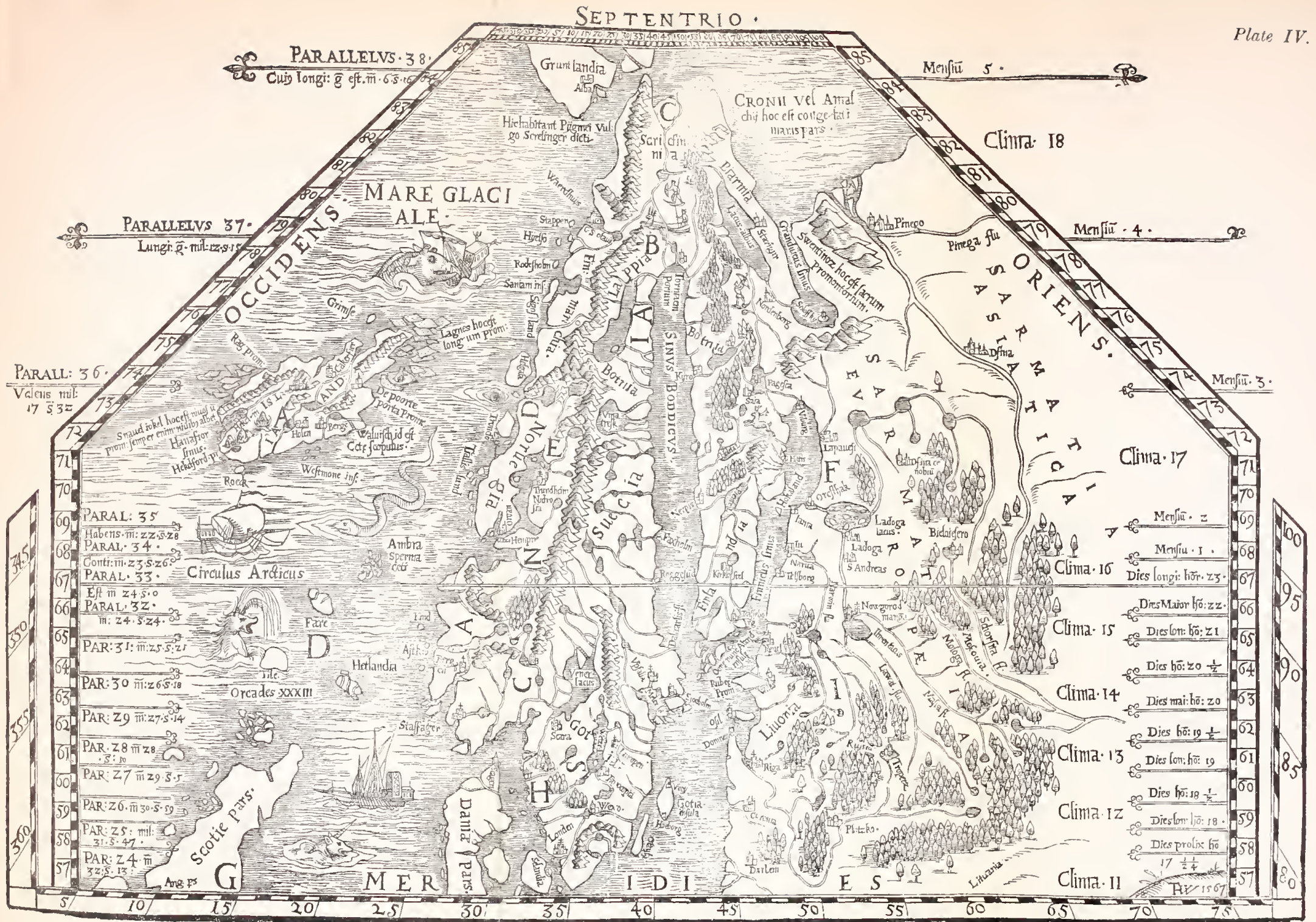


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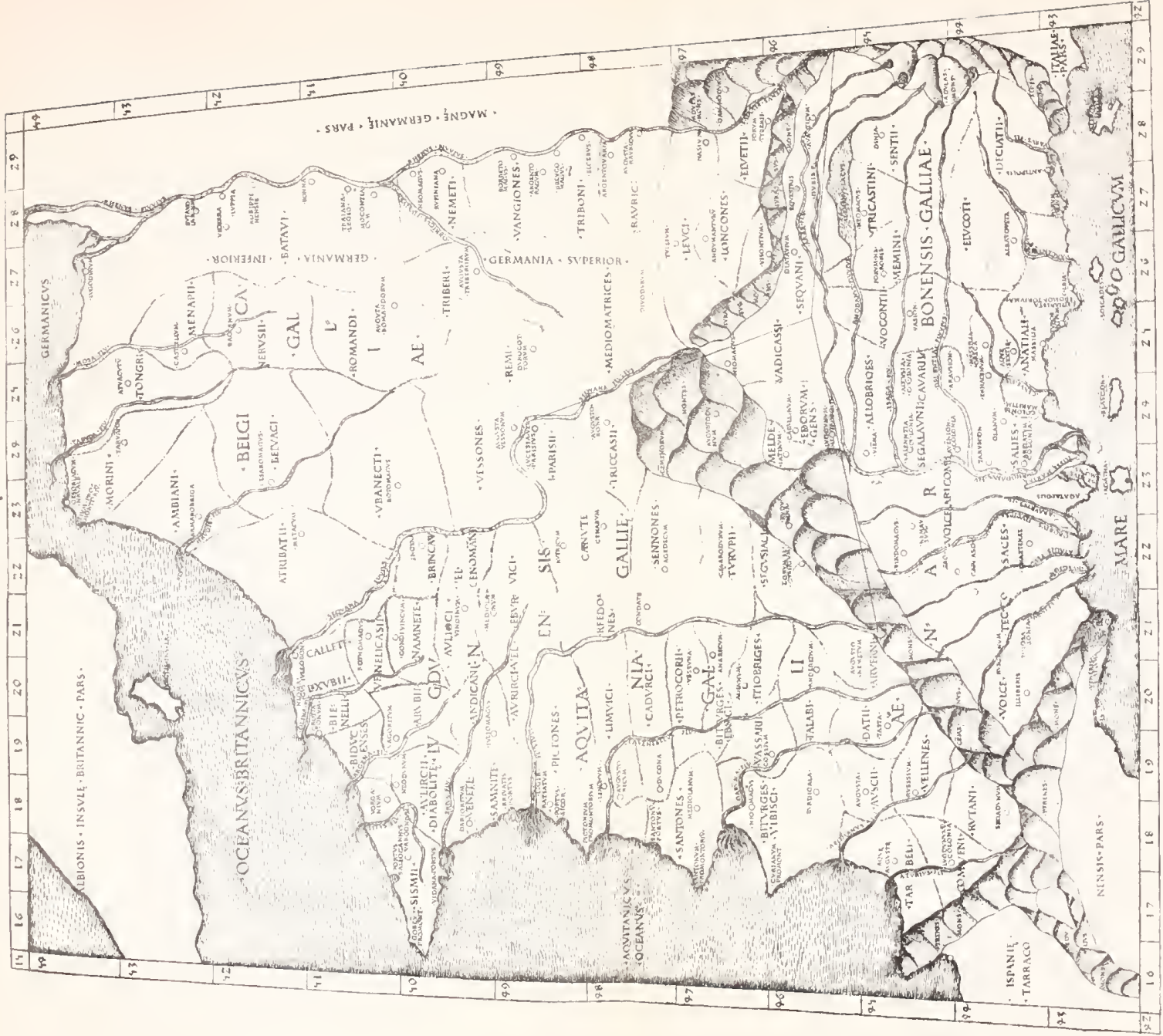


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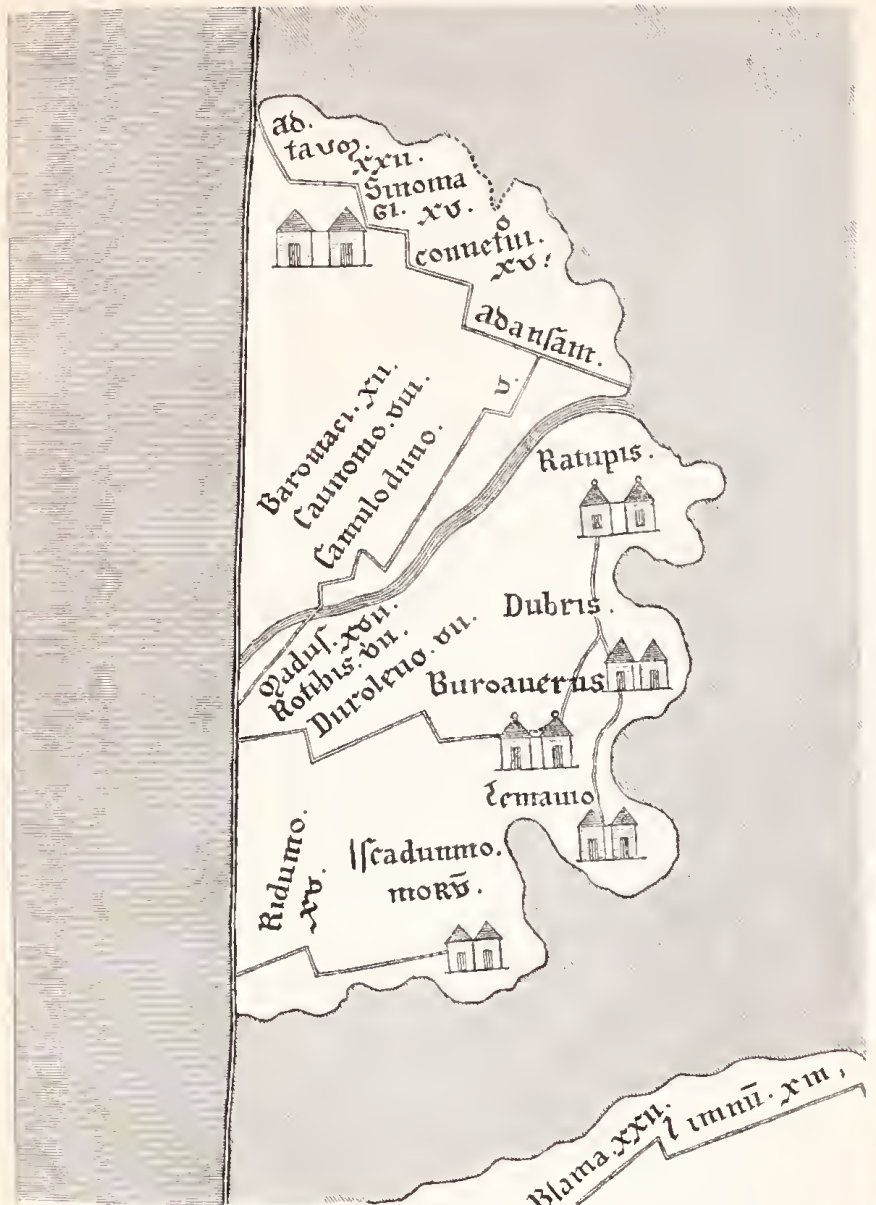


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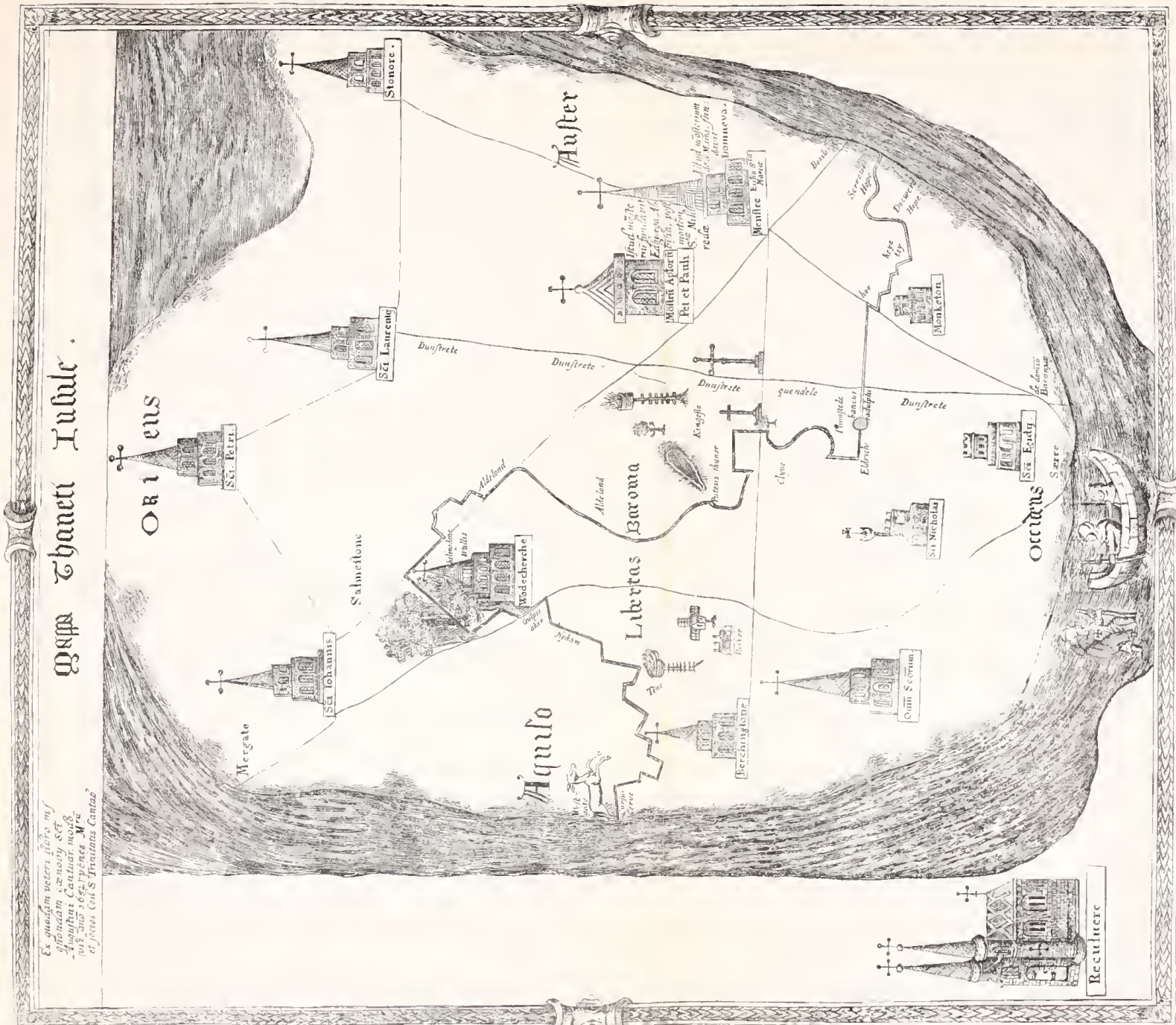
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