Notices of Archaeological Publications.

HENRY VII, PRINCE ARTHUR, AND CARDINAL MORTON. From a group representing the Adoration of the Three Kings on the Chancel Screen of Plymtree Church in the County of Devon. With an Appendix containing a notice of "Nicholas Monk, Rector of Plymtree, "John Land," &c. London : Printed for T. Mozley, Rector of Plymtree, &c.

In the opening lines of his book Mr. Mozley puts into the mouth of a reader the question "Where is Plymtree?" Henceforth such a question, at all events among Archæologists, will be absurd. Plymtree has found its *vates sacer*, and, since this book was published, has probably been enquired about and discussed more than any village of its (very small) size in the land; surely no edition of fifty copies was ever diffused so widely, or gave rise to so many gossiping conversations.

The work deals with the biographies of three persons, all more or less connected with the Parish of Plymtree, and may well be entitled "Historical Memorials of Plymtree" after the fashion of the well-known "Historical Memorials of Canterbury"; which, though setting out from narrow topographical basis, extend by digressions far out of sight of the starting point.

The first of the Memorials is concerned with a group of personages who, at first sight, would appear to be strangely out of place in a Devonshire village so secluded as to be, even at the present day, remote from highways. King Henry VII, Arthur his son, and Cardinal Morton his astute chancellor! Did these ever visit, or even hear of, Plymtree? By what literary artifice can the actors be brought to the front of the scene? With a dexterity which excites an amused surprise Mr. Mozley has got over the difficulty, and on a small material foundation furnished by the pictures on the screen of his parish church, he has built up a history in which the three above-named personages are the principal figures.

Devonshire churches, as archæologists know, abound in well preserved, and often handsomely painted, rood-screens; and among them Plymtree takes a foremost place in this particular, being enriched by paintings of thirty-four full length figures of saints and other personages appropriate to the place. In the author's words: "The chief ornament (*of the church*) is a magnificent screen, stretching right across the interior, and separating the chancel and chancel aisle, or chantry, from the nave and its aisle. This is profusely carved, painted, and gilded . . . . There are thirty-four panels, constituting the solid part of the screen below the open work, and unfortunately below the level of the eye. It is not easy to make a probable conjecture as to the exact date of either the screen or the pictures; but as the Reformation was coming on rapidly by the year 1525, the date of the latest picture could hardly be later than that;

while it is possible, and not even improbable, that the group to which this notice is prefixed (*in the folio copy*) was done in the very lifetime of the persons represented."

The author then goes on to give his reasons for believing that of the three figures in the group of the "Adoration of the Kings," the first, clad in red, may represent Cardinal Morton; the second, a youth, Prince Arthur; and the third, a crowned king, Henry VII. After a not very laborious attempt to prove his identification of the Magi, Mr. Mozley puts together from trustworthy authorities, a vivid account of Cardinal Morton himself and of the times in which he lived. Due allowance, in the matter of *likeness*, being made for the fact that the paintings were executed by a decorator, and not by a portrait painter, we think that the author has made out a fair "case" At all events he has brought together a large quantity of interesting and trustworthy information about an eminent man, who was born within a day's ride of Plymtree; in whose days Plymtree Church was re-built and decorated; and whose skill in state craft was so generally recognised that Shakespere makes Richard III, Morton's political enemy, hearing that—

"Morton is fled to Richmond," &c.,

exclaim—

"Ely with Richmond troubles me more near
Than Buckingham with his rash levied strength."

The second subject in these "Memorials of Plymtree" is based upon a local foundation far broader than the first. In this case a Rector—not an absentee or honorary—but an active, resident Rector of Plymtree, played an essential part in one of the greatest dramas of English history. Nicholas Monk, the Rector in question, was brother to George Monk, first, general of the Commonwealth, then, restorer of the Stuart dynasty, and Duke of Albemarle. More than this the rector was a staunch cavalier, and, masking a natural shrewdness by a seeming simplicity, he was the ambassador who, with success, conducted the negotiations between the king at the Hague and the general in Scotland. All the worthy deeds of his predecessor the present rector of Plymtree tells most pleasantly, and, although this need hardly be written, learnedly. Nicholas Monk was, however, not a mere political go-between; his biographer in summing up his character as a parish clergyman, writes:

"In the year 1643 the subject of this notice was serving the Church as resident curate. He was thus connected with Plymtree for more than nineteen years, . . . and his name appears in the parish book as contributing to a sort of voluntary (poor) rate till a year or two before the restoration. It is prominent also in the list of 'Gifts and Benefactors to the Poor of Plymtree,' put up early last century, if not earlier."

A third Plymtree worthy (as old Fuller would have used the word) was John Land, the younger son of a good yeoman family in the parish, who, leaving his home before the middle of the 17th century, went to London, became a prosperous goldsmith, and, while yet a bachelor, retired from business, disposing of his *goodwill* and shop, which adjoined Temple Bar on the city side, to Mr. Blanchard, also a goldsmith. Mr. Blanchard in his turn made way for Sir Francis Child and his clerk, Mr. Rogers, by whose successors the business, still known as "Child's Bank," has been carried on to the present day.

Land's will, which Mr. Mozley recites at length from a copy in the

parish chest, proves that in the midst of his prosperity in London he retained his affection for his Devonshire home, and for his kindred to whom he bequeathed many legacies. He left a hundred pounds to be placed at interest for the benefit of the poor of his native parish; he provided a crimson velvet pulpit cloth embroidered with gold for the church in which it still remains; but above all he directed his executors to sell—

"My two silver tankards, two silver plates, a silver guilt salver, caudle cupp and porringer, a silver boate and taster, a little silver box, two dozen of silver spoones, and one dozen of silver guilt spoones, and all my plate whatsoever. And also my large golde seale, my large plaine golde ring, three diamond rings, and eight other mourning and hair rings. And the money to be raised thereby I order to be laid out by my executors in the purchase of plate for the communion table of the church of the said parish of Plymtree." &c.

It will be seen from this notice that Mr. Mozley, in common with a happily increasing number of the clergy, has recognized the fact that in his parish chest is to be found the Record Office of his parish; and also that written documents are not the only materials for writing the history of the place under his charge; but that the architecture and decorations of his church are ready to contribute their share to the tale of by-gone days. Having recognised this, he has successfully employed his practised pen in uttering to the world the story which he has compiled.

So much for the matter of this book; of the manner of its production we can only speak with admiration. In the first place it is lavishly illustrated, as we shall explain more at length presently, but in the second there is a peculiarity of the author's own invention. It is this: every one who is so fortunate as to receive this book has *two copies!* One a large folio containing the coloured plates, and the complete text printed in double column, with ample margin; and also an octavo hand-copy of the text, merely illustrated with outlines of the plates of the folio. Of the liberality of this duplex manner of issuing a book which is to be given away, we need not speak, the fact is eloquent; whilst of the convenience of the invention of an octavo for reading, and a folio for reference, every reader must be a competent judge.

We will now say a few words upon what we have previously remarked as the important part of the volume—the drawings. There are four coloured plates, each measuring $15\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.—fac-similes of the paintings on the screen. We have compared these with the original paintings, and we are happy to recognise the skill and ability of Messrs. M. and N. Hanhart, who have reproduced the paintings by chromo-lithography in a highly successful manner. We are more especially glad to say this, for in so many books the chromo-lithographs lose the mellowness, the depth, and the feeling of the old work. The tone and character of oil colour are here well preserved, and it requires a keen eye to discover a slight defect. The expression on the face of the Virgin in the original is not particularly happy, but yet quiet and placid. In the copy (plate 1) the mouth is distorted, and the profiled outline is not in good drawing; these, together with the slight defect in the right eye, produce an unpleasantness in the Virgin's face, which we are spared in the original. The expression of the child is "well caught."

We turn with unqualified praise to the figures called Prince Arthur

and Henry VII. Here the artist having bestowed more care, has worked with singular success. The gradations from the high lights upon the crown, &c. to the deep background are carefully given, and the chromo-lithographs present the same richness of tone as the originals.

The original paintings are on oak panels of about half an inch thick. They have a certain "old" appearance owing to the unevenness of the surface of the oak, and a few occasional chips—but generally they are in excellent preservation—somewhat hidden by successive coatings of common varnish.

One word more—we cannot impress too strongly the necessity that, wherever possible, copies of old paintings should be of the real size, in fact facsimiles in every way. It is only by doing this that we can hope to obtain the character and feeling of the original artist. We are too liable to forget that in reproducing for publication the works of past ages, we are not to attempt to make *pretty* drawings, but exact copies, line for line, of the originals—not as we think they should be, but exactly as they are. We are then doing good service, and handing on, for the study of future ages, many representations of the various schools of art, which are rapidly disappearing. Mr. Mozley has anticipated our ideas, and it is owing to his drawings being fac-similes that they have proved so successful and valuable. We should like to see the same loving care bestowed upon illustrations of the elaborate wood-carvings of the bench ends with which the whole of the church is filled.

J. B. S. AND J. N.

A KEY TO DOMESDAY, shewing the method and exactitude of its mensuration, and the precise meaning of its usual formulæ; the subject being specially exemplified by an analysis and digest of the Dorset Survey. By the Rev. R. W. EYTON, M.A., late Rector of Ryton, and Author of "Antiquities of Shropshire." London: Taylor & Co. Dorchester: James Foster.

In our last number we had the pleasure of noticing a work by the learned historian of Shropshire, and it is now our privilege to introduce to our readers another volume by the same author.

It was justly observed by the late Sir Henry Ellis in 1833, in the preface to his valuable Introduction to the Domesday Book (to the diligent and careful study of which he had devoted twenty years), that "Domesday Book is a mine of information which has not yet been sufficiently wrought. Illustrations of the most important and most certain kind upon our ancient institutions, terriers and tenures of lands, are still to be drawn from it, and its metal cannot be exhausted by the perseverance of any single labourer."

In much of this spirit has Mr. Eyton entered upon the study of the Domesday of Dorset. He says, "Domesday is its own best interpreter, and those who would understand Domesday thoroughly must get their information from Domesday itself." In the work before us he fulfilled the promise of his lengthy title. In the preface he fully states his objects to be: "to enable the inquirer to ascertain with more or less precision the Domesday antecedent of every locality in Dorset; to distinguish and compare the various classes into which the property was then divided, whether a Borough, a Port of Commerce, a Vill, a Manor, a Farm, a Moor, or a Forest; to shew the areal extent of every such estate,

or, at least, to shew how far such extent may be determined from the text of Domesday;—of all occupied territory, whether plough land or meadow land, or pasture, or wood land, to shew the ratio of its culture or its uses; to determine the relative wealth of such estate, whether resulting from inherent capabilities, industrial care, or external adjuncts;—and coincidently, to collect and review the hints which Domesday supplies as to the comparative numbers and condition of an almost exclusively agrarian population."

It will thus be seen that the scope of Mr. Eyton's inquiry is very wide, but though extensive, his investigation has been most complete and exhaustive, leaving little to be done by future students as far as the county of Dorset is concerned; and, moreover, he has thrown a vast amount of additional light upon most of the obscurities with which the great record of which he treats is clouded, not only with relation to the county of Dorset, but also to the Surveys of other counties, especially those in the western part of England.

Mr. Eyton, in the first instance, proceeds to elucidate, in an Introductory Essay, the important questions of mensuration, technicalities, and phraseology of the whole Survey, comparing the rules and methods by which the Dorset Commissioners were guided with the Surveys of other counties in which the Commissioners acted upon a somewhat different process, observing that "the contrasts are often more instructive than the parallelisms." He points out that throughout the whole of the Domesday Book reference is made to two distinct systems of mensuration—one system, he observes, was antiquated though not obsolete; the other was that then in use; the older being based upon the Saxon Hide, which, like Ellis before him, he calls *hidation*.

It is unnecessary that we should enter very closely upon the question of the extent or area of a hide. It has long been admitted by all Domesday students that neither the *hide* nor the *carucate* were ever areal measurements, and Mr. Eyton draws attention to the fact that the term Hide was used by the Saxons as representing the quantity of land, whatever its extent, which was attached to a *homestead*, and because in most instances the area was just sufficient to employ and support a team of oxen the term *hide* and the term *carucate* became convertible. He observes that when in the time of King Ethelred 976-1016 (it was in 1007) it became necessary to levy a tax to buy off the Danes, the country was sub-divided for the purpose of equal taxation, and the hide was accepted as the basis of assessment. On this occasion the hidage of the whole country was carefully examined and re-adjusted, consequently when in Domesday the term *hide* is used it must be understood as a term of record, and represents such a quantity of land as was determined to be a hide and to be gildable as a hide by the taxation of King Ethelred or some later fiscal authority. The Domesday Commissioners of Dorset, therefore, Mr. Eyton says, got the hidation assigned to Dorset manors rather from previous record than present inquest, and that, with some slight alterations, they obtained it from the Dorset Gheld-Roll (as he writes it) made at Easter 1084.

The actual area of *hides* differed very widely. In Cornwall the same Commissioners who visited Dorset are found to have frequently drawn an apparent contrast between the reputed and the actual hidage of certain manors. For example, the Manor of Tregel at the time of the survey

held by Osbert Bishop of Exeter, in the time of Edward the Confessor was gilded for two hides, nevertheless, the Commissioners say, there are twelve hides; and Mr. Eyton points out that this was not corrective but explanatory, shewing that Tregel, though a manor of twelve hides, was gilded for two hides only, ten hides being, by prescription, exempt from gild. He states that no such formula as this is found in the Dorset Domesday because a non-gildable hide in Dorset would not be called a hide at all but a carucate. With reference to this subject it is remarked that it was a principle of the Saxon gild-laws that not only the ancient demesnes of the crown were to be absolutely free from gild, but that the bona-fide demesnes of the Thanes, or Tenants in Capite, should also be exempted from the current gild levy, because, in respect thereto, the tenants had to render personal service. Mr. Eyton exhibits numerous instances of beneficial hidation, shewing very extensive contrasts in the area of land denominated a hide. Cornwall was particularly favoured in this respect. The Manor of Heleston, held by Earl Harold in the time of King Edward, now by the King, is rated for six and half hides of ordinary Cornish *hidation*, but it covered an area of more than 30,000 acres of mixed lands which, according to the hidation of Dorset, was equal at the least to forty hides, and it paid gild in the time of King Edward for only two hides. Besides the hidation thus especially privileged there existed numerous other circumstances which disturbed the uniformity of the hides, from which it would appear that hides were originally regulated in the time of King Ethelred rather by intrinsic value than area. In other instances the hidation of manors would appear to have been greatly influenced by adventitious circumstances such as salubrity of climate, proximity to some great thoroughfare, or centre of trade, &c., and Mr. Eyton mentions the remarkable fact that in Dorset alone some hides are represented by at least 4000 statute acres, whilst others contain not more than eighty-four; observing, however, that the average for the whole country would give from 230 to 240 acres. Our author accounts for the hide having obtained the repute of being an areal measure by suggesting that the most important characteristic of a Dorset manor was its quota of plough-land, and that it came to pass that the specific hide of most manors appears in numerical conjunction with a single plough-gang, or in the words of the Dorset Domesday, a *terra ad unam carucam*, by which means the Dorset hide was brought into a sort of parallelism with the Dorset plough-land, and Domesday itself, he says, indicates that the word carucate implied much the same thing as the term hide, only that not having been converted into a hide, or made gildable, it remained in name a carucate. The typical carucate of Dorset, he adds, resembles the hide in that it contained a single plough-gang, combined with other territorial adjuncts; it differed from the hide in that its essence was nothing but land.

The plough-gang, or *terram ad unam carucam*, differed from the carucate as a part differs from its whole, and in the same manner did the plough-gang differ from the hide. In the Dorset Domesday where the number of ploughs *(carucæ)* proper of any given manor was equal to, or in excess of, the number of hides there one great element in the value of such manor was its arable land, and conversely, where the number of (*carucæ*) proper is found to be less than the reputed number of hides then the element of value which constituted the hide consisted of other advantages, such as mills, meadows, pastures, woods, &c.

To meet the necessities of an assessment based upon the hide in taxing estates of various value, less than a hide, it became essential to divide the hide into lesser denominations, and the terms used were so suggestive of areal measurements as to lead to, or strengthen, a misapprehension on the subject. These subdivisions were:

1 Hide = 4 Virgates = 16 Ferndels = 48 Acres.
1 Virgate = 4 Ferndels = 12 Acres.
1 Ferndel = 28 Acres.

In Dorset the gild-hide was divided into four virgates, and each virgate into twelve acres, but in Devon and Cornwall, where the gild-hide was, in many instances, of enormous extent it was necessary to introduce an intermediate denomination between the virgate and the acre, which was called a ferndel (farthing or fourth-ing), but none of these denominations were any more areal measures than was the hide. The acræ ad gheldum, as Mr. Eyton prefers to write it, was quite distinct from the measured, or Norman, acre used in stating the quantities of meadows, pastures and woods, which latter was simply the statute acre legalised afterwards by King Edward I., and continuing in use to the present time. This is proved by many examples extracted from the Domesday Book.

The term carucate Mr. Eyton considers a Norman term introduced at the Conquest, and, he supposes, was very nearly analogous to a Saxon hide; and he illustrates this conjecture by the fact that in the Fief of Strigoil (Chepstow), in Monmouthshire, which had never been conquered by the Saxons, the term hide is not used, and the carucate is expressly mentioned as a Norman measure (L carucatas terræ, sicut fit in Normannia). In the survey of Lincolnshire also the term hide is not used, and evidence is shewn that the carucate and the hide were corresponding quantities. But on the other hand the terra ad unam carucata, or plough-gang, was of a different character, and constituted very nearly, if not quite, an area of about 120 acres statute measure. The plough-gang also was subdivided. As the caruca, or full ox-team, consisted of eight oxen, so was the plough-gang divided into eight bovates, and the smallest quantity of arable land mentioned in the Dorset Domesday is two bovates, and this is not described as *Duæ bovatæ terræ* but *Terra ad duos boves*. This was a fourth part of a *Terra ad unam carucam*, and consisted of thirty acres.

The lineal measures by which the meadows, pastures, woodlands, and wilds, were described are more definite. This system of measurement, Mr. Eyton tells us, was that then in vogue, and the Norman Commissioners chose thereby to classify the result of their own investigations as distinct from information received by evidence of others. These measures, taking the *pertica* or *virga* at 16½ feet, or 5½ yards, is thus tabulated:

Table, p. 25.

16½	feet =	5½	yards =	1 virga or pertica.				
66	feet =	22	yards =	4 perticæ =	1 acra.			
660	feet =	220	yards =	40 perticæ =	10 acræ =	1 quarantina		
7920	feet =	2640	yards =	480 perticæ =	120 acræ =	12 quarantinæ		
	=	1 Leuua or Leuga or Leuca.						

In consequence of the use made in Domesday of these lineal measures, it is very important to understand in what respects they differed from our

present conception of measures of length. This Mr. Eyton has clearly explained, shewing that instead of proceeding from the farling (four long) or quarantine, to the Norman league of twelve quarantines, we have adopted, as the next higher denomination, a *mile* consisting of eight quarantines, and above the English mile we have the higher denomination of a *league*, or three English miles, which is just double the Norman *leuua* or *leuga*. Of the areal or superficial measures, he remarks that they must not be confounded with *square measures*, because the Domesday measures have usually unequal sides; and discarding the measures called *local*, he shews that the Domesday perch consisted of $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards, as subsequently confirmed by statute, and still remaining in use.

Table, p. 30.

TABLE OF AREAL MEASURES of the Dorset Domesday, the lineal perch perch or virga being taken at $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet or $5\frac{1}{2}$ yards.

$30\frac{1}{4}$	square yards =	1 "pertica" or square perch.	
4840	square yards =	160 "perticæ" =	1 areal acre.
48400	square yards =	1600 "perticæ" =	10 areal acres = 1 square quarantine.
580800	square yards =	19200 "perticæ" =	120 areal acres = 12 square quarantines = 1 areal league.

With this table the modern system corresponds in ratio, though using different denominations.

Having treated very fully and ably of the mensuration of Domesday, our author proceeds to describe the district surveyed—its Royal Forests, its woods, its pastures, its meadows, its vineyards, of which there were two, its gardens, its orchards, and its churches and church lands—shewing the application of the measurements before described, and the probable condition at the time of the survey of each class of land.

In writing of the Domesday agrarian population of Dorset he names the several classes in the order of their degrees of freedom, and shews the condition, respectively, of each class; leaning, we think, to a larger amount of freedom among the unfree than that which we had been accustomed to hold. He also shews the condition of the inhabitants of towns, the burgesses and the industrial classes, and treats of the farming stock, the values of lands and rents, &c., and brings before the reader a large array of illustrations, collected from Domesday itself, proving the theories he had advanced.

Having described the four Dorset Boroughs, and exhibited Tables of Dorset Landholders, with special notices of individuals, Mr. Eyton proceeds to treat of the lands held by the king, distinguishing the ancient demesnes of the crown from those which had fallen into his hands by escheat. The former were free from gild, but the latter, though held by the king, did not cease to be Hundredal and taxable. These chapters are particularly interesting and instructive. He compares the Inquisitio Gildi of 1084 with the Survey of 1086, and has appended very copious statistical tables, exhibiting the results of these enquiries.

Returning again to the question of statistics, it appears that the number of the adult male population of Dorset as deduced from the record of 1086, was about 9,000; whilst by the census of 1871, the total number of the whole male population of the county was 95,616. Assuming that 50,616 of these were children, the remaining 45,000 is only a five-fold

increase, or 500 per cent., in the period of 800 years. And Mr. Eyton points out that though in these eight centuries the increase of population has been 500 per cent, the same period has been marked by an increase of about 3,500 per cent. in the denominational price of corn and cereals; by an increase of about 6,000 per cent. in the denominational price of live stock; and by an increase of 24,000 per cent. in the denominational price, or rent, of land.

He estimates the average value of land in Dorset in 1086 as $1\frac{1}{20}$d. per acre, and the present value as averaging £1 1s. 0d. per acre. He uses the term denominational advisedly, for as to real value there is a further question. The real value of a thing is the price for which it will sell, and the real value of money is the quantity of commodity a given amount will purchase. A shilling in 1086 would pay the rent of eleven and half acres of land, would suffice to purchase perhaps two store sheep, or a quarter of mixed corn. In one case it was as valuable as 240 shillings of our money, in other cases it would purchase as much produce as 35s. or 60s. But then arises the question. Why has land increased so much more in real as well as denominational value than the products of land in real value? In answer, Mr. Eyton states "that the increase in the value of land has been caused by forces about five times as great as those which have operated upon produce. One fifth only of such forces consists in the marketable increase per head, or per quarter, of land products. The remaining four-fifths of such forces consist in the circumstance that land has been brought to produce from four-fold to twenty-fold as much in bulk, or quantity, as it did at the date of Domesday."

One other subject demands a brief notice, viz., the parties by whom the Domesday territory of Dorset were held. Mr. Eyton has divided the whole area of the county into 265 parts, of which, he says, there will have belonged—

"To the King in demesne or by lapse, or escheat	nearly $36\frac{1}{2}$ such parts
To the Bishop of Salisbury and other Ecclesiastical persons or bodies	102 such parts.
To Earls, Barons, and the greater Feudalists ...	98 such parts.
To the lesser Feudalists, or *Franci*, to the Kings' Thanes, to the Kings' Serjeants, to the four Boroughs of Dorset, and to a few unclassified land owners	about $28\frac{1}{2}$ such parts,"

and he remarks that, "the great and marvellous feature in this disposition of the Dorset lands is, that the Church, with her vassals and dependents, enjoyed more than a third of the whole county, and that her patrimony was greater than that of all the barons and greater Feudalists combined."

OLD ENGLISH PLATE, Ecclesiastical, Decorative, and Domestic; its Makers and Marks, with improved Tables of the date-letters used in England, Scotland and Ireland, founded upon the Papers and Tables of C. Octavius S. Morgan, F.R.S., F.S.A. By WILFRED JOSEPH CRIPPS, M.A., Barrister at Law. London: John Murray, 1878.

Most of our readers will be well acquainted with the treatises on Assay marks, and with the valuable tables used at Goldsmith's Hall, London, by Mr. Octavius Morgan, printed in the *Journals* of the Institute for

1852 and 1853,[1] which, with the exception of a slender attempt made some years previously, was the first effort towards the identification of the date of Old English Plate. Soon afterwards, Mr. W. Chaffers published a work on the same subject, in which he not only improved Mr. Morgan's Tables by adding the forms of the shields in which the date-letters were placed, which Mr. Morgan had not thought it necessary to give, but appended also additional tables of marks used at the assay offices at Edinburgh, Dublin, and Exeter. These tables continued the standard authorities in the study of this very interesting subject until the publication of the very valuable work at the head of this notice, which greatly eclipses its predecessors. Mr. Cripp's work is based upon Mr. Morgan's tables, from which gentleman he has, in its preparation, received very valuable assistance, which in the fullest and most graceful terms he acknowledges. The Assay Tables in the work before us have been made more complete, and tables of the York, Norwich, and other local assay offices added; moreover, Mr. Cripps has appended very extensive tables of makers'-mark, which are very valuable to the student as enabling him, in many instances, not only to establish the year in which any particular piece of plate was made, but also to identify the master workman by whom it was manufactured.

It is not only with respect to the tables here alluded to that Mr. Cripps excels. He has made a very careful study of the whole subject of Old English plate, and his disquisitions on the various marks and the several classes of plate, will be read with much interest and profit. Unfortunately articles of such great intrinsic value, and so easily convertible, as plate, are specially liable to destruction, and consequently we have to lament the loss of most of the magnificent objects of art-workmanship and value with which the beaufets of our knights and nobles and our religious houses, as well as the altars of our churches, were in mediæval times enriched. Into the subject of these losses Mr. Cripps fully enters, especially with respect to the destruction of the ancient church plate in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries. Space will not permit us to enter upon this subject further than to remark that all the ancient chalices and patens known now to exist, may be counted on the fingers. There is a fine chalice and paten, silver gilt and enamelled, at Nettlecomb in Somerset, exhibited at the Institute and at the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. Morgan in 1869, a description of which by him is published in the *Archæologia* (vol. xl, p. 405), beautifully illustrated of the full size in chromo-lithography. But there are no articles of antient domestic plate of greater beauty and interest than the old mazers. Being made chiefly of wood, usually taken from the knotted knarles of the maple and beautifully polished, though enriched with silver mountings, their intrinsic value did not afford so strong a temptation to their destruction as if they were wholly composed of the precious metal.

Many of the ancient mazers continue in existence of various sizes, some as much as a foot in diameter and some very small. They are all ornamented in much the same style, having a rim of silver which, rising above the edge of the bowl, increased its depth, underneath which was a band on which an inscription is usually engraved. Mr. Cripps has given illustration of several examples, but there are none finer or more

[1] Vols. ix and x.

Mazer at Oriel College, Oxford.

beautiful than one preserved at Oriel College, Oxford, of the date (circa 1470), which was given to the college by Bishop Carpenter about the time it was made. A beautiful woodcut of it was prepared by the late Mr. Albert Way, but in consequence of his lamented death it was never used until a cast of it was lent to Mr. Cripps for his valuable work, and it is now here introduced. It is eight inches in diameter and two and half inches in depth, and on the band around the rim is the following inscription in Gothic letters—

Vir racione bibas non quod petit atra voluptas
Sic caro casta datur hys lingue suppeditatur.

PALGRAVE FAMILY MEMORIALS, edited by Charles John Palmer and Stephen Tucker *(Rouge Croix)*, Norwich : Printed by Miller and Leavins. (For private distribution only.) 1878.

Family memorials, though of course chiefly of interest to the families immediately concerned, are of considerable general value when they are carefully and conscientiously prepared. This appears to be the case with the work before us. Indeed the name on the title page of one of the most active and able of our Officers of Arms is a sufficient guarantee that the genealogy and heraldry have been carefully scrutinized.

The genealogy of the several houses of this name are carefully traced. They do not all seem to have descended from the same ancestor, and it is only those experienced in the work who can conceive the difficulty in such circumstances of identifying those of the same name and fixing them in their proper places in the respective pedigrees. The editors in this case appear to have been successful in their labours. The genealogy is well supported by abstracts of wills, extracts from parish registers, &c. The most remarkable man of the family would appear to have been the late Sir Francis Palgrave, deputy keeper of the Public Records, and the learned historian of "The Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," the "History of Normandy and England," &c. His original name was Cohen, but, having married Elizabeth, one of the daughters of Dawson Turner by Mary Palgrave, daughter and one of the coheirs of William Palgrave, of Coltishall, he upon his marriage, in 1825, with the assent of William Palgrave, then the head of the family, by Royal license, took the name of Palgrave, and was granted a Coat of Arms.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

THE BRITISH BARROWS. By WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A., F.S.A. and GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

We rise from the contemplation of this work with feelings of great satisfaction at the great merits it possesses. The amount of information contained in it is very large, and we have no doubt that the fullest reliance may be placed upon every statement of fact in it; for never was there a more accurate or complete description given of everything that may tend to place the reader in the most favourable position for forming a judgment upon the construction, the contents, and the purposes for which the barrows were made.

We quite agree in the propriety of offering every suggestion which may help to explain the facts that are discovered. In such ancient matters many things must be uncertain, and every suggestion that is made may tend to lead to the discovery of the truth, even where it happens not to be the right solution. No suggestions could be offered in a more candid or appropriate manner than they are in this work, and the reader cannot fail to perceive that their only object is the ascertainment of the truth. That many of the suggestions are correct admits of no doubt; whilst others seem to be doubtful or erroneous, and we shall direct attention to the latter wherever it seems to us that a better explanation can be offered.

The engravings, with which the work abounds, are excellent, and afford a most useful help towards understanding the matters which they represent; indeed in many instances they render things perfectly clear, which without them could not be made intelligible by any verbal description, however accurately made.

It is almost superfluous to add that the work is written in a very clear, and, in some parts, eloquent style.

The work commences with an Introduction, in which the principal points are very lucidly discussed. Then comes a description of the round barrows on the Wolds in the East Riding of Yorkshire, which amount to 123. We next have those in the North Riding, numbering 37 more; followed by those in the West Riding, adding two more. Other barrows in Cumberland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Durham, and Gloucestershire are afterwards dealt with, and the whole number described is 220.

Next follows a table of the barrows, interments, and articles found in them.

Then we have the long barrows in the North Riding, East Riding, Westmoreland, and Gloucestershire, making a total of 234.

An admirable description follows, by Dr. Rolleston, of skulls and general remarks upon the series of prehistoric crania, and an appendix containing remarks on the prehistoric flora and fauna of the country.

It would be quite impossible to deal with anything like the whole of the very interesting questions which are contained in this work within any moderate bouuds; and consequently we shall confine ourselves to those points on which it may be our lot to question the inferences drawn from the facts, or on which we may, perhaps, be able to throw some additional light, or to offer explanatory suggestions. In our opinion there are some facts which have an extremely important bearing upon the state of civilization in Britain before the coming of Cæsar, and which have been very generally overlooked; and it appears to us that those facts ought to be considered together with every other fact bearing upon the matters in question; for in cases like the present, where all the acts of a people are involved in the depths of obscurity, every ray of light that can be brought to bear upon them from any quarter is very desirable, as it may either tend to show what their state was, or prevent false inferences from being drawn respecting it.

We thoroughly agree in the following beautiful passage "our own English ancestors might, no doubt, have been understood in many of their great characteristics, in their obedience to law, their love of justice and of freedom, and their aptitude for self-government; for these by an unswerving tradition have passed down, by slow gradations of change, into ourselves. We might have known something of their poetry and other writings; for Cædmon and Beda and Alcuin had lived and written, and letters had early taken root among them. We might have recognised their energy, their devotion, their strong religious feeling, which made them the teachers of a new and purer faith to those beyond the borders; for all Europe bears testimony to the great missionary labours of the English, when Wilfrid, Willebord, and Boniface became the apostles of the Gospel to many a heathen land. But without the wondrous museum of gold and silver and iron and precious stone and glass and bronze and ivory, which the cemeteries of Kent, of East Anglia, and of middle of England have so carefully preserved to us, what should we have known of English progress in many a development of artistic workmanship? How should we have become cognisant of their wondrous skill in goldsmith's work; their tasteful application of metal, stone, and glass to the enrichment of personal ornaments; their knowledge of glass manufacture in beads and vessels of that material; their high cultivation of art; their great practical acquaintance with the mystery of the smith?"[1]

The authors have rightly used the term barrow; for though that more especially designates a mound of earth, yet it well includes cairns, which are made of stone, and lows, houes and tumps, which are local terms applied to similar burial places. Barrows were all originally raised above the level of the adjoining lands, and there can be no doubt that owing to various causes it is extremely improbable that any barrow has existed for the last hundred years or more at its original height.

Barrows may well be divided into round and long barrows; for it is highly probable that those, which now differ from one or other of these forms, owe their differences to natural or artificial causes since their erection.

It is extremely likely that the round barrows were conical; as that would give them the greatest height, and it would well accord with the

[1] Page 58.

elevated situations on which they were for the most part placed, and which it may reasonably be supposed were selected as a means of causing them to be seen from the greatest distance.

The materials, of which barrows were constructed, were generally obtained from the neighbouring land; and consequently barrows formed of earth are found in places where there is no stone; barrows of stone where there is stone, and barrows of chalk where chalk abounds. Thus in Bradley, near Ashbourne, there was a barrow of great size made entirely of earth, and in Mayfield some four miles off there was a barrow entirely made of stone; in the former parish there was no stone, in the latter there was plenty. In Mayfield the barrow was called Harlow, and the place still goes by that name, although the stone of the barrow was used to mend a road in 1790. Another barrow in the same parish is called Rowlow; these are instances that are worth noting of the tenacity of names of places for ages But the most remarkable is that of Ilanai Tepeh, the wonderful tomb in the Troad.[1] This name means the tomb of the army, and was, no doubt, attached to it soon after the Trojan war; but its meaning had been entirely lost until we discovered it. A Hebrew word, which begins with cheth, the strongly aspirated h, and may be pronounced chanah, kanah, or hanah, means an army, and the name of the tomb is pronounced in all these ways; which plainly shows its origin. Tepeh is another form of *ταφή*, which denotes the burial of those slain in war.[2] This word and *τάφος* are derived from *ἅπτω*, to set on fire, and that from the Hebrew word ap, to scintillate, with *τω* added as usual in forming Greek from Hebrew words. Tophet is derived from the same root, and so probably is the Sanscrit word tap, to burn.[3] The name would be the same in the Phœnician, which is a dialect of the Hebrew, and some of the whorls found at Hissarlik have Phœnician letters upon them. This shows that there was a time when Phœnician was known in the Troad, or at least Phœnician letters, from which most of the Greek letters are derived.

Much doubt had long been entertained as to the manner in which barrows of earth had been formed. At Bradley, in Derbyshire, a barrow was composed entirely of earth, which differed wholly from the clayey soil around; and the soil of it was so rich that it was used to manure the farm on which it stood, and layers of soil appeared to extend from side to side. There was no hollow, from which the soil could have been taken, anywhere near the place, and we conjectured that the barrow had been formed of thick parings of the land around, which might have had ling or heath growing upon it.[4] And this conjecture has been fully confirmed by the narrative of the burial of the bones of the Roman legions, who were slain with Varus, as given by Tacitus,[5] which is explained in a former volume,[6] and upon which Dugdale[7] observes that the account of Tacitus implies that "every soldier brought his turf or turves to the raising of a tumulus, according as his respect was to the defunct, and that Germanicus himself laid the first, as eminent persons have used to do the the first stone in the foundation of some notable building;" and he adds,

[1] *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1.
[2] Thuc. lib. 11, c. 34.
[3] M. Wms, *Sansc. Gram.*, 45.
[4] *Archæological Journal*, xviii, 69.
[5] Annals, lib. i, c. 61.
[6] *Archæological Journal*, xxxiii, 393.
[7] Warw. 3.

that the grassy turves "were cut from the surface of the ground, which is the reason why it doth not appear by any hollowness whence the earth was taken that raised the tumulus." This very satisfactorily explains the cases mentioned by Canon Greenwell,[1] where indications of turves or sods of earth were seen, and the remains of grass and other plants were visible.

In any case where a barrow was formed of earth, it would naturally sink in height considerably, and where it was formed of turves it would sink much more in consequence of the decay of the vegetable matters in it, and the decayed turves would form a rich soil; and it is obvious that small animals might much more readily burrow to bodies buried in such barrows, than they could if they had been formed of common earth; and thus the presence of the bones of small animals in barrows near the bones of the persons there buried, may possibly be accounted for.

Whether barrows were formed of earth, stone, or chalk, it is clear that the materials used in forming them must have been carried, and often for a considerable distance; and no instrument for that purpose could be more suitable, or more easily made even by the rudest of workmen, than a hand barrow; and as this word barrow is doubtless derived from some word meaning to bear or carry, it may, peradventure, be that these tombs were called barrows because the materials were carried to them on barrows.

Round barrows differ very much in size; those on the Yorkshire Wolds range from 20 to 150 feet in diameter, and from 1 to 24 feet in height.[2]

Long barrows are generally placed nearly east and west, and the east end is broader and higher than the other. In some places they contain a chamber of varied shape and size made of stone, with a passage leading into it. In Yorkshire no such chamber occurs. They frequently have what have been termed "horns," formed by walls inclining outwards at the ends, and then returning inwards with a curve, which in some cases constitutes the approach to the chamber.[3] There is a difference in the mode of burial in the Yorkshire from other long barrows, not merely that in the latter the bodies were not burnt, whilst in the former they were, and in a most remarkable manner. The remains, sometimes of the whole body, at others in a fragmentary state and the bones separated, were laid at, or a little above, the natural surface in a line from east to west, and covered with turf and wood, and then stones laid over them, and over all the ordinary material of the barrow. The fire seems to have been lighted at the east end of the deposit, as its intensity seems to have decreased gradually towards the west end. The deposits of bones were generally at the east end. These remains were, no doubt, deposited in the positions in which they were found, and there burnt in the manner suggested by Canon Greenwell. Some long barrows were as much as 165 feet long and 40 or 50 feet wide, and generally in the west end no signs of any interment have been discovered.[4]

We fully agree with Canon Greenwell that "the absence of any signs of a burial, where a barrow has been minutely examined, is due to the entire decay of the skeleton."[5] Wherever air and water can act upon

[1] Page 5.
[2] Page 5.
[3] Page 480.
[4] Page 484.
[5] Page 28.

any animal or vegetable matter, it produces decay, and especially if there be an alternation of wet and dry, cold and heat; and the rapidity of the decay seems to depend upon the relative duration of the wet and dry. If, however, the operation of these agents can be wholly excluded, decay is prevented. An oak gate post, some ten or twelve inches square above the ground, had stood for forty years in clay. At the surface of the ground, that is at the place usually and well described as "between wind and water," it was decayed all through. There the damp would continue longest. The upper part was cracked and much less decayed. There the post would become dry very soon after rain. The bottom in the ground was perfectly sound. There the clay had excluded the action of the elements. Earths vary in porousness, and the more porous they are, the more rapidly does decay work within them. Sand and gravel stand in the first rank. In Bradley churchyard a man's body and coffin had completely decayed in twenty years, but the coffin plate remained. This was in gravel. When Beaumont street was made up to Worcester College, Oxford, a cemetery was cut across, and in the gravel might be seen the sides of the graves, which had been much wider at the top than at the bottom, and a thin black mark along the bottom was the only remains of the interment. At the Archæological Institute a barrow made of sand was described some years ago, and the only remains of the body that had been laid in it was the long hair of a female. When the length of time since the barrows were made is considered, the wonder rather is that the number of bones found in them is so great, than that some few barrows should contain no existing bones. In the case mentioned by Canon Greenwell, where a grave had been sunk in clay and a platform had been supported on stakes, all of which had gone to decay,[1] the barrow was made of sand, and the wet would sink down through it. The makers had evidently foreseen that this would be the case, and had made the platform to keep the body out of the water, as the Canon supposes. It is, therefore, the ordinary case of decay caused by wet, and the supposition that it was caused by some chemical action of the clay is out of the question.

A curious instance recently occurred to us of the decay of wood under peculiar circumstances. A brook meanders through a valley, which is some 150 yards broad, with rising hills on each side. To lay the valley dry, it was necessary to carry a drain about 8 feet deep through a bog, which rested upon a bed of gravel; several oak trees were found lying on the gravel, and all of them were too far decayed to be used for making furniture; but the decay was far the greatest on one side, and gradually decreased to the other, which was the side that had lain on the gravel. No doubt the bog, which was full of water, had gradually risen and so protected the trees from the operation of the elements, and consequently the part nearest the gravel was the least decayed, as it must have been the first protected.

The number of holes which are found sunk below the natural surface within the area of a barrow, seems to have been inexplicable to Canon Greenwell,[2] and at first it was so to us; but it afterwards occurred whether they might not have been made in order to supply air to the *green* wood placed across or near to them, in order to promote its burning; and this supposition is confirmed by several instances where the wood evidently

[1] Page 170.

[2] Page 9.

was burnt over holes,[1] and by the holes in the long barrows; which the Canon himself thinks were made to facilitatate the burning.[2]

The case is similar to our common grates, which admit the air from below; of course there would be no fire lit in the holes themselves, if they were made for the purpose we have suggested.

As to the prevalence of burning the dead more commonly in some districts than in others, it would seem that a consideration has been omitted that deserves attention. The difference may possibly have arisen from the presence and absence of wood. We know not now in what places woods existed in the times when the barrows were made. The prevalence of burning in a district shows that there was abundance of wood there, and the absence of burning may be due to the paucity of wood, just as we know that the absence of stone in barrows is due to its absence in the place. Wood may have existed where moors prevail now, and *vice versâ*. And it may perhaps be that the partial burnings may have arisen from the same cause, and if burning were considered a sacred obligation, as it seems very reasonable to suppose that it was,[3] it would be resorted to, wherever any wood, however small in quantity, could be obtained; and this may be the explanation of the partial burnings, without resorting to the supposition of Mr. Kemble, that "a little fire was probably considered sufficient to symbolise the ancient rite" of burning,[4] and this would seem to be the more reasonable explanation; for it is not easy to see why the more laborious operation was resorted to in any case, if the symbolical were sufficient. Tacitus, speaking of the Germans, says Funerum nulla ambitio. Id solum observatur ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. * * * Sua cuique arma, quorundam igni et equus adjicitur.[5] Perhaps, therefore, the Germans only burnt the chiefs and buried the rest.

We have no doubt that "the popular notion about our naked and painted predecessors"[6] is erroneous. Cæsar[7] plainly shows that the Britons were clothed. He says that the Kentish men were far the most polished, and the dwellers in the interior pellibus sunt vestiti. Omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cœruleum efficit colorem: atque hoc horribiliore sunt in pugnâ aspectu. This clearly means that they wore skins, and painted the parts of the body not covered with skins, in order to render themselves terrible in battle. And this is corroborated by what Cæsar[8] says of the Sweves, the most warlike of the Germans, who studied everything to promote hardiness, atque in eam se consuetudinem adduxerunt, ut locis frigidissimis, neque vestitus, præter pelles, habeant quicquam; quarum propter exiguitatem, magna est corporis pars aperta. This passage also shows that the exposure was in order to promote hardiness, and not because they were barbarians. For the same reason the Germans lived out of houses for years together, and hence Ariovistus says invicti Germani, exercitatissimi in armis, qui infra annos xiv tectum non subîssent.[9] Indeed from youth to age, exposure to cold

[1] Pages 204, 230, 281, 282, 293, 341, 346, 351. 353, 426.
[2] Pages 496, 497, 498, 500, 503, 506, 511.
[3] Page 29.
[4] *Horæ Ferales*, 101.
[5] De Mor. Germ., c. 27.
[6] Page 32.
[7] B. G. Lib. v, 147.
[8] B. G., Lib. iv, 1.
[9] Cæsar, B. G., lib. i, c, 36.

was the common practice, in order to render the body capable of enduring the greatest hardships.

> Durum a stirpe genus. Natos ad flumina primum
> Deferimus, sævoque gelu duramus et undis.[1]

Nothing, therefore, can be a more egregious blunder than to treat that as evidence of savagery, which was the result of the ardent appetition to attain the highest excellence in warlike qualities, and which was supposed to be gained thereby; for we are told that ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse,[2] and Casar's soldiers nearly mutinied out of fear of them.[3]

There are many bronze implements which occur in great variety of fashion and size, and have usually been considered to have been daggers; but we entirely agree with Canon Greenwell, that many a bronze instrument "is so thin in the blade, and at times the point is so much rounded, that it would ill serve the purpose of a dagger, and it seems to have been intended rather for cutting than stabbing."[4] Such, especially, are those which have been found in urns containing burnt bones. The Canon says that "the knife dagger and the plain axe may both be considered, judging from their shape, to be early productions of the age of bronze, and as neither of them has been found accompanying those weapons and implements, which were in use during the height of that period, they may be regarded as prior to such time, and as marking an epoch during the bronze age, namely its first development,"[5] and the conclusion is, that "the barrows in general belong to a period before bronze was in common use, and when that metal was scarce and only manufactured into articles of a comparatively small size."[6] Now we cannot agree that these small articles were the production of an early stage in the manufacture of bronze. We are convinced that the contrary was the case. An inspection of the figures of the knives[7] ought to convince any one that they were produced by great skill, and that the bronze was of excellent quality, otherwise they never could have been capable of cutting anything. So too the bronze awls, prickers, or drills.[8] Nor does it seem reasonable to suppose that such instruments would have ceased to be made when bronze was more generally manufactured; and in this case we have an instance of the great danger of trusting to the mere absence of a thing as proof that it did not exist; for at Plymstock, Devon, there were found in 1868, piled upon a ledge of rock, sixteen bronze celts, a two edged weapon, a mortice chisel and three of these bronze knives.[9] This is quite sufficient to show that these knives were made in the best bronze period; and it completely upsets Canon Greenwell's conclusion from the presence of these small instruments in the round barrows that they "belong to a period before bronze was in common use."[10] And it shows that these barrows may be of the age when bronze was generally used; and thus the question where the burial places of the people of that age exist, which the

[1] Virg. Æn., ix, 603.
[2] Cæsar, G. B., lib., i, c, 39.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Page 40.
[5] Page 49.
[6] Page 49.
[7] Page 45, 47.
[8] Page 46.
[9] *Archaeological Journal.* xxvi, 346.
[10] Page 49.

Canon found it impossible to answer,[1] is fully solved. In the dwellings in the Swiss Lakes exactly similar bronze knives have been found in company with bronze weapons of excellent manufacture.

It has long been our opinion that the bronze knives found with burnt bones in urns were placed there for some special reason. Pliny says that the Druids cut the mistletoe with a golden knife.[2] Now the colour of some bronze is so like gold that it may well have been mistaken for it; and bronze is so much better adapted for cutting than gold, that the mistake is rendered more probable. The question, then, has occurred to us, whether the knife which a Druid had used, might not be buried with his bones, as a suitable emblem. According to Cæsar[3] there was only one Archdruid in Gaul, and probably no very great number of Druids there or in England. Consequently we should expect to find but few knives in urns; and only fifteen have been found in 379 burials, and all had been used.[4]. Peradventure the presence of knives in urns may thus be accounted for. Since the preceding passage was in the press, Canon Greenwell has pointed out that these bronze knives are found in places where mistletoe never existed. The passage in Pliny, however, if we are right, shows that such a knife was used for a sacred purpose, and it would probably be used for similar purposes in every place, whether there was mistletoe there or not.

It strikes us as extremely probable that there was some particular reason for a deposit with the dead of anything so deposited; and, if that were so, it would naturally prevent the deposit of other and different things; and this may be the reason of the absence of iron implements between its introduction into Britain and the Roman occupation.[5] Nor is it immaterial that large bronze and iron weapons would be too valuable to be deposited in the barrows, if no reason required it.

In many instances circles of stone have been found. Occasionally a circle has existed where there is now no barrow; but more commonly a barrow has a circle at its base, or a short distance from it, or within it. In many cases these circles have been found incomplete. Very different opinions exist as to the purpose for which these circles were made. The earliest mention of them is in Homer, and the fortunate discovery of the marvellous tomb at Hanai Tepeh in the Troad, fully explains Homer's meaning, and shows what was done and the purposes of it. Upon the solid rock there were two feet of natural earth; upon that there was a layer of $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot of burnt wood ashes intermixed with fragments of coarse pottery. Above this there was a layer $5\frac{3}{4}$ thick of calcined bones, probably human. A wall, five feet in thickness, and ninety-five in diameter, consisting of large rough stones, without cement, ran all round the mound, and reposed upon the rock. The calcined bones were heaped up within this wall, rising gradually from the sides to the centre. Over the whole there were $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet of earth completely covering everything, and causing the tumulus to have been considered a natural hill.[6] Now this excellently shows the meaning of Homer's description of the finishing of the tomb of Patroclus—

[1] Page 50.
[2] Lib. xvi. c. 95, cited Camd. B. xv.
[3] B. G., vi, c. 12.
[4] Page 51.
[5] Page 50.
[6] *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1, where a section of the tomb is given.

Τορνώσαντο δὲ σῆμα, θεμείλιά τε προβάλοντο
Ἀμφὶ πυρήν· εἰθαρ δὲ χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν.[1]

They made the heap of ashes circular, and laid foundations round and in front of the pyre, and then heaped over it the loose earth. The circular stone wall at Hanai Tepeh is evidently the θεμείλια. Herodotus[2] speaking of the vast tomb of Alyattes, says—

Τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μέν ἐστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς.

Strabo[3] speaks of the same tomb as being

ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς χῶμα μέγα.

In both these authors, κρηπὶς evidently means the same as the foundations in Homer. It is clear that in these cases the circular wall was made to support the mound; and it would do so all the better by being itself covered with earth on both sides. The burning in Hanai Tepeh has completely reduced the bones to an indiscriminate mass, and in this respect it differs from any other tomb hitherto discovered. All the tombs spoken of by Homer were made of loose earth.

There are many instances, in which some bodies appear to have been buried simply, and others burnt at the same time, and it is very probable that no satisfactory reason can be discovered for the difference in the mode of burial. In Hanai Tepeh amphoræ of great size, the largest being about five feet long, and made of coarse red clay, mixed with gravel, contained unburnt human skeletons placed on a thin layer of pebbles, and reclining on their backs with upraised knees, surrounded by terra cotta penates and painted vases (lecythi and pateræ) of the best period of the art, the fourth century B.C., but generally of Archaic style, and blue, green and yellow glass vases and other small objects.[4] Another mode of burial, apparently belonging to the same period, in the same tomb was laying the bodies at full length, under very large oblong tiles placed at right angles and meeting over the bodies. In these tombs bones alone were found. The latter may possibly be the graves of the poorer people, and the former of the richer; and in these the upraising of the knees may have been due to the shortness of the amphoræ.

The amphoræ were all placed in a horizontal position, and a flat stone covered the mouth, which invariably faced the south or south-east, and the skeleton lay with its feet near the mouth, and its face immediately opposite to the mouth, as if it were intended to look out of it.[5]

The differences in the articles found in barrows in various places, and the varying degrees in the excellence of those that are manufactured, naturally lead to the inference that there were divers tribes in England, which, though they might agree for the most part in their general state and customs, yet differed in particular respects. The instances so well collected[6] fully illustrate this view, and the statement of Tacitus as to the several tribes in his time tends to confirm it. In Scotland we hear of Picti, Bicaledones, Vecturiones, Attacotti, Saxones and Scotti,[7] which leads to the supposition that the tribes may have been numerous in England.

[1] *Il.*, xxiii, 255.
[2] Lib., i, 93.
[3] Lib. xiii, c. 4, s. 7.
[4] Seet heir representations, *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 4.
[5] *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 2.
[6] Page 54.
[7] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xxvi, 5; xxvii, 8.

There can be no doubt that the barrows have been used extensively for secondary interments, during which process bodies have been disturbed, and the bones scattered,[1] or in some cases carefully re-interred in proper order as nearly as might be. Even at the present day it is a common practice, we regret to say, in Staffordshire and Derbyshire, to open the graves and dig up the bones of deceased relatives, in order to bury another member of the family. In 1814 we saw a mother's bones thus treated after she had been buried thirty years, in order to make room for her son's body. In the Troad secondary interments were made in the tomb of Hanai Tepeh.[2]

The question of the date of the barrows is one of extreme difficulty, or we might, perhaps, more correctly say, unanswerable. Canon Greenwell thinks that the time when iron was introduced into Britain may be taken as a starting point, and this he dates "about two or three centuries before the birth of Christ."[3] It is true that it was in use as money in the shape of rings,[4] and as cables for ships,[5] at the time when Cæsar invaded Britain. But at that time no part of it except the sea coast, and that part opposite to Gaul was known even to merchants,[6] and consequently little could then be known as to the interior of the island, and less, if possible, as to any previous time. This consideration leads us to doubt the Canon's position.

The Canon also thinks that silver was generally known about the same time as iron, which in Britain may be considered as not earlier than B.C. 250.[7] But it is difficult to see any evidence of this having been the case, and consequently the conclusion drawn from the absence of iron, silver, and coins in the barrows during the 250 years is very much weakened, if not altogether invalidated. And, as has been already pointed out, such absence may have arisen from other causes than the non-existence of these articles when the barrows were constructed. On the other hand, the natural presumption is that the same people would continue the same mode of burial, unless some great change took place; and, as there is no evidence of any such change, the presumption is that the old mode of burial continued until Cæsar came; and the barrow on Morvah Hill, where a burnt body in an urn, and Roman coins and pottery were found,[8] and the barrow at Crawley, Oxfordshire,[9] show that, in fact, the old mode of burial did continue until Roman times.

The result is that the two or three centuries attributed to the bronze age, in its highest state, may well be struck out of the calculation; and the calculation may commence from Cæsar's landing, though, probably, that is too early, as nothing was effected in his time which was calculated to change the mode of burial throughout all Britain.

We quite agree with Canon Greenwell, that the large number of articles of bronze which have been found, and the high perfection of their manufacture, show that it must have been in use in Britain for a very long peri$_o$d; and it may have been in use for at least 700 years, as he supposes.[10] It seems to us impossible to fix any date, even approximately. It is certain that many barrows have existed in their present state 2000

[1] Page 17.
[2] *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1.
[3] Page 130.
[4] Cæsar, B. G., lib. v, c, 12.
[5] B. G., lib. v, c, 13.
[6] B. G., lib. iv, c, 20.
[7] Page 131.
[8] Page 132.
[9] Page 713.
[10] Page 130.

years; how, then, is it possible to determine how much earlier they existed?

The opinion of the Canon rests upon the supposition that the manufacture of bronze originated in Britain, in which we entirely concur. And we cannot assent to the statement of Dr. Rolleston, that any "tribes brought bronze into England."[1] Tin and copper, the component parts of bronze, abound in England, and especially in Cornwall.[2] In Anglesea, also, there is a copper mine forty feet in thickness, and tin was worked here in extremely remote times. Herodotus[3] tells us that amber was reported to come from a river, called Eridanus, which ran into the North Sea, and that there were there certain islands, called Cassiterides, from which tin came,

(Κασσιτερίδας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾶ);

but he could not even learn that there was any sea on that side of Europe; but that, at all events, both amber and tin came from the furthest part of Europe. The report, however, was doubtless true; for amber comes from the North Sea,[4] and tin from the Cassiterides. These are the British Islands, sometimes called Hesperides.

Νήσους θ' Εσπεριδας, τόθι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη.[5]

Now we learn from Cæsar[6] that there was a tribe in Britain of the name of Cassi, of which Cassivellaunus was king; and as he was chosen as commander in chief of all the tribes against Cæsar,[7] the Cassi may well have been the principal tribe. Now the word Cassivellaunus clearly means king of the Cassi; for vellaunus, bellaunus, or however the word is spelled, is derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician Baal, Lord or King;[8] and princes formerly took their names from the people they governed.[9] Cunobelinus is a similarly formed name. Then "tir" in Welsh is land terra; and Cassitir formed from it and Cassi would be the land of the Cassi, like Lapland, Poland, &c. Then the Greeks would add os to the end of the word, and make it κασσίτερος; just as they made Βῆλος from Baal; and the metal would be named from the place whence it came, as many other articles have been. Thus, the derivation of the word has been shown, and the place whence tin went to Greece proved to have been England. And it is well to add that it is clear that Herodotus had never even heard of tin coming from any place other than the Cassiterides. Homer frequently mentions cassiteros as used in the Trojan war, which may, at least, be as early as B.C. 1000. All this tends to show that tin was worked at a very early period in Britain, and that the manufacture of bronze may probably have originated there, and at as early a time as the Canon supposes. We have not found any mention of mining in Britain itself; but, as Cæsar tells us that the Aquitanians were extremely expert in that art,[10] it is very probable that the Britons were so also, as there certainly was a constant communication between Gaul and Britain.

[1] Page 263.
[2] Lysons *M.B. Cornwall*, cxciv.
[3] Lib. iii, c. 115.
[4] See the account of amber by Tacitus (*De Mor. Germ.*, c. 45), as found in the North Sea.
[5] Dionysius Alexandrinus, cited *Camd Brit.* iiii.
[6] B.G., lib. v, c. 21.
[7] Ibid. c. xi.
[8] *Anc. Un. Hist.*, 306, note H.
[9] *Camd. Br.*, 278.
[10] *Longe peritissimi*, B.G., lib. iii, c. 21.

From the absence of metal and the rarity of vessels of pottery in the long barrows, it is inferred that they are more ancient than the round barrows, and the fact that the skulls found in them are dolichocephalic is strongly relied on in support of that conclusion.[1]

We entertain considerable doubt upon this subject. It would seem that originally a corpse would be laid on the ground; and, whether previously burnt or not, earth would be thrown up on all sides over the remains, and so a mound nearly circular would be formed; at first this would be only large enough to cover the body completely; and when larger mounds were raised, whether in honour of the dead or otherwise, the same circular form would be continued. Such in fact are many of the round barrows, which contain the remains of one body and nothing else. But the stone chambers, and the strange mode of burning in the long barrows, are not only additions, but obviously innovations upon the older mode of burial, and still more so is the vast addition of the part in which no burial took place, and which could only have arisen from some other motive than what prompted the round barrow. In Caithness we are told, that in some round cairns there is the same mode of construction with recurved entrances leading into chambers, indeed they are in all particulars, except in shape, like the "horned" long cairns.[2] Can there be any reasonable doubt that these are the older form? Again the barrow in Nether Swell, Gloucestershire, was between two round barrows and impinged upon them, and contained a stone chamber with a passage leading into it; and Canon Greenwell does not think it "an unlikely supposition to regard it as belonging to a time of transition, when the older manner of burial was being replaced by another."[3] We quite agree in this view, but think the reasonable inference is, that it was a transition from the round to the long form. Then the scarcity of pottery and absence of metal is no more than what occurs in many round barrows, and consequently forms no ground of distinction. The only point remaining is the form of the skulls; now we freely confess our inability to express any opinion on this subject, and we shall only say that we think many more examples of such skulls must be produced before any safe conclusion can be drawn as to the age of the barrows in which they are found.

The long barrows bear a very small numerical proportion to the round ones.[4] This fact, together with their very exceptional structure, leads to the supposition that there may have been some special reason for adopting their form, though they were made in the same period as the round barrows. There can be no doubt that the long barrows in Yorkshire, were made expressly for the purpose of burning the remains of a number of persons at one and the same time, and the barrow at Upper Swell for the burial at one time of a number of bodies, and the barrows containing cists or chambers for the like purpose. In all these cases we perceive a special purpose, and as far as we are aware, there is no instance of a long barrow made for the burial of a single individual. But there are many such instances in round barrows. Is it to be supposed that in the time of the long barrows, no individual, however distinguished, was buried alone? or is it not more reasonable to suppose that single individuals were

[1] Page 483, &c.
[2] Page 481.
[3] Page 451.
[4] Page 444.

buried in round barrows, and numbers of dead in long barrows at the same period?

It is observed that "it is only upon rare occasions that anything whatever has been found associated with a burial; whilst in several of these instances the articles are merely such as were connected, in the shape of fastenings, with the dress or other covering in which the body had been clothed."[1] And it is well remarked that "if it were thought that in another world persons would pass through a state of existence similar to that in which they had lived upon earth, and that it was therefore necessary to send them into that second state equipped with the essential means of such an existence, it is difficult to understand why so few persons were laid in the grave with these provisions for that after-life. This difficulty becomes greater when we consider the labour that was bestowed upon the barrows; showing, as it does, that neither care nor trouble was spared upon that which was connected with the funeral rites."[2] And still more so when some, if not many of these barrows, contain the remains of some one person only, who was evidently a pre-eminent person; for in such cases it cannot be doubted that everything that might be supposed in any way to tend to the benefit or honour of the deceased would be done. The fact that out of 379 burials only 77 contained any bronze or stone implements[3] seems to be perfectly conclusive against there being any such general custom of placing articles with the dead for their use in a future state.

We have an admirable description of the pottery found in the barrows, accompanied by many beautiful representations of urns and other vessels;[4] and without such representations it would be in vain to attempt to give any intelligible description of them. The pottery does not exhibit any representation of any animal or vegetable form; but consists principally of combinations of straight lines in almost endless variety, arranged in cross, zigzag, chevron, saltire, reticulated and herring-bone fashion, and sometimes in curved lines and circular markings.[5] "The ornamentation upon the vases and urns is not wanting in a certain tasteful arrangement; but in the ignorance of the use of the wheel, in the imperfect firing, in the absence of glazing, or of any other form of design in the patterns than simple combinations of lines or of circular markings, it cannot be said that they had attained to any great perfection in the art of the potter."[6] But there are instances of greater perfection. Thus, an engraving is given of the top of a vessel, which "is elegant, and its symmetry is such as to show the hand of a master in its fabrication. The ornamentation is very tastefully applied, and with great judgment; and in the delicate arrangement of its pattern, and the skill with which that has been carried out, it much exceeds the most of even the finer specimens of the fictile ware of the period."[7] And we are also told that the vessels of pottery "have been all hand-made; and taking this into consideration, many of them are surprising specimens of the potter's skill." "All have undergone the action of fire at an open fire, and not in a kiln."[8]

[1] Page 59.
[2] Page 59.
[3] Page 51.
[4] Page 61, *et seq.*
[5] Page 65.
[6] Page 117.
[7] Page 306.
[8] Page 63.

A doubt has been entertained as to the manner in which the urns were made. It is said that some "appear to have been made from one mass of clay and at once; but others show that they were formed of separate pieces laid together, the sides being as it were gradually built up."[1] We have recently learned that large amphoræ are now made by the women in India of circular layers placed one upon another. This well explains the mode in which British urns may have been made, and also the very large amphoræ in the Troad.[2] Some of these had cracked in baking, and a hole had been bored on each side of the crack, and the amphora was held together by lead, which had been run through both holes so as to form a firm connexion. We have one of these leads, which bears the marks of the fibres of some plant on its inside, which had been used to form a mould, into which the molten lead had been run, and a band formed which touched the urn all round, and so held it as closely together as possible. The two holes 1¼ inch apart, pierced through the rim of the urn from Scalby near the top, may well, therefore, have been made to repair a crack.[3]

As to the sepulchral pottery, called "Incense Cups," "Food Vessels," and "Drinking Cups,"[4] and the bones of animals, a suggestion may be made, which is at least consistent with, and may account for their presence in barrows. Virgil[5] describes the celebration of rites at the barrow of Anchises, on the anniversary of his burial, and it is clear that the same rites were used as at the original funeral: two libations of wine, two of new milk, and two of sacred blood were made.

Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
Fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,

and the vessels are described again as pateras et levia pocula. Then sheep, pigs, and cattle were sacrificed.

Cædit binas de more bidentes,
Totque sues, totidem nigrantes terga juvencos.[6]

Lastly there was the funeral feast,

Subjiciunt verubus prunas et viscera torrent.[7]

And this feast was on the flesh of the animals that had been sacrificed, and their blood poured out in libations, and the wine used was not mixed with water, for that was unlawful.[8] This description seems remarkably to accord with the vessels and bones found in the barrows.

The bones of the horse, goat, pig, deer, ox, sheep, &c., have been found in the barrows, and all these animals were sacrificed by Romans and other people to their Gods;[9] and it may be said, that this tends to show that the animals, whose bones are found in the barrows, were sacrificed. But the total absence of the bones of animals and pottery from so great a number of the barrows, completely negatives the supposition that sacrifices were ever made at British funerals.

[1] Page 64.
[2] *Archæological Journal*, xvi, 1.
[3] Page 69.
[4] Page 66.
[5] Æn. v, 46, *et seq.*
[6] Juvencus is a bullock in its second year, and bidens a sheep two years old.
[7] See also *Æn.* iii, 66. *Georg.* iv, 380.
[8] Heyne's note to *Æn.* v, 66.
[9] See Virg. *Georg.* ii, 380. Ovid, *Fasti*, lib. i, 349, 357, 381, 385, 387.

One fact is peculiarly strong. No instance has been given where it could even be suggested that an image has been found. At all events, therefore, there is no pretence for believing that the Britons were idolaters.

Canon Greenwell is strongly of opinion[1] that the sepulchral vessels were made for the particular purpose, and if they were made for the purposes just mentioned, they may well have been less carefully made and burnt in consequence; and though porous, they may have been sufficiently retentive to hold the fluids for the short time that was necessary. In the Troad, libations are even now poured on the corpse, and the cups which contained them thrown into the grave and frequently broken. This would account for vessels being found either lying on their sides or broken in pieces.

Our opinion is that Canon Greenwell is clearly right in thinking that "the various sepulchral vessels were especially made for the purposes of burial, and not manufactured for domestic use."[2] There seems to be no doubt that the urns, in which the bones were placed, were made on the spot, and for the particular burial, and the character of the pottery, of which the others were formed, is so similar in quality, and in the extent to which it has been exposed to fire, as naturally to lead to the supposition that all were made at the same time and place. Nothing has been said as to the presence of clay near the barrows where pottery has been found; and yet that might throw light upon this question. If clay was accessible where there was pottery, and absent where there was no pottery, the inference would be plain. Clay was plentiful near the barrow in which the urn was found at Bradley.

To be continued.

PRE-HISTORIC TIMES, as illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages. By SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, BART. M.P., D.C.L., &c. 4th Edition. London: Frederic Norgate. Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

There is no more absorbing subject, to those who take any interest in it, than that treated of in Sir John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times*.

Geology, or a study of the structure of the crust of the earth, is itself a science as but of yesterday. It is scarcely more than a century since attention was first directed to it, but it is a science which has made, and is still making most rapid progress though our knowledge, as yet, is very incomplete and imperfect. But out of this science has arisen a new science of still more engrossing interest, the study of Ancient Man, as exemplified in the remains discovered in the drift gravels, bone caves, &c.

The first discoveries in Geology and the pursuit of Geological studies was, at first, met by fear and jealousy, arising from an apprehension, that in it there existed a tendency to undermine the truths of revelation; but that apprehension has now, it is thought, passed away, and a belief has arisen that an agreement between religion and science must of necessity exist, and that the further science is cautiously, conscientiously, and reverently studied, the more clearly will that agreement be made manifest. The present Archbishop of Canterbury in his lecture on "Science and Revelation," delivered at Edinburgh in 1864, when Bishop of London, used these words, as quoted by Sir John Lubbock: The man of Science

[1] Page 105. [2] Page 103.

ought to go on "honestly, patiently, diffidently, observing and storing up his observations, and carrying his reasonings unflinchingly to their legitimate conclusions, convinced that it would be treason to the majesty at once, of science and of religion, if he sought to help either by swerving ever so little from the straight rule of truth." The same prejudices which have arisen with respect to the startling discoveries of the great antiquity of man upon the earth will, we doubt not, be in the same manner as those in geology, gradually removed.

To the study of Pre-historic Archæology have many able and enthusiastic men devoted themselves for several years, among whom there are few who have distinguished themselves by greater energy and acumen than Sir John Lubbock. In the early years of the last decade he published a series of Essays on the subject in the *Natural History Magazine*, and he delivered a course of lectures on the "Antiquity of Man" at the Royal Institution, for which he carefully prepared himself by visiting and examining the principal places throughout Europe at which remains of primæval man had been discovered. This resulted in the publication, in 1865, of his valuable work on *Pre-historic Times*, the 4th edition of which is the subject of this notice. The science of which it treats is, as it were, the connecting link between geology and history.

Though perhaps superfluous, it may be as well here to say that the Pre-historic period has usually been divided into three epochs, or ages, the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron ages, neither of them very clearly defined, all of uncertain duration and variable in different regions, and each running into its successor; but in treating of his subject, Sir John Lubbock has adopted a four-fold division of epochs:—

1. That of the Drift; when man shared the possession of Europe with the mammoth, the cave bear, the woolly-haired rhinoceros, and other extinct animals. This, he says, we may call the "Palæolithic" period.

2. The later or polished Stone Age; a period characterised by beautiful weapons and instruments made of flint and other kinds of stone, in which however, we find no trace of the knowledge of any metal excepting gold, which seems to have been sometimes used for ornaments. This, he says, we call the "Neolithic" period.

3. The Bronze Age; in which bronze was used for arms and cutting instruments of all kinds.

4. The Iron Age; in which that metal had superseded bronze for arms, axes, knives, &c. Bronze, however, still being in common use for ornaments, and frequently also for the *handles* of swords and other arms, though never for the blades.

In treating of his subject, however, under these heads he has inverted their order, dealing first with the two latest in the metallic periods. He begins by alluding to the first discovery and antiquity of metals, observing that Hesiod who flourished about 900 years B.C., lived during the period of transition from bronze to iron, for he mentions the ancients as having used bronze and not iron. Our author further remarks that in the Pentateuch, excluding Deuteronomy, bronze or as it is there, unfortunately, translated *brass*, is mentioned thirty-eight times, and iron only four times. Bronze is a compound of copper and tin, and brass is a compound of copper and zinc, and the latter was not known to the ancients. The period of the introduction of the use of bronze, and that of the transition from bronze to iron are unknown. Sir John Lubbock

combats the opinion of Dr. Nilsson and others, who consider that the introduction of the use of bronze and its dispersion throughout Europe is due to the Phoenician traders, for he says, the Phoenicians, we know, were well acquainted with iron. In *Homer* we find the warriors were equipped with iron weapons, and the tools used in the preparation of the materials for Solomon's temple were of the same metal. Hence it follows that if at these early periods the use of iron was known, the use of bronze must have stretched back many centuries previously. There can, however, be no doubt that bronze implements continued in use for some purposes after the introduction of iron for the higher classes of cutting instruments.

But the most interesting portion of the work is, that which relates to the Stone Age, which the author has divided into two periods, viz :— the Palæolithic Age and the Neolithic Age. He first treats of the latter or Neolithic period. After alluding to the immense number of stone implements and weapons which are found in all parts of the world, he proceeds to give a description of the *modus operandi* in making them, giving numerous examples of celts, axes, hammers, &c., comparing them with similar objects made by savages of the present day.

To this period belong the Megalithic monuments, such as camps, fortifications, dykes, tumuli, menhirs or standing stones, cromlechs or stone circles, dolmens or stone chambers, which occur in vast numbers throughout the world; and in treating of this class of antiquities, Sir John Lubbock has availed himself of the numerous discoveries which have been made since the publication of the last edition of his work; and he enters very fully into the ancient practice regarding the disposal of the dead. We are unable to follow him through all the interesting details which he has given; but we should notice the fact that the long tumuli of Great Britain resemble, in some respects, the Gang-graben of Scandinavia, in which the dead are buried and not burnt. Metal has not, at any time, been found in these tumuli, and it is concluded that they belong to the Stone Age. The skulls found therein are very long and narrow, and have received from Dr. Wilson the name of kumbe-cephalic, or boat-shaped. In a tumulus at Linglow, in Derbyshire, were found thirteen skeletons, which had been buried in the usual contracted posture. They were contained in a cist, composed of large stones, and with them were discovered several worked flints. Long skulls are comparatively rare in the round tumuli in England, and no round skulls have yet been found in long tumuli; at any rate, in Wiltshire or Gloucestershire. Thus, justifying Dr. Thurman's aphorism—"Long barrows long skulls, round barrows round skulls;" and the recent researches of Canon Greenwell and Professor Rolleston confirm this view. It is remarked that, as yet, no bone of any of the extinct mammalia has been found in a tumulus. The stone implements, also, are of a character very different from those used by the palæolithic men. On the continent, also, as in England, it has been observed that some skulls are brachycephalic or short-headed, resembling the Lapps, whilst others are dolichocephalic or long-headed. The objects buried with the dead are very numerous and varied.

We must not linger over Sir John Lubbock's description of the discoveries in the lake dwellings of Switzerland. These villages belong to each of the different epochs into which the pre-historic time has been

divided. The structure of the dwellings, and the remains found therein, are exceedingly interesting, but are probably familiar to our readers from Mr. J. E. Lee's admirable translation of Dr. Keller's reports, recently published. Moreover, we can only briefly allude to the "kjokkenmoddings," or shell mounds of Denmark, which our author has twice visited for the purpose of furnishing an accurate account of them. They are situate near the sea, and only a few feet above the water, and seem to be the waste heaps of a population which subsisted almost entirely upon shell-fish, the most abundant species of which were the oyster, cockle, mussel and periwinkle. Remains of birds and also of some few mammalia, chiefly the stag, roe-deer and wild-boar, were also found, but no vestige of the reindeer was met with. In every case, the bones which contained marrow were split open in the manner best adapted for its extraction. Among the shells were found stone implements of a peculiar and rude description, consisting of axes, flint-flakes, sling-stones, &c., with a few bone pins. The Danish tumuli have furnished several skeletons, from which it appears that the people were of small stature, having round skulls like the Lapps, but with a more projecting ridge over the eye, and with the peculiarity that their teeth did not overlap but met each other, as do those of the Greenlanders of the present day. The stone implements found in the tumuli are very superior in character to those discovered in the shell-mounds, and some controversy has arisen between Danish archæologists as to whether the shell-mounds were the remains of a more barbarous people than those who constructed the tumuli, and made the beautiful weapons found in them. There are indications that the shell-mounds men were not merely summer visitors, but regular settlers; or, at least, that they remained in their settlement the greater part of, if not during, the whole year. They had no domestic animal except the dog, and belonged to the earliest period of the stone age.

We must pass over Sir John Lubbock's chapter on American Archæology, interesting as it is, and proceed to the consideration of the earlier evidences of the Antiquity of Man in the river-drifts and bone caves. A considerable amount of discredit has from time to time been cast upon the value of the evidence derived from each of these sources. In 1841, M. Boucher de Perthes of Abbeville discovered flint implements in the drift gravels in the valley of the Somme, associated with the remains of extinct mammalia; the antiquaries both of France and England treated the discovery as the hallucinations of an enthusiast. At length several eminent Geologists, including Sir Charles Lyell, Mr. Joseph Prestwich, Mr. Evans, and Sir John Lubbock himself visited the valley of the Somme, and upon a very careful examination were satisfied as to the authenticity of the discoveries. Mr. Prestwich communicated the result of his investigation to the "Royal Society," and Mr. Evans to the "Society of Antiquaries,"[1] from which time the fact has been no longer doubtful. Mr. Evans, on his return to England, found that precisely similar discoveries had been made in England sixty years previously, by Mr. John Frere, F.R.S., who, in 1797, communicated to the "Society of Antiquaries," an account of a flint weapon he had found at Hoxne in Suffolk. This relic continues in the museum of the Society, and is

[1] *Archæologia*, xxxviii, 280.

identical in character with those discovered in the valley of the Somme.[1] Even as early as 1715 a similar discovery was made near Gray's Inn lane, of a spear-head in connection with an elephant's tooth. Many like finds have since been made in ancient drift gravels, in various places in England, in the valleys of the Ouse, the Cray, the Medway, and of the Thames. The remains of a mammoth are said to have been exhumed at Charing Cross within the last few weeks.

The Cave finds have been equally prolific. We need only mention Kent's Cavern at Torquay, and the Brixham Cave, where implements of flint, fashioned by the hands of man, barbed harpoons, and bone needles were found in connection with the remains of the mammoth, the woolly haired rhinoceros, the urus, the hyæna, the cave bear, the cave lion, the great Irish elk, and many other mammalia, now either wholly extinct, or no longer inhabiting Europe, the whole being covered, and sealed up as it were, for countless ages, underneath a bed of stalagmite, varying from three inches to eighteen inches in thickness. Superimposed upon this was a layer of black mould containing stone weapons of the Neolithic period, in connection with the remains of animals of existing species.

It is then an unquestionable fact, that a large number of rude implements of flint have been found both in the river drifts and in the ossiferous caves, which have certainly been fashioned by intelligent beings, and they are found in circumstances which lead to the conclusion, that probably the race of men who made them had passed away long before this portion of the earth was peopled by the primitive tribes by whom the more finished stone weapons, which we have hitherto been accustomed to consider of the most remote antiquity, were fabricated.

At what period in the history of the earth the mysterious deposits in the caves, and the equally, if not more, ancient deposits in the river drifts were made, it is, and probably ever will be, impossible to shew. That the geographical and climatic condition of Europe has greatly changed since the mammoth, the rhinoceros, and the reindeer roamed at large in the forests is manifest, for the existence of these animals in England indicates both a degree of cold of Arctic severity and a continental continuity, and there cannot be a doubt that the distribution of land and sea have a vast influence on climate.

The deposits of river drift, in some instances, shew an entire change in the configuration of the country. Such deposits, containing fresh-water shells and other remains, are found on the tops of hills, at a distance from existing rivers; and even those rivers which occupy the same valleys, which by their own force they scooped out for themselves unknown ages ago—such as the Somme—flow on much lower levels than formerly. This is shewn by deposits of drift, 100 feet or more above their present beds.

Sir John Lubbock brings under our notice the fact that many eminent men—historians, philologists and physiologists—"by no means inclined to raise objections against the authority of the Sacred Scriptures," long before the discoveries to which we have been adverting, felt a difficulty in reconciling certain facts with Archbishop Ussher's chronology. He also adduces many theories, geological and astronomical, for determining, at least approximately, the period of the palæolithic deposits, all varying

[1] *Archæologia*, xiii, 204.

greatly in results. Sir Charles Lyell is disposed to believe that the period of the greatest cold occurred about 800,000 years ago, whilst Sir John Lubbock himself considers it "unlikely that the present fauna of Europe should have continued to exist, almost without alteration, for so long a period; and the variations in the range and distribution of aquatic and terrestrial animals might, he thinks, have occurred in even less than 200,000 years, under the great changes in climate which have taken place." We cannot pursue this subject, but it well deserves an attentive study. It must, however, be admitted as conclusively proved that man existed upon the earth at the remote date of the deposits referred to, a period of antiquity not heretofore conceived of; but whether the great geological changes which have since taken place have been the result of slow and gradual natural causes, as advocated by Sir John Lubbock; or of some cataclism, as believed by the French geologists; or on the occasion "when the fountains of the great deep were broken up and the windows of heaven opened," who can tell?

THE BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL JOURNAL Vol. II.

An examination of this volume convinces us that this young Society is in a very prosperous condition. It is very pleasing to see that the Society already numbers all but 500 members, amongst whom so goodly an array of archæologists appears. Equally gratifying is it to contemplate the numerous very valuable papers contained in this interesting volume. These papers are for the most part confined to the County of Gloucester and City of Bristol, and in many instances to particular districts. We are convinced that this is the right course for such a society to pursue. The more the attention is concentrated upon particular places, the more the information regarding them will tend towards the ultimate formation of a really good county history; or we ought rather to say, a good history of England; for no thoroughly good history of any county can be written unless the facts relating to each and every part of it be previously ascertained. To comment upon all the articles before us, which well deserve notice, would occupy much greater space than is at our disposal. We shall, therefore briefly notice some, and especially advert to one article.

Several papers throw much light upon the families of Tyndale, Selwyn, Howe, Lord Chedworth, and others.

An admirable description of the Fairford windows is given by the Rev. J. G. Joyce, which is as excellent in its representation of them, as it is free from indulging in controversy as to their author, and we most deeply lament the early death of the author since it was written.

Prefixed to an account of the disinterment of a skeleton in Oakley Park, Professor Rolleston gives a very able disquisition on the several ages of iron, bronze and stone, which he maintains were distinct enough in the middle of each, though there might be gradations at both ends of the series.

Then we have a very interesting paper on the monumental brasses at Cirencester, in which the inscriptions that still remain are given. We most thoroughly agree with Mr. Hadow that these brasses (and other sepul-

chral monuments) are "extremely valuable. In them the herald, the genealogist, the chronologist, the architect, the artist, the palæographer, and the general antiquary, will each and all find much to interest and instruct them in their several branches of knowledge; and they furnish us, not only with well defined ideas of celebrated persons, but make us acquainted with the manners and customs of their times; while to history they give a body and a substance, by placing before us those things, which language, with all its powers, is deficient in describing;" And, infinitely more important than all, prove many a link in pedigrees.

The historical notes on tombs in Tewkesbury Abbey by the Rev. W. S. Symonds, contain a very full and accurate account of them from the earliest times, as far as materials exist for that purpose.

A note by the celebrated Dr. Hubner supports the view that Glevum (Gloucester) was a Roman Colony, and constituted the original standing quarters of the Second Legion.

The notices of recent Archæological Publications are numerous, enriched in sundry instances by good engravings, and are very well written, and the notice of Northcote's Catacombs is especially good.

We now come to the article on "Tenures of land by the customary tenants in Cirencester," by the Rev. E. A. Fuller, to which we shall devote a more particular notice. This article contains a series of documents, commencing in 1086 with an extract from Domesday, and ending in 1540, or for a period of about 450 years, relating to Cirencester. The documents are extremely well translated, and the comments upon them are excellent. We look on this collection as very valuable, as it illustrates not only the early system of tenures, but of services by persons, both male and female, who were merely inhabitants, or even strangers sojourning in the place for a short time, and discloses the gradual changes that took place in that system as the centuries passed along.

The finding of an inquest that all natives when emancipated, and all strangers who slept in Cirencester on the night of St. John the Baptist (June 24th) and continued there till the corn was reaped, whether freeman or serf, male or female,[1] must do certain services, clearly shows that the title to the article is too narrow, and that services were due from all persons, whether they held lands or not, with the exception of those who were emancipated, or who had not sojourned during the specified time. And this is quite in accordance with the finding in another inquisition, which, after specifying the services due from many, states that all others, who continue (manent) on the land of the king, ought to perform the services there specified.[2]

Our limits prevent us from any attempt to give a full description of the different services, and the changes which they underwent from time to time; but the documents themselves, and the admirable remarks of Mr. Fuller upon them are very deserving of the consideration of all who are interested in such matters, for if we mistake not, they throw a considerable amount of new light upon them. As might well be supposed in the earlier times, the services were personal and onerous in a greater degree than afterwards, and it may be doubted whether they were not more onerous in Saxon times than at the time of Domesday; for the entry from it here given, shows that 3000 loaves for dogs were rendered in the time

[1] Page 307. [2] Page 297.

of King Edward, and sixteen shillings in lieu of them when Domesday was made, and money payments are far less onerous than services in kind. We have looked through the Derbyshire part of Domesday, to see if there were anything that might throw light upon this subject, but in vain. In it the value in the time of King Edward, and at the time of the Domesday survey is stated, and in the majority of cases the value is less, often much less, than in the time of King Edward. But that affords no information on this subject.

The inquisition held under a writ of King John by Richard de Muchegros and Walter de Verdun, concerning the services and customs of Cyrencester, is remarkable in several respects. They convoked a halimot of Cyrencester, and, with the assent of the halimot, they caused to be elected sixteen of the older and more loyal (legalioribus) men of Cyrencester, who, as was said, were best acquainted with the customs and services of the vill of Cyrencester, to declare what service the men of Cyrencester were accustomed to render to King Henry I, whilst the vill was in his hands; and these men were sworn (tactis sacrosanctis evangeliis, jurati super sacramentum sanctum).[1]

The first remark is that it seems the oath was taken not only by touching the Gospels, but actually over the Holy Sacrament.

Next we have a jury, who were also witnesses, and apparently the only witnesses, and not only so, but directly interested in the matters to be determined.

There are some words in the documents here given, on which they throw light, or on which light may be thrown from other sources, and therefore they may well be noticed.

Venatoria was some service in hunting; and it is said that it consisted in providing two or three greyhounds for the king,[2] and it probably related to venaria, which were hares, partridges, &c., which frequented the open, and not deer and pheasants frequenting the woods.[3] By the foundation charter of the monastery of St. Werburgh in Chester about 1093, Ralph Venator (the huntsman) granted three plough lands,[4] and to the foundation charter of the abbey of Stanlaw in 1178, Robertus Venator was a witness,[5] and to a deed about 1286 Robert le Grosvenour, then Sheriff of Cheshire, was a witness.[6] There seems no doubt, therefore, that there was an office of huntsman; and, as the extract from Domesday mentions the render to the king of 3000 loaves for the dogs, and the term venatoria occurs as the service of the first person named in the next document, it is probable that the office existed in Saxon times.[7]

Villa here means a district, in which there were open and inclosed lands, as well as houses. See the explanation of this word in *Archæological Journal*, xxix, 85.

Two words denoting agricultural services are very clearly explained by these records.

Bederipa or Bidripa was the service performed by mowing, gathering together, binding in sheaves and stacking corn (metendo, colligendo, ligando, et tassando blada),[8] and may well be rendered corn harvesting.

Fenatio, fenagium, feneson and feneisun are all derived from fœnum,

[1] Page 293.
[2] Inq. p.m., 36 Henry III, 42 b.
[3] Spelm. *Gl. venaria.*
[4] Leycester's *Chesh.* 110.
[5] Ibid., 267.
[6] Ibid., 305.
[7] Page 286.
[8] Page 312.

hay, and mean the service performed by spreading, gathering together, loading and stacking hay (spargendo, uniendo, levando et tassando fenum).[1] In the King's Bench Roll, 9 Henry III, m. 6, d. and m. 20, the equivalent word is feneileva, which is plainly derived from fenum and levo; both of which occur in the record. This service may well be called hay harvesting, and fenare was to perform this service.

Spelman treats these services as precaria, because they were only to be performed when the tenant was bidden or required to do them, and he says such services were to be rendered with horses, carts, ploughs and manual labour, and sometimes as well by free tenants as natives.

The service was to be performed by one able man (per unum hominem habilem)[2] or more; but it is not said to be by the tenant.

For hay harvesting nothing was to be given by the lord; but for corn harvesting three halfpence without dinner or drink.[3]

Perendinus, the next day after tomorrow, is good Latin, and Vossius gives perendinare as die uno, vel altero, vel diutius apud aliquem divertere, and here we have the word used for residing for an uncertain time, and nearly equivalent to inhabiting; and any stranger of either class, who slept in Cirencester on the night of St. John the Baptist, June 24th, and continued there until the lord cut his corn, whether free or serf, male or female, was bound to perform service.[4]

Sulfodes is an unknown word. Mr. Fuller says it has been suggested that it is derived from A.S. *sulh*, a plough, and *foda*, food. Possibly *sulcus*, a furrow, and *fodio*, to dig, may be the origin, and the word may mean a ploughman, who must be a skilful man. A jury found that natives, as long as they were under the rod and power of their fathers, and lived as part of the family (ad manupastum patrum suorum et matrum) did no service; but as soon as they had their free liberty and lived by their own labour, and became (effecti) sulfodes, they did service.[5] The term plainly means much the same as our word emancipated.

Virgatarius, the holder of a virgate of land, which varied in value being two or three shillings a year.[6] Waynagium, cartage, from wain a cart.[7] Spelman has carucæ wanagium.

Gabellum and tholnetum seem to be here used for different imposts,[8] and as those who brew their own beer are to be free de tholneto, it would seem that this word here denotes a tax on beer; but its general meaning is a toll paid for selling goods in a market.[9] On the other hand Gabellum might denote either the one or the other.[10]

Villati seems equivalent to the men or inhabitants of a place. Quod servicium villati de Cyrencester is soon changed to quod servicium homines de Cyrencester. The word is derived from villa.[11]

Chepingavel, from cheaping, an old term for a market, and gavel, toll, another form of gabel. Here it was a toll of 2½d. paid once a year by the sulfodes for the liberty of buying and selling in the market of Cyrencester anything except horses.[12]

Decenna, a body composed of the ten principal men in a vill, who

[1] Ibid.
[2] Page 312.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Page 307.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Page 297.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Sp. *Glo. in Tol.*
[10] Sp. Gl.
[11] Page 293.
[12] Page 307.

were each of them sureties for the others to the king for any wrong done by any of them.[1] Of this body each was called decennarius, and the head decanus.[2] Mr. Fuller renders decanna by tything; but this seems to be an inaccuracy. Blackstone treats tithing as synonymous with town or vill, and as made up of ten families of freeholders.[3] A decenna as used here[4] would seem to be a body of ten elected[5] from all the inhabitants of Cirencester. There would also seem to be some distinction between the decennarii and the decenna; for an election is mentioned as made per decennarios decennam.

Thelinga as used here[6] would seem to mean the same as decenna.

Testator, an aletaster.[7]

Cadaverator, an inspector of carcases.[8]

Hedepenny, a penny paid by a Decannarius when he was not sworn at any view of frankpledge.[9]

Stakepenny, a penny paid to the lord for every brewing of beer exposed for sale.[10]

Tolcestre, a render of four lagenæ of the best, and four of the second best beer of every brewing intended for sale.[11]

Brasina, a brewing of beer.[12]

Halimot, the court of the lord of a manor. In the cases here mentioned the halimot elected the members of the jury,[13] and probably the decennarii.

Manens is here used simply for residing for a few days, and so it seems to be in a grant by Alexander de Marwyke to the Abbot and Monks of Kirkstall, without date. In Saxon deeds Spelman interprets manens as a tenant of land, but, as here used, it does not imply any connection with land.

We must now conclude, and the greatest praise we can give to this book, is that we have no real fault to find with it.

We would venture to suggest to the Society, the advisability of publishing the Gloucestershire and Bristol Records. The Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society is doing so, and the Sussex Archæological Society is contemplating doing the same. The prospectus of the former gives a very good list of the original documents intended to be published, and contains valuable information on the subject. It is published in vol. xxix, Sussex Archæological Coll., 232, and see vol. xxvii, 1, and vol. xxviii, 1, for further observations on such a proposal. Such a publication is extremely desirable, and will preserve many an important record that may otherwise be lost.

[1] Sp. *Gl. Triborya.*
[2] Sp. *Gl. in verbis.*
[3] 1 Com. 114.
[4] Page 313.
[5] Page 314.
[6] Page 307.
[7] Page 313.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Page 313.
[10] Page 312.
[11] Page 314.
[12] Pages 312, 314.
[13] Pages 296, 306.

AN ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY THE ARMS FORMERLY EXISTING IN THE WINDOWS OF THE PARISH CHURCH AND AUSTIN FRIARY AT WARRINGTON. By WILLIAM BEAMONT, ESQ. and J. PAUL RYLANDS, ESQ., F.S.A., Warrington: Percival Pearse, 1878.

We can scarcely picture to ourselves the richness and beauty our old churches would now exhibit had it not been for the destruction caused by the bigoted zealots of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Of this the mutilated tombs and the fragments only, alas! of the richly painted windows still bear testimony. The windows at Warrington were, like many others, entirely armorial, and afforded no excuse for their destruction upon any religious ground, and possibly this was the reason they passed through the first period of iconoclastic fury without injury. They were safe in 1640, for separate accounts of them were written in 1572 and the last mentioned year. Probably they were destroyed by the Puritans during the Civil War, at all events one shield only remained at the end of the last century, which had been set up in 1527 to commemorate a deceased rector called Delves, but at the "restoration" of the church in 1860 that also perished!

The description of the windows alluded to above, forms the basis of the work before us. The lists are printed entire, and the blazon has been carefully revised and extended (all additions being placed within brackets), and extensive notes have been supplied upon the shields of arms. The plates of arms are exceedingly well executed, the charges being drawn with great boldness and vigour. Mr. Pearse, we understand, has taken the whole risk of the publication upon himself, and he will, we trust, be very fully compensated for the expenditure he has incurred.

HISTORICAL MEMORIALS OF BEAUCHIEF ABBEY. By SIDNEY OLDALL ADDY, M.A., Oxon. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. Sheffield: Leader & Sons, 1878.

This is a very interesting and valuable sketch, and may be taken as, which indeed the author modestly professes it to be, a supplement to Dr. Pegge's *Historical Account of Beauchief Abbey*, published in 1801. Mr. Addy explains that his first intention was to edit, with some additions, the work of his predecessor, but that he abandoned such design because he found it impracticable to incorporate into Dr. Pegge's work, in a readable form, the Obituary of the Abbey, now first printed. We regret this decision, for Dr. Pegge's work, which contains the substance of the cartulary of the abbey, is very scarce, and if reprinted, with such notes as Mr. Addy has shewn himself so well qualified to make, and with the new matter contained in the volume before us added as a supplement, would have been extremely valuable.

The Abbey of Beauchief belonged to the great Premonstratensian Order, which followed the Augustinian rule, of which rule Mr. Addy commences by giving a brief abstract. This is followed by a history of the foundation of the house by Robert Fitzranulph in expiation of his guilt, for the share he had in the murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose honour the house was dedicated. Fitzranulph afterwards himself became a Canon. The obituary, which was found among the Cottonian MSS., is unusually full, and though unfortunately

unusually deficient in dates, it is very valuable for local genealogical purposes; whilst the Visitations of the Abbey, made from time to time, disclose a great deal of the condition of the monasteries in England in the fifteenth century. Some interesting wills and charters are given.

In writing of the appropriated churches, Mr. Addy would appear to conclude that, because certain of them were not mentioned in Domesday, no church existed there at the date of the Survey. This, however, by no means follows. As church endowments were not gildable, the Domesday Commissioners usually did not notice them, unless gildable lands were annexed to the benefice. Hence in some counties scarcely a dozen churches are named in the Survey.

The notes display a considerable amount of learning, and there is a very good index.

LECTURES ON THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF MEDIÆVAL ARCHITECTURE. Delivered at the Royal Academy by Sir GILBERT SCOTT, R.A., F.S.A., LL.D., etc. 2 vols. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1879.

No member of the Archæological Institute needs to be reminded of the merits of Sir Gilbert Scott, nor of his singular modesty and affability. He was our leader for several years in the study of Architectural History, after we had lost Professor Willis, who may almost be said to have been the founder of that study, by his lecture at the first meeting of the Institute at Canterbury. Scott always acknowledged himself a pupil of Willis, and, after we had lost him, he ably supplied his place in enabling us to understand the architectural history of each of the cathedrals or fine churches that we visited in our annual excursions. After the loss of Willis, no-one more thoroughly understood their true history, or more highly appreciated their value, than Scott.

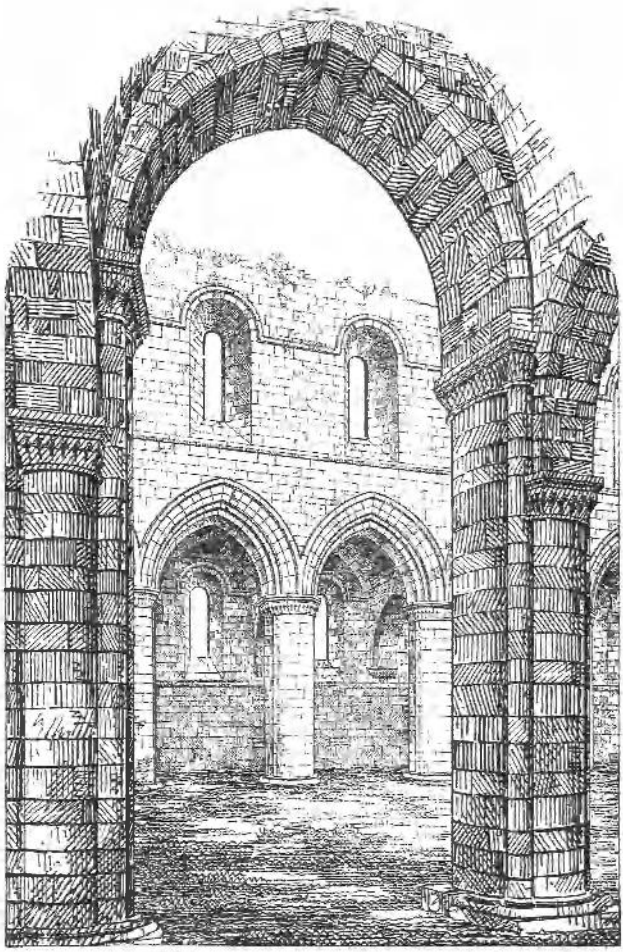
These lectures are admirably suited for the purpose for which they were intended, that is, for the instruction of young architects. They were given at the Royal Academy in successive years, always to a large class of students, by whom they were most highly valued, and for whose use they were printed for private circulation in each succeeding year. The first volume of the present publication is therefore, to a great extent, a reprint of those separate lectures, and not strictly a consecutive series; but they were collected and published by Sir Gilbert himself, with short notes here and there, in 1878; and the publication was not quite finished at his sudden and deplorable death, as is stated at the end of the preface by Mr. Weatherley, who completed the work, and who states that many of the illustrations were prepared by himself for the lectures ten years ago. Our space compels us to be brief, and to pass over some of the lectures by merely stating their subject: it is needless to say that all of them are ably treated, and therefore, still less to repeat that in each instance. The first lecture is upon "The Claims of Mediæval Architecture upon our Study," an able, general sketch of the subject, how it should be undertaken and pursued, and the practical object for which it should be followed up. The second is the sketch of the rise of Mediæval Architecture, to which the same remarks would apply, and which points out the influence which vaulted roofs necessarily had on the use of the pointed arch. The third is on the Transition, another admirable sketch, but in which, as I have said in my paper on S. Denis, p. 231, he seems to follow too much the Parisian view of Suger being "the inventor of the Gothic style." He could not really mean this, as no one knew better than Scott did its very gradual development during the last half of the 12th century. The only part of his work which is not quite satisfactory is his account of Suger and S. Denis. He gives a woodcut of the choir, as if it was really the work of Suger in 1140, because the *foundations were laid* at that time. Yet Scott shews that the same feature, the commencement of the use of the pointed arch, that is found in Suger's work, is found also in Fountains Abbey at the same time; and he gives a view of part of the nave, shewing this feature (in No. 59), and relates the date of it to be from 1140-1150, precisely the date of Suger's work. I have shewn that the part that really is of that time is the crypt under the choir. The choir itself was raised and much altered a century afterwards, to make it correspond with the nave, which was much more lofty than the original choir. The proof of this, is the column introduced in eth

crypt, cutting through Suger's vault, in order to support another column in the choir above when a vault was added to that also, and when two of the small narrow arches of the original choir were thrown into one; thereby adding greatly to the weight that would have to be carried on that vault to support the new vault above, which is of very different character, and which also had to be supported on the exterior by flying buttresses, a feature never found in Romanesque styles. This oversight is the only blemish in the book, but it was necessary to point it out, because it is "one of the turning points in the history of architecture," and no *Gothic* church was ever built anywhere until half a century after 1140. Any one who would censure some of the early restorations of Scott must remember that the zeal of the zealous young clergy at the time that the Oxford movement began, and of the members of the Cambridge Cambrian Society at the same period, compelled the architects to set about *restorations* before either they or their employers had studied the subject sufficiently to know how to set about it, even the workmen had to be taught the *reality* of Gothic work, and that the *shams* to which they had so long been accustomed could no longer be tolerated, although these had seemed to them a necessary part of the Georgian style miscalled Italian, or which may perhaps be called Anglo-Italian, in which they had been educated.

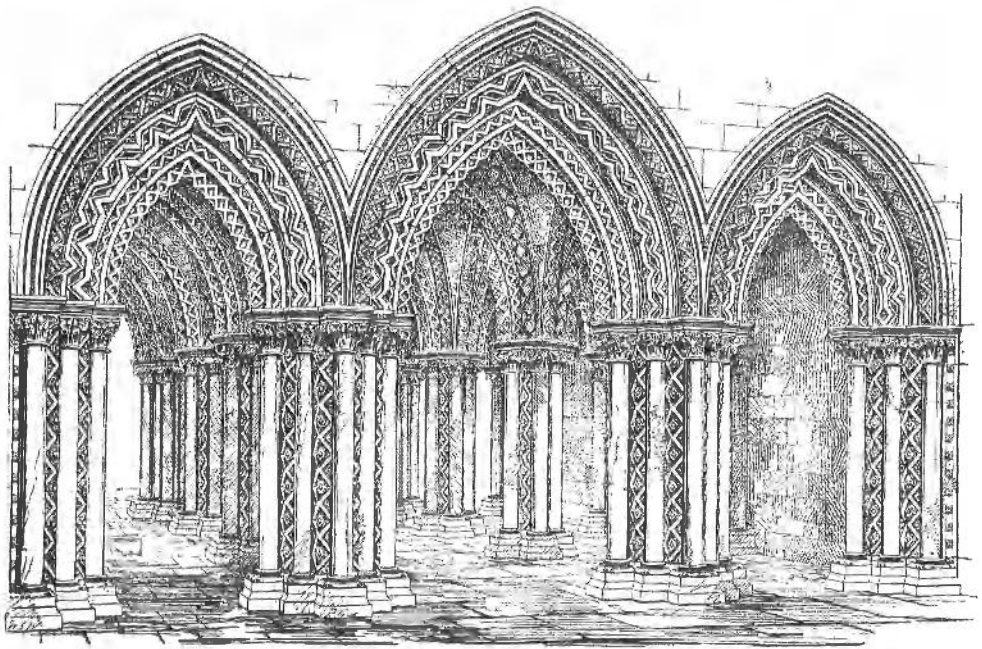
But it is time to let Scott speak for himself in his own words, and we had better go at once to Canterbury, and to the work of William the Englishman, which is certainly more GOTHIC than that of his master, William of Sens.

"William the Englishman discarded the Byzantine foliage, and adopted, almost exclusively, the Notre Dame type and the capital *à crochet*, which he carried out with extreme beauty. His work is far more beautiful than that of his master, though from the resemblance of the plan to that of Sens, and from the use of doubled columns, it must have been laid down by the French William. I know no work of the age finer than those of these two architects. One thing I will remark about the second architect, that he made his crypt, in which he worked unfettered by the designs of another, more English than the superstructure, using there (as he did also in one or two other places) the round abacus, subsequently so characteristic of *English* work. The influence of the French work thus introduced into England is distinctly marked, and there is no difficulty in tracing it wherever it exists; but it is by no means such as to supersede the national type." Vol. i, p. 113.

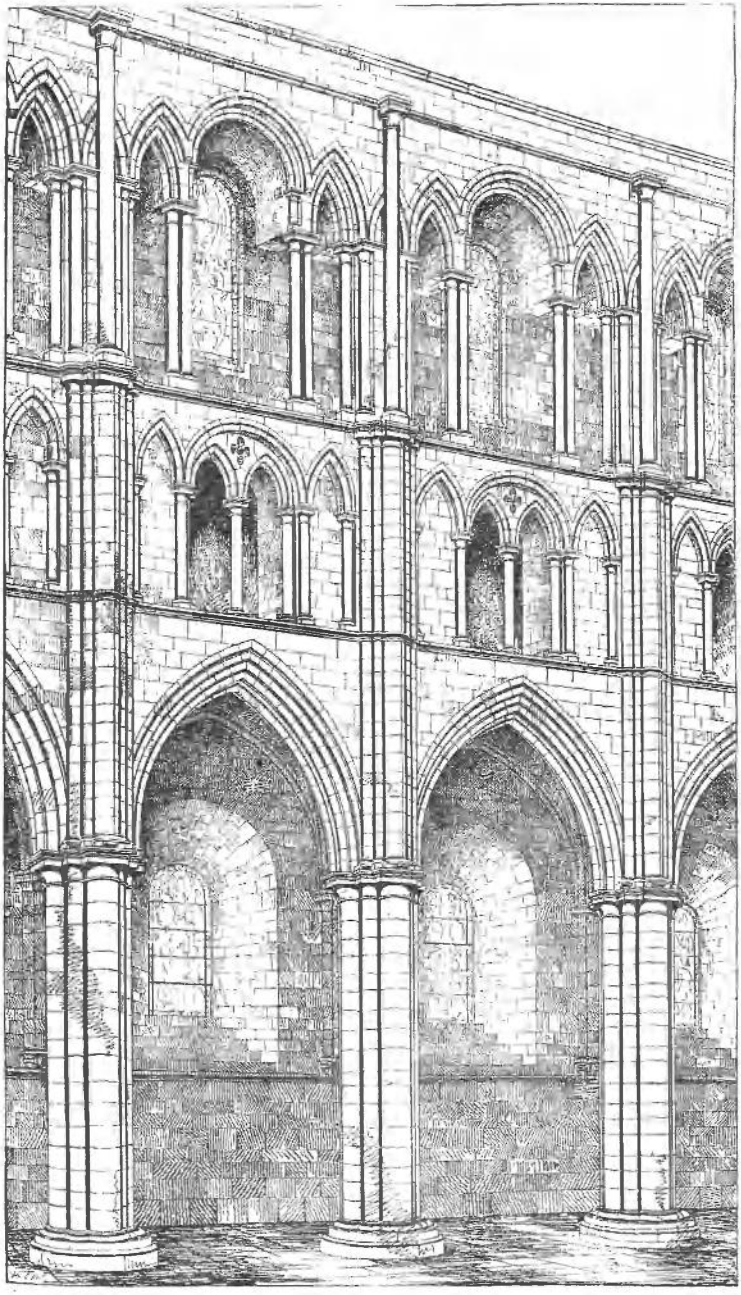
Unfortunately, there is the same general misunderstanding about the church of Sens that there is about S. Denis. The part of Sens that really resembles Canterbury so closely that the same working drawings might almost have served for both, is the *nave* and not the choir. The roof of the choir was burnt, and that part of the building much damaged, much in the same manner that the choir at Canterbury had been, soon *after* the return of William from Canterbury to Sens, and the choir of Sens was then restored much in the same manner as the choir of Canterbury has been. Along with a new roof, a new vault and a new clerestorey were put on the choir. The clerestorey-wall almost necessarily goes with the roof. This material alteration, or restoration (?), was pointed out to me on the spot by Mr. Viollet Leduc, whom I had accompanied from Paris to Sens on purpose to see that church with him. He had then a real work of restoration going on there under his direction,



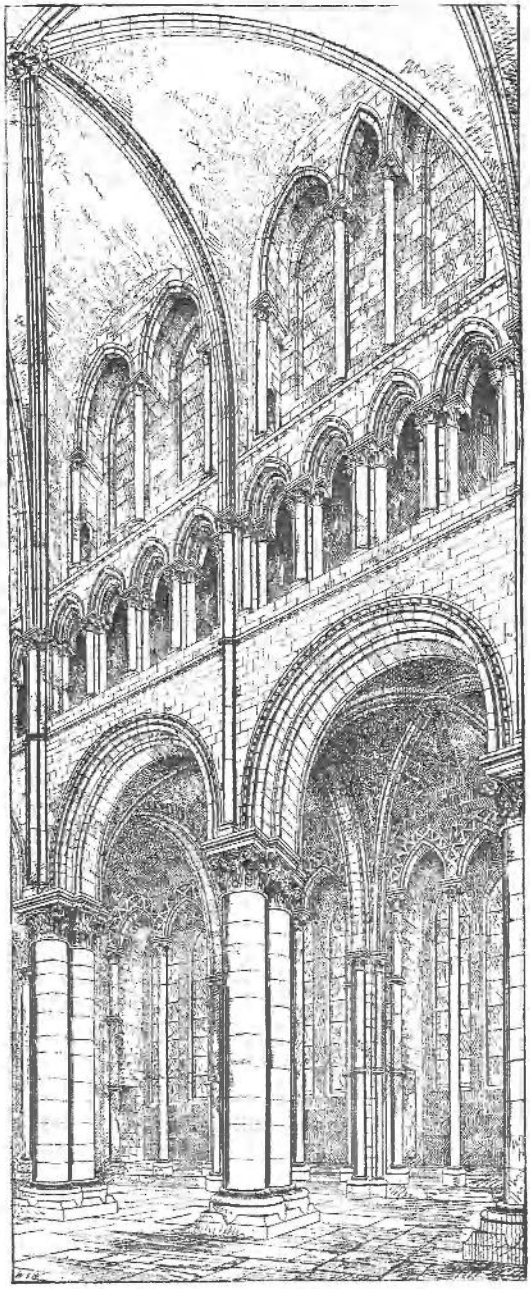
Fountains Abbey.—View across Nave, 1140—1154. See page 256.



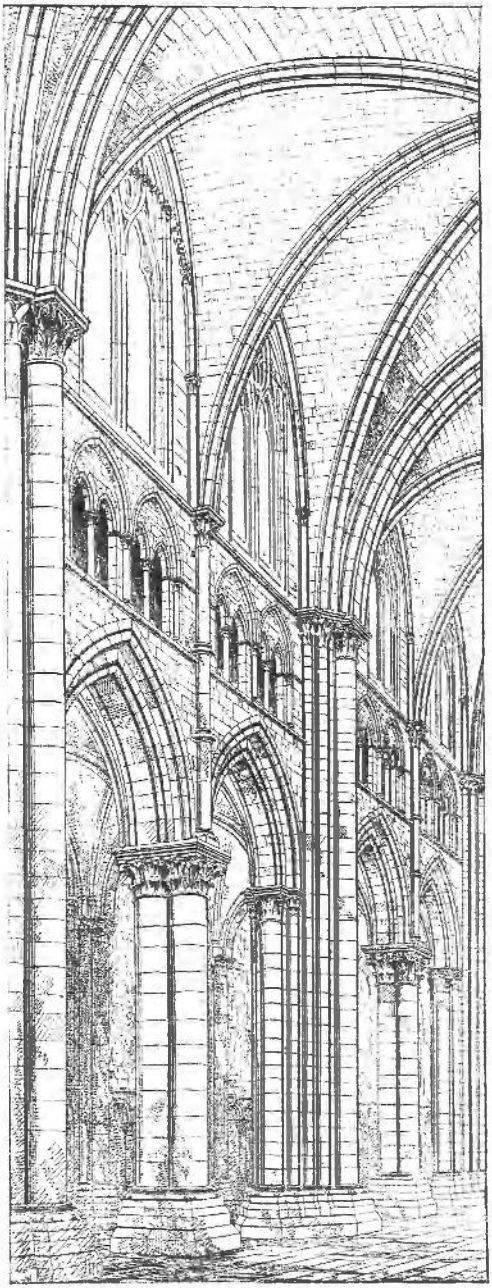
St. Mary's Abbey, York.—Vestibule of Chapter-House, 1154—1181. See page 288.



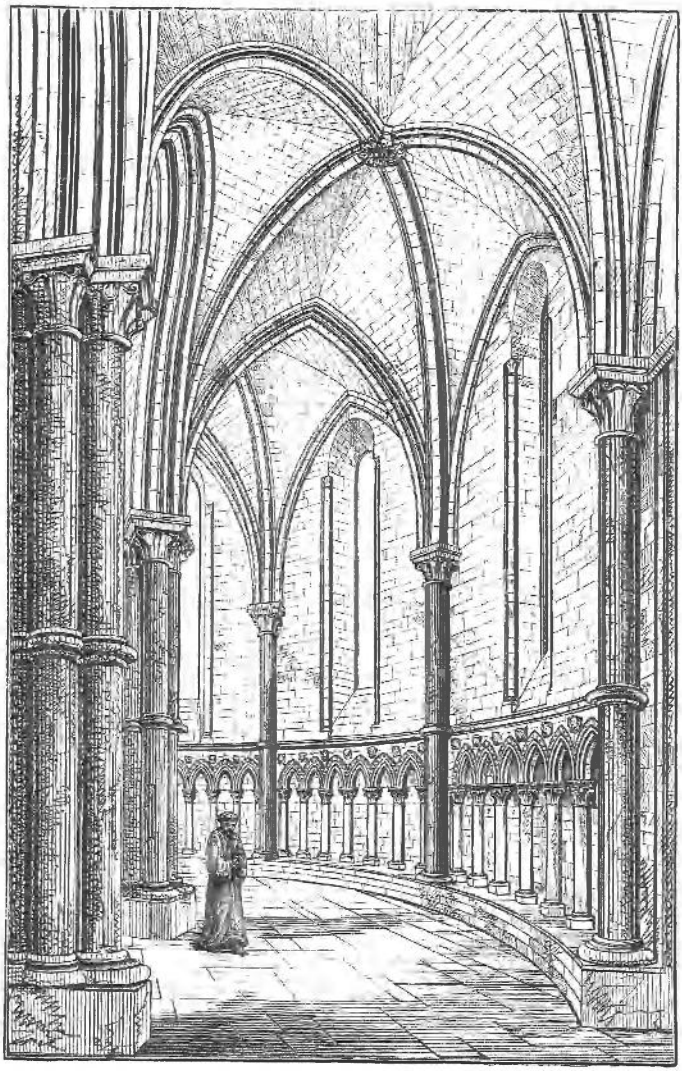
Choir of Ripon Minster,—part built by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque, 1154—1181.



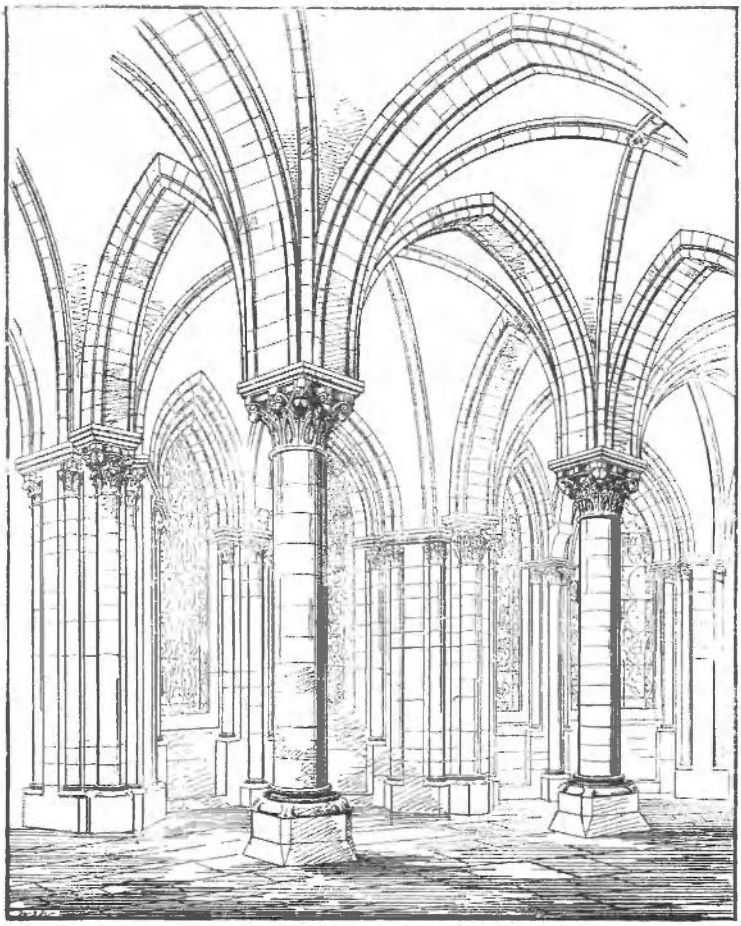
Canterbury Cathedral.—Trinity Chapel, 1179—1184. See page 287.



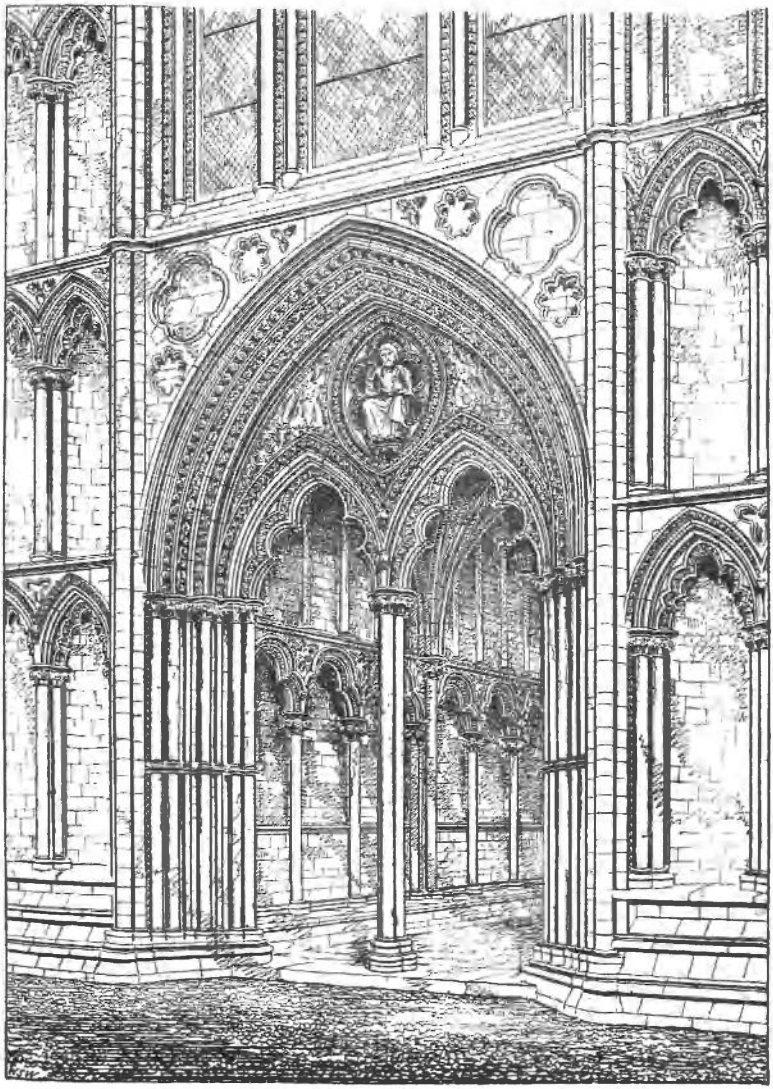
Cathedral of Sens,—Nave, 1168? See page 237.



Temple Church, London.—View in Circular Aisle, A.D. 1185. See page 289.



St. Denis.--Interior of one of the Apsidal Chapels, 1144; rebuilt c. 1250, after the Nave.
See page 267.



Ely Cathedral.—Galilee Porch, 1195—1214. See page 289.

and kindly shewed me all parts of the building. Scott does not seem to have been aware of this partial restoration of the choir of Sens, after a fire in 1184 (the present vault and clerestory are subsequent to that date), at the time the third lecture was written. But let us again return to his own words. "Immediately after Canterbury, and probably in part contemporaneous with it, was the magnificent Abbey Church of Glastonbury. It appears to have been erected chiefly between 1180 and 1190, though finished a little later.[1] This chapel is of exquisite beauty, and its details in the highest degree refined; indeed, nothing could exceed the studious care with which every feature and the profile of every moulding is carried out. The English type is adhered to in the retention, in an exceedingly refined form, and in great variety of decorations founded in the chevron, and in the use of intersecting arcades. The external buttresses assume a form of peculiar elegance and originality; the base moulds are of noble form, wholly differing from those in France." (Vol. i, p. 116.)

"It is exceedingly vexatious that the dates of buildings of this period are so difficult to be ascertained. Even where we know by whom they were erected, their founders were often so long-lived as to render the information perfectly indefinite. Thus, Pudsey presided over the see of Durham for forty years, Roger over York for nearly thirty years, and Henry de Blois over Winchester forty-two years; and Walkelin de Ferrers, who built the hall at Oakham Castle, held the manor from 1161 to 1201. Among the later works of the transition may be mentioned the eastern part of Chichester Cathedral."[2] Vol. i, p. 120.

"To attempt, however, an enumeration of English examples would be an endless task. So far from being a mere exotic, the country appears to have been absolutely saturated with transitional buildings; and these, so far from shewing any of that inaptitude which would accompany the use of a mere imported style, actually evince a degree of originality and a revelry (if I may use such a term) in the new art which is perfectly charming, and display beauties wholly different from any I have seen in other countries. Not only is this the case in works on a grand scale, but in the smallest village churches, in which we find the style reduced to its simplest elements, yet exhibiting a sense of beauty and a studious attention to detail which is quite surprising." P. 122.

This statement of Scott's of the genuine English character of our own earliest Gothic style is very satisfactory. It is justly called by Rickman the Early *English* style; it differs considerably from the Early French or from that of any foreign country. The English architects no doubt borrowed ideas from all quarters when they answered their purpose, and no doubt the Crusaders brought back many new ideas with them from the Byzantine and the imitations of Byzantine by the Saracens; but they Anglicised them all, or, as Scott calls it, "translated them into English." "We had, in fact, much more to be got rid of in our Romanesque than they had in and about the Isle of France.

[1] The dates are given in Professor Willis's excellent paper on the Abbey. They are from 1186 onwards. The older Abbey was burnt down in 1186. The chapel now known as that of St. Joseph, but which was really the Lady Chapel, was first rebuilt, and the church followed immediately afterwards. (G. G. S., 1878.)

[2] This work at Chichester was executed at the close of the century, after the fire of 1186; but Professor Willis has shewn that some Early Pointed work of a very marked character, which exists in the eastern part of the Lady Chapel, must have been erected previous to that event.

"The remarkable converse of this is, that at the close of our transition we had not only thrown off the excess of Romanesque characteristics, but had gone beyond the French in altering those of a less palpable kind, and introducing details distinct from those of the preceding style. Thus our arch mouldings became far more rich and more studied in their profile than those in France, which continued to be little more than the repetition of a roll between two hollows, while ours were composed of numerous and beautiful members; the proportions of our windows became much more graceful than those customarily used in France, and the basement mouldings are better. On the other hand, we were far less liberal in the use of sculpture, and we generated a purely moulded capital, which the French can scarcely be said to possess—thus, if I may say so, giving ourselves the choice of a *Doric* as well as a Corinthian variety in our columns; and, finally, we relinquished the square form of the abacus, and made our capitals for the most part round; so that, at the end of our transition, we had departed much more widely from our own Romanesque than the French had from theirs; and while the early French transitional works look more advanced than those of a corresponding stage in England, the case is reversed at its close, when the English examples appear more advanced than the French, as may be seen by comparing the interior of the Galilee at Ely with the western portals of Nôtre Dame, which are of some years' later date.

"I will close my outline of the English transition by referring to four examples which mark the limits of its duration, by showing how soon the true Early English attained its perfect development. The examples I cite for this purpose are the following:—

"1st. The choir and eastern transepts at Lincoln, which were completed by Bishop Hugh before the close of the twelfth century, and which, though of early character, are decidedly not transitional, but developed Early Pointed.

"2nd. The western portal at St. Alban's, built by William de Cella between the years 1195 and 1205.

"These are among the most beautiful Early English works in the kingdom, and have no Romanesque reminiscences, nor any French characteristics, except the *crochet* capital, which is magnificently developed beneath round abaci.

"3rd. The eastern chapels at Winchester, built by Bishop de Lucy about 1204. These have no striking feature, excepting that they are pure 'Early English,' and even shew suggestions of tracery.

"4th. The Galilee porch at Ely, built by Bishop Eustacius, who held the see from about 1195 to 1214, and which is one of the most magnificent specimens of fully-developed style in the country. It has the *crochet* capital gorgeously enriched, not with French, but English conventional foliage; whilst the arch mouldings are filled with the most exquisite foliage of pure Early English character.

"Thus we see that though the French preceded us in the commencement of this transition, our own was, with very trifling exceptions, equally national with this, and that it was not only completed as soon, but that it was carried through to a style more distinctive, and fully as national as the glorious Early Pointed of France.

" . . . Many as were the steps between the stages of the transition in both countries, and many more before we had developed out of it that Pointed style we know as the 'Early English,' with its lancet

windows and round abaci; the whole was, nevertheless, carried through within the period of *one life-time*. Not only were the transitions of France carried on to perfection under contemporary monarchs, but that queen who was present at the consecration of Suger's precocious monument, who caused that subsequent stagnation by her frivolity, and who perhaps witnessed the completion of St. Cross during her long captivity at Winchester, actually lived there long enough to have seen the fully-developed Early English of De Lucy's chapels in the neighbouring cathedral."—(pp. 125, 126).

Our extracts have been confined to the third lecture, because in that is traced in a remarkably clear manner the origin, or, rather, the development, of Gothic architecture, the most interesting subject of study for our members. The fourth lecture is on the "glorious thirteenth century," when architecture was in the highest perfection to which it has ever attained, owing probably to the real piety of that age, the age of chivalry also, when women were more highly respected and more honoured than in any other period in the history of the world. It was a time specially given to promoting the glory of God, when fine cathedrals were established, and before the errors of ignorance and the pious frauds of Rome had almost overlaid true religion. Scott saw this as clearly as any one, but it was not expedient to put it forward; he only gave such examples of the exquisite details of architecture of that glorious period, and shewed the simple but beautiful moulded capitals of the English style without foliage—a peculiarity of the English style. It is in vain to attempt to explain this without the admirable illustrations from Scott's own drawings, by which he has fully explained this peculiarity.

The fifth lecture is a continuation of the same important and interesting subject.

The sixth and seventh are on "The Rationale of Gothic Architecture," in which is shewn the true causes of its origin and the peculiar advantage of it, with a Digression concerning Windows, full of importance, and explaining tracery. Singularly enough, this is the one subject in which practically Scott failed to equal the old architects, as any one may see who looks over Mr. E. A. Freeman's wonderful series of old examples in his work on "Gothic Window Tracery," too much overlooked by the profession generally.

The eighth and ninth lectures are on "The Practical Study of Gothic or Mediæval Architecture," invaluable to the young architect. These complete the first volume.

The second volume is a second series of lectures, going over the same ground again, with more details and the results of longer experience, but perhaps less interesting than the first series on that account; but being more confined to England, these lectures were more popular than the former ones had been, and perhaps then the author attained a greater name, and much more importance was justly attached to his lectures.

The tenth, eleventh, and twelfth lectures are on "Early Architecture in Great Britain," to the end of the eleventh century. The thirteenth lecture takes up the subject at this point, and shews the "conditions necessary for an *arcuated* as distinguished from a *trabiated* style," going back to Grecian and Roman architecture to explain this. The fourteenth and fifteenth are on the principles of vaulting, the sixteenth and seventeenth on "the Dome," or "the Cupola," as it is called on the continent. He very clearly shows that this important feature is perfectly consistent

with the Mediæval or Gothic style. A great cupola can be quite as well supported by pointed arches as by semicircular ones, and in the few instances in which they have been combined the effect is wonderfully fine. The little intercourse that there was for a long period between the east and the west of Europe was the cause that the Byzantine style did not make its way in the west. The great importance that Scott himself attached to this union I happen to know from personal intercourse with him when he was in Rome, and he has shewn this by giving as the frontispiece to this volume his own design for the great central hall of the new Law Courts, which is a great cupola, supported on pointed arches; but this was too much in advance of his day, and was rejected. The next generation will probably see this fine union generally adopted for the new cathedrals that are now called for on all sides. I could have wished that it had been adopted at Truro, which in some respects is setting such good examples. We are evidently on the eve of great things in architecture. J. H. P.

THE BRITISH BARROWS. By WILLIAM GREENWELL, M.A., F.S.A., and GEORGE ROLLESTON, M.D., F.R.S. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

Continued.

We thoroughly agree with Canon Greenwell that the people, who erected the barrows, "had unquestionably long passed beyond the stage when the family is the only community, and that they were ruled by an order and constraint embracing wider bounds than those comprised within the authority of relationship in its more limited sense;"[1] and his reasoning in support of this position seems completely satisfactory.

Equally clear is it, that "these mounds must be regarded as the places of sepulture of chiefs of tribes, clans, and families, or of other people in authority allowed a position of respect, and of those who were nearly connected with them; as wives, children, and personal dependants."[2] The fact that no barrow contains so many dead as might be supposed to have fallen in a battle, may be owing to the chiefs only having been there buried.

In Mayfield, Staffordshire, there are terraces in the side of a very steep hill; they are flat at the top, and three or four yards wide. Their object had long been a puzzle to us, until passing through Dorsetshire we saw ploughing going on upon similar terraces, which seemed completely to explain the matter. In their natural state the hills are too steep to allow of ploughing, and if the ground were broken up in any other way, the rain would wash the soil away. But the formation of terraces obviated both these inconveniences. This seems to be a reasonable solution of the doubts respecting their object;[3] and to show that corn was grown by the men of the time of the barrows, as it certainly was when Cæsar first landed in England.[4] Throughout Palestine there are terraces carved out of the hill sides, or supported by retaining walls, on which vines were cultivated formerly.[5]

We quite agree with Canon Greenwell that "the barrows only give us a very imperfect, and at times but a doubtful outline with respect to some of the subjects" of the condition to the people. "That they lived

[1] Page 111.
[2] Page 112.
[3] Page 114.
[4] *B. G.*, iv, c. 31, 32.
[5] Conder's *Tent Work in Palestine*, vol. ii, 328.

in an organized condition of society may be considered as quite certain; and, as a necessity of such a state, they must have been under the government of a head, most probably the chief of a sept or clan."[1] "Within what may, perhaps, be designated as the larger federation, held together by a common origin and mutual interest, there were doubtless several smaller tribal divisions, ruled over by their respective chiefs, either independent, or more or less under the authority of the federal head."[2] "It is certain that the inhabitants of the wolds had advanced beyond the hunting stage;"[3] for "they possessed a variety of domesticated animals, upon the flesh of which to some extent they lived;" and "it is probable that milk formed an important article of food."[4] "It seems also certain that grain of some description was cultivated by them."[5] "Woollen, and probably linen, fabrics were manufactured."[6] "Their garments had made some considerable advance; for vestments were to some extent fitted to the form of the wearer, and had been fashioned into shape with somewhat of sartorial skill."[7] "The implements and weapons of bronze show that they had attained to a high perfection in the process of casting, and give evidence of no little progress in metallurgy."[8] "The manner in which young children have been buried, either alone or in a way denoting much care, indicates that the family tie had much influence, and that the child of the chief or other person of distinction held an important position in the estimation of the tribe; and perhaps indicates that something like an hereditary headship prevailed."[9] In this view we entirely concur. The erection of a large barrow must have been the work of a great number of men, under the direction of some superintending authority; and though in the case of a chief, it may well be supposed that that authority was the people,[10] yet that cannot have been the case with a child. Its barrow must have been made through the influence of the parent; and so honourable a funeral naturally leads to the inference that if that child had survived its parent, it would have succeeded to his position, whatever that might be.

The personal ornaments, though few in number, give indications of some artistic power, but in a simple fashion. They consist of necklaces of jet or other inferior lignite; of buttons and rings of jet, in some cases tastefully decorated; of earrings of bronze; of beads of jet, bone, and other substances.[11]

We are told[12] that "at the time when it was the custom to bury under round barrows, and when the body was interred both by inhumation and after cremation, the wolds were inhabited by two stocks of people, having characteristic features of the most distinctive kind: the one being brachycephalic, the other dolichocephalic. The heads of the two types have been found in the barrows in about equal proportions." To us it seems clear that there were not two stocks, but one people, some of whom had the one kind of skull, some the other. A man must have taken little notice, who has not observed now-a-days in one and the same family,

[1] Page 111.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Page 115.
[5] Page 114.
[6] Page 116.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Page 117.
[9] Page 119.
[10] "Such honours Ilion to her Hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."
—Pope's *Iliad*.
[11] Page 117.
[12] Page 126.

heads differing very widely one from the other in these respects, and *a fortiori* amongst a multitude. The Canon even speaks of "an intermixture between the two peoples becoming common."[1]

We most thoroughly disagree with Canon Greenwell, that "it can scarcely be questioned that it was the habit to slay at the funeral, and to bury with the dead man wives, children and others, probably slaves."

There is not a particle of evidence that any such slaying ever took place in England; all that the evidence amounts to in any case is that the dead persons were buried at the same time. Now there is no rule of reason more sound than, that if a state of facts be such as to be equally consistent with two or more suppositions, neither supposition can be said to be proven. We well remember that great man, Lord Abinger, using this rule in a criminal case at Gloucester, and urging forcibly that it especially applied where the one suposition was consistent with innocence, and the other led to the inference of criminality, and that reasoning well applies to this case; for the question is whether an unnatural killing had taken place, or there had been nothing censurable at all. It is said that "the frequent occurrence of several bodies, all certainly interred at the same time, the finding of a man and woman in adjoining graves, which must have been excavated together, or of two persons of different sexes in the same grave with the remains of children, or with deposits of burnt bones, are incidents difficult to interpret in any other way."[3] There not only is not a particle of difficulty in giving another solution, but several much better ones may be given, and unless such burials are attributed to some of the causes we shall suggest, the insuperable difficulty arises, that there were cases which must have frequently occurred from which such burials would naturally arise, and yet there is no evidence of them. Famines, which are very reasonably supposed to have been frequent,[4] always cause simultaneous deaths. Plague, pestilence and all the tribe of infectious and contagious diseases do the same. You need only go to Eyam, and you will find by the Register that 260 persons of all ages and both sexes died there of the plague in a year, and 68 in the month of August alone. Every case mentioned in this work is exactly what would naturally take place in many diseases, especially where, as far as is known, medical aid might be wanting. In 1348 the pestilence, called "the black death," devasted the whole of Europe. Nowhere was it more fatal than in England; a single burial ground, the site of the Charterhouse, received 50,000 corpses. The Episcopal Registers of Lichfield afford appalling evidence of the pest. The number of incumbents in Derbyshire was at that time 108. The number of Institutions in 1348 was eight, but in 1349 the number lept up to sixty-three, and in the following year (many of the vacant benefices not having been filled up) they numbered forty-one. Seventy-seven beneficed priests died in that one dread period. Eight Churches were twice emptied, and one thrice in the same year.[5] Within three months Sir W. de Wakebridge lost his father, his wife, three brothers, two sisters, and a sister-in-law.[6] Indeed

[1] Page 129.
[2] Page 119.
[3] Page 120.
[4] Page 662.
[5] iv, Cox, *Derbyshire Churches*, Introduction.
[6] Ibid. p. 42, see p. 99, note for five deaths in one family in the plague of 1593, between November 24th and December 9th.

if these sort of burials had not been found, it might have well been argued that the barrows existed before,

> Macies et nova febrium
> Terris incubuit cohors,[1]

or that Britain was indeed an island of the blessed.

Knowing that such devastating pestilences must have occurred in such ancient times, reason would teach that there must be found in the barrows, simultaneously buried,

> "Matres, atque viri, defunctaque corpora vita
> Magnanimum heroum, pueri, innuptæque puellæ;"[2]

in fact all the members of a household. This is perfectly natural; the immolation of wives and others is abhorrent to nature. Besides, the latter is only one cause, the former contains as many different causes as there are distinct diseases, &c., capable of producing such results.

Barrow xxi[3] seems to us to afford an instance of many deaths about the same time, from some disease. In it there were the following interments:—a boy of above six years old, the bones of an adult, probably a woman, a child of less than six years of age, a young man about twenty-five years of age—the three last in one grave; a woman past middle life, another woman about twenty years of age, a young man under twenty, another young man about twenty—these two were in the same grave; two bodies facing each other, one a man about twenty, the other a woman about seventeen, clearly buried at the same time; a very young child, another child about three, a third very young child—these three were in the same trench. There is nothing stated to show when the different bodies were buried in the different parts of the barrow, or that any body had been disturbed when another was buried. Now, is not the whole of this perfectly consistent with there having been some disease prevalent for a few months, during which the individuals died from time to time, and were buried accordingly? And are not the three instances where two or three were buried together, just exactly what might be expected in such a case? But it is said, "in this case we can have little hesitation in regarding the burial as that of a man and his wife, who, one in life, in death had not been divided," and that she had sacrificed herself.[4] We would ask, did two of the three that were found in the same grave sacrifice themselves on the death of one; or one of the two young men; or one of the three children, who were buried in a similar way? Every burial, except the one of the man and woman, is lost sight of; and it is supposed that they "may, very probably, have been childless," notwithstanding all the children in the barrow.

Nor can we help thinking that every barrow which contains only a single interment, affords very cogent evidence that no such imaginary sacrifices ever took place in England. It cannot be doubted that many, probably all, so interred were persons of great eminence, in fact the very persons with whom slaves, &c., would naturally be expected to be found; and the only reasonable solution of their not being found, is that no such custom existed. And the same reasoning applies to the absence of the bodies of wives in these cases, for the men cannot all of them have been unmarried.

[1] Hor. i., Car. iii, 30. [2] Virg. *Geor.*, iv, 475. [3] Page 161. [4] Page 165.

The authorities referred to, do not include children, nor have we found any that does. Herodotus[1] only mentions one of the concubines of the king, and some of his ministerial officers. His words are:

τῶν παλλακέων μίην ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι, καὶ τὸν οἰνοχόον, καὶ μάγειρον, καὶ ἱπποκόμον, καὶ διήκονον, καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον, καὶ ἵππους, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀπαρχὰς, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας.

Homer[2] and Virgil[3] speak only of captive enemies, and Boniface[4] only applies to the wife, "ut mulier, viro proprio mortuo, vivere recuset." As to Suttee in India, it clearly only applies to wives, and only to the chief wife.[5]

Nothing, therefore, is to be found to extend the custom to children, and the strongest reasons are against it. To pay the highest honours to a chief, and, in doing so, to immolate his children is wholly incredible. Every case where a barrow contains only an infant[6] is repugnant to any such custom; for it is absurd to suppose that a child would be laid in a lordly tomb, if it died in its parent's lifetime, and sacrificed at his tomb if it survived him. Here then, we have another cogent reason against the supposed custom where children are found in a barrow, for the true explanation must be one which is consistent with all the facts.

We are pleased, however, to find that the conclusion of Dr. Rolleston is that "in the very large number of interments recorded in this book, we have never come upon any bony remains, bearing their evidence to the existence of a practice" of sacrificing any persons whatever at any funeral, as he is so very high an authority, and has had such full ocular demonstration of the facts.[7] But we cannot agree with him, that this can be explained by the supposition that the other persons were buried so far apart from the chief person that their remains would not be found in the barrows. All the passages cited by him agree that, whilst the chief was deposited in the middle of the barrow, the rest were also deposited in the barrow, but in a different part of it, near the outside. The bones of Patroclus lay in the centre of the pyre; those of the others away from them, but within the pyre; all being burnt by one fire.

Ἐν μέσσῃ γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρῇ, τοι δ' ἄλλοι ἄνευθεν
Ἐσχατιῇ καίοντ' ἐπιμιξ.[8]

That is *ἐσχατιῇ πυρῇ*, in the outer part of the pyre. So, also, Herodotus says, they bury the victims *ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης*, and then raise as large a tomb as they can; so that these burials were in some other part of the large tomb. And no doubt, the passage in Cæsar[10] means the same. The fact, therefore, that there is no evidence of any such practice in any of the British barrows, is perfectly conclusive against it; for if the practice had existed, there must have been some evidence of it discovered in such a great number of tombs. The supposition, also, that any persons were buried outside, but near to, any barrow is also purely imaginary; for there is not a single instance of any

[1] iv, c, 71.
[2] *Il.*, xxiii, 175.
[3] *Æn.* x, 619.
[4] Cited p. 120.
[5] *Ancient India*, by Mrs. Spier, 454.
[6] Pages 261, 290.
[7] Page 692.
[8] *Il.* xxiii, 241.
[9] Lib. iv, 71.
[10] *B. G.* vi, 19.

such burial near any of the very numerous barrows noticed in this work, or in any other that we have seen.

Nothing need be said as to the perfect skeletons, or their remains, where it is plain that they were buried where they were found, or to those bones which have clearly been disturbed by subsequent interments; but some attention may well be directed to parts of skeletons and fractured bones, and other similar cases.

In Greece, the practice in very early times was to bury the chiefs that fell in war alone in barrows, as was done with Patroclus, Achilles, and Ajax; and this seems to have been done, generally, at the place where they died. But in the case of the common soldiers, the practice was to burn the bodies so far as to leave the bones in a state to be taken to their own countries at the end of the war.

Ἀτὰρ κατακῄομεν αὐτοὺς
Τυτθὸν ἄπο προὸ νεῶν, ὥς κ' ὀστέα παισὶν ἕκαστος
Οἴκαδ' ἄγῃ ὅταν αὖτε νεώμεθα πατρίδα γαῖαν.[1]

In the time of the Peloponnesian War, a public funeral was had in the winter at Athens of those that had fallen in war, according to their ancient custom, which was to burn the dead where they fell, and take their bones home, place those of each tribe in a coffin of cypress wood, and bury all in the public tomb in front of the city, in which all that fell in war were buried, except those who fell at Marathon, who were buried there on account of their surpassing bravery. After they had been covered with earth, a funeral oration was pronounced over them.[2] At Troy it is said that the bones were first buried in a suitable tomb.[3] But Thucydides is silent on this point, and also as to whether any distinction was made between the chiefs and common soldiers. Such a custom, however, would well account for the finding of numerous skeletons with partially burnt bones, for bones injured as they usually are in war, and for confused collections of bones, as well as for repeated burials in the same tomb.

From what Virgil says about the Romans who fell at Philippi, it may well be inferred that their usual custom was to bury the common soldiers without any mound, and very near the surface of the ground.

Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
Agricola, incurvo terram molitus aratro,
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila,
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.[4]

But there is one very remarkable instance, where the bones of nearly all of the men of three Legions were buried together in one common tomb. Varus and the three Legions he commanded were almost all slain by the Germans, in the forest now called Teuteberg (Teutoburgiensi saltu), A.D. 10, and it was not until six years had elapsed that Germanicus discovered their remains, and buried them in a single barrow without burning.

The account given by Tacitus of this funeral,[5] plainly shows in what a confused, dislocated, and broken state the bones of the thousands of the dead must have been.

[1] *Il.* vii, 333.
[2] Thucyd. ii, 34.
[3] Il. vii, 336, 435.
[4] *Georg.* i, 493. See also Cæsar, *B. G.*, lib. i, c, 26.
[5] *Annal.* lib. i, 61. *Arch. Journal*, xxxvi, 38, "Cannibalism."

In a long barrow[1] "amongst the loose rubble were deposited at least fourteen bodies not laid in any order, but with the component bones broken, scattered, and lying in the most confused manner; half a jaw, for instance, upon part of a thigh bone, and a fragment of a skull amidst the bones of a foot, whilst other portions of apparently the same skull were found some distance apart." "There were the most certain indications that the bones had been originally deposited exactly as they were found," and after "the flesh had been removed." This is as strong an instance as any in the work of the confused mixture of bones, whether whole or broken, and it is nothing more in any respect than may be most completely accounted for by a battle between hostile tribes, in which one was vanquished and left its dead on the field, and did not obtain the opportunity to bury them until the bones were devoid of flesh. Though similar, it affords but a faint picture of the appearances that would present themselves, if the tomb of Varus' soldiers were opened. That there were different tribes in Britain is clear, and Tacitus divides the people into Caledonians, Silures, and those that were opposite to Gaul;[2] and there was such a want of concord amongst the tribes, that even two or three rarely met to oppose a common foe, so that each was conquered whilst fighting separately, dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.[3] It might well be, then, that the general rule of raising barrows might prevail throughout, whilst the particular ceremonies might vary amongst different tribes, and thus possibly the variations found in the contents of barrows may be accounted for.

Interesting questions sometimes arise as to the manner in which implements and other articles were made by the Britons. Some years since, some jet beads, a flint saw and drill from Whitby were exhibited at the Royal Archæological Institute; and it was suggested that the beads might have been made by means of the flint saw and drill. Our lamented friend, Mr. Albert Way, was of opinion that this was impossible. We, however, procured some jet from Whitby, and we found that it was practicable to cut the jet with the saw, and to bore it with the drill.[4] These experiments quite satisfied Mr. Way. Several of the articles described in this book were evidently made in this manner.[5] They had all been drilled from each side, which was made necessary by the shortness of the drill; and the holes in each were larger at the outside, and gradually lessened to the centre, which was caused by the impractibility of holding the drill so perfectly steady, whilst drilling, as to prevent it from rubbing against the side of the hole. Of course, with such rude tools, considerable time was found necessary to accomplish the work. The longer beads were, no doubt, bored by such long and thin bronze drills as are shown in this work.[6]

We entertain considerable doubt whether stone axe hammers were made for the purpose of war alone. It is said, that "having their edges rounded, they could not have been adapted for cutting wood, or, indeed, for any except an offensive use."[7] Our experience is, that very blunt

[1] Page 486.
[2] *Agr.* ii.
[3] Ibid. 12.
[4] See *Archæological Journal*, xxix, 283.
[5] Pages 142, 223, 224, 248.
[6] Pages 46, 187.
[7] Page 159.

weapons will cut very clean holes. It is the force with which the blow is given, rather than the sharpness of the weapon that cuts. It is—

Viribus ensis *adactus*
Transadigit costas et mollia pectora rumpit.[1]

And it may well be, that a heavy stone axe, wielded by a strong arm, would cut wood, though it was round at the edge. If the edge were sharp, it would soon be broken in use. Each weapon would, probably, be turned to every use of which it was capable.

The instance of a platform, on which a body was laid, is, probably, correctly supposed to have been to keep it out of the wet, which might be retained by the clay.[2] In the Gristhorpe oak coffin there was one hole, at least, in the bottom; and so, also, in a stone coffin at Darley, Derbyshire, and in many in Northamptonshire.[3] There must have been some reason for preventing the body being subjected to wet; but that reason does not seem to be known. Where bodies are buried in ground that is full of water, they seem not to decay for many years. The body of a vicar of Ashbourne was found in a perfect state after more than forty years, the churchyard being very wet.

We have been forcibly impressed by the great similarity of the contents of some of the barrows, with the probability that they may have been made about the same time; and we find that Canon Greenwell says that certain "facts lead to the inference that no great length of time had elapsed between the burials in two barrows; and, possibly, one or more may be included in the same category."[4] If this be so, it would strongly confirm our suggestion that the burials in these barrows were of persons who had died of some pestilence or disease that had spread through the district, or perhaps from some famine.

The occurrence of a flint knife and bronze dagger in conjunction is said to afford "a valuable, though by no means an uncommon illustration of the contemporaneous use of implements of bronze and stone."[5] We question whether much too great stress has not been laid by some writers upon the supposed stone, bronze, and iron periods; and the recent discoveries at Hissarlik show, that the manufacture of neolithic weapons went on contemporaneously with the metallurgic art in all the prehistoric towns, although ever declining even in the youngest, and by far the rudest of the whole, and have unsettled the faith in the received archæological theory of successive stone, bronze, and iron ages.[6] It seems clear at all events, that there never can have been a sudden change from the use of the one to that of the other. Every day's experience shows that the most valuable inventions are only gradually adopted, and a change would take place much more slowly in the earliest times when intercommunication must have been so much less than at present. It is also very material to bear in mind, that some articles may continue useful for all times. Well do we remember a stone hammer, exactly similar to one figured in these pages, which was used for breaking up large lumps of coal, for which it was admirably adapted by its circular form at one end, and its narrower face at the other. The solemn jewish rite of circumcision

[1] Virg. *Æn.*, ix, 432.
[2] Page 170.
[3] *Archæological Journal*, xxxv, page 260.
[4] Page 290 and see 314.
[5] Page 360.
[6] *Times*, April 18th, 1878.

is, if we mistake not, performed even now with a flint. Particular occasions, too, may cause the use of the rudest weapons. Virgil's

cape saxa manu, cape robora, Pastor,

was as applicable to our soldiers at Inkerman, as to his Shepherd. Many articles resemble words,

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est.[1]

Since the foregoing passages went to press our views are much fortified by learning that in Egypt, whose history is the most ancient, and presents a people already highly civilized at the earliest period, there were no ages of stone, bronze and iron. This forms a standing witness against the supposition of a progressive spontaneous development from a savage state.[2]

In several instances it is stated, that the whole of a large number of bones had "certainly been deposited at one time, for there was no appearance of any disturbance of the mound ever having taken place."[3]

It appears to us, that this is putting the case too strongly. After so great a lapse of time as must have occurred since the latest deposit, any earth that had been then moved would have so coalesced and consolidated with the rest of the barrow, as to leave no marks of disturbance, and it would only be where, from the position of bones or other things, any alteration in the barrow would be apparent. Earth that has been dug out of a place will rarely, if ever, unite with the natural soil that has never been moved; but the contrary is the case where both have been moved previously.

The distribution of instruments in different parts of Britain is very remarkable. In Yorkshire, flint arrow-heads are almost innumerable, as well as axes, hammers, adzes, and other large implements. In Gloucestershire, the larger implements are almost entirely wanting, but arrow-heads, knives, and scrapers are present.[4] Whilst in Kent and Sussex, and generally in the district south of the Thames arrow-heads are extremely rare.[5] It seems impossible to suggest any satisfactory reason for these great differences, which would seem too marked to be accounted for by the mere existence of distinct tribes.

Dr. Rolleston says that "the consideration of distance in space, when we are dealing with a question of geographical distribution, is inseparably connected with the consideration of length of time, and the great interval of space which separates Spain from Great Britain should make us careful as to borrowing a name from the tribes of one of those countries and imposing it upon a tribe in another, without the most definite historical and archæological reasons."[6] But in this observation the most material consideration is omitted. It is not so much the distance as the means of traversing that distance, that is the question; and it seems to be assumed that there were no means of speedy transit from Spain to Britain, and that none but "small ships" had existed. We are, however, satisfied that this is a grave mistake.

[1] Hor. *Ar. Po.* 70.

[2] Article in the *Quarterly Review*, April 1879, p. 446, on Brugsch's *History of Egypt* under the Pharaohs.

[3] Page 410.

[4] Page 443.

[5] Page 444.

[6] Page 633.

Dr. Rolleston enumerates "various physical peculiarities of an anatomical, to the exclusion of an archæological, kind, which have, in spite of all the considerations just put forward, impressed me very deeply with a conviction of the immense distance which separates our time from that of the long barrows."[1] We place no reliance whatever upon any calculation of time that is founded upon any physical peculiarities of an anatomical kind. We are thorough sceptics as to all that Mr. Darwin has written respecting the descent of the human race. We most thoroughly agree with the author of the article on the Gipsies, in the *Edinburgh Review*, for July, 1878,[2] that "anthropological science is still in the empirical stage of its growth. The experiments of craniologists, for instance, although far from being either fruitless in the present or unpromising for the future, have not, hitherto, afforded any certain mode of identifying or classifying races. No rule of measurement has yet been devised subtle enough to enable them to distinguish between an abnormal specimen taken from one extreme section of the human family and an average example chosen from another. Nay, the types, themselves, are slowly modified from generation to generation, with the mixture of blood and change of conditions; while any interpretation, by which it has been attempted to translate skull-conformation into mental and moral attributes, remains little more than arbitrary and unsatisfactory guess-work."

Tacitus says that it has not been ascertained *for certain* (compertum) whether strangers or natives first inhabited Britain; but that their personal appearance varied, and from thence an argument might be drawn. The red hair and great limbs of the dwellers in Caledonia show a German origin. The dark faces and generally curled hair of the Silures and Spain being situated opposite (posita contra Hispania), testify that the ancient Iberians crossed over and occupied those seats. They that were nearest to the Gauls were also like them.[3] Cæsar[4] helps to explain this. He says that one side of Britain tends towards Spain (vergit ad Hispaniam); and that the dwellers in Kent are by far the most civilized, and differ little from the Gauls.[5] This supports the opinion of Dr. Rolleston,[6] that Tacitus divided the Britons in three portions. Tacitus, indeed, deals with three points as to their origin—1, that it had not been ascertained for certain; 2, that their natural appearance led to the three divisions; 3, that, taking everything into consideration, it is credible that the Gauls took possession of the neighbouring land (in universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupâsse, credibile est).[7] It seems quite clear, that by vicinum solum Tacitus meant the part of Britain nearest to Gaul, which he had described as held by those who were proximi Gallis.

Another writer expressly says that the Iberians occupied Britain.

Νῆσους θ' Ἑσπερίδας, τοθι κασσιτέροιο γενέθλη,
Ἀφνειοὶ ναίουσιν ἀγαυῶν παῖδες Ἰβήρων.[8]

Dr. Rolleston says that "a comparison of the skulls here dealt with

[1] Page 713.
[2] Page 136.
[3] *Agric.* c. ii.
[4] *B. G.* lib. v, c. xiii.
[5] Ibid., c. 14.
[6] Page 634, note.
[7] Prichard, *Phys. Hist.*, iii, 108, according to Dr. Rolleston, converts vicinum solum into vicinam insulam.
[8] *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, cited Camd. Br. 1111.

from the stone and bronze periods, with those of the mediæval and modern tenants of these islands, coupled with other considerations, and carried on for a considerable number of years, has inclined me to hold that the two prehistoric races, though out-numbered greatly by Anglo-Saxons, are still represented in the population of Great Britain and Ireland."[1] In this view we thoroughly agree, and it appears to be utterly impossible for it to be otherwise, when it is borne in mind how considerable the population seems to have been at the earliest period, of which there is any evidence, how large the Island is, and what safe refuges its forests and wilds must have afforded. It is true that Tacitus makes Calgacus, or Galgacus, the Caledonian Chief, say that the Romans called it peace when they had made a desert. Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.[2] But they never made a desert of Britain, nor did any other invaders. No doubt, each successive immigration mingled with the then inhabitants, and a mixed race descended from them. And here a much more important question arises. What has been the effect upon the national character? That one people surpasses another in natural gifts can admit of no doubt, and where that people becomes intermixed with another less gifted by nature, may not the result be that the ascendancy of the superior people will disclose itself in the descendants of the two? Dr. Rolleston inclines to consider certain very large skulls of the bronze period as due to an intercrossing of the people of the stone and bronze ages.[3] This tends to show that the intercrossing produces a race superior even to the better of the two. History, and that, too, the history of enemies, abounds in statements of the high qualities of the ancient Britons; in these respects, at least, they were a dominant race; and may it not well be that the like high qualities at the present day have descended from the men of the time of the barrows? William and his Normans conquered England; but the good old common law prevailed, in the course of time, over that which they introduced, and still endures amongst us.

The present state of Greenland throws a remarkable light upon this subject, and tends strongly to support these views.[4]

We are thoroughly convinced that the supposition that the original inhabitants of this island were savages is unfounded. The question in what state the inhabitants of a country were at a particular time, is to be determined by facts, and not to be taken for granted. Dr. Rolleston says, that "well shaped and capacious calvariæ with orthognathous upper jaws do abound in the series from the stone and bronze ages," which bear "a comparison, not always to their own disadvantage, with modern specimens."[5] And again, "it is true enough that powerful skeletons and very large skulls have been found by me in these British, as well as by many other investigators in many other interments of the same and of earlier ages. So generally accepted[6] indeed is this, *a priori* surprising fact that we find writers, such as Virchow,[5] speaking of the notion that savagery and inferiority are characteristics of the aboriginal population of Europe, as being simply an arbitrary preconception, der vorgefassten Meinung von

[1] Page 711.
[2] Agr. c, 30.
[3] Page 681.
[4] Rink's *Danish Greenland*, page 164, et seq.
[5] Page 715.
[6] British Association Report for 1875, p. 150.
[7] Archiv. fur Anthropologie, 1873, vi, p. 92.

der Wildheit und Inferiorität der europaischen Urbevolkerung," (the preconceived opinion of the savagery and inferiority of the European aborigines).[1] Surely this applies to Dr. Rolleston himself, for how could the fact be "*a priori* surprising" to him, unless he had assumed before hand that savagery existed? But Dr. Rolleston says that "the male skeletons in these tumuli, are the skeletons of men who were chiefs, and chiefs in times and under conditions, when such a position was held and kept only by men of force at once of character and physique."[2] Here again the times and conditions are assumed, neither of which is known, at least so far as to be a safe foundation to build a theory upon. But supposing it were otherwise, we are at a loss to see how the state of civilization in general is to be taken to be inferior because the chiefs of the people happen to be very superior to the rest, especially as we have no evidence as to those who were not buried in the barrows; nor are we at all convinced, that even under the supposed conditions, the chiefs would be the most civilized or large minded of the people. It is much more probable that they would owe their position to their bodily strength and energy. An Ajax or Achilles would be chosen as a chief in preference to a Ulysses; just as the Ajax and Achilles were stationed at each end of the camp, on account of their warlike qualities.

Τοί ῥ' ἔσχατα νῆας ἔισας
Εἵρυσαν, ἠνορέῃ πίσυνοι καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν,[3]

although others excelled them in the forum.

Ἀγορῇ δέ τ' ἀμείνονες εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι.[4]

Tacitus says the Germans elected their kings from their nobles, but their captains on account of their valour (reges ex nobilitate; duces ex virtute sumunt).[5] One of the former would be the first of his state in race and nobility (genere ac nobilitate suæ civitatis primus).[6]

The second objection is, that in the same tombs "female skulls and female skeletons of disproportionate smallness" are found;[7] and the third, that in the tumuli "there are not wanting 'ill-filled,' 'boat-shaped' crania."[8] Now, all that this amounts to is that there were living, at the same time, persons who had these different peculiarities; and, as they were, doubtless, associating with each other, the inference is that their civilization was alike; and it is extremely difficult to understand in what way this proves that they were savages. We need only add, that until we have a very much greater number of representatives of all objects of comparison to place alongside each other, and until we have succeeded in bringing other evidence from archæology, philology, and, when available, history, to bear upon the question, it is most prudent to hesitate before drawing final conclusions.

It may well be questioned whether Cæsar ever entered so far into Britain as to be trusted when he speaks positively as to the non-existence

[1] Page 713.
[2] Page 714.
[3] *Il.* viii, 225.
[4] *Il.* xvii, 106.
[5] *De Mor. Germ.*, c. 7.
[6] Cicero pro S. Rose,
[7] Page 714.
[8] Page 714.

of anything in it. Pompey may well be supposed to have said, per invidiam, of Cæsar,

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.[1]

But when a grave historian like Tacitus says, D. Julius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quanquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas, ac litore potitus sit, potest videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse :[2] it may well be that Cæsar saw far too little of the country to be able to assert that a particular tree was not in it; and we entertain the gravest doubts as to Cæsar's statements respecting his own exploits, and fully concur with the note,[3] ex tertio libro qui proximus est, item ex aliquot aliorum scriptorum locis, constat multa in hoc desiderari, quæ, quia ad Cæsaris laudem minime pertinent, existimo ab ipso vel suppressa vel adeo tenuiter et leviter delibata, ut facile perierint. Solet enim Cæsar ut scopulos ea loca declinare, unde nihil laudis, vel nonnihil dedecoris in se redundare prævideret. On the other hand, it may well be that Cæsar is trustworthy as to any favourable statements he makes respecting his adversaries, for he can have had no object to make any false representation in their favour, and we may be sure he would not excogitate anything which did not exist in their favour.

We have noticed numerous points in this interesting volume, and we could gladly have dealt with many more; for the work abounds with matter, and gives rise to many a question we have passed over. However much it may have been our lot to differ occasionally from the opinions of the authors, we have no hesitation in awarding to the work our highest approbation for the vast amount of information it contains, the clear lucidity with which it is written, and the very candid enunciation of the opinions entertained by its authors.

CHURCH WORK AND LIFE IN ENGLISH MINSTERS. By MACKENZIE E. C. WALCOTT, B.D., F.S.A., Precentor of Chichester, Author of "Traditions and Customs of English Cathedrals." London: Chatto and Windus, Piccadilly, 1879.

It would seem to be almost an impertinence to commend a work by the learned author of that before us, especially upon a subject which has been his favourite study for many years. The immense store of information which he has collected and arranged in these two small volumes is almost incredible, and exhibits a vast amount of labour and careful research among all kinds of trustworthy authorities, both printed and manuscript, in every branch of literature; of which he adds a list for the use of students. He has given an account of almost every monastic and collegiate church in England and Wales, whether in use or in ruins, and, to use his own words, he has "treated architecture under its highest form of beauty, namely, as expressive of devotional feeling." He says, "My view of the subject was limited to its popular and artistic side, the abstruse symbolism and ancient customs which explain the arrangements of the fabric and the buildings themselves, with their moving history and lively memories, which constitute their peculiar glory, the special creation and heirloom of the Old World, which the New will never rival, and can never

[1] *Lucan*, lib. ii, 572. [2] Agr. c, 13. [3] *B. G.*, lib. ii, c, 44.

reproduce." Having, in this spirit, in mystic and eloquent language, described the structure and arrangements of our ancient minsters, he gives a living picture of the daily life of both seculars and conventuals, shewing wherein they agree and wherein they differ.

The secular clergy, or canons, were those who held cathedrals *not* conventual or regular. They were canons as devoted to the service of God, borne on the Church list *(canon)* and obeying the canon of the Fathers and Councils *(canones, regulæ)*. They were secular as living in the world *(sæculum)* and uncloistered. They had a common revenue and they served a common Church. Unlike the monks they held cure of souls. They took no vows and retained their personal property, though they were provided with prebends *(prebenda, provender*, which at first were commons or rations) or a money allowance in lieu out of the common stock, and occupied their own houses, provided themselves with dress and food, maintaining separate households *(familiæ)*, being always, moreover, clergy in the orders of priest, deacon, or subdeacon. In his account of the daily life of a secular canon Mr. Walcott gives us a clear insight into the multifarious duties of his class. Seven times a day the bells chimed for the services of the canonical hours, at one of which, either matins or vespers, every member resident within the close was required to attend, and he had also to be present at high mass; besides which each had his own special duties to perform. Each canon nominated and paid "stall wages" to a vicar, who was admitted by the Dean and Chapter, in order to maintain perpetual services in the choir, at every of which all the vicars were obliged to be present. It will thus be seen that there were as many vicars as there were resident canons, whom they served as assistants, not as deputies of absentees. They lived within the close *(clausum)*, an enclosure wall surrounding the cathedral and canonical houses, which was fortified as well for the protection of the sacred edifice as for securing orderly conduct within the precincts during the dark hours of the night.

The monks and canons regular (and it is the Black or Augustinian Canons of Carlisle Cathedral to which Mr. Walcott especially alludes) were, both classes, called Religious and Regulars, as bound by a rule *(religio regula)*. This rule consisted in the observance of a cloistered life of prayer and study, and of the three perpetual vows of poverty, continency, and obedience, called Substantials. The real difference between them lay in ceremonials, that is in dress or habit, meal times, food, ritual, conventual acts, services, and the like. At first all monastic establishments were essentially lay, and it was considered as savouring of pride if a monk sought to be admitted to Holy Orders; moreover by the early rules he was bound to manual labour, but these rules were, upon the establishment of *conversi*, or lay brothers, afterwards relaxed. But the canons were not so bound, they were priests and held the cure of souls, their churches being partly conventual and partly parochial.

Both the monks and canons regular had, however, many things in common. Both classes had a common dining-hall *(refectory)* and a common sleeping place *(dormitory)*, and both passed their lives in the common seclusion of the cloister, which they never left without the permission of the Superior. Mr. Walcott says, "The name convent belonged to both orders, whilst monastery was peculiar to the home of monks." In this, however, we think him somewhat inexact for

"monasterium" is used by St. Augustine himself in his Rule[1] for the houses of his canons or clergy. Neither class held property as individuals, for upon profession they gave up all their personal estate and became dead to the world, living thenceforward in common with the rest of the community.

The space at our disposal will not allow of our following the author in his graphic description of the daily life of a conventual, suffice it to say that every hour was appropriated to some distinct occupation, varying only slightly according to the season. Some were employed in literary work, some in manual labour and in the exercise all kinds of crafts, for the rule of St. Benedict required a monastery to be complete in itself with workmen of every craft and industry. Prayer, labour, and study exhausted every hour, so that the opprobrious term "lazy, idle monks," so often applied to the religious orders, could have no place in a well ordered monastery.

Having treated of the classes of conventuals and the arrangements of a conventual cloister, Mr. Walcott proceeds to give an account of the English cathedrals of what are now called the Old and New Foundations, but which previously to the dissolution of the religious houses were known, the former as secular and the latter as regular or conventual. Of the first were Chichester, Salisbury, Wells, Exeter, Lincoln, Lichfield, Hereford, St. Paul's, London, and York; and in Wales, St. David's, Llandaff, Bangor, and St. Asaph. Of the latter were Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, Norwich, Coventry, Bath, Ely, and Durham, and the canons regular of St. Augustine at Carlisle. King Henry VIII made no change in the constitution of the secular cathedrals, but the regular were re-founded, and to the then existing number he added six new sees, viz., two formed out of the churches of the Regular Augustinian Canons of Oxford and Bristol, and four out of the Benedictine churches of Peterborough, Gloucester, Chester, and Westminster. The latter, however, soon lost its newly created dignity. Within ten years its bishopric was abolished, and, retaining its Dean and Canons, it was left a simple collegiate church. Bath and Coventry were also suppressed as distinct sees; the former being annexed to Wells, and the latter to Lichfield, though they were permitted to retain the titular dignity of *cities*. The Church of Bath was made parochial, whilst the magnificent Cathedral of Coventry was ruthlessly destroyed. King Henry VIII proposed to create upwards of twenty additional sees, but it was never carried out, and no addition was made until the present reign.

A very concise, but at the same time comprehensive account is given of each of the cathedrals, noting—

1. Their distinctive features of decorative and architectural interest, or mechanical ingenuity.
2. Their historic monuments.
3. Their relics of ancient art, and the treasures in their libraries.
4. Their more eminent members.
5. Their dimensions.

[1] See Rule in St. Augustine's works, vol. i, p. 563, Paris, 1614, in which the word *monasterium* is used. See also Erath's Commentarius in Regulam, S. Augustine, Vienna, 1689, pp. 55, 58, where the subject is discussed. Erath dwells on S. Augustine's own words: "*Monasterium Clericorum.*"

6. The dates of their erection, forming a biographical pedigree of the building.
7. The claustral and other external buildings, and the close.

These descriptions are in many cases illustrated by ground-plans.

In the second volume Mr. Walcott describes the rise and growth of the monastic system in England from the Celtic period to mediæval times, shewing the chronological sequence of foundations and the choice of sites. With respect to the latter he says, the monks "accepted what was assigned to them by the founder," and he quotes a passage from Gerald du Barri, in which he says, "Give these monks a native moor or a wild wood, then let a few years pass away, and you will find not only beautiful churches but dwellings of men built around them." "This," Mr. Walcott adds, "is the true history of the roofless walls, ruined towers and ivied arches, hidden and withdrawn by kindly Nature in her pitying mood, amongst dense picturesque woods, in the midst of rich lawn and green pastures, by the side of the musical flow of winding rivers, or the silvery spray of rustling streams." Amongst the most eminent agriculturists and reclaimers of land were the Cistercians, and these "made choice of no fat pastures or rich lowlands; they reared their lowly home in undrained valleys, unreclaimed wastes, and amidst dense forests full of unhealthy influences, in order that, as St. Bernard says, they might have the thought of death ever before their eyes, and the hope of a better country to cheer their ascetic life."

Having specified the different orders of religion, Mr. Walcott describes the relations which existed between the monasteries and the bishop of the diocese, their relation to the parish churches, to the diocesan cathedral, to the people, to literature and education, to the collegiate system, to national taste, thought and temporal advantage; chapters which exhibit much thoughtful care, and which will be read with great interest. He then approaches the end, briefly relating the circumstances of the dissolution; and in conclusion he particularly desires to "make one important fact clear. The religious had acknowledged the royal supremacy. The dissolution of the greater houses took place by statute 31st Henry VIII, cap. 13, in May 1539; and by statute 31st Henry VIII, cap. 14, in June of the same year, the statute of the six articles was passed confirming the doctrine of the mass and celibacy of the clergy *(Parl. Hist.* i, 587). It was not until ten years later that the reconstruction of the devotional offices took effect. The Reformers, therefore, had no share in the reign of terror and cupidity, or its destructive consequences."

Under the title of "The English Students' Monasticon," Mr. Walcott adds a brief description of the least frequented churches and ruins. They are arranged alphabetically under their names, and consequently any building is easily referred to. He gives the dedication of each religious house, its order, its geographical position, its net income at the time of its dissolution, its founder, and its remains. In order to impart a human interest to bare statistics, monotonous details have been enlivened with an occasional architectural observation, pointing out features worthy of special note, historic incidents, customs, anecdotes illustrative of the times, or even a legend throwing light on popular sentiment.

It will be needless to say this little work is of more than ordinary

interest. Though nothing seems to be omitted, we would gladly hear more in detail upon the subject which the author has so carefully studied, and in many places so eloquently described. That it is free from errors would be too much to expect. The author could not personally visit all the ruins, hence the condition of many must be accepted upon trust, and consequently a door is opened for error. We may mention one instance. The ruins of Flanesford Priory, on the banks of the Wye, below Ross, visited by the Institute in 1877, are said to be "insignificant," whereas they are comparatively extensive and of unusual interest (See *Archæological Journal*, xxxiv, 498).

THE GENEALOGIST'S GUIDE TO PRINTED PEDIGREES, being a General Search through Genealogical, Topographical, and Biographical Works relating to the United Kingdom, together with References to Family Histories, Peerage Claims, &c. By GEORGE W. MARSHALL, LL.D., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at Law. (London: George Bell and Sons. 1879.)

It is most important to a student of any subject to possess a ready means of reference to authorities thereon; and this is especially the case with a genealogist, to whom access to any existing pedigree of a family in which he is interested is of the first importance. The want of facilities for this purpose has been long felt, and various attempts have been made to supply them. Foremost among these may be mentioned Sims' "Index to the Heralds' Visitations in the MS. Collections in the British Museum," which, though very incomplete and not well arranged, is a most useful work. Perhaps no book of reference in the Museum Reading Room is more frequently used. As regards Printed Pedigrees, an Index was published some dozen years ago by the late Mr. Charles Bridger. This, at first, was very incomplete, and of course has become more so every year. It was, moreover, defective in arrangement. We are also indebted to Dr. Marshall himself for an "Index to the Printed Heralds' Visitations," and there are several other very useful publications of a like nature. All these have, however, been eclipsed by the work before us, which, from the names being alphabetically arranged, is of more ready reference, and moreover contains a vast amount of matter more than s predecessors. Mr. Bridger estimated his Index to comprise some 16,000 references. Dr. Marshall claims for his volume more than three times that number.

Dr. Marshall's researches have been very extensive, and upon testing the results in many ways, we find that very few topographical or biographical works have escaped his notice; nevertheless some have, most of which will, probably, be supplied in the next edition. We say *the next* advisedly, for we hope that from time to time other editions, completed up to date, will follow. Dr. Marshall's work was compiled for his own use, and must have been the labour of many years.

Every genealogist ought to be grateful to him for placing this valuable repertory within reach of the public.

Notices of Archæological Publications

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES AT LYDNEY PARK, GLOUCESTERSHIRE: a Posthumous Work of The Rev. W. HILEY BATHURST, M.A. With Notes by C. W. KING, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Longmans & Co., 1879.

This work forms a valuable addition to the class of literature which treats exclusively of the period of the Roman rule in Britain, and which during the last thirty years has shown a great increase of development. It opens with a chapter of about sixteen pages written by the late Mr. Bathurst, based upon a MS. account by his father, the Right Hon. C. Bragge Bathurst (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for many years under Lord Liverpool's administration), upon the splendid remains of a temple situated within a Roman camp at Lydney, in Gloucestershire, on the western bank of the Severn, and about a mile and a half from that river, some twenty miles after it has passed the city of Gloucester.

Owing to the lamented death of Mr. Bathurst whilst the work was in preparation, it was placed in the hands of Mr. C. W. King, M.A., for completion, and this gentleman has displayed his usual erudition in editing it.

The buildings occupy a space of 315 feet by 300 feet, the actual measurement of the temple itself being 93 feet by 76 feet. Until the commencement of the present century they were completely overgrown with brushwood, the foundations here and there showing themselves, and being called by the country people the "Dwarf's Chapel." But in 1805 Mr. Bathurst had the whole area excavated, plans made of the walls, rooms, and pavements, and then the site was again covered up. A vast number of coins were found on this occasion, a catalogue of the most remarkable of which, some 770 in number, drawn up by the late Miss Charlotte Bathurst, is appended to the work. These range from the reign of Augustus to that of Honorius. From this fact Mr. Bathurst argues that the site was occupied by the Romans during the whole period of their sway in Britain. This, however, we think an erroneous idea, as also his conclusion that from the large number of coins found that the place was abandoned in haste. As a matter of fact, coins of the earlier emperors were in circulation centuries after their deaths, and almost every Roman site in Britain is found to be thickly strewn with coins. This arises, we are inclined to think, from the buildings being chiefly of wood (raised slightly above the ground by a low foundation wall), between the interstices of which, as in modern times, coins frequently got lost—and when the buildings were destroyed by fire, as in this instance, and in most others, the coins remained buried amongst the charred wood and ashes. It is certainly impossible from any of the remains found to assign a date for the erection of the buildings. If we take the letters of

the inscription on the tesselated pavement as a guide, they are much ruder, and of later date than those in the inscribed pavement at Thruxton, in Hampshire.

The general plan of the buildings would seem to consist of the temple, standing in the middle of a large court with two sides of the latter (north-east and north-west) constituting ranges of large buildings, which appear to have been a villa on an extensive scale, similar to that at Woodchester, with a group of buildings which were probably baths, added subsequently, extending to the north of the angle formed by the two before-named sides of the courtyard.

The temple and the remains found in it are the most interesting portion of the site. From the inscriptions discovered, it would appear to have been devoted to the worship of a god whose name was variously spelt as Nodons, Nodens, and Nudens. It is to be feared that neither the explanation of the name of this deity, advanced by Sir W. Drummond and the Rev. D. Lysons (as a corruption of ΝΩΔΥΝΟΣ, in the sense of "an alleviator of pain"), nor that of Sir S. Meyrick and Mr. King, *i.e.* Deus Noddyns, "the god of the Abyss,"—derived from the British, and Romanised,—are correct. From the letters D. M. preceding Nodonti, in one of the inscriptions (fig. 1, pl. xx), and the fact that it was dedicated by a military man, *armatura*, we think it is quite probable that (as Dr. Hübner has read it in the *Corpus Inscr. Latinarum*, vol. vii, No. 138) the name was a local one added to that of Mars, *(i.e.* D(*eo*) M(*arti*) *Nodonti).* Mr. King reads it as D(*eo*) M(*aximo*) *Nodonti.*

Mr. King's remark as to "the curious *agnomen* 'Armatura,' which has been translated 'Imperial Guard,' but which more probably stands here in its present Italian sense of a suit of armour," is unquestionably erroneous. He adds: "Designations derived from articles in common use were borne even by persons of patrician families, as 'Malleolus' by the Cornelii, or 'Aciscolus' by the Valerii. As for the word understood in the sense I suggest, it exactly corresponds to 'Thorax,' a well-known Greek name. There is also reason to suspect that 'Armatura' is a translation of the *British* name of Blandinus, by which he was still addressed by his countrymen; for his *nomen*, Flavius, proves him to have been of the same family," &c. Here again we must join issue with Mr. King. The word "Armatura" is certainly meant to designate the position held by the dedicator in the Roman forces. From the *Notitia* we know that a *cuneus* of *armaturae* was serving in Britain. They are also known from other inscriptions (see Steiner, No. 332; Henzen, No. 6794; Muratori, 801, 8, &c.). They are mentioned by Vegetius, lib. ii, c. 7, 15 and 17, and lib. iii, c. 14. Amminanus Marcellinus mentions them, xiv, 11; xv, 4 and 5; and xxvii, 2. See also Zell, "Anleitung zur Kentniss der Romischen inschriften," p. 319.

The reading of the inscription on the tesselated pavement in the temple, called by Mr. King "the dedication," is also, we think, a still undecided matter. We have before us a copy of this inscription and pavement, drawn and engraved by Robt. F. Stothard in 1828, which gives the inscription in the same manner as Mr. King, although much more of the pavement is delineated. It is evident that only the following letters can be read *with certainty*:—

D * * * IT * LAVIVS SENILIS PR REL EX STIPIBVS POSSVIT
O * * * * * * ANTE VICTORINO INTER * * * I * * E.

Mr. King expands them, as "*D(eo) M(aximo) It(erum) Flavius Senilis Pr(aeses) Rel(igionis) ex Stipibus Possvit O(pitul)ante Victorino Inter(prete Latine)*."[1] Only the lower portion of an upright stroke exists after the first letter, D, and mere fragments between that and what seems to be the letter I. Flavius Senilis seems correct, but PR. REL. may be the abbreviation for various words. Dr. Mc Caul suggests *Pr(etio) Rel(ato)*,—*Br. Rom. Inscr.*, p. 74. *Opitulante* does not, we think, seem warranted by the appearance of the *lacuna* at the commencement of the second line, whilst the same remark may be applied to the letters after INTER; but it is only just to observe that Dr. Mc Caul's reading of this line—

OP. CVRANTE VICTORINO INTERAMNATE,

seems equally unjustifiable.

Praeses Religionis is a term uncommon if not unique in epigraphy; but Dr. Mc Caul's reading, *Pretio Relato*, is, we think, preferable to any yet proposed. No doubt, were further search made, other remains would be found upon this site which might throw extra light upon the subject.

The remainder of the relics are many of them very elaborate. No less than ten tesselated pavements are engraved in the volume. A number of the rooms were furnished with hypocausts; and many bronze articles were discovered, and are engraved, amongst them a fine figure of a winged Victory standing on a globe, rings, a steel-yard weight representing a bust of Jupiter, fibulæ, styli, and the usual articles found upon all Roman sites.

Mr. King does not notice the pottery found here, or give any list of the potters' marks. The latter are, however, we believe, few in number, the well-known name MAIORIS occurring amongst them.

There can, we think, be no doubt whatever that the "Terminal Statues," Pl. 30 and 31 (and Appendix), are *not* of the Roman period; but the statue of Ceres, Pl. 19, is a fine example of Britanno-Roman sculpture.

The name of this Roman station must, until further discoveries are made in its neighbourhood, remain an open question. Provisionally, however, Dr. Hübner (*Corpus Inscr. Latin.*, vol. vii, p. 42) has given it the name of "Fanum Dei Nodontis."

We heartily welcome this volume, as an earnest of what may be done in the cause of archæology by such spirited exertions as those of Mr. Bathurst and Mr. King. In matter, in type, and in the style of its engravings, it deserves all praise, and we venture to hope that it will excite such emulation as may lead to a similar description and illustration of other Roman stations in the kingdom.

[1] Mr. King considers the four last letters to be TINE. This does not seem warranted by the engraving, especially after observation of the other examples of the letter N in the inscription.