THE PROGRESS OF ARCHÆOLOGY. OPENING ADDRESS OF THE ANTIQUARIAN SECTION AT THE EDINBURGH MEETING.[1]

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More than a generation has elapsed since this Institute held its last Meeting in Edinburgh, in the year 1856, under the patronage of the late Prince Consort, and under the immediate presidency of the late Lord Talbot de Malahide. At that time the Institute had the great advantage of the energetic services of Mr. Albert Way, who organised the important temporary Museum and superintended the printing of its Catalogue, which still forms a standard handbook for archæological students, while the names of Mr. Cosmo Innes, Mr. Robert Chambers, Mr. John Stuart, Mr. David Laing, Sir James Y. Simpson, Dr. Edwin Guest, Mr. Hodgson Hinde, Dr. Whewell, Mr. John Hill Burton, Mr. John Mitchell Kemble, and Mr. Henry Rhind, occur in the account of the proceedings of the Meeting. Of all these well-known antiquaries not one survives, though their memorial is not perished with them. On the other hand, we may congratulate ourselves that several of the distinguished members of the Institute who so much contributed to the success of the Meeting of 1856 are still alive to take an interest in our proceedings to-day, even though they may not be bodily present among us. Professor, now Sir Daniel Wilson, is, I rejoice to say, now revisiting his native country, but he had even at that time taken up his residence on the other side of the Atlantic, and had already added the word "Prehistoric" to our archæological vocabulary—and he, together with Dr. Bruce, the veteran historian of the Roman Wall,—the ever active Sir Henry Dryden—Mr. George Scharf, at that time "Junior," but now the Director of the National Portrait Gallery in London, and

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Mr. Freeman, who is now crowning his fame as a historian by his erudite and eloquent history of Sicily—will, I trust, take it in good part if I recall their names on the present occasion.

Mr. Cosmo Innes, in welcoming the Institute in 1856 on behalf of the University of Edinburgh, called attention to the progress that had been made in archæological science during the previous thirty years, of which he well said that antiquaries would find no reason to be ashamed. It seems to me that a few words on the progress made in the same direction within the United Kingdom during the last thirty-five years would not be out of place on the present occasion, especially when it is borne in mind that no inconsiderable part of that progress is due to the labours of Scottish antiquaries. At the same time some reference must of course be made to the progress of archæological science in other countries.

One vast and interesting archæological period affording a new domain for the researches of both geologists and antiquaries, who there meet upon a common ground, has within that time been, I may say, discovered; and the Palæolithic, or River-drift Period, now demands from the archæologist as much attention as the Neolithic, or Surface Stone Period. It is true that the researches of French geologists in some of the caverns of the South of France, and of Mr. McEnery in Kents Cavern near Torquay, as well as the investigations of that distinguished Scotsman, the late Dr. Hugh Falconer, in the Grotto di Maccagnone in Sicily, had already before 1856 raised a presumption in favour of the view that man had coexisted with the Quaternary, or Postpliocene fauna, of which many members are now either locally or absolutely extinct. It is also the fact that that prescient antiquary of the last century, Mr. John Frere, who in 1797 described to the Society of Antiquaries of London some flint implements discovered with bones of enormous animals at a great depth in brick-earth at Hoxne in Suffolk, was tempted to "refer them to a very remote period indeed, even beyond that of the present world."[1] It was not, however, until on the suggestion of Dr. Falconer, the river-gravels of the Somme at Abbeville and Amiens were

[1] *Archæol.*, Vol. XIII. 204.

examined by Professor Prestwich, myself and others, in the spring of 1859, that the discoveries of M. Boucher de Perthes, which had for some years been before an incredulous world, were confirmed, and the existence of flints wrought into shape by the hand of man and lying in juxtaposition with the remains of extinct animals in undisturbed beds of gravel, was established beyond all controversy. It is needless for me here to enter into any account of the enormously wide extension that the discoveries in this field of archæological research have already assumed. Not only has the existence of palæolithic man been proved in England, France, Spain, Italy, and other European countries, but strong presumptions have been raised as to his having left remains of his handicraft both in Northern and Southern Africa and on the Eastern coasts of Hindostan. The antiquity of these relics can only be determined from the geological evidence of the beds in which they are deposited. When in England we find flint implements, the work of man's hands, in gravels which formed the bed of the Thames at a time when, where London and Reading now stand, the erosion of the wide valley of that river had not extended to its present depth by from 80 to 120 feet, and when we hear of worked flints forming an integral part of the rock in which the tombs of the ancient Kings of Egypt have been excavated, however much we may try mentally to increase the forces of nature that have brought about the vast alterations in the depth of the valleys and the configuration of the surface of the earth since these beds were deposited, we cannot but be lost in wonder at the enormous antiquity of the human race which is unfolded before us. Nor is this wonder lessened when we consider that the absence in the north of England and of Scotland of such relics as those that I have been mentioning is most readily accounted for by the hypothesis that at the time that these instruments were in use by man in Southern England, the northern part of Britain was still enshrouded in ice, the remains of that Glacial Period, the chronology and history of which have been so carefully investigated by the late Mr. Croll and Professor James Geikie. Closely allied to this River-drift Period, but in many cases representing a somewhat later stage in the Palæolithic Age, is what has been termed the

Cave Period, when the now northern reindeer formed one of the principal means of subsistence for the early hunters of the South of France. In this department again vast accessions to our knowledge have been made during the past five-and-thirty years. As standard examples of what has been done, I may cite the researches made by M. Lartet and our countryman, Mr. Henry Christy, in the bone caves of the Dordogne, which resulted in the publication of the *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*, and the patient investigation of Kents Cavern near Torquay by Mr. William Pengelly, an account of whose work during sixteen successive years has been published in the Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Of foreign works relating to Cavern-researches a long catalogue might be adduced, but while on the subject of Cave-hunting, I can hardly pass over the name of our own countryman, Professor Boyd Dawkins, in silence. Magnificent collections of the relics of these early cave-men have been added to the British Museum, mainly through the liberality of the late Henry Christy; and the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, rich in pre-historic antiquities, has sprung into existence since last we met here.

Between the latest phases of the Palæolithic, or River-drift Period, and the earliest of the Neolithic, or Surface Stone Period, there exists a gulf which notwithstanding all efforts that have hitherto been made has not as yet been satisfactorily bridged over. Our knowledge, however, of all that relates to the Neolithic Period has materially increased since 1856. Although a fair number of antiquities formed of stone were exhibited in the temporary museum of the Institute at Edinburgh in that year, and some papers on the classification of celts had appeared in the *Archæologia* and in the *Archæological Journal*, Sir William Wilde's well-known catalogue of the weapons, tools, and implements formed of stone, and preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, was not published until 1857. This catalogue may be regarded as almost the first attempt in the English language at a complete classification of such objects. It has of course been followed by others, of which Stevens' "Flint Chips," published in 1870, and my own "Stone Implements,"

which appeared in 1872, may be mentioned. In the interval between 1857 and 1872 the discoveries of palæolithic implements at Abbeville, Amiens, and elsewhere led also to a far greater interest being taken in the more recent stone relics of the Neolithic Age, to which the researches of Dr. Thurnam among the barrows of Wiltshire, and Canon Greenwell among those of Yorkshire, and the publication of Sir John Lubbock's popular work on Prehistoric Times helped largely to contribute. The Proceedings of the Societies of Antiquaries, both of London and Scotland, as well as of this Institute and the British Archæological Association, all testify to this increased interest and the consequent advance of knowledge. Among local societies that have specially aided in illustrating the Neolithic Period, I may venture to cite that of Ayrshire and Galloway.

The foundation in America of Museums illustrative of the Stone Age of that vast Continent, and the numerous Ethnological Museums and Societies that have been instituted in Europe have done much to illustrate the habits of primeval man by a comparison with those of existing races in the lowest stage of culture. Among such Museums our own Christy Collection stands in the first rank.

On the Continent, more especially in France and Germany, an immense extension in the way of research and in the number of publications relating to the Stone period has taken place; and in Denmark and Scandinavia the original home of the now generally accepted classification of prehistoric times into the three ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, further studies have been prosecuted in the most energetic manner. The developement of our knowledge of the Bronze age has kept pace with the advances in other departments, and while we have become better acquainted with the numerous weapons and instruments for the manufacture of which bronze was applied at a time when iron was comparatively unknown, we are now to some extent able to adopt a chronological arrangement for different forms. Here again I may claim to have done somewhat to advance our knowledge, but for chronological details we are in the main indebted to Continental archæologists, and the names of Hildebrand, Montelius, Sophus Müller, and Ernest Chantre will readily occur to your minds.

Last among these Prehistoric Periods comes the early Iron Age, or that to which in this country Mr. Franks has given the designation of late-Celtic. In connection with this period, and indeed with the two preceding periods I may mention the two volumes by Dr. Joseph Anderson, on "Scotland in Pagan Times." Much has been done by Mr. Franks in his edition of Kemble's "Horae Ferales," but there is still room for a work especially devoted to this period, of which our knowledge, though greater than it was some thirty years ago, is still far from complete. Quite recently my son, Mr. Arthur John Evans, in his account of an Urn-Field at Aylesford in Kent, has called attention to a distinctive class of late-Celtic pottery which has hitherto been regarded as Roman, but which by its affinities he has shown to be connected with a series of vessels of peculiar fabric extending across the Continent of Europe, from the head of the Adriatic to the British Isles, and quite anterior to Roman influence and independent of it.

I have deliberately omitted from this short review a field of enquiry which has perhaps supplied more information than any other, and which has furnished more than one key to the proper chronological arrangements of prehistoric relics—I mean the Lake-dwellings of Switzerland,—though to these may now be added some remains of the same class discovered in other countries. It is true that Dr. Ferdinand Keller's first report upon them was published in 1854, or rather before the date of the last meeting of this Institute in Edinburgh, but the extensive literature on this subject has grown up almost entirely since that epoch, and Dr. Robert Munro, in his admirable and comprehensive work, just published, on the Lake-dwellings of Europe, enumerates upwards of 450 separate works and papers relating to the discoveries of which he treats, all published since 1856. His previous volume on the Lake-dwellings of Scotland, and that of Colonel Wood Martin on those of Ireland, testify to the existence of a considerable number of remains of this class within the British Isles. It is, however, in the lakes of Switzerland that the most complete series of these important aids to history have been discovered. Not only can different settlements or various stages at the same settlement be ascribed with certainty to one or other of the three periods

of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, but for each of those periods the habits of life, the weapons, tools, and implements that were in use, the domesticated animals, the cultivated plants and fruits, and all the details that assist in reconstructing the civilisation characteristic of each of these stages in human progress are clearly laid before us. It is indeed hard to over-estimate the ultimate effects that the dry winters of 1853 and 1854, which laid bare the margins of some of the Swiss lakes and brought to light the treasures that they contained, have produced on the science of archæology.

Turning our attention for a moment in another direction, we may briefly consider the immense advances that have within the last quarter of a century been made in our knowledge both of the pre-classical antiquities of Greece and Rome, and of the early history, languages, and archæology of Assyria, Egypt, and the Holy Land. The singularly felicitous inspirations of Dr. Henry Schliemann, whose loss the whole world has reason to deplore, have resulted in bringing to light numerous and important remains on the site of ancient Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns, and have extended our knowledge of what has been happily termed "Greece before the Greeks" to a degree such as to our fathers it would have appeared impossible ever to attain. In Italy also extensive excavations upon early sites, to say nothing of the continued explorations of that wonderful mine of antiquities, Pompeii, the foundation of new societies and museums, and the zeal of numerous antiquaries have largely added to our knowledge not only of Roman antiquities, but of far earlier remains of the Etruscan and other primitive occupants of Italy. The establishment of Archæological Schools by different European nations at Rome and Athens shows the deep interest now felt in antiquarian research, and also aids materially in carrying it out. It is much to be regretted that the British Government should be so far behind those of other countries in fostering such schools.

Our own Hellenic Society has done much excellent work, as have also the explorers of Cyprus, while the enterprise of other nations has brought to light at Olympia, the Acropolis of Athens and elsewhere, monuments not only of archaic art, but of the palmy days of

Pheidias and his successors. These discoveries have reacted on our own Museums of Classical Archæology, to promote the study of which subject chairs have been founded at most of our principal Universities.

The extension of our knowledge of Assyrian history, mythology, and even literature can hardly be better illustrated than by a reference to "The Records of the Past" and the publications of the Society of Biblical Archæology. The discoveries of Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir Henry Layard, and Professor Lassen, which had already begun to be made before 1850, have indeed taken root downward and borne fruit upward. The travels and researches of Prof. W. M. Ramsay in Asia Minor have led to the identification of numerous early sites and to the discovery of a large number of monuments and inscriptions, many of them originating with that ancient race which by Professor Sayce has been identified with that of the Hittites. By the side of our knowledge of the ancient Assyrian tongue that of other long-forgotten languages has sprung up, and the early connection of Egyptian civilisation with that of Western Asia is daily receiving additional illustration. Although much had been done by Sir Gardner Wilkinson and others for Egyptian history, the number of material objects found, the establishment in Egypt of a museum to contain them, and the zealous labours, principally of English, French, and German scholars have made what was but a short time ago the intellectual possession of a select few the object of interest and study of a constantly increasing public.

The excavations and surveys carried on under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and by Mr. Flinders Petrie, have resulted in many discoveries, both interesting in themselves and of the highest importance in determining the chronology of pottery, beads, and other remains found on the shores of the Mediterranean, as well as in Egypt itself. The recent discovery of a papyrus containing a long-lost work of Aristotle, and of fragments of the writings of Homer, Euripides, and Plato, dating many years prior to the Christian era, seems to prove that the burning of the great Alexandrian library may yet to some extent be compensated by the preservative powers of the soil of Egypt and the riches that it still contains. From

this soil, as at Panopolis, textile and embroidered fabrics, dating from the first century of our era and downwards, have been exhumed in almost as complete a state of freshness as when they were deposited. Of these fabrics our own South Kensington Museum possesses a fine collection, while Mr. Forrer, of Strassburg, has published a volume of photographic and other illustrations of those in his possession, and is now bringing out another, which will principally relate to embroideries on silk.

To return to our own country. It would be endless to recite all that has, within the last thirty-five years, been done and written with regard to the remains of the Roman occupation of these islands. Numerous villas have been unearthed, the sites of Richborough, Reculver, Lymne, and Pevensey have been explored by that diligent antiquary the late Mr. C. Roach Smith; the site of Wroxeter has been examined, and excavations at Silchester are now being systematically carried on under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries. Nor must I omit to mention the excavations in Cranborne Chase, so liberally carried on and so exhaustively described by General Pitt Rivers, that have laid bare more than one Romano-British village, and determined the age of several ancient earthworks. Further north, the late Mr. John Clayton and Dr. Collingwood Bruce have not been idle, and "The Roman Wall," and the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* attest the diligence of our northern antiquaries. So far as Roman epigraphy in general is concerned, the great "Corpus Inscriptionum" one volume of which, by Hübner, is specially devoted to the inscriptions found in Britain, has concentrated our knowledge and relegated many of the forgeries admitted by Gruter to their proper position. Mommsen is still labouring in the same department, and so far as Britain is concerned is fortunate in having secured the aid of Mr. Haverfield, who is now investigating the walls of Chester.

Some little of the darkness with which the age succeeding the Roman occupation had hitherto been veiled has now been removed, and while the Sculptured Stones of Scotland have been investigated, and to a great extent arranged, by the late accomplished John Stuart, not a few important explorations of Saxon burial grounds have

been made and works on Saxon antiquities have been published. The names of Akerman, Wylie, Neville or Braybrooke, Roach Smith, Rolleston, and John Brent will occur to the minds of all who are interested in this period. Merovingian and Scandinavian antiquities have also received fully as much attention from foreign investigators.

So far as mediæval antiquities are concerned, the progress that has been made has been mainly in the direction of architecture, and it is not a little singular that this progress has been to a fearful extent accompanied by a destruction of mediæval architectural remains under the pretext of "restoration." Either from a desire of producing a uniformity which in reality never existed, or of showing their own taste, architects have sentenced many of the most interesting features of our ancient ecclesiastical buildings to destruction, while much of the architectural history of the past three centuries has been ruthlessly destroyed. The singular hankering of so many of the clergy of the reformed Church of England for all that savours of pre-reformation tastes and practises has not a little conduced to the obliteration of many an interesting feature in our churches, the destruction of monuments subsequent to the sixteenth century, and the melting down of Elizabethan and seventeenth century plate. Perhaps at the present time some feeling of remorse is creeping over those who have wrought so much mischief in the past, and in some degree the plague of restoration is stayed. I must, however, leave this distasteful subject and turn to other branches of archæology in which advance in knowledge has not led to retrogression in practice.

One of the most important handmaids of history is the science of numismatics; and though our Jubilee coinage does not testify to any advance in the art of coining, our knowledge of the former coinages of this and other countries has of late years materially increased. Since the days of Eckhel no such important work upon Greek numismatics as the "Historia Numorum" of Dr. Barclay V. Head has, I think, appeared, and the catalogues of the Greek coins in the British Museum will bear a favourable comparison with those of any other country. In Roman numismatics we must cede to France, and the works of Cohen and Babelon on the family and imperial series

which have all been produced within the last thirty years or so will long remain the standard books of reference. For myself I may venture to claim to have placed the coinage of the Ancient Britons upon a satisfactory footing, and to have done something towards extending our knowledge of the chronology of the uninscribed coins, and of the names, territories, and dates of the numerous kings and princes who struck coins in various parts of Britain before its final subjugation to the Roman power.

For the Saxon coinage not much has been done, but the British Museum Catalogue now in progress promises to be a valuable handbook. Some questions relating to the English series have now been disposed of, such as the attribution of the Short-cross coinage; and the absence of coins bearing the names of Richard I. and John is now satisfactorily accounted for by their having continued to strike in the name of their father Henry II., so that there was no change of name until after the time of Henry III., when the Long-cross coinage had come in. For many other advances in our knowledge of the English series I may refer to the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, now in its fifty-first volume, and for recent standard works I may mention the names of Kenyon and Montagu, while for Scottish coins those of Wingate and the late Mr. Burns must not be passed over. The work on English Medals begun by the late Mr. Hawkins has been completed by Mr. Franks and Mr. Grueber, and Scottish Medals have been amply illustrated by Mr. Cochran-Patrick.

In heraldry, an interesting collection in illustration of which is now on view in this city, no special advances have been made, though the works of Boutell and others have helped to popularize the subject. It is moreover satisfactory to find that heraldry is now not unfrequently studied more as a branch of Palæography and as an important aid in the determination of chronology than from the point of view of the old heralds, who sought for mysterious meaning in the various charges, and who devised a totally new natural history illustrative both of the moral characters of heraldic animals and of their emblematic meaning.

It would involve a too lengthy disquisition were I to

attempt to enumerate all the details of the work that has been done in this country towards the illustration and elucidation of the minor monuments of the last nine centuries. Gold and silver plate, both civil and ecclesiastical, the hall marks of different centres of its manufacture, armour, seals, rings, bells, pottery, glass, furniture, embroidery, engravings, book-plates, book-binding, and a host of other subjects have all attracted attention from antiquaries, while the number of periodical publications relating to archæology has largely increased. On the Continent an equal degree of activity has been exhibited, and it must be confessed that in some instances the work of foreign, and especially French authors, has fully equalled, if not surpassed, that produced on this side of the channel.

This general advance in antiquarian knowledge, this enlightened awakening to the interest that attaches to the past is in the highest degree satisfactory, and not the less so that so much of scientific methods has of late years been introduced into the study of Archæology. We are met together here for the purpose of still further prosecuting such researches, and of promoting that friendship among those engaged in a common pursuit which leads to mutual assistance and encouragement; and I trust that when this meeting is over many among us may look back upon it with pleasant reminiscences of friendships formed or improved, and of facts for the first time brought under our notice, and ever retain a vivid remembrance of the kindly reception of the Institute accorded to us by our Northern brethren.