

CHAPTER X.—THEIR ALLEGED PHŒNICIAN ORIGIN.

The chief supporter of this theory of the Phœnician origin of the cup and ring cuttings is the eminent Swedish archæologist, Professor Nilsson, to whom I have already referred in chap. viii. He holds that the Druidism or Druidical worship, which Julius Cæsar found prevalent in Gaul and Britain at the time of his invasion of these countries (*viz.*, upwards of half a century before the Christian era), was a form of religion that never reached Scandinavia, and which at that time was—relatively, at least—recent in England and France, being only, perhaps, two or three centuries old, and fundamentally a younger type of a more ancient and oriental creed. For he believes that anterior to Druidism in Britain there existed here, and in the north of Europe,—as a result of Phœnician commercial intercourse and colonisation,—a form of eastern Solar worship; that our megalithic circles, &c., were reared by these Sun worshippers, and not by the Druids—for in none of the classical notices of Druidism are these stone circles ever distinctly alluded to, whilst they exist in many countries where neither Celt nor Druid was ever known;¹ that Stonehenge, Abury, &c., were erected as Sun

¹ Stone circles have been found in almost every country in the old world, from Greenland southward. Nor are ancient circles of this kind wanting even in Australia. My friend, Mr Ormond, informs me, that he has seen many, especially in the district near the Mount Elephant plains, in Victoria. “The circles (Mr Ormond writes me) are from ten to a hundred feet in diameter, and sometimes

temples to the Phœnician Sun-god, Baal; and that our lapidary ring-cuttings on the stones of New Grange and Dowth, and upon the rocks of Northumberland, &c., are also the work of these Sun worshippers, and were cut for the purpose of symbolising the sun;—the single central cup and central ring indicating the solar luminary, and perhaps each additional circle afterwards added around this solar figure, recording and honouring—as he suggests—the death of some near relative.¹ Professor Nilsson further maintains that this supposed Solar worship in Western and Northern Europe prevailed during the Bronze era; and that circular or concentric figures and designs upon ornaments, implements, weapons, &c., are invariably associated in these European countries with the Bronze age, and consequently with the era of Sun worship,—except where they have descended, and been adapted to articles of the Iron age, as designs which were ornamental merely, and without any inner signification.²

In relation to these opinions let me here observe, that it seems to be a fully established fact in ancient history that, on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, the Phœnicians founded Gadir, Gadeira, or Gades (Cadiz),³ about

there is an inner circle. The stones composing these circles, or circular areas, vary in size and shape. Human bones have (he adds) been dug out of mounds near these circles. The aborigines have no traditions regarding them. When asked about them, they invariably deny knowledge of their origin."

¹ See his *Skandinavisk Nordens Ur-Inväare*, p. 143.

² Professor Nilsson has published at length his observations on the early Phœnician intercourse and colonisation of Western and Northern Europe in the essays already referred to at p. 73, *ante*.

³ For the special historical data proving the date of the founding of Gadeira, see Mr Kenrick's scholarly and learned history of "Phœnicia" (p. 125, &c.), or the more extended work, "Die Phœnizier," of Professor Movers of Breslau, vol. ii., p. 147, &c. "The foundation," remarks Mr Kenrick, "of Gades by the Tyrians, twelve centuries before Christ, is one of *the* best attested facts of such ancient date" (p. 209). In Strabo's time (20 B.C.), Cadiz, which, after six or seven centuries, had become a Carthaginian, and ultimately a Roman conquest, was still, according to him, a city second only to Rome in population; and, as a proof of the extent of Phœnician colonisation in Southern Spain, he states (iii. 11, § 18), that "the whole of the cities of Turdetania and the neighbouring places" in the Spanish Peninsula, were in his days inhabited by the Phœnicians,—including under that term, as he always does, the inhabitants of Carthage, as well as those of Tyre and Sidon. See

eleven or twelve centuries before the commencement of the Christian era; and this colony or city was not perhaps, by one or two centuries,¹ the earliest of the many Phœnician settlements² established upon the coast of Tartessus, Tarshish, or Southern Spain. We know that the powerful and wealthy city of Tyre, "the crowning city," whose "merchants are princes," and itself "a mart of nations" (according to the striking language that, seven or eight centuries before Christ, Isaiah uttered in regard also Mr Grote in his *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 374, as to these towns being "altogether Phœnicised." Strabo mentions (iii. 11, § 6), that the largest merchant ships which in Roman times visited the ports of Naples (Dicearchia) and Ostia were the ships of Turdetania—representatives, as they were, of the ancient "ships of Tarshish," a name given to large vessels in ancient Biblical times, apparently on the principle that all commercial ships of unusual size were, in Great Britain, thirty or forty years ago, called "East Indiamen," whether they traded eastward or not.

¹ "Phœnicia," observes Mr Kenrick, "had, no doubt, been enriched by intercourse with Tartessus during the [anterior] period of the ascendancy of Sidon, before any attempt was made to obtain a permanent establishment there" (p. 124). The mention of Tarsis as a gem in the breastplate of the Jewish High Priest (Exodus xxviii. 20), shows that precious stones were already imported from Spain to the East as early as about fifteen centuries B.C. (see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 118, and Professor Mover's "Die Phœnizier," Band ii. p. 592). "We are therefore, surely," observes a cautious and critical writer, Sir John Lubbock, "quite justified in concluding that between B.C. 1500 and B.C. 1200 the Phœnicians sailed into the Atlantic and discovered the mineral fields of Spain and Great Britain" (see his *Prehistoric Times*, p. 46). Homer represents Sidon as abounding in works of bronze (ἐκ Σιδῶνος πρὸν χαλκόν) at the era of the Trojan war (*Odys.* xv. 424).

² "Scylax (c. 1), whose *Periplus* was composed about 340 B.C., mentions," observes Sir Cornwall Lewis, "many factories of the Carthaginians to the west of the Pillars of Hercules, apparently on the European side."—(*Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 449. See also Strabo in Note 2, p. 82, *ante*). Eratosthenes speaks of the coasts of Mauritania (southward from Cadiz and the Straits of Gibraltar), as containing in early times 300 Phœnician settlements (see Kenrick's *Phœnicia*, p. 135; and Grote's *Greece*, vol. iii. p. 367). Sir Cornwall Lewis lays down the voyage of Hanno, whose *Periplus* is extant, as being partly for the foundation of colonies, and partly for discovery. "He is supposed," adds Sir Cornwall, "to have sailed along the [Atlantic] coast as far as Sierra Leone, and according to the best considered conjecture, his expedition took place about 470 B.C."—(*Astronomy of the Ancients*, p. 454). The Rev. Isaac Taylor, in his work on "Words and Places," points out Phœnician names running along the Atlantic coast of Africa (p. 39. See also Mover's "Phœnizier," vol. ii. p. 534).

to it), had in her fairs—as Ezekiel witnesses, about 600 years B.C.—“silver, iron, tin, and lead,” from Tarshish; and further, that Tarshish was then her merchant, “by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches” (Ezekiel xxvii. 12). Further, there is the greatest probability, if not certainty, that the tin—alluded to in Ezekiel—which was sometimes used as a metal by itself,¹ but which was far more indispensably necessary in the formation of bronze²—one of the most valued and popular metals in these and in still more ancient times³—was derived either from the

¹ *Tin by itself.*—In ancient times tin seems to have been used sometimes by itself, as well as in the form of alloy. The earliest separate mention of it as a metal is about 1450 B.C., when it is enumerated among the spoils taken by the Hebrews from the Midianites (Numbers xxxi. 22). Homer describes Agamemnon’s corselet as containing twenty rods or bars of tin (*Iliad*, xi. 25), and his shield as showing twenty bosses of the same metal (*Il.* xi. 34). The greaves of Achilles were made, we are told, of ductile tin (*Il.* xliii. 612, and xxi. 592), and his shield is represented as having been welded of five layers, the two innermost of which were of tin (*Il.* xx. 271); while some of the devices moulded upon its surface were formed of tin, as the fence round the vineyard (*Il.* xviii. 564). Tin is represented also by Homer as entering into the composition of the chariot of Diomedes (*Il.* xxiii. 503). In ancient times, let me add, it was not always employed in the formation of bronze and metallic implements. Thus, it has been lately ascertained that the glaze of the bricks of Babylon and Nimrod contain an oxide of tin; and these bricks are supposed to have been made about six or eight centuries B.C. (see Kenrick’s *Phœnicia*, p. 455).

² Bronze generally contains about 88 or 90 per cent. of copper, and 10 or 12 per cent. of tin. “It is remarkable,” observes Mr Kenrick, p. 213, “that the same proportions result from the analysis of the bronze instruments found in the sepulchral barrows of Europe, of the nails which fastened the plates with which the treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ was covered, and of the instruments contained in the tombs of ancient Egypt. . . . In the mirrors of the ancient Etruscan tombs the proportion of tin is sometimes as high as 24 or even 30 per cent.” (See more instances of the composition of ancient bronzes in Smith’s *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 2d edit. p. 25.)

³ In our English Bible, the Hebrew word “nahas,” signifying bronze, has been translated brass. But brass, a metallic alloy of copper with zinc, was probably little, if indeed at all, known in these ancient times, as one of its components—zinc—seems to have been undiscovered (see Dr Percy’s *Metallurgy*, Part i. p. 519). Some of the Biblical notices of the use of bronze—and hence of the import of tin—are both early and remarkable. Shortly after the Israelites left Egypt, about 1490 B.C., the women gave up the mirrors of polished bronze which they had brought from Egypt

streams and mines of Spain, or the far richer stores of Cornwall, or the Cassiterides;¹ and that the Phœnician amber trade was conducted from a

(see the composition of Egyptian bronze in preceding note) to form the brazen laver (Exodus xxxviii. 8); and at the building of Solomon's temple, about 1000 B.C., the Phœnician metallurgists cast, of bronze, enormous pillars, a molten sea supported by twelve oxen, lavers upon wheels, &c.,—works which would test the skill of the best modern artificers in metals.

¹ TIN, *whence derived in ancient times.*—Till some later discoveries in metallurgy, only two or three portions of the earth were known to contain tin in any available or marketable quantity, namely, first, Banca, and other adjacent islands in the Straits of Malacca, in the East Indies; secondly, Drangiana or Sejestan, Persia; thirdly, Spain and Portugal; and fourthly, the Scilly Isles, Cornwall, and the adjoining part of Devonshire. From which of these localities was the tin which was used in ancient times derived?

First, We have the very best reason for knowing that in former times the tin used by the civilised nations that were spread along the shores of the Mediterranean was not derived from Banca or the East. In Arrian's "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," we have recorded with all the minutiae of a modern invoice the exact articles of traffic carried backwards and forwards between Egypt, Ceylon, Africa, India, &c., some eighteen centuries ago. In these authentic documents we have various notices of tin as a recognised article of merchandise. We find it, for example, as an article of commerce at the following emporia, namely, Canè, on the southern coast of Arabia; Barygaza, at the mouth of the Nerbudda (north of Bombay); and at the port of Bacaré, on the Malabar coast. But then, at these points, instead of being carried from the East to Egypt, it is invariably entered in them as exported from Egypt to them. The trade in tin at these parts is from the West to the East, and not from the East to the West, though in this latter direction, in these invoices, we have articles entered from the farthest parts of India, and even from China. If tin had in ancient times ever been brought commercially from Banca—where the supply is abundant—the knowledge of the locality of such a rich and valuable commodity would never have been lost.

Secondly, Strabo, writing about 20 B.C., states regarding the district of the Drangæ:—"Tin is found in the country" (Book xv. chap. 11, § 10); but, according to his able translators, Messrs Hamilton and Falconer, "none is said to be found there at the present day" (see Bohn's edition, vol. ii. p. 126.) We have no authority, so far as I am aware, except that of Strabo, as to tin being found in Drangiana, a district at the eastern end of the present kingdom of Persia. At all events, it had not been found in quantity enough to have been sent down within the century after Strabo wrote to India to interfere with the tin traffic from Alexandria and the west of Europe to India, as described by Arrian in the preceding

point still further to the north--both forms of merchandise being chiefly or entirely carried by the seaward route through the Straits of Gibraltar, till at last the land and river routes from the Germanic and Atlantic Oceans to the Mediterranean became more opened up. And we must not forget, that a nation which--besides navigating her vessels to Malta, Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, and other parts of the Mediterranean Sea--traded to Tartessus, some 2500 miles from home, would have comparatively no insurmountable difficulty in reaching the southern parts of Britain. Indeed, when we consider the first and leading fact, that this most active commercial and marine people had factories and colonies, that proved rich and thriving, and some of which were planted on the Atlantic shores of Spain, at the least 1100 or 1200 years B.C., it seems hardly possible to resist the second and resultant fact that, during the course of the long centuries which they thus spent on one part of the Atlantic ocean, the same innate energy, and the same irrepressible love of enterprise, would induce, if not compel, the same people to visit with their vessels

paragraph. Nor, several centuries earlier does the tin of this country seem to have been worked to any considerable extent, as we find no notice of it in Ezekiel's description of this merchandise of that "mart of nations," Tyre, 600 B.C.

Thirdly, Spain and Portugal contained in former times, and contain still, a small quantity of tin, both in streams and lodes. But at the present day they furnish an extremely small quantity of that metal, and probably in ancient times never furnished any great supply. In the two last London Exhibitions specimens of Spanish or Portuguese tin were shown; and Mr Forrester tried to work it in Galicia, but, I believe, has given up the enterprise; and Dr George Smith (in his able essay on the Cassiterides, pp. 1 and 46) shows from official information that there is little or no tin-mining now in the country, and that Spain never appears to have produced any considerable quantity of this metal.

Fourthly, Cornwall and Devonshire.--Dr Smith points it out as an axiom in tin-mining, that "wherever tin has been produced in any considerable quantities within the range of authentic history, there it is still abundantly found" (p. 45). In the last year's return from the tin mines in Cornwall, the quantity raised is reported to be as great as it was ever known to be in any one year. No doubt these British mines were, as pointed out by Strabo, Diodorus, and other ancient authorities, the great source of tin from the earliest historic periods. It is remarkable that in olden times we have no allusion to any want or scarcity in the production of this metal; and the quantity used in the bronze age must have been very great indeed.

the coasts of that same ocean, and its nearest islands, such as Britain. Indeed, to reach the Eider or shores of the Baltic¹ for its electron or amber,² or even the northernmost part of Norway or Thule, was not so

¹ Professor Nilsson holds that, probably, the Phœnicians traded as far north as the celebrated fishing-grounds in the Lofoden Isles, within the arctic circle, bringing from thence fish, furs, &c. The fires of Baal were lit till lately at Beltane time in some of these islands. That fish was a great article of merchandise among the Phœnicians we know historically from different points, and from their coins, &c. They had stations for making salted provisions, as at Mellaria, in Spain, &c. (Strabo iii. 18). Incidentally we learn that the Tyrians had a fish market at Jerusalem in the time of the prophet Nehemiah, or about 440 B.C. (Nehemiah xiii. 16).

² AMBER.—Pliny (xxxvii. 11) tells us that the word "Electron" or Amber was applied in ancient times to our common bituminous amber (which—as he long ago hinted—naturalists now regard as probably the gum or product of a primeval pine); and secondly, to either a natural or artificial mixture of about four parts of gold to one of silver,—an alloy, perhaps, showing some of the colour or appearances of amber. Some very early notices of amber occur, as in the *Odyssey* of Homer (iv. 73, xv. 460, and xviii. 296). In the two last of these passages the amber was in pieces, and the use of the plural shows that it was probably not a metal. In the first passage the amber is represented as brought to the island of Syria by a Phœnician ship, before the breaking out of the Trojan war. Some centuries later, about 450 B.C., Herodotus describes amber, as in his time, one of the things imported, like tin, from the western extremities of Europe, as their only known source—a description that can apply to common bituminous or vegetable amber alone, and not to any alloy of gold and silver, the elements of which abounded around them in Greece. Herodotus states that the story of his day was, that amber came from the river Eridanus, which opened into the Northern Sea (iii. § 115). The shores of the Northern Sea or German Ocean along the western coast of Denmark have always served as the principal source of the amber trade; and in his late learned disquisition on the subject, Professor Werlauf of Copenhagen states (*Bidrag til den Nordiske Ravhandels Historie*, p. 91) that though the coast has become greatly changed and washed away in the course of centuries, yet the shores and mouth of the Eider, in Holstein—in all probability the old Eridanus—and the islands opposite it, have, up to our own time, supplied this bituminous substance in the greatest quantity, though it is cast up also upon some other beaches after rough weather. Pliny states that it was latterly brought overland from the shores of Prussia to the head of the Adriatic, and hence to southern Europe; but this appears not to have occurred till the time of the Roman Emperors, or many centuries after it had been carried seaward into the Mediterranean from the shores and isles of the German Ocean (xxxvii. 11. 3). In early times there may have been land routes across Europe for such light and

long a voyage from Tartessus, as Tartessus originally was from the parent cities of Sidon or Tyre.¹

valuable commerce, which we cannot now easily trace. Pytheas, the Massilian astronomer and traveller, who calculated, with his gnomon alone, the latitude of Marseilles within a few seconds only of correct time, voyaged, passing by the Straits of Gibraltar, about 350 B.C., to Britain and Northern Europe, and first described to his unbelieving contemporaries and successors Thule as a district or island on the Norwegian coast, as far north as the 66th degree of latitude. He tells us that in the islands where the amber was obtained, there was an estuary (*æstuarium*) of the ocean, implying an ebb and flow of the sea,—such as, of course, occurs on the coast of the Germanic Ocean, but which could not possibly hold true in regard to the waters and shores of the Baltic. . . (See Pliny xxxvii. 11; Nilsson, p. 71; and Humboldt's *Cosmos*, vol. ii. note 171). He states that Thule and other neighbouring seas contain neither earth, air, nor water separately, but a concretion, which he had himself seen, of all these, resembling marine sponge or jelly-fishes, which he was told could neither be travelled over nor sailed through (see Strabo ii. chap. 4 § 2). This description is now acknowledged to apply exactly to the appearance put on by the circular pieces of sludge or young ice, when the freezing of the Northern Sea threatens to begin. (See Nilsson's "Nordens Ur-Invånare," p. 140, and Sir John Lubbock's "Prehistoric Times," p. 42.) And his allegation, that he reached a northern mountain in Thule where the nights were only two or three hours long, and where the barbarians showed him the place in which the sun lies in bed (*ἔπου ὁ ἥλιος κοιμᾶται*), is an observation which Professor Nilsson of Lund, in the present century, has confirmed; for the inhabitants of Dunö showed him exactly in the same way a hill-top from which the sun was visible the whole of midsummer night, repeating to him the observation which had been made to Pytheas between two and three thousand years before (p. 74). Yet these two observations, and others, of Pytheas, have induced many literary men in his own, and even in later times, to look upon him as telling traveller's fables. Pytheas states about amber, that at the place where it was obtained it was sometimes found in such great quantity that it was burned as a light—an occurrence which, according to Werlauf (p. 42), has happened also in later times amongst the inhabitants of Western Slesvig. From the electrical power which amber possesses of attracting light substances, the Greek philosopher Thales argued, according to Diogenes Laertius, that it was endowed with a soul; and as Thales lived above six hundred years B.C., the specimens of amber which he saw and experimented upon in Greece could not have reached there by the Massilian land route, which did not then exist, but it must in all probability have been carried thither from the western extremities of Europe by ships which possibly had been already engaged in the far distant amber and tin trades for centuries before.

¹ *Phœnician Navigation*.—It seems only idle to argue, as some have done, that the

But there are strong objections against the triple idea of Professor Nilsson, that (1) the age of bronze in western and northern Europe is (2) the age of our Megalithic circles, and that both are (3) the direct effects of Phœnician influence and colonisation among us.

It appears, for example, difficult or impossible to explain why the Phœnicians should not have introduced into western and northern Europe both iron and bronze, or iron as well as bronze. They early possessed both metals, and worked in both. They exported both from Tarshish. Ten centuries before Christ, the Phœnician craftsman sent from Tyre to Jerusalem was skilful to work in iron as well as in gold, silver, and bronze—as stated in the letter of King Hiram of Tyre to king Solomon in 2 Chronicles ii. 14. Four or five centuries earlier, or about 1440 B.C., the Canaanites (and the Phœnicians, if not, as many good ethnologists hold, of the same race, and only “Canaanites by the sea,” were at least their nearest neighbours) had apparently abundance of iron and iron implements (Joshua xvii. 16, and Judges i. 19). Jabin, king of the Canaanites about 1300 B.C., had as many as “900 chariots¹ of iron” (Judges iv. 3 and 13); and mention of the possession of such chariots by the Canaanites is made about a century and a half previously (Joshua xvii. 16). Besides, iron was used for many and various other purposes by the early Israelites,² Assyrians,³ Greeks,⁴ &c.

voyages of the Phœnicians were all coasting cruises in sight of land,—seeing we know for certain that they constantly crossed the Mediterranean Ocean to Malta, Sardinia, &c., where no land was visible for many long days, guided probably by the sun by day, and using, it is alleged, during the night the fixed stars “Cynosure,” or the Little Bear, as a means of directing their course (see Kenrick’s Phœnicia, pp. 235, 236),—means which, I am assured, modern navigators still occasionally employ,—especially when their compasses go wrong, an occurrence not very unfrequent in iron-built ships.

¹ In the time of Isaiah, or 600 B.C., “there was in the land no end of their chariots” (Isa. ii. 7). Yet, in accordance with the desolation of the land and its highways, predicted thirty-three centuries ago (see Leviticus xxvi. 32, and again Isaiah xxx. 8), there does not exist at the present day, in any part of the Holy Land, “such a thing as a single wheeled carriage” of any sort, “not even a wheelbarrow” (see Dr Robert Buchanan’s “Clerical Furlough” in 1859, p. 93). “Roads for wheeled carriages,” observes Dean Stanley, “are now unknown in any part of Palestine” (“Sinai and Palestine,” p. 184).

² Thus iron was employed in the construction of various implements and instru-

Perhaps, however, the marked prevalence of tools, implements, and ornaments of bronze, in northern and western Europe—as specially proved to us in our grave-diggings—before the introduction to any notable extent of articles of iron, is explicable by the same circumstances—whatever these circumstances may be¹—which led in the East

ments (see Numbers xxxv. 16); for hewing tools (Deut. xxvii. 5); for axes, agricultural instruments, and saws (Deut. xix. 5; 2 Kings vi. 5, 6; 2 Sam. xii. 31; 1 Chron. xx. 3); for nails for the doors of the gates of the temple (1 Chron. xxii. 3); for spear-heads and weapons of war (1 Sam. xvii. 7, where it is stated that Goliath's spear-head weighed 600 shekels of iron). Mines of brass and ironstone are mentioned in Deuteronomy viii. 9. The 28th chapter of the book of Job proves the high degree of perfection to which the art of mining had reached in his day, for we have in this chapter, says Mr Kenrick, “a complete description of the art of mining—tunnelling through the rock by artificial light, the construction of adits, shafts, and water courses, whether for obtaining a stream or for draining the mine, and the application of fire to separate the metal from the ore.” (See his *Phœnicia*, p. 265).

³ Iron seems, according to Mr Layard, to have been the most useful and most abundant of metals amongst the Assyrians (*Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. i. p. 341, and vol. ii. p. 415). Amongst other objects of iron from Nineveh in the British Museum, “may be particularly specified,” says Dr Percy, “tools employed for the most ordinary purposes, such as picks, hammers, knives, and saws.” Mr Layard (“Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon,” p. 198) gives the figure of a saw found by him in the northmost palace at Nimroud. It is a double-handled saw, similar in form and shape to that used by carpenters of the present day for dividing large pieces of wood. It is about three feet six inches in length. “There is,” observes Dr Percy, “no object in the Museum of greater interest than this rusted saw, and it is computed that while it could not be later in date than 880 B.C., it may have been considerably earlier” (see Dr Percy's *Metallurgy*, Part ii., *Iron and Steel*, p. 875).

⁴ Thus a ball of iron, and twelve pieces made fit for arrows, are given away at the games held at the funeral of Patroclus (*Iliad*, xxvii. 125 and 850); and Homer mentions the use of iron for axles of chariots (*Il. v. 723*), for fetters (*Odyssey*, i. 204), for axes, bills, &c. (*Il. iv. 485*, and *Od. xxi. 3* and 81.) (See p. 89 for references to notes above.)

¹ The relative age at which copper, bronze, and iron appear among different nations, and in different parts of the world, seems to be by no means always the same. Last century, in the Polynesian Islands, the stone age at once ceased, and that of iron began at the advent of Cook and other voyagers. In a very few parts of the world, as in North America and Eastern Hungary, a kind of copper age, in which tin and bronze were unknown, seems to have followed that of stone. In the early periods of the Chaldean monarchy, or about 1500 B.C., all the implements found

to the early and general preponderance of bronze over iron weapons. In the Trojan war and the heroic age of Greece, all the military weapons mentioned seem made of bronze,¹ though Homer speaks of iron as used

amidst the primitive Chaldean ruins are either in stone or bronze. Flint and stone knives, axes, and hammers abound in all the true Chaldean mounds, but by no means so unpolished as those of the drift in France and England. In the early times of Chaldea iron is seemingly unknown, and when it first appears is wrought into ornaments for the person, as bangles and rings.—(See Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 119, &c.)

¹ Homer describes the spears, swords, and other weapons of his heroes at the Trojan war, or about 1200 B.C. as made of “*χαλκός*.” The original meaning of *χαλκός* is, no doubt, copper; but some of its alloys, and particularly that with tin forming bronze, passed under the same name, just as at the present day shillings and sovereigns in our coinage pass under the names of silver and gold, instead of being called alloys of these metals which they virtually are. We know that the armour, and particularly the offensive armour of the ancient Greeks, must have consisted of bronze and not of copper, because it possessed the physical qualities of the former and not of the latter. A bronze sword or spear can be made both very sharp in its edge and strong in its texture, whilst it is impossible to invest a similar copper instrument with the same qualities. Homer represents Ulysses as striking Demacoon on the temple with such force that his spear passed twice through the cranium, the point penetrated through the opposite temple (*Iliad*, iv. 502.) If it were possible to effect such a penetrating wound with a bronze spear, it was certainly not possible to produce this and many other extreme wounds mentioned in the *Iliad* with instruments of copper alone, as copper spears or swords would have bent or twisted under the force applied to them. The cutting power of these ancient weapons comes strongly out in the speech of Apollo to the Trojans, immediately after the fall of Demacoon, when he argues with the Trojans that “the flesh of the Greeks is neither made of stone nor of iron, so that when struck it should resist the flesh-rending bronze” (*Iliad*, iv. 511). But further, before the Trojan war bronze and its qualities were well known to the Greeks. In the old city of Mycenæ, Pausanias (*II. 16 § 5*) describes the treasury and the tomb of Atreus, the father of Agamemnon, the great leader of the Greek hosts against Troy. The structure is probably entirely sepulchral, and according to Gell, Hughes, Dodwell, and others, is as old, and probably older, than the Trojan war. On examining, within this century, the nails which had fastened the plates of metal that formerly lined the interior of this Atreian tomb or treasury, Sir William Gell found them to consist of bronze, and that the tin and copper composing them were in the usual proportions (see his *Itinerary of Greece*, p. 33, plate 7. See also Hughes, in his *Travels in Sicily, Greece, &c.*, vol. i. p. 234). As another argument for *χαλκός* or copper being used as a term to include other metallic

for other purposes.¹ Was it the greater existing amount of bronze, or of the elements of bronze—and hence its relative cheapness—in these ancient times,² or was it the greater facility of melting and working and giving it a sharp edge,—or was it a want of knowledge of any easy means of rendering the iron sufficiently hard and useful as a weapon of war,³ that led, in these early eras, to the general adoption of bronze, and the rejection of iron, as metals for cutting and military weapons? I do not know if these or any other reasons, as yet suggested, are adequate to explain the difficulty of our British ancestors, for instance, manufacturing for themselves—or purchasing from others, as the Phœnicians—implements of bronze⁴ in preference to implements of iron. Or, seeing this

alloys, let me merely add, that the word originally used for copper-smith came to be employed betimes to include a worker in metallic compounds generally, so that the smith or iron-worker, for example, passed under the general designation of *χαλκίης*, or brazier. For instance, Herodotus (l. 68) speaks of a coppersmith (*χαλκίης*) being engaged in his workshop in beating out iron. In still earlier times, Homer speaks of the manufacturer of iron axes as *αἰεὶ χαλκίης*, literally a brazier; and a smithy, as *χαλκίον* (Odys.) ix. 391). See a learned paper on the early history of Brass by Dr Hodgson, in the "Archæologia Æliana," vol. i. p. 17 seq.

¹ See footnote on this point, No. 4, p. 90.

² When the accumulation of materials made by David for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem is mentioned in Chronicles, it is significantly stated that "David prepared iron in abundance for the nails for the doors of the gates, and for the joinings, and brass in abundance," so as to be both "*without weight*" (1 Chronicles xxii. 3 and 14). It seems here implied that the amount of bronze in relation to iron was comparatively unlimited. Elsewhere it is stated that Solomon, in forming the vessels of the temple, used such an amount of brass or bronze, that its weight "could not be found out" (2 Chron. iv. 18, and 1 Kings vii. 47). When we remember that one-tenth of all this bronze or brass "*without weight*" consisted of tin from the west of Europe, and particularly from Cornwall, it tends to give us some idea of the immense extent of the tin trade in these days. Other facts strengthen this idea, as at Babylon, the hundred massive gates, with their lintels and side-posts all entirely made of bronze, as mentioned by Herodotus (Lib. I. c. 179).

³ Yet Homer, in the Odyssey (ix. 392), gives an excellent account of tempering iron by plunging it when hot into cold water.

⁴ Both Strabo (iii. 5 § 11) and Cæsar (B. G. iv. c. 22) speak of bronze as one of the imports at their day into Britain, though the raw tin was for long, no doubt, their richest export from the island,—as we import cotton from America, the East Indies, &c., and send it back to the same countries as cotton cloth. The Phœnicians pro-

difficulty, ought we to go farther back into prehistoric archæology, to reach an era when bronze, in relation to iron, was, in this and other parts of Europe, almost the only metal employed in the arts either of peace or war?¹

That our Phœnician visitors and colonists raised our megalithic circles, and sculptured rings upon our rocks as Solar worshippers, is still more a question of doubt.

In imitation of the Canaanites and their Phœnician kinsmen and neighbours, the Hebrews sometimes, in their idolatry and obduracy, paid worship "to the sun, and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the hosts of heaven" (2 Kings xxiii. 5; xvii. 16; xxi. 3-5; Deuteronomy iv. 19; xvii. 3.) "Baal and Ashtaroth, the two chief divinities of Phœnicia," to quote Mr Kenrick, "were unquestionably the sun and moon; and the minor deities appear either to have been the same heavenly bodies, or at least to have represented objects of astral worship" (p. 298). In addition to the worship offered to Baal in his original solar character, his name came to be regarded as that of supreme god and ruler. He occupied the place of both Apollo and Zeus or Jupiter in the mythologies of Greece and Rome. That Baal worship extended widely at an early period over western and northern Europe, is so far rendered highly probable by various circumstances, as, for example, by the frequent prefix of Baal to the names² of localities in the West as in the East; and,

bably brought back the tin mixed with copper, in the form of the elegant bronze weapons and ornaments that we meet with in ancient British tombs, &c., but which, as we know from the moulds left, came betimes to be manufactured in this country. The abundant copper deposits in Cornwall seem never to have been worked till the fifteenth century; and the Cornish ore is difficult to reduce to pure copper—one strong reason for it not being used in very early times (see Dr Thurnam in "Crania Britannica," p. 102).

¹ For ample evidence, as drawn from our cemeteries, &c., of the predominating use of bronze by our British ancestors before iron was much or at all used, see the very masterly work of Sir John Lubbock on "Prehistoric Times."

² "In Syria and the East, the numerous names of places," argues Mr Kenrick, p. 300, "to which Baal is prefixed in Palestinian geography, as Baal-Gad, Baal-Hamon, Baal-Thamar, Baal-thelisha, indicate the early and wider diffusion of his worship." The same argument applies to the west and north of Europe, where we have names with the same prefix of Baal, in Balerium (or Land's End), Bel Tor, in Devonshire,

specially by the persistence and popular representation of some of the older observances of Baal-worship,—such popular superstitions being always very difficult to eradicate when the results of a religious creed.¹

Bel-an, in Montgomeryshire, Baal Hills, Yorkshire, &c. ; and, according to Nilsson, in more northern names, as the Baltic, the Great and Little Belt, Beltberga, Baleshangen, Balestranden, &c. According to him, Baal is a prefix as far north in Norway as the Lofoden Isles, where it occurs in the villages Balseld and Balsford. (Nilsson, p. 48.)

¹ FIRE-FESTIVALS.—Few superstitious usages of former times have continued for a longer time than the keeping of days for fire-festivals. Two great fire-festivals seem to have been formerly observed in our own country, and over a great extent of northern and western Europe, namely, 1. Beltane, upon the opening of summer on the first of May ; and, 2. Samhain or Hollowmass eve, on the first of November—new or old style. A third fire-festival day has betimes sprung up at midsummer's eve or St John's eve (22d or 23d June), usually displacing, where it is observed, the Beltane festival, and accompanied by the same customs. It is to the first of these festivals namely, Beltane, from *Baal*, the Phœnician god, and *Teine*, *Tine*, or *Tene*, fire, as a possible and probable continuation in the west of the old oriental fire-worship of Baal, that I chiefly advert in the text. For the former great, and comparatively late annual prevalence of Baal-fires or Beltanes in Great Britain, in Scandinavia, on the Continent, &c., see numerous extracts in Brand's "Popular Antiquities" (May-Day and Midsummer Eve); Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary, article "Beltane;" Hislop's "Two Babylons;" Nilsson's "Skandinanska Nordens Ur-Invånare" (pp. 14-76); Grimm's Mythologie, pp. 579, &c. &c. Some Celtic authors have described it as a Celtic festival, but it has long been practised in the Lofoden Islands, and in other parts too far north in Norway for a Celt to have reached. Latterly, I have seen it stated that the word "Beltane," or "Beltein," does not signify Baal's fire, but merely "a lucky" fire. Unfortunately, however, for this suggestion, the name of it in Scandinavia is Baldersbål or Balder's pyre, a word which no Celtic ingenuity could easily change into "lucky" fire. The distinguished geologist, Leopold von Buch, who saw the Baal-fires or Baldersbål lit up at Midsummer's-eve at the island of Hindön, in the far north of Norway, and within the arctic circle, shrewdly remarked that it was almost inconceivable to suppose that such a northern people should ever have themselves originated the idea of lighting fires on the hill tops in their own country at Midsummer's-eve—a time when daylight is almost so continuous with them, that the smoke rather than the flame of the fire was visible ; and from this alone he argued the foreign or eastern source of the practice ;—a practice, besides, which surely must have been brought from some common centre, since it could scarcely spring up spontaneously among so many distant countries and populations. In the Isle of Man—the geographic

But the idea promulgated by Professor Nilsson, that our great Megalithic circles in this and other adjoining countries were originally reared as

centre of the British islands—the month of May bears the old significant name of Boaldyn or Baal's fire; and on the eve of May-day, old style, there are still numerous fires lit up in all directions,—so numerous", says Mr Train, "as to give the island the appearance of a general conflagration" (Train's *Isle of Man*, vol. i. p. 315); whilst the individuals surrounding them blow horns and hold a kind of jubilee on the occasion. Mr Harrison, in his late edition of Waldron's "*Isle of Man*," says that it was customary to light two fires in honour of the pagan god Baal, and to drive the cattle between these fires as an antidote against murrain or any pestilential disease for the year following (p. 124). Mr O'Flaherty tells us that in the tenth century, King Cormac was in the habit of erecting two fires, between which both the people and the cattle of the district were driven for purification (see "*Transactions of the Irish Academy*," vol. xiv. p. 100, &c.); in the same way as when the Hebrews "served Baal, they caused their sons and daughters to pass through the fire" (2 Kings xvii. 16, 17). Mr Toland, an Irishman by birth, but who resided much in this country and on the Continent, writing 150 years ago, observes:—"Two rude fires, as we have mentioned, were kindled by one another on May-eve in every village of the nation (as well throughout all Gaule as in Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent lesser Islands) between which fires the men and the beasts to be sacrificed were to pass. One of the fires was on the cairn, another on the ground." (See his *History of the Druids*, 1814, p. 117.) Mrs Abbott, of Copenhagen, tells me that on both the Danish and Swedish coasts of the Baltic, the Baal-fires may be still seen, on the evening of the 23d of June, lit up in a long line at the distance of about one mile from each other. Tetlan and Temme (*Preussische Sag*, p. 277) say, that in Prussia and Lithuania, on St John's-eve, fires are seen as far as the eye can reach. Grimm remarks that, in the celebration of their fire-festivals the northern parts of Germany have adopted Easter or May-day, as Lower Saxony, Westphalia, Holland, Friesland, &c.; while the more southern parts, as the shores of the Rhine and Austria, with the kingdoms lying between them, hold the 23d of June as their fire-festival; and again some parts, like Denmark and Kärnten, keep both days (Grimm's *Deutsche-Mythologie*, p. 581). For similar fire-festivals in other parts of Europe, see Grimm, pp. 589-591, &c. In Scotland formerly various forms of frolic and merriment reigned on Beltane-day, as we know from King James the First of Scotland's celebrated poem, "*Peebles to the Play*," describing some of the usages of our forefathers on that festival in the early part of the fifteenth century; and Robert Burns has similarly described the superstitions and festivities of Hallowmass or Halloween. Fires were formerly burned at this last festival or November eve, as well as on May-eve. "On the eve of the first day of November," says Toland, "there were also such fires kindled [as on May-day]; accompanied as

Baal or Solar temples, by the spread of Phœnician influence and colonisation among our ancient forefathers, is an opinion which seems open to the gravest objection. Stone circles of varying sizes are, as we have just seen in a footnote to a preceding page (p. 81), known in almost every portion of the world, from Greenland to Australia, and consequently in many portions where Phœnician fancies and ideas never reached. Besides, if gigantic megalithic circles, like Stonehenge, Abury, Salkeld, Callernish, &c., were erected in Britain as solar temples to the Phœnician Baal, we should naturally expect that many circles on the same gigantic scale should be found to exist, or to have existed, in Phœnicia itself, and in its numerous eastern colonies. I am not aware, however, that there can be adduced any evidence whatever to this effect; for the exceptional presence of a single small circle, as observed by Dean Stanley, near the site of Tyre, scarcely deserves consideration in such a question as this.¹ Again, that our English large megalithic circles were not

they constantly were by sacrifices and feastings." (*History of the Druids*, p. 117.) In some parts of Scotland these November fires are still lit up. Dr Arthur Mitchell informs me, that a few years ago, he counted within sight of a railway station in Perthshire ten or a dozen of these Samhain fires burning in different directions on a Halloween night.

¹ It has been sometimes argued that the erection of megalithic structures with rude and unhewn stones implied necessarily on the part of the builders a want of knowledge of metallic tools. But certain circumstances tend to refute this as an absolute idea. Thus a Semitic race—living contiguous to the Phœnicians—viz., the Hebrews, erected the first stone circles and single monoliths, of the rearing of which we have any historical record, after—if we should except the very earliest, which is even doubtful—they were possessed of bronze and iron tools. All the monoliths spoken of in Scripture, and the twelve stones reared at Gilgal after the passage of the Jordan, seem to have been erected as memorials of important facts, events, or covenants, or as sepulchral stones; but the circles of twelve stones which Moses raised at the foot of Mount Sinai, inclosing an altar of earth within its circuit, was more certainly of a religious character. For an interesting and ample discussion of the various bearings of the single pillar-stones, stone circles, cairns, &c., mentioned in the Bible, I would beg to refer to some dissertations on the subject in Dr Kitto's "Palestine; the Bible History of the Holy Land," pp. 241, 356, 404, and 428. Dr Kitto does not allude to the remarkable fact that it is several times specially commanded that, although iron and other instruments were well known and used at the time, the stones used to build altars should

Phœnician solar temples, is strongly borne out by the fact, that none of the solar temples of Phœnicia and the East consisted—as our megalithic circles do—simply of a circular series of open and more or less distant upright stones. On the contrary, they were built, as we have every reason to believe, from the remaining temple walls in Gozo, Malta, &c., solidly of stones; and though possibly, like some large eastern public buildings left occasionally roofless above, this appears not to have been usually the case with Phœnician temples.¹ The coins of Berytus, Byblus, Tripoli, &c., seem always to represent Astarte as standing under a roofed temple. Doubting, then, that the megalithic circles of Great Britain were raised as solar Phœnician temples, we doubt also entirely that the concentric circles and cups carved upon our rocks and stones were cut out upon them by sun-worshippers, and that they were sculptured by them as symbols be whole, and not hewn or touched by any tool. (See Exodus xx. 25, and Deuteronomy xxvii. 5.) “An altar of whole stones over which no man hath lift up any iron” was in consequence erected on Mount Ebal by Joshua about 1450 B.C. Some twelve or thirteen centuries later, the altar erected in the Temple—after the profanation of it by Antiochus Epiphanes—was, according to the first Book of the Macabees (iv. 47), built of “whole [or unhewn] stones, according to the law.”

¹ Josephus quotes the Greek author Menander, the Ephesian, to the effect that some ten centuries B.C., Hiram, king of Tyre, raised in the city “a bank on that called the ‘Broad Place,’ and dedicated that golden pillar which is in Jupiter’s [Baal’s] temple; he also went and cut down timber from the mountain called Libanus, and got timber of cedar for the roofs of the temples,”—one of which he rebuilt and consecrated to Hercules, and another to Ashtaroth (see Whitson’s translation of Josephus’ Works, Essay against Apion, Book I. § 18). Menander’s circumstantial account of the position of the bank on the “Broad Place” or “Broadway” of the city—no doubt a well known street or square in ancient Tyre (as it is in its mighty representative—the modern American Tyre)—was possibly copied from the public records. Josephus elsewhere states (§ 17), that the Tyrians kept “with great exactness” their public records, both domestic and foreign; and it is certainly much to be deplored that these chronicles, with the history of the Phœnicians by Dios, and all the other native literature of Phœnicia, have, with one questionable exception, utterly perished; a loss which is the more to be lamented, for none of the nations of antiquity diffused more widely over the ancient world a knowledge of industry and of the blessings of peace and commerce. What another flood of light might we have on ancient history if, by any strange chance, a copy of Pytheas’s account of his travels in Britain (350 B.C.) should ever turn up in the yet unexplored parts of Pompeii or elsewhere. Pytheas “travelled all over Britain on foot” (Strabo ii. 4 § 2).

of their Sun-god. The idea that these circles and cups are in any way connected with Baal or Solar worship seems to me entirely hypothetical, and without any direct proof or evidence whatever in its favour. In answer to Professor Nilsson's lengthy and ingenious archæological speculations upon this point, it may be enough, on the present occasion, to reply, in regard to British stone concentric ring-carvings and cups—

1. That the carvings of concentric circles and cups are not by any means confined to the bronze era, for they are found from the earliest to the latest ages in architecture and lapidary carving; while, on the other hand, the bronze era itself, besides displaying so frequently circular and spiral forms, contains many bronze articles, cut and ornamented with angulated double and single zig-zags, chevrons, and rhomboid lines (see Nilsson's *Skandinaviska-Ur-Invånare*, p. 2); and stones, also, as in the Kivik monument—supposing it, as Nilsson thinks, to be of the bronze age—carved with weapons, animals, chariots, and men differently dressed and armed. Nor must we forget that during the bronze age in the East, metallic figure sculptures were common, as on temple offerings, and on the helmets, shields, and chariots of some of the Greek heroes.

2. That we have no evidence whatsoever, from any Phœnician or any other ancient remains, that a series of cups or of successive concentric circles or rings—divided or not by a traversing radial duct or groove—was ever anywhere connected with Solar worship, or with the religion of Baal.

3. That it is altogether gratuitous to imagine that our cups and series of concentric lapidary rings were cut to symbolise the sun, to which they have no similarity except the one equivocal attribute of roundness.

4. That over the shores of our own country, as well as in the interior of it, these lapidary cuttings have already been discovered extending far too widely and generally for being the possible product and effects of Phœnician influence and civilisation among us, unless—contrary to all existing ideas—the Phœnician people had found an extensive general domicile in this island. On the other hand, it must further be remembered, that the same specific lapidary carvings remain as yet undiscovered in the true colonies and country of Phœnicia.¹

¹ I have seen drawings by Mr Adams, Miss Smith, Mr Bartlett, and others, of a few stones marked in the Giant's Temple (*Torre dei Giganti*) at Gozo, and the ruins of

5. These lapidary concentric rings and carvings are found profusely cut upon chambered tumuli in Brittany, where—as we shall see in a subsequent chapter—the contained relics of the barrows do not include bronze instruments, nor have any apparent connection with Professor Nilsson's Bronze and Phœnician era,—but are all, on the contrary, of the anterior materials belonging to the so-called “Stone age.” And,

6. Though carefully looked for by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in Devonshire, and by him and by Mr Blight in Cornwall, lapidary cups or circle cuttings have not yet been found, with one single exception (p. 52), in any part of these two counties. Yet if these cups and circles had been Phœnician in their origin, they ought certainly to have been discovered more abundantly in these two counties than in any others, seeing they formed the district in which alone the tin trade existed. In reference to this last remark, let me here add, that the abundance of the lapidary cup and circle cuttings in some counties, as in Northumberland, Argyle-

Hagar Keem, near Crendi in Malta, but with one exception—that of a stone with two or three concentric circles at Hagar Keem—all the few others seemed short ornamental raised volutes, such as Rawlinson represents as forming a double bracket for a statue of Astarte in Etruria (see his edition of Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 543). Besides, we have no adequate evidence that the old cyclopic buildings in Gozo and Malta were built by the Phœnicians at all. A few of the stones are minutely dotted or picked over the surface, as in the case of some of the lozenged ornaments at New Grange, Ireland. I have seen it suggested, that possibly our British lapidary circles may be found similar to those cut on the pilasters and other stones discovered at the entrance of the so-called Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ. But the drawings of Mr Dodwell (see his *Tour through Greece*, vol. ii. p. 232) and of Mr Donaldson (see Stewart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, Supplement, p. 32) show the carvings on these Mycenæan stones not to be single nor concentric circles, but to consist of long and elegant continuous strings of double spirals, encircling the columns, and introduced between chevrons and soffits. Besides entirely varying from the ancient British sculptures in this respect, and in the advanced spirit of design which they display, they are further different, in being not incised; but, according to Mr Donaldson, “cut in very low relief.” Mr Dodwell states the curious fact, that upon the fragments of pottery scattered on all sides near this so-called tomb of Atreus, spiral and zig-zag ornaments are seen similar to those sculptured on the marbles and pillar at the entrance (p. 237). Dodwell, Clarke, Mure, and others, believe the architectural spiral zig-zag ornaments at Mycenæ not to be Greek in their origin, but rather Asiatic or Egyptian. No one, as far as I am aware, has suggested their Phœnician origin.

shire, Orkney, &c., and their nearly entire absence from others, as Cornwall, Devon, and Pembroke,¹ is a subject by no means undeserving of attention, and one which may yet contribute to the solution of the difficulties connected with their origin and object.²

Are not the Kivik Sculptured Stones Cimbrian?

Before leaving altogether Professor Nilsson's ideas and opinions on these and other questions connected with the present inquiry, I will take this opportunity of adding, that—though I have hitherto cited without criticism—his observations on the Kivik monument, I have the gravest doubts of—even as to that monument—being Phœnician in its origin. On the contrary, I incline to think that the historical figures answer better to the accounts which we have of the customs of the neighbouring ancient Cimbri than to any account which we have of the Phœnicians. In other words, in all probability, they are native rather than foreign. During a century or two before the Christian era, large masses of Cimbri traversed and devastated various parts of Europe, and invaded Gaul and Italy. They at different times defeated no less than five Roman consular armies (Tacitus, *Germania*, cap. xxxvii.) A nation of these Cimbri seems to have been fixed from the time of Pytheas³ at least (350 B.C.), down to the time of the Roman Emperors,⁴ in the

¹ The Rev. Mr Barnwell and Mr Blight have examined most of the megalithic structures in Pembrokeshire without finding any example of the circle or cup cutting, and yet the eyes of both were well instructed for the purpose. I should have already stated (p. 20) that it was Mr Barnwell who discovered the circle-cutting in the Goggleby stone after several antiquaries had passed without noticing it, and I confess to have been one of the number.

² In the special localities in which the ring and cup sculptures are, there is this analogous difficulty: Why are they found, as at Caerlowrie, upon the lid of one kistvaen only out of several placed in the same ground? Or, as at Ford, on the lids of two out of several mortuary urns or pits? Do they note any specialty of creed, officé (as priests), or rank on the part of those, over whose remains they are placed? Why are some megalithic circles marked, and not others? Why only some of the obelisks at Largie, Ballymenach, &c., and not on all of them?

³ Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. iii. p. 178.

⁴ See Tacitus's *Germania*, § 37; and *Mela*, iii. 123 3.

modern kingdom of Jutland or Denmark—the ancient Cimbrian Chersonese, the *Promontorium Cimbrorum* of Pliny: and Tacitus describes them, as in his time, small in number, but still great in renown. This, the “original country,” of the Cimbri, as some have termed it,¹ stands at a short distance across the Cattogat, from Scania, where the site of the Kivik monument is placed. The sculptures on the monument, especially on the stones 7 and 8, perhaps portray more faithfully a victory festival of the Cimbrians than of the Phœnicians. “The Cimbrian,” writes Mr Mommsen, “fought bravely—death on the bed of honour was deemed by him the only death worthy of a freeman, but after the victory he indemnified himself by the most savage brutality. . . . The effects of the enemy were broken in pieces, the horses were killed, the prisoners were hanged, or preserved only to be sacrificed to the gods. It was the priestesses—grey-headed women in white linen dresses and unshod—who offered these sacrifices.”² These priestesses thus dressed, and, adds Strabo (Book vii. chap. 11, § 4), bearing drawn swords, went to meet the captives throughout the camp, and having crowned them, led them “to a brazen vessel containing about twenty *amphoræ*, and placed on a raised platform, which one of the priestesses having ascended, and holding the prisoner above the vessel, cut his throat. . . . In battle, too, they beat skins stretched on the wicker sides of chariots, which produces a stunning noise.”³

¹ See *Cimbri*, in Smith's Dictionary of Geography, vol. i. p. 623.

² History of Rome, translated by Professor Dickson, vol. iii. p. 180. On the practice of immolating prisoners of war by the natives of Anglesea, see Tacitus's *Annales*, lib. xiv. cap. 30.

³ Strabo, Book VIII. chap. ii. § 3. In 1845, Lisch found inclosed in a mound at Peccatel, in Mecklenburg, a round cauldron three feet in diameter and two in depth, placed between what he conceives to be a large altar on which the victim was placed, and a station which he supposes to have been the position of the sacrificing priest or priestess in such Cimbric rites. The edge of the cauldron projected about a foot above the level of the altar. The skeleton of an unburnt human body lay in a trough or coffin six feet long, three feet broad, and one in depth, in the neighbourhood of the cauldron. Both this coffin and the so-called altars and sacrificing station were made of sand, mixed clay, and hardened up with clay. (See “*Jährbucher des Vereins für Mecklenburgische Geschichte und Alterthumskunde*,” ix. p. 369).

The strange figures around the caldron or altar, in the second row of stone 8, and last row of stone 7, probably portray the dress of women rather than of men; and their great numbers is more in accordance with the fact stated by Strabo, that the Cimbri were accompanied in their military expeditions by their wives, than with the idea that the Phœnicians would carry such an array of priests as we have on these stones, to such a very distant shore as the coast of Scania. Under this view, we would beg further to suggest, that the conical body represented centrally in figure 1, is not a symbol of Baal, but possibly a representation of the elongated spear or *materis*, which the Cimbri carried (Mommson, iii. 179). In the drawings of the Kivik stones,¹ given by Hilffeling, Sjöborg, and Holmberg, this central cone is very much more elongated and spear-like than it is in the sketch published by Nilsson. Holmberg considers it to be a bronze celt seen in profile; the narrow bodies on either side to be bronze arrow points; and the lateral hatchets, with knobbed handles, to be true representatives of the bronze form of that weapon.