NOTICES OF HEATHEN INTERMENT IN THE CODEX DIPLOMATICUS.

It is well known to the readers of the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici, with what an extraordinary richness of detail, the boundaries of the estates conveyed are defined and recorded. It is this peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon custom which renders the collection of such general interest and value, for we look in vain for anything at all resembling it, in the Charters of the other Teutonic populations. It is no exaggeration to say, that we have derived from the boundaries of the Anglo-Saxon Charters, more important information respecting the relations of the various classes, the modes of culture, the political and municipal divisions of the country, than from all other sources of information combined; or that, without them, we should have remained in entire ignorance of many of the most remarkable characteristics of Anglo-Saxon social life.

It is probable that when an estate was granted in the Anglo-Saxon times, it was designated in the grant itself merely by its name and extent, that is, the number of hides of land which it contained. The document duly attested was then delivered to the grantee, whose business it was to have the boundaries of his property legally ascertained upon the spot; at early periods, there can be no doubt whatever, that both the grantor divested himself of his ownership, and transferred this to his grantee, by certain ceremonies and symbolical acts, which may have formed part of a primæval ritual. Traces of this custom long survived all over Europe in the various forms of what we technically term Livery of Seisin, Liberatio Saisinæ, Legalis Traditio, and Investitura, or by whatever other name legists may have chosen to denote the solemn act of alienating and acquiring. But beyond the mere act of the transfer, there still lay something to be done. It was necessary to ascertain exactly what the estate was which had changed hands, and what precise amount of land was intended in the conveyance. This was

done by a regular perambulation of the boundaries, which, in times when writing had become common, were duly written down, and often, though not always, appended to the body of the grant itself, or inserted in a blank space left purposely to receive them. It is clear, however, that till the art of writing did become general, the depositaries of the knowledge where the boundaries ran could only be the voisnetum or neighbourhood, upon whose verdict, in case of dispute, the ultimate decision must depend. And it is equally clear that the marks by which their decision was to be guided must be such as from their own nature offered the greatest conditions and chances of permanence. The natural divisions of the country are therefore those which most frequently served this purpose. The hills and forests, the watercourses, marshes, springs and moors, were the true and proper boundary-marks : and as the language of a simple people, living upon the land, is always extremely rich in fine distinctions of names for all the natural features of a district, there was not the slightest fear of confusion arising in a limitation or boundary defined by such features.

We have no record at what period the divisions of estates were first settled, but it must have been a very early one, and dates in all probability from the very first occupation of the country, at all events from a time anterior to the introduction of Christianity. But once settled, they remained unchanged. I cannot imagine the dismemberment of an estate ; it must have been granted entire, with all its boundaries, or not at all. The only possible exception which I can believe this rule to have had, was where a change had taken place in the quality of the land ; where, for example, a land-owner, being a better farmer than his neighbours, had essarted some of his own forest, and turned barren land into arable, a case, which from the want of markets for produce, was probably of rare occurrence. Under such circumstances, he may possibly have had the power of separating such portions of reclaimed land from his estate. And this we should naturally expect, because the Hide, really consisting of arable land alone, the new arable would be over and above the proper legal measure of the original estate : so that, in truth, the exception is rather apparent than real. At the same time, it is to be remembered that the rights in the Forest were for the most part public and general, and that any opportunity

of essarting or reclaiming land must have been extremely rare. The estates themselves did therefore not vary, and their boundaries remained the same, through successive generations of possessors, being throughout all periods under the guarantee of the public law, and the conscience of the neighbourhood. It is no rare thing to find an estate or manor in the XIth century described by the selfsame boundaries as occur in a grant of the VIIIth or IXth. Permanence is indeed pre-eminently the character of our landed estate: the holders change, as from age to age the will of God and the accidents of social life may determine, but the land divisions are themselves almost as permanent as the natural features by which they are defined. Many a manor may even at this day be described with the utmost accuracy, by means of the boundaries given in a grant of Aelfred or Eádgár. And very striking is the way in which the names originally given to little hills and brooks, yet survive; often unknown to the owners of estates themselves, but sacred in the memory of the surrounding peasantry, or the labourer that tills the soil. I have more than once walked, ridden, or rowed, as land and stream required, round the bounds of Anglo-Saxon estates, and have learnt with astonishment that the names recorded in my charter were those still used by the woodcutter, or the shepherd, of the neighbourhood.

But even into this general prevalence of a conservative system, the element of change will intrude itself. It is a necessary corollary of man's own nature, and it would be as little desirable as possible to exclude it. By the side of the permanent marks, there will be found accidental and transitory ones also: by the side of God's work, the works also of man. The hills and springs, the rocks and forests still are there, and will remain; but to them have come the path or stile, the bridge, the quarry, the hedge, the dwelling-place of the settler and his family. These do not alter the ancient boundary, but they may serve to render it more distinct and definite. Still they convey no assurance of perpetuity: the path may be diverted, the quarry filled up, the bridge carried away by the stream, the dwelling or the hedge burnt down or rooted up: and then we must return to the hill and the moor again.

There is a third class, however, of memorials which an early age affectionately invests with the character of per-

manence—its graves. The work of man indeed, but intended to be his eternal home, when, after his long days of work, he folds his hands and betakes himself to his rest. To disturb this abode is sacrilege, against which his criminal jurisprudence directs its severest censures. He casts out from all human intercourse the unfeeling and irreverent spoiler that would disturb the ashes of the departed; little dreaming that a day will come when the daring hand of science—more ruthless than even avarice or hatred—will lay bare the most secret recesses of his tomb, and the eye of curious gazers will feed on all his cherished mysteries. And having thus, as he fondly hoped, provided for the sanctity of his last resting-place, by the severest enactments of his criminal code, and the most earnest sanctions of religion, he believed his tumulus also invested with a character of inviolability, which gave to it the permanence of the eternal hills themselves. Accustomed to a free life among the beautiful features of nature, he would not be separated from them in death. It was his wish that his bones should lie by the side of the stream, or on the summit of the rocks that overlooked the ocean which he had traversed; or he loved to lie in the shade of the deep forests, or on the glorious uplands that commanded the level country; nor was it till long after Christianity had made him acquainted with other motives and higher hopes, till the exigences of increasing population made new modes of disposing of the dead necessary, and till the clergy discovered a source of power and profit in taking possession of the ceremonies of interment, that regular churchyards attached to the consecrated building became possible. And even then it was long before they became common, and the people learnt to heap their dead in an indiscriminate place of sepulture. It is probable that this great change, which marks so marvellous an alteration in the moral being of a race, did not take place in this country much before the end of the IXth century: among the Franks, deeply influenced by the traditions of Roman civilisation, there are traces of it as early as the close of the VIIIth century; but the best authorities have decided that even among them the custom of burying after our present fashion was not universal till the Xth. At earlier periods than these nothing was more common than solitary burial under a mound or tumulus upon the uncultivated ground

which separated the possessions of different communities or even individual settlers, and consequently nothing is more common than to find such funeral tumuli referred to as memorial marks in the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon estates. Considerably more than one hundred and fifty instances of this custom may be found in the published volumes of the "Codex Diplomaticus."

In continuing the systematic observations upon primæval interments, which I commenced last session, I think it well worth while to direct your attention to several of these instances. They will be found to lead to many conclusions of importance, and to some very interesting and unexpected results.

Let us begin with the most general expression, in other words, with that which merely mentions the mound or burial place, without any special definition of the person to whom it belonged. In this case we are usually told that the boundary runs oð ðone hæðenan byrigels, *to the heathen burial-place;* or oð ða hæðenan byrigelsas, in the plural, *to the heathen burial-places;* where, there can be little doubt, that a mound or mounds are intended, inasmuch as the primæval stone structures, which we call cromlechs, dolmens, or stone kists, are obviously alluded to under a totally different name. It is evident that this denomination could only have been introduced after Christianity had become generally established, as, indeed, writing itself could not have been in common use, if used at all, before that period. The instances in which this form occurs are Nos. 123, 209, 263, 354, 399, 402, 441, 467, 479, 482, 487, 522, 526, 571, 595, 632, 736, 783, 1038, 1053, 1056, 1094, 1096, 1103, 1110, 1115, 1122, 1148, 1151, 1154, 1156, 1178, 1183, 1184, 1202, 1214, 1221, 1229, 1230, 1299, 1357, 1358, 1368.

A perfectly similar expression is ða hæðene byrgenne, or in the plural byrgenna, where the feminine substantive, byrgen, is used instead of the masculine byrgels. I have only to observe on these words, that the Anglo-Saxon verb byrgian is not restricted in its sense to what we call burial, in respect to the dead, but has the more extended meaning of *covering*, as we can say, to *bury* money, to *bury* in oblivion. It does not in the least exclude the idea of cremation, but only assumes that whatever is deposited is covered up or hidden. In this it answers strictly to the Latin *sepelire*,

which is applied to the urn containing ashes, quite as well as to the deposit of the unburnt body. Byrgen is also, perhaps, a dialectical variation, and occurs comparatively seldom.

More interesting, perhaps, is the expression berrh or *barrow*, which occurs coupled with the same adjective. A boundary runs on ðа hǽðen beorgas, and thence again, at a further point of the line, on ðа hǽðenan byrgena, i. e. *on the heathen barrows . . . . . on the heathen burial-places*, Cod. Dip., No. 1299. Again, on hǽðene beorge, Cod. Dip., No. 1358. Beorh(m) itself is etymologically connected with beorgan, to *cover*, and denotes any rising ground or hill, natural or artificial. The adjective with which it is united in these passages shows, however, what description of mound or hill was intended. They were emphatically funeral barrows, and funeral barrows of the heathen.

Although the word hlœ́w(m), still called *low* in some parts of England, may have a more general sense of *hill*, or a slight rise in the surface of the soil, yet its usual and proper meaning is also that of a barrow for sepulchral purposes. In the boundary of Linchlade, in Buckinghamshire, the line is drawn of ðám treówe andlang strǽte on ðone midlestan hlœ́we ; of ðám hlœ́we andlang strǽte tó seofon hlœ́wan; of seofon hlœ́wan tó ðám ánum hlœ́we, i. e., *from the tree to the midmost low, along the street; from the low along the street to the seven lows; from the seven lows to the solitary low.* Cod. Dip., No. 1257. It is very evident that this is a group of barrows, not by any means a set of natural hills, especially as they lie upon the side of a road or way. And it is further to be observed, that, as in Anglo-Saxon strǽt mostly denotes a paved or Roman road, it is quite possible that these may have been Roman barrows, the Romans generally raising their tombs beside their causeways. However, it is also to be observed, that we are not distinctly told whether these lows or barrows were heathen or not. However, it appears to me that by far the most important cases are those where the burial-place, barrow, or low is identified as that of a particular person ; and these are by no means rare. The following is a list of them :—

Ælfstanes byrigels. Cod. Dip. 1368. Here also the line runs on to heathen burial-place.

Beahhilde byrgels. Cod. Dip. 1056, further on to heathen burial-place.

Byrnheardes byrigels. Cod. Dip. (unpub. A.D. 693.)

Ealhstanes byrigels, and then andlang stræte, along the street or paved road. Cod. Dip. 289.
Ealhheres byrgels. Cod. Dip. 1184. This is described as being upon the Hricgweg or Ridgeway, consequently a path or road running along the top of a line of hills.
Hoces byrgels. Cod. Dip. 1266.
Scottan burgels. Cod. Dip. 673.
Strenges byrgels. Cod. Dip. 263, and then to the heathen burial.
Tatemannes byrgels. Cod. Dip. 1250.
Wures byrgels. Cod. Dip. 592.

One more instance, which I have intentionally reserved for the last, and I shall leave this question of words compounded with byrgels. It is, I assure you, a most remarkable one, on many accounts. A charter of the year 976 (Cod. Dip. 595), has this entry in its boundary : "ðonon forð on ða mearce ó Beonotleage gemære : swá on ðone hæðenan byrgels : ðonan west on ða mearce ðær Ælfstán lið on hæðenan byrgels : i.e., *thenceforth on the mark to the bounds of Bentley; and so to the heathen burial place; thence to the west on the mark, where Ælfstán lieth, on the heathen burial place.* In reviewing this short list, we are struck with several circumstances. It appears to me that where the name of a person occurs, as for example, Beáhhilde byrgels, followed by the notice of a heathen burial-place, that the first must be taken distinctively not to be a heathen burial-place—i.e., that the lady named was a Christian. This occurs in four of the eleven cases I have cited; and it is most particularly instanced in the case of Ælfstán, who was buried in the heathen burial-place itself. The very way in which this is mentioned obviously implies that Ælfstán himself was not a heathen ; and it seems also to show, that, in 976, this, which was once a common case enough, was becoming a matter of special observation. The earliest Christians buried, beyond a doubt, where the earliest Pagans had deposited the burnt remains of their dead. They still desired to rest among those whom they had loved, or from whom they were sprung; but in the Xth century, very new notions had become prevalent, and new habits were becoming established.

Another point which seems worthy of notice is, that with one, or perhaps two exceptions, the names of the persons themselves are of a very common and every-day character, and have no trace of the archaic or mythic about them. Beáhhild, Byrnheard, and Ælfstán, are spoken of as if they

were persons whom every one had known familiarly. Hóce, it is true, is the name of a really mythical personage, probably the *heros eponymus* of the Frisian tribe, the founder of the Hocings, and a progenitor of the imperial race of Charlemagne. He figures in Beówulf, and the account of his cremation and exequies is one of the most valuable, as well as picturesque and poetical passages in that fine poem. But it does not at all follow that the Hóce whose burial-place is here mentioned, is the mythical hero: the name might very possibly have been borne by a man, and one of no very transcendant antiquity. The genitive Hóces does not leave us without difficulties; in short, the nominative may have been Hóc, quite as well as Hóce, and even to this day our Mr. Hooks and Hookeys exist, without any suspicion of their being the progenitors and "representative men" of the Chauci. Nevertheless, I am bound to admit that the well-known episode of Hóces burial in Beówulf, as well as the occurrence of the name, hereafter to be further noticed, are strong justifications for any one who inclines to the other view of the case, and sees in Hóces burgels a record of the mythical hero. I am myself quite as willing to accept the one as the other alternative. What I lose on the one hand, I gain on the other, for the mythology. All I regret is, that I cannot show one view to be decidedly *true*. With Táteman the case is also far from clear: it is unquestionably true that Herteitr is a name of the supreme god Wóden (O'þinn); that Itrmon is so also: that the additions Táta (m) and Táte (f), denote gentleness, kindness, and tenderness of disposition, and hence stand in near relation to Itr, which enters into the composition of one name of the supreme being; but we have the strongest historical evidence that, even on this very account, Táte was not an unusual bye-name of young ladies; and I am obliged, therefore, to conclude that Tátemannes byrgels is not the burial-place of a god, but of some Anglo-Saxon Ælfric or Eádwine, whose kindliness of disposition had won from his comrades that endearing substitute for his baptismal name.

A last philological remark may be allowed me. Where the name of a person is mentioned, the burial place, byrgels, is invariably in the singular. Where no name of a person is mentioned, the burial-places are mostly in the plural: there are several of them. Byrgelsas are *many graves*, not *one*

grave; if you please so to call it, a *churchyard:* byrgels is not a *churchyard,* but a *grave;* and as graves, to be boundary marks, must be something apart from, and distinguished from other graves, it does not seem at all unreasonable to suppose that the persons mentioned in this connection were buried under conspicuous barrows, and such as from their size and form were qualified to serve as landmarks to their own or a future generation. Nor let it be argued that the erection of a mound of this nature was inconsistent with the practices of Christians. We have positive evidence to the contrary, for Gregory of Tours informs us, that in 673, Ebroin, Mayor of the Palace, wishing to have it believed that Bishop Leodegar, the head of the Opposition, was dead, seized, and confined him in a secret place, spread a report that he was drowned, and raised a tumulus over his supposed grave, so that all who had ears to hear, or eyes to see, as the author observes, believed the report to be true. Indeed, any one who desires the same sort of evidence, has only to visit the barrows of Gorm the elder, and Thyra Dannebad, at Gilja, which Haralldr Blátand, their son, raised in their honour, in the Xth century. If he stands on Thyra's mound, and looks over in a direct line to Gorms, only a few hundred yards distant from it, he will not see the spire of the little church which lies between them. The mounds of this christian king are higher than the steeple! In short, I suspect that great tumuli continued to distinguish the rich and powerful, till the fashion of stone monuments in the churches themselves rendered it *baroque* and *rococo.* The Devil, we know, might visit a mound, which, to say the least of it, savoured of heathendom; but he has a proverbial aversion to holy water, and that he was sure to find within the walls of a church. Let us be grateful that this antipathy may have had something to do with giving us those exquisite specimens of mediæval art, the altar tombs and brasses. In those days, however, as in ours, I presume the "Canaille chrétienne" were compelled by circumstances to conform to the more christian, though less artistic doctrine of the equality of all men in death.

The occurrence of a proper name in connection with Beorh, is much more frequent than with Byrgels. I find the following recorded:—

Ælfredes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1276, 1277.	Æðelwoldes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1121.

Bennan beorh. Cod. Dip. 1159.
Cartes beorh. App.
Ceardices beorh. Cod. Dip. 1077.
Cissan beorh. Cod. Dip. 1094.
Ecles beorh. Cod. Dip. 1129, 1168, 1178.
Fippel beorgas. Cod. Dip. 1135.
Hægging beorgas. Cod. Dip. 1149.
Hlndes beorh. Cod. Dip. 377.
Hringwoldes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1140.
Lidgeardes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1250.
Loddera beorh. Cod. Dip. 1194.
Luhhan beorh. Cod. Dip. 1211.
Lulles beorh. Cod. Dip. 1186.
Nybban beorh. Cod. Dip. 1137.
Oswaldes beorh. Cod. Dip. 353.
Peadan beorh. Cod. Dip. 299.
Piples beorh. Cod. Dip. 774.
Ræling beorgas. Cod. Dip. 780.
Weardes beorh. Cod. Dip. 1148.

It is very possible that in one or two of these instances, where the word occurs in the plural, beorgas, not beorh, it may denote the barrows belonging to the person named, either as lying upon his estate, or as being the ancient resting-places of his family, seeing that a man could not occupy more than one himself. Several of the names are here, as I before observed with regard to Byrgels, of a very familiar and every-day character; but there are others of a very different class. I have omitted to notice the occurrence twice of Wódnes beorh, Cod. Dip. 1035, 1070, to which I will add Wóncumb, Cod. Dipl. 1070, which is equivalent to Wódnes cumb, and means just the same thing as Wódnes beorh. Now the loss of almost all record of our own pagandom forbids me from asserting that the Saxon, like the Northman, believed Wóden to have died, been burned, and no doubt deposited in a barrow. It is probable that he shared this belief, but the only evidence for it would be the occurrence of these very names, which, however, are susceptible of another interpretation. Beorh, it must be remembered, may be a natural, as well as an artificial, rise in the ground, a mountain or hill, as well as a barrow; and Wódnes beorh may very possibly be only a hill dedicated to Wóden, or called after him, from some peculiarity in his cultus which is yet unknown to us. But leaving this point unsettled, I proceed to some other names in this list, which are hardly less interesting and remarkable.

Ceardices beorh, Cod. Dip. 1077, occurs in a charter granted by Eádweard of Wessex to the Church at Winchester. The lands granted lie in his own territory of Hampshire, at Hussebourne. Now I must recal to your memory that the founder of the kingdom of the Gewissas, or West Saxons, was Cerdic, and that it is a name which, to the

best of our knowledge, does not occur elsewhere. Is it then unreasonable to believe that the people gave traditionally the name of this king to some conspicuous barrow? Or further, is it quite impossible that the tradition may have been the genuine record of a fact, and that Cerdic's barrow did in truth cover the bones of that successful pirate? I am not familiar with that neighbourhood, but perhaps Cerdic's barrow may not yet be so entirely levelled with the surrounding soil, but what an experienced eye might detect it.

In the charter No. 1094 we have Cissan beorh, or Cissa's barrow, in the neighbourhood of Overton in Wiltshire. As far as I know, this name was only borne by one person, namely, the son of Ælli, the founder of the kingdom of Sussex, and it is possible that this was his burial place, if, as is very likely, he fell in a fray against the British; and indeed it is not impossible that the Overton mentioned is in Hampshire, not Wiltshire. And then we may assume that Cissa perished in a battle with his West-Saxon neighbours, for although he landed in England eighteen years before Cerdic came to Wessex, he was probably young, being mentioned only as the third son of Ælli of Sussex, whom, according to Henry of Huntingdon, he succeeded on the throne, about A.D. 514, long after Cerdic and Cyneric had established their rule.

In No. 299 we have also an interesting memorial. It is the barrow of Peada. This name may possibly have been borne by more than one person; but the only one known to us is the King of the Middle Angles, the son of the Mercian Penda, and his successor, in 655, upon the throne of Mercia, which he held only for one year, being cut off in a domestic sedition. Peada was the first King of Mercia who embraced the Christian faith, and it would be interesting in every way if we could succeed in identifying his barrow.

These are the only names with which I shall trouble you at present; but before I leave the compounds with Beorh, let me call your attention to the very common expression, to ðam brocenan beorge, which occur Cod. Dip. No. 763, 1186, 1362. I take this, as well as the phrase in No. 1033, to be westan ðám beorge ðe ádolfen wæs, *to the west of the barrow that was dug into*, as clear evidence of τυμβωρύχεια, that violation of the graves of the dead, which has been far more general than is usually imagined, and which no legislation

prevailed entirely to prevent. Let me also observe that Stánbeorgas, or stone barrows, also occur, Cod. Dip. 131, 770, 774, 1159. We might suppose these to be cairns or barrows composed of stone, a rendering which is equally compatible with the customs of the race, and with the genius of the language. But there is another version of the word, justifiable on both grounds, viz., the barrow with the stone upon it: and I presume this to have been the proper meaning, from finding this sentence in a rate boundary, in unum tumulum in cujus summitate lapis infixus est, et ideo Stanbeorh dicitur. (Cod. Dip. App. A.D. 794.) This, it is clear, is a barrow surmounted by a memorial stone, which in Germany is by no means an unusual occurrence, and in Scandinavia was in all probability the common rule.

We will now proceed to the cases where Hlæw, or Low, occurs in connexion with a proper name, and here also we shall find some matter of interest. The following are the instances I have to adduce:

Æscwoldes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 364.
Beaces hlæw. Cod. Dip. 436.
Byrhtferðes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 428.
Cardan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 427, 1198.
Ceapan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1215.
Ceawan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1158.
Ceorles hlæw. Cod. Dip. 698, 798, 985, 997, 1036, 1108.
Codan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1223.
Cwichelmes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 751.
Deneburge hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1159.
Doddan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 751.
Eadbyrhtes hlæw. Cod. Dip. App.
Ealferhðes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1114.
Eanferhðes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 437.
Eangrðe hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1209.
Enta hlæw. Cod. Dip 758, 1156.
Haðeburge hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1159, 1250.
Hildan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1006, 1095, 1170, 1226, 1235.
Hildes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 621, 1172.
Hoces hlæw. Cod. Dip. 775.
Hodan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1168, 1247.
Hodes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1129.
Hwittuces hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1172.
Hyðwaldan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 180.
Lillan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1194, 1221.
Lortan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1110.
Mules hlæw. Cod. Dip. 963.
Oslafes hlæw, Cod. Dip.
O'swoldes hlæw. Cod. Dip.
Posses hlæw. Cod. Dip. 387.
Prentsan hlæw. Cod. Dip. 364.
Rypelme hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1253.
Scuccan hlæw. Cod. Dip.
Upicenes hlæw. Cod. Dip. 783.
Wulfinges hlæw. Cod. Dip. 460.
Yttinges hlæw. Cod. Dip. 1141.

You will observe that we have here again Hoces hlæw, as we before had Hoces byrgels. The majority of the names are those of men and women, which require no particular notice; but this is not the case with all. I would especially

direct your attention to Cwichelmes Hlœw, now Cuckamsley, or more properly Cuckamslow hill, on which the Ordnance map has placed the name Scutchamfly barrow. It is probably the most commanding barrow in England, and we know that in the XIth century it was the seat of a shire-court, one of whose extremely important acts is on record. Now it is true that Cwichelm is not a very rare Anglo-Saxon name; still, taking into consideration the circumstances I have just mentioned, I feel myself justified in referring this Hlæw to one of those Cwichelms who figure in the early history of the West-Saxons, within whose territories the barrow lay before the victories of Mercia extended the rule of that power southward. The earliest of these is mentioned as dying in the year 593; the Saxon chronicle says Her Ceawlin and Cwichelm and Crida forwurdon; i. e., *In this year Ceaulin, Cwichelm, and Crida perished.* Now Crida was King of Mercia, and it is therefore not at all improbable that Cwichelm died in battle against the Mercians, and was buried on that conspicuous spot, which at that time was probably on the frontier of Wessex and Mercia. In 614, however, we have another Cwichelm reigning together with his father Cynegils in Wessex; and I think that he may possibly have a better claim. For he was baptised by St. Birinus in 636 at Dorchester, and died the same year. But this Dorchester was the seat of Birinus's bishopric, not Dorchester in Dorsetshire, but what is now a very small place in Oxfordshire. It is therefore not at all unlikely that Cwichelmes Hlæw is the resting-place of this, the first Christian King of Wessex.

O'swoldes hlæw is also a name of moment. The hundred of O'swold's Law, as it it called, was the peculiar province of the Hwiccian Bishopric, or Worcester. This was founded in 680, by O'shere, and following the common rule of Anglo-Saxon proper names, I am inclined to think that among the progenitors of this O'shere must have been some celebrated King O'swold, whose memory was retained in this hlæw or low, and who gave his name to the whole district. The very fact that the district was so called, renders this more probable, than the supposition that the low was named after some other and later O'swold, of the same Mercian family, although several of them did succeed to the little Hwiccian kingdom.

Enta hlæw, which occurs twice in the list, can only

denote the *Law of Giants:* Scuccan hlæw, that of the *demon or devil.* We can hardly doubt that we have here records of early pagandom, especially as everything very old in Anglo-Saxon, was supposed to be the work of the Entas or Giants, their Titans.

I must now request your attention to some other important notices in the boundaries of the Codex Diplomaticus. I think when we bear in mind how very numerous and widely spread over all England were the Stone-beds, Circles, Dolmens, and the like, that the very rare notice of them in these documents is strange and unintelligible. Although it does occur, and more frequently than is generally supposed, it yet bears no proportion at all to the number of references, which as you have seen, was made to barrows. I must confess that this appears to me to prove that the Saxons attached no special importance to these stone structures, and did not look upon them as anything peculiarly sacred or extraordinary; not more, in short, than they did any single stone, or set of stones of great size, and venerable antiquity. To these, we well know, they in common with all Teutonic populations, did devote a civil and religious observance: but I can find very few indications that the Saxons saw any difference between the cromlechs and any other stones, nothing at any rate to show that they considered them with any peculiar reverence. But I am nevertheless perfectly satisfied that they do refer to them here and there under the well-known title of se hára stán, ðа háran stánas, the *hoary*, or *gray*, on *ancient* stones, for which we do also find ðа grægean, or *grey* stones. It is totally erroneous to derive this name from ὄρος, as Mr. Hampole did, or to imagine that the adjective means anything whatever but what lies in the every day sense of *hoar*, *hoary*, a hoarfrost, a hoary-head, and so forth. But though this was a very common epithet of stán, and was indeed the proper epic one, it was never applied to any stone that had been fashioned by man. It denotes invariably one of those old rude blocks, which are so common in all the countries of Northern Europe, and which do unquestionably produce a striking effect upon the imagination, when we see them lying in solitary grandeur upon the great moors and heaths, whence no mountain range is visible. Science tells us of vast icefloats which

carried these erratic blocks from the granite rocks of Sweden, to dash against the mountain barriers of the Hartz; but the Anglo-Saxon knew nothing of the glacier theory; he, probably, like the Northman, connected the worship of Thunor (or Thórr) with the rude shapeless masses, for which he assuredly must have been as much at a loss to account as we ourselves were only a few years ago, and which to him must have seemed endowed with a supernatural character. The Anglo-Saxon boundaries then, do very frequently run to the old grey stone, or hoary stone, or stones, and among these it is reasonable to believe that sometimes cromlechs or stone-rings were intended. There is one case of considerable interest, and I will request your particular attention to it, because it contains the clearest possible allusion to the great stones at Avebury, and besides furnishes a singularly interesting example of the accuracy with which the lines of boundaries may even to this day be followed. It occurs in Cod. Dip. 1120, and is the limitation of the territory of Overton, a little village in Wiltshire, near the Kennet. The Saxon estate comprises very nearly what is now known as Overton town. The words are as follows:—

"These are the bounds of Overton. From Kennet to the Eldertree; thence to Wodens den; thence to the wood on the main road; thence upon Horseley up to Wansdyke, upon Tytferð's road; thence upon the hedge of Willow mere (or Withy mere) eastward by south round about to Æðelferð's dwelling on the stony road; thence to the narrow meadow; then through Shothanger along the road to the rising ground, or link; thence to the west head; then northward over the down to the right boundary; then to the town or enclosure; thence to Kennet at the Saltham; from the Saltham up between the two barrows; from them to the furlong's west head; thence to Scrows pit; thence to the Pancroundel, in the middle; then by Coltas barrow as far as the broad road to Hackpen; then along the road on the dike to the south of Æðelfreðes stone; then south along the Ridgeway to the dun stone; then south-west over the ploughed land to Piggle dean; then up to Lambpath, southward up to the link, to the hollow way; then back again to Kennet. Now this is the boundary of the pastures and the down land at Mappledrlea, westward. Thence northward up along the stone row, thence to the burial places; then south along the road; from the road along the link to the south-head; thence down upon the slade; thence up along the road, back again to Mappledrlea."

I do not know whether there is any place called *Maple Durley* in the neighbourhood, but nothing can be more accurate than the boundary which takes in nearly the whole of Overton town, extending, however, at first southward from the

river Kennet, at East Kennet, to the Wansdyke; re-ascending on the east by a road still very remarkable for the great stone blocks which lie about it, till crossing the river again it runs northward up towards Hackpen Hill, then turns westward and southward in the direction of Avebury, and declining again to the south, crosses the little spot then called Pyttelden, now Piggledean, and returns to where it commenced at the corner of East Kennet. The *stone row* here is no doubt the great avenue. Hackpen, or Haca's pen enclosure, &c., is the well known stone ring; what the byrgelsas are, it is of course now impossible to identify; it may have been some particular set of barrows, but it may, I think, very possibly have been Avebury circle itself. I think you will agree with me, that these structures, which excite our archæological interest so warmly, were looked upon as very common-place things by the makers of this boundary, as far, at least, as their language allows us to judge. The avenue you see, which my friends the Ophites consider so mysterious, was only a common stone row, and the "temple" itself of the snake, the sun, the Helio-Arkite cult, the mystic zodiac, and a number of other very fine things—so fine that one cannot understand them—is very probably, in the eyes of this dull dog of a surveyor, only a burial-place. As for the stone ring it was only Haca's pen or enclosure, though I dare say Haca himself was some mythical personage whom I have not been able to identify here, any more than I have in Devonshire (Cod. Dip. 373), and whose Pund-fald or Pound, something very like a pen, existed also in Hampshire (Cod. Dip. 1235); while his brook, Hacan bróc in Berkshire, is named, Cod. Dip. 1069, 1151, 1258. The Anglo-Saxon did not know that Hac in Hebrew meant a *serpent*, and Pen in Welsh a *head*; and would hardly have been ingenious enough to fancy that one word could be made up of two parts derived from two different languages! though he raved about snakes, he does not seem to have raised his mind to the contemplation of *Dracontia*. And he was quite right. Would that some of his successors had been as little led away by their fancy!

There is, as far as I know, only one very definite allusion to a cromlech, or rather to a stone kist, which, as it stands in a boundary, was of course above ground, and probably resembled the magnificent structure at Coldburn in Kent,

which is planted upon a hill overlooking the country far and wide. The allusion occurs in the boundary of Céoselden (Chiselden), in Wiltshire ; of ðám ðorne on ða stáncysten on Holancumbe ; of ðám stáncysten on Blácmanna beorh (Cod. Dip. 730), i. e., *from the thorn to the stone kist on Holcombe ; from the stone kist to the Blackmen's barrow.* I may observe here also that Holan beorh, Holancumbe, Holan hyl now generally transformed into Hollyborough, Holborough, Holcomb, and Holly Hill, usually denote a sepulchral barrow, and mean literally the *hollow hill,* the hill with a cavity or chamber in it. The name must never be comfounded with Hálig beorh, *the holy hill,* a title which I do not believe to have existed, unless indeed it is to be found in some of the many Gallows and Gally hills, which we meet with here and there, and which experience shows to be very frequently the sites of heathen burials.

There is but one subject more on which I wish to touch, and that is the evidence afforded by the boundaries, of cremation in many parts of England. You are aware of the importance of the question, and that very ill-founded doubts still continue to exist in the minds of some archaeologists, whether this custom was universal in Pagan England, especially whether it prevailed in Kent. On a former occasion I stated to you my own conviction that this county made no exception to the general rule, and improved experience and continued study of the subject, have only confirmed my conviction. The names to which I have now to refer you are these :—

1st. Those compounded with A'd, *the funeral pile, strues rogi,* the actual burning place of the dead.

A'des hám, now Adisham in Kent. Cod. Dip. 983.
Ædes wyrð in Worcest. Cod. Dip. 1062.

2nd. Those compounded with Bæl, which is nearly equivalent in meaning to A'd.

Bæles beorh. in Gloucest. Cod. Dip. 90.
Bæle. Cod. Dip. 765.

3rd. Those compounded with Bryne, *the combustion, burning :* or Brand, which is nearly equivalent to it.

Brandesbeorh. Cod. Dip. 1335.
Brynes cumb. Cod. Dip. 457.
Brynes hám. Cod. Dip. 675.
Brynes hyl. Cod. Dip. 1094.

Brynes sol.	Cod. Dip. 1149.
Brynes stede.	Cod. Dip. 204.
Brynenja tún.	Cod. Dip. 1152.

4th. Those compounded with Fin, which, like A'd, denotes the *pile itself, strues rogi.*

Finbeorh.	Cod. Dip. 468.
Fines tún.	Cod. Dip. 520.

With regard to A'd, I have to observe that the word itself occurs uncompounded in the boundary of a Hampshire charter, Cod. Dip. 1155, of ðám stangedelfe on ðone ealdan ád, i. e. *From the stone quarry to the old burning place;* and it occurs a second time in composition with Finig, which denotes literally the heap or material; ád finig *is the heap of the ád.* The boundary of Clere, also in Hampshire (Cod. Dip. 1602) runs to ðám ealdan ádfinie, i. e. *to the old heap of the ád,* and again to Cleran finie, i. e. *to the heap at Clere.* I do not think we shall be assuming too much if we explain this old ád heap to have been an ancient stone structure, of which the blocks still remained in situ, and were sufficiently conspicuous to be properly used as a boundary mark.

In fact, if we push our enquiry a little further into the mode adopted of consigning the body to the flames, I think we shall find sufficient ground for believing that it was very generally burnt in or upon such a stone structure. Not only is it evident that convenience would be consulted by such a course, that it would be much easier to consume the corpse if stones were used, than if it were only laid upon a heap of wood. And there is good reason to believe that something of this sort was really sometimes done; that is, that a heap of stones was built, leaving a hollow for the body; that the materials for a fire were laid in this and the stones made red hot, and then the corpse placed in the trough and covered over with combustible materials till all was consumed. The hollow was then filled up with more stones, and the whole surmounted with earth to form the barrow. Where wood was at all scarce, it is obvious that this would be a very natural mode of performing the necessary rite. I was first led to this conclusion by the not unfrequent discovery of burnt bones, unaccompanied by an urn, under and among heaped-up stones. One striking case of the kind occurred at Molzen. On the floor of a moderate sized barrow which

was paved with stones, there lay a stratum of calcined human bones and ashes, nearly five feet in length ; over it were heaped three or four courses of similar stones, all of which were strongly calcined ; about the region of the breast was placed a small urn about 6 inches high, and of unusual form, but it contained, as far as we could judge, nothing but fine sand which had silted in. In another very large barrow upon the same field, we found a heap of human and animal bones packed together in a heavy stone heap ; the stones themselves had all been subject to the action of fire ; and above, below, and around them, on every side, were abundant evidences of cremation. In this case there was no urn at all. A similar case occurred to me at a burial place in another part of North Germany. Here we found a long heap of stones with a hollow at the top ; it was nearly seven feet in length, and bore unmistakeable signs of fire. In a small spot at one end of the heap were collected all that remained of the calcined bones, and the whole was covered with one or two courses of stones. I also remember that in a very large barrow at Molzen, we discovered a well or circular enclosure of stone of about seven feet diameter, and from three to four feet in height, the whole interior of which was filled with charcoal and other evidences of very fierce fire. We did not indeed find any human remains in this, but it is very probable that they were deposited either in some other part of the barrow, which was of very great size, or in the level ground at its base, the necessity of investigating which I at that time had not learnt. The Mecklenburg archieve for 1839, records an interesting case of the kind. In a barrow there were found two stone structures, one in the north 32 feet long, one in the south 34 feet long, each was about 16 feet wide, and reached nearly to the surface of the mound, the apex of which was 9 feet high. In the middle of each stone heap was a kind of well sunk down to the level of the natural soil, and filled with earth. Under each heap lay a golden finger ring, respectively suited for the finger of a man and a woman, and with the latter there lay a number of bluish green glass beads, which probably had formed a bracelet. There was no trace of fire upon any part of the basis of this barrow, except at the stones which were much blackened and calcined, and all about them the earth showed strong signs of cremation, especially charcoal of some hard wood and calcined

acorns. I observed that a similar thing occurred at Bomhöved, in Holstein: a stone kist ran from north to south of the barrow, 12 feet in length, 4 feet deep, 6 feet wide at the south, and 5 feet at the north end. In this lay the bones of an arm and leg, and a flat stone about 2 feet in diameter. The south end contained various antiquities of stone spread about. The bottom of the whole was paved, and showed everywhere strong traces of fire. It was moreover covered with a thick layer of calcined flints. This occurs, it appears, in other graves in Holstein, and has been taken to be conclusive evidence that the corpse was reduced to ashes in the kist.[1] Now, in illustration of this, I beg to call attention to an important passage from the Icelandic Saga of Orvan Oddr, or Odd, of the arrows. Finding his end approach, he gave directions for his funeral; his words are, En áðrir 40 skulu gjöra mén steinðro ok draga ðar at við, ðar skal liggja í elld, ok brenna úpp allt saman, ðá ek em dauðr: i. e. *but the other forty, of my men, shall make for me a stone trough, and take it to the wood, there shall fire be placed in it and all be burnt up together when I am dead;*[2] Again he says, Nú mun ik liggjast niðr í steinðróna ok deyja ðar; síðan skuluð ðér slá at útan eledi, ok brenna úpp allt saman . . . Eptir ðatta deyr Oddr; slá ðeir ða eldi í, ok brenna úpp allt saman, ok ganga eigi fyrrifrá, enn ðat er allt brennit;[3] i. e. *Now I will be laid down in the stone trough and die there; afterwards ye shall put fire about it, and burn up all together. . . . . After that Oddr died; then did they put fire into it, and burnt up all together, nor did they go far away till all was burnt.* I think you will agree with me that it is an extremely valuable passage, and the more so, because Orvar Oddr was a convert to Christianity, although as we see he had not entirely given up all his heathen aspirations.

The application which I am led to make of these data, is that the Anglo-Saxons used the stone kists which they found erected by elder races, or which perhaps they erected themselves, for this purpose. It is probable that they heated the stones with light burning wood, especially thorn, and that they placed the body in the kist, and so reduced it to ashes. Now all this answers very well to what I observed at one of our

[1] Schlesw. Holst. Report for 1836, vol. i., p. 24.

[2] Orv. Od. Sag. cap. xxxi. Forwald. Sög. ii., 301.

[3] Ibid., cap. xxxii. Forwald. Sog. ii., 321.

meetings on the subject of the "Coldrum Stone Kist, in Kent." I reminded you that the earliest name of this cromlech is the Adscomb Stones, in other words, the hill of the ád or funeral fire; and such a structure as it is would be admirably adapted to the purpose. I also told you that in spite of the disturbance which has evidently taken place at some remote period in its contents, I still found traces of cremation in it, of which indeed the name itself is ample evidence. And I presume that a similar burning place existed at A'deshám or Adisham in the same county, and at A'dingatún or Addington, near Adscombe, where there are still the remains of what must have been a noble cromlech. The same reasoning applies to Addiscombe and Addington in the neighbouring county of Surrey, to Addington in Northamptonshire, and to Addingham, near Penrith in Cumberland, where there is, or was, also a large stone circle.[4]

Bæles beorh and Brynes cumb are strictly equivalent to A'descumb. And as we have Bæles beorh, so have we Brandes beorh, Fin beorh, and Brynes hyl. Bæle standing alone, as it does in one instance, is equivalent to A'd, in the same condition.

By the side of A'deshám we have Brynesham, and we may infer a name Bæleshám from the places called Balshám and Belsham.

And lastly, even as we have A'dingatún, Addington, and A'dingahám, Addingham, we find Bryningatún, and we may infer a similar name from Briningham in Norfolk, Brinnington in Cheshire. It is even possible than Finningham in Suffolk, Finningly in Notts, and Vennington in Salop, may stand to Fin in the same relation as Addington does to A'd. Perhaps it would be going too far, to suggest that Colingas in Wiltshire bears a similar one to Col, *carbo*.

When we reflect how very many of the Anglo-Saxon charters contained in the "Codex Diplomaticus" have no boundaries at all; and especially, how infinitely small a proportion the fourteen hundred documents yet extant bear to those which have perished, we shall readily admit that the information to be derived from that source is extraordinarily ample and striking, with regard to this subject of interment. In this, as on many other points, the boundaries of the Anglo-Saxon charters contain an amount of instruction totally unparalleled by any similar collection in any other European country.

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[4] King, Mun. Ant. i., 196.