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THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

THE objects for which this Review is established are above all things practical. We believe that, as it gets known and as its influence increases, it will become necessary to every student. It occupies no ground held by other periodicals; it seeks no ends for which there already exist adequate means of accomplishment.

Almost every county or district in the United Kingdom is the centre of archæological enquiry by a local organisation. The Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the Berwickshire Field Naturalists, Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, Glasgow Archæological Society, the Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Shropshire, Somersetshire, Lancashire and Cheshire, Wilts, Yorkshire, &c., county Archæological Societies, the Essex Field Club, the Powys Land Club, the Devonshire Association, the Royal Institution of Cornwall, are among the most active of these local organisations. As national organisations there are the Society of Antiquaries, the Archæological Institute, and the British Archæological Association in England, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Cambrian Archæological Association in Wales, and the Archæological Association of Ireland. Then for special departments of archæology, there are the Anthropological Institute, the Geological Society, the Geographical Society, the Folklore Society, the English Dialect Society, and such recently formed societies as the Pipe Roll and the Selden. Nothing is clearer, therefore, that so far as separate organisations are concerned there is considerable activity in Great Britain in matters of archæological interest. The question is—is it well directed and concentrated?

To this question there can be but one answer, and that a very humiliating one—absolutely nothing is done to bring all this excellent machinery into full working order. The Society of Antiquaries of London is the oldest, wealthiest, and most important of the central organisations, and we cannot conceive it doing more useful work than that of mapping out a plan of archæological research and seeing that it is carried out. So long ago as 1799, for instance, the idea of compiling a plan of Roman Britain from the remains of that period found all over the country was promulgated, but nothing is yet done. Prehistoric, Celtic, and Saxon Britain, are similarly neglected, and an archæological survey which is carried out so well and elaborately in India, is denied for the home country. To refer to a special subject, that of Roman Roads, Dr. Guest has given us a very excellent outline of the whole matter, and his plan of traversing the roads themselves gives special value to his observations. But when a local society takes up the subject it properly confines its work to its own district. Thus in the first volume of the transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society Mr. H. C. March gives a very adequate account, accompanied by plans, of the Roman Road over the Blackstone Edge. But no neighbouring society continues the good work in its own borderland, and thus the subject is left in a fragmentary condition.

Now, local antiquities, explained and illustrated by local students, are of much more than local value. In no branch of archæological science is this better exemplified than in that dealing with institutions. National institutions are built up from local institutions, and in these latter are often to be found germs of the remotest antiquity, which have survived simply because they have never been called upon to meet the requirements of later ages. To illustrate this by an example there does not at first sight seem to be much significance in the fact of a manorial court meeting on a mound, under a tree, or by the side of a stream. Necessity, the nature of the duties, other special causes might have originated such a practice, and it would be kept up from the dislike of change. When, however, we find that in many of our municipal towns the citizens held their folkmoot, not in the Guildhall but in the open air, as at London, Wycombe, Rochester, Preston, &c.; when we find that the Hundred Courts and the Shire Courts adopted the same practice; when, finally, at Kingston in England, at Scone in Scotland, at Tara in Ireland, we find national ceremonies conducted in the same primitive fashion, we know full well that

the local survival is a matter of deep historic interest. Turning to another subject, the methods of agriculture, the local practice of dividing the lands yearly into long narrow strips, of allotting to each owner several of these strips at distances from each other, of throwing the whole together again after the arable season is over, would only seem curious so long as it was considered locally. But when it is noted that all over Great Britain such a practice obtained in some shape or other, it is recognised that we have before us a custom of considerable importance. These are only two out of many instances which crowd upon the mind, but they are sufficient to show that in monumental archæology and in archæological custom, local research is first of all required. But before the local enquirer can do his work properly and efficiently it wants systematising and directing.

When at the hands of Professor E. B. Tylor, Mr. McLennan, Sir Henry Maine, Mr. C. J. Elton, Sir John Lubbock, Professor Boyd Dawkins, and other scholars, the science of comparative archæology was founded, the value of local antiquities increased a thousandfold. A local survival was found to be perhaps the single thread indicating the lines of progress along which national development has taken place. Every such survival has a niche in the national building-up, and its place when found and explained helps onward the record of the history of our race.

If the want of systematic study and research in matters of national antiquities is deplorable, there is even more to regret in the neglect shown towards the antiquities of other lands in so far as they illustrate those in this country. Special discoveries like those in Babylon, Syria, Egypt, and in Greece and Rome, have attracted attention, but they have not been sufficiently utilised for comparative history, and the significant discoveries in northern Europe have been much neglected. Comparative archæology must make gigantic strides before it can be reckoned as an advancing science. One of its most important functions is to render help to the most comprehensive of all historical sciences, namely, anthropology. If local survivals take us back to the far-off periods of Celtic or Teutonic history, they are capable of being illustrated by, and illustrating, the customs and beliefs of the backward races of modern times. To the materials obtained from local survivals must be added those obtained from geological and monumental evidence, and we have a field of enquiry which in extent and importance is second to none.

It may perhaps be considered presumptuous to imagine that a

periodical can do what such organisations as we have above referred to have failed to accomplish. But nevertheless that is our aim. By indicating what is wanted, by directing and stimulating research in all directions, we hope to establish clearly that archæological *teaching* is as much called for as any other branch of educational work. In taking up then the history of man as our subject we bear in mind that he alone of all creation is capable of looking back into the past.

Some little explanation of our proposed methods is desirable. In dividing the Archæological Review into sections we do so for convenience of study only, and we fully bear in mind that archæology, as a science, must be treated as a whole, and that its branches dovetail into and oftentimes overlap each other. But the first steps must be taken by specialists if we would arrive at substantial results upon which to work; and we can promise that specialists in the various sections of the Review will find a welcome both from ourselves and our readers.

The first section will be devoted to what is more properly considered Anthropological Archæology, as it is studied by the Anthropological Institute. It will include savage customs and beliefs, ethnology, some departments of folklore, mythology, and such studies in comparative archæology as make a definite contribution to the history of man, as distinct from that of any particular nation. The second section, Archæology, will include the records of geology so far as they reveal the doings of man, the remains of prehistoric man, the legends and traditions of the past, dialects, and the monumental relics of historic times. The third section, that of History, will chiefly treat of such antiquarian subjects as illustrate domestic manners and customs, local institutions, legal, court, and other ceremonies, economic history, &c. The last section will be devoted to Literature. While welcoming any contribution which throw light upon the history of literature, we shall for the most part seek to make this section of use to the study of archæology by taking as our cue the observation of Lord Rayleigh in his masterly address to the British Association, that "by a fiction as remarkable as any to be found in law, what has once been published, even though it be in the Russian language, is usually spoken of as known, and it is often forgotten that the rediscovery in the library may be a more difficult and uncertain process than the first discovery in a laboratory." If this be true of physical science, how much more is it true of archæological science? Many of our old writers record facts without knowing or dreaming of their archæ-

ological importance. Our old school of antiquaries collected facts for the pure love of collecting, and they went on measuring and describing without much thought that their results would some day be utilised for the purpose of science. Many of us cannot, for various reasons, use shovel and spade, nor even perhaps knapsack and staff; but we can dig into books and rediscover for scientific purposes what was once noted by the curious student or by the political reformer.

Under each section a certain amount of space will be given to what we propose to term Index-notes. The system of index-noting has been planned in order to concentrate and systematize such information as properly comes within our domain. The idea will be to take in hand some subject of importance which has not yet been dealt with adequately, owing generally to its extent and vastness, and contributions will be invited upon the plan laid down. No index will ever be given complete at once under this arrangement, but if completeness is waited for, we may still go on waiting for many years. A complete index can be built up, bit by bit; and when once the fragments are obtained, it will rest with those interested to place the mosaics together and give the world the complete picture.

In each section correspondents are invited to communicate any information on the topics under treatment, or new original matter not sufficiently long to form the subject of an article.

The work accomplished by the various local archæological societies will be recorded in the shape of an index of the papers published in the volumes of transactions issued during each year, commencing with those of 1887. To make this record complete an index of the papers published up to 1886 is needed. This has been compiled, and a portion will be printed as an appendix to each issue of the Review. This index will be arranged under authors' names, and when completed by the addition of such titles as may have been omitted, a subject-index will be added. This appendix will be paged separately, so that it may be bound up into one volume.

If the scheme here laid down can be carried out with some degree of completeness, the editor and conductors of the Archæological Review will consider they have met one of the requirements of the Victorian age.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

Anthropology.

—:o:—

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

ANTIQUARIAN research is necessary to the very existence of a Science of Man, and anthropologists will welcome the appearance of an Archæological Review, having for one chief purpose to contribute to Anthropology. Nor is this merely the cheap favour due to self-interest, for they are able to give as well as to receive. It is true that Archæology had flourished for ages before the new science of Anthropology took definite shape and name. But from the beginning the relations of the two were of mutual assistance, and it is to co-operation with the new ally that Archæology owes no small share of the wider scope and fuller information which marks off the archæologist of this century from the antiquary of the last. The study of the Stone Age has wonderfully opened out since the time when stone arrowheads and celts were catalogued as Ancient British weapons; and this advance may be traced in no small measure to the effect of Cook's Voyages, which perhaps more than any other work brought on the rise of modern anthropology, in this department leading to the systematic comparison of stone implements actually made and used in the modern barbaric world, with those preserved as antiquarian relics in Europe. Ancient pottery is collected with all the more zeal because of the problems of early civilisation which it helps to elucidate, now that the earthen vessel is traced as an outcome of older vessels of skin or shell, hollowed wood or basketwork, whose forms are kept up by the potter, often ornamented with faintly-remembered traces of their very cords and plaits. Not to multiply such comparisons, it may be worth while to mention a single case in order to show how the comparative method of studying the phases of an art among mankind at large, may serve as a help and guide to those who concentrate their labour on a narrower archæological field. An investigator who had carefully compared the modes in which the archers of various nations released the arrow from the string, saw with surprise that the figures of bowmen on classic sculptures from Egina showed an attitude of grasp which was impossible. It proved that the hands had been restored by Thorvaldsen, and

[1] E. S. Morse, *Ancient and modern Methods of Arrow-release*, in Bulletin of Essex Institute, vol. xvii.

that the anthropological method touched reality with a closeness beyond the means of unassisted archæology.

Archæology has, with laudable breadth of view, ranged from the earliest works of man to those which are only old-fashioned, from a chair of Queen Hatsu to a chair of Queen Anne, from a palæolithic implement to a pair of snuffers. The more its work is carried on in alliance with Anthropology, the more perfect becomes the line of development from pre-historic times to our own. Relics of things which have dropped out of use but lately, or which even last on in the present with an interest belonging to the past, may be commended as worthy of special note by those who read this journal. What, for instance, is more interesting in the history of society than to trace the stages of tenure of land by the tribe, the family, and the individual. Within a generation or two, as county histories show, one might easily have got specimens of the sticks or other lots cut with patterns, which were used in the re-distribution of the communal plots of land. It may be even now possible by enquiry to preserve the last of these significant relics, or copies of them from memory. It is still quite easy to print English parish-maps, whose divisions show, scarcely changed, their former shifting partition among the village community, under almost the same system now actually prevailing in countries where the change of institutions has gone on more slowly. In fact, the plan of a modern Russian or Hindu village may be in England a document of ancient history. The value of such documents of the present which serve to explain the past will be fully recognised in this Review.

Such being the mutually beneficial bearings of Archæology and Anthropology, it must be left to the future to show that a journal in which this alliance has full scope, will find no lack of profitable work ready to hand.

EDWARD B. TYLOR.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY REPORTS.

No. I.—The Native Races of Gambia.

IT sometimes happens that the consular reports, sent in to the Government, contain information on native customs and beliefs. Anthropological students are not in the habit of consulting Parliamentary Blue-books, and they must wade through heaps of them before they can come upon anything of value. It is essentially one of our functions to provide this information for the

ready use of the student, and we shall reproduce in these pages such extracts as bear upon anthropological matters. If by drawing attention to the value of this class of information, we can induce the Government to encourage their officials in supplying important facts which oftentimes they alone are capable of obtaining, our action will have served a double purpose. The following is taken from 'Papers relating to Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions" (c. 5071 of 1887), pp. 91-101.

The principal tribes associated more or less economically with the Settlement are the following:—

1. Mandingoes.
2. Sereres.
3. Nominkas.
4. Jolas.
5. Jolofs.
6. Salum—Salum.
7. Lowbeys.

In addition to these the trading community come into contact with Foulahs and Turankas, or Toocalores in the upper river.

1. *Mandingoes.*—The head-quarters of this extensive and powerful race lie in the mountainous district, near the sources of the Niger and the Gambia, extending as far as Kong. From this region they overran the surrounding country westward to Bambouk, and still pushed on until the banks of the Gambia as far as the sea, more or less fell under their sway.

The history of their advent in the Gambia is thus described by F. Xavier Golberry, a French writer who visited this portion of Western Africa in the years 1785-6-7: "About the commencement of the tenth year of the Hegira, Amari Sonko, a celebrated Mandingo warrior, descended from the interior of Africa, at the head of more than 20,000 armed men, and, followed by a great number of women and Marabouts, he ravaged all the northern coasts of the Gambia, arrived towards the mouth of that river, where he fought many battles with the King of Salum, and finally remained conqueror of the territories of Barra, of Kollar, and of Badibou."

It is interesting to note that the present King of Barra, or Nuomi, is "Moranto Sonko," and the Sumar, or Prime Minister, is "Barkari Sonko," probably descendants of the Mandingo warrior noticed by Golberry.

At the present moment the principal countries on the north bank of the river are occupied mostly by Mandingoes, and the dominant tribes in Combo, on the south bank, are also of the same race, though the heathen Jolas in the bordering Fogui country are able

to hold their own against them. Nuomi (Ceded Mile), Iokardo, Kiang, Jara, Badibou, n'Yarmina, Packow, Sandial and n'Yarnie, are all, more or less, peopled by Mandingoes, who practically control the trade of the lower river. Three-fourths of the ground nuts hitherto cultivated have been grown by them; the export of bees-wax seems to be dependent also upon the Mandingoes, who bring it down from the interior of the Jola country. They also bring cattle and hides into the market and cultivate cotton largely, which their women spin and weave into the pagns, or country cloths, which play so conspicuous a part in the trade of the river.

The Mandingo language is rich and musical, and susceptible, I understand, of more variety of expression than the Jolof tongue which next after the Mandingo is, perhaps, the most prevalent language. The latter adopt the decuple system of numeration, whereas the former possesses only a quinquennial period. The following are the Mandingo numerals :—

One	Killing.
Two	Foulah.
Three	Salua.
Four	Uawee.
Five	Lulloo.
Six	Warroo.
Seven	Warroo—Willa.
Eight	Sayee.
Nine	Canonto.
Ten	Tan.
Eleven	Tan-in, Killing, &c.

The Mandingoes, as a rule, are Mohammedans, though many are "Sonninkees;" and in all their faith is permeated more or less with fetishism. The term "Sonninkee" is applied by Mohammedans to all people, irrespective of race, who drink spirit.

Physically, they are, in general, a spare, athletic race of medium height, often with aquiline features, but in contour always distinct from the typical negro. In colour they are not so dark as the Jolofs, but the hair is woolly. The laws in Mandingo towns are administered by "Alkalis," or "Sumas," both terms having the same signification. The only difference is that the former is a kind of prime minister in a Mohammedan town, while the latter holds a similar office in a Sonninkee town. Murder and adultery are punished by death. The sentence in the former case is carried out by killing in the same manner as the murder was committed; and in the latter the adulterer is usually killed with cutlasses. The adulteress suffers only whipping, and is cast out by her husband. Theft is punished by whipping, an instrument somewhat similar

to a "cat" being used for the purpose. Slander and disrespect to parents, or the aged, are punished by fine, which goes to the alkali and head men of the town. Immorality as distinguished from adultery is almost unknown; but, if practised and discovered, would meet with the death penalty as in adultery.

The Mandingoes still keep up a connexion with their original country, and recognise a supreme authority in the ancient Mandingo kingdom, though this recognition is more sentimental than real, the distance being too great for any effective authority to be exercised. The present King resides at Sangara, the capital of the Tilibo country, situated almost immediately at the source of the Niger.

2. *Sereres.*—This race occupies the neighbourhood of Joal, Seine, and Baol to the north of the Gambia and outside British jurisdiction, though many of them are settled on the Ceded Mile. They are a distinct race with a language having no affinity either to the Mandingo or Jolof.

They are an independent and comparatively industrious people, cultivating largely both corn and rice; they also rear numerous cattle. As, however, their wants are extremely few, they are of no great economical use in the Settlement. Their wardrobes never consist of more than two pagns.

In religion the Sereres are infidels, and, except in a few instances, have hitherto resisted all attempts to convert them to Islamism. They recognise a Supreme Being, but he is only invoked in case of hostile invasion, a fashion which has doubtless been borrowed from the Mohammedans. The King of Seine, who is the ruler of the Serere nation, keeps one Marabout attached to his person for this express purpose, but his services are never put into requisition on any other occasion.

Physically they are a fine, well-grown race, with not unpleasant features, their complexion, as a rule, being of a deep black.

The present King of Seine is Jal Gay, who exercises considerable power over his subjects. The King appoints a sort of governor named a "madungat" to represent him in subordinate districts, and the madungat has the power of appointing agents under himself who are styled "jarraf." Nothing of importance, however, can be done without the King's consent.

In their own country the King administers the national substitute for justice. As with the Mandingoes, murder and adultery are punished with death; shooting or decapitation, according to the decree of the King, being the means adopted. Immorality is

treated in a more lenient fashion, and resolves itself into a question of money. I am told, however, by persons who know the customs of both tribes well, that the Mandingoes and Sereres frequently condone the offence of adultery, if the male culprit is rich enough to satisfy the outraged honour of the husband; and, moreover, from the necessity of extreme caution, that the wives resort to various cunning devices in order to deceive their husbands. The virtue of these communities is, therefore, more apparent than real.

Each Serere man is permitted by custom to have 10 wives, but indulgence in a greater number is regarded as a pardonable folly. Theft is punished in a very drastic manner. The thief has the whole of his goods confiscated and handed over to the victim of the robbery.

As an illustration of the distinct character of the Serere language the following are the numerals employed by them:—

One	Leng.
Two	Duck.
Three	Taduck.
Four	Nahack.
Five	Bettack.
Six	Betta-foleng.
Seven	Betta-duck.
Eight	Betta-taduck.
Nine	Betta Nahack.
Ten	Harbo Hy.

It will be observed that the primitive quinquennial period is adopted by the Sereres, as is the case with the Jolofs.

In the event of a summons from the King the whole of the absent Sereres would be compelled to return to Seine.

3. *Nominkas.*—This race occupies the region known as the kingdom of Nuomi or Barra. I have been unable to ascertain the precise boundaries of the old Nuomi kingdom, but at present the Nominkas are spread over the various towns along the Ceded Mile, a portion, however, residing outside the jurisdiction.

They appear to be divided into two sections, named respectively the Nomibartokas (meaning those living at the entrance of the river), and the Nomibantokas (meaning those living more within the river). The former occupy the region between Jonwar and Jinneck, and the latter reside between the towns of Essow and Jooroonko.

The Nominkas are all Mandingoes; but the Nomibartokas live so near to the Sereres that they speak this language in addition to their own.

Jonwar, mentioned above, forms one of a group of islets adjacent to the mouth of the Saloum river to the north of the Gambia. The inhabitants of these islets originally were under the control of the King of Nuomi. Since 1866, the Nomibartokas have refused further tribute to the King and Princes of Nuomi.

The Nominkas communicate with Bathurst by means of large canoes, which some of them are very clever at making. These canoes will sometimes carry as much as three tons of ground nuts, of which they cultivate large quantities.

In religion most of the Nominkas are now Mohammedans, though originally they were Soninkees. Their laws are similar to those of the Mandingoes, from whom they sprang.

4. *Jolas.*—The history of this primitive and extraordinary race is involved in much obscurity. No idea appears to exist amongst themselves in regard to their origin, and even tradition is silent, except as to recent events, in the chronicles of their country.

So far as it is possible to learn from the people themselves, the Jolas, or Fellups, have always occupied, more or less, the region they now inhabit, viz., the country comprised between the southern limit of foreign Combo and the north bank of the river Casamance, running in a north-easterly direction towards the south bank of the Gambia as far as the mouth of Vintang Creek, a large tributary of the latter river. The so-called "Fogni" country is at present divided by the Jolas into districts as follows, all comprised within the limits of lower or foreign Combo:—Fellup, Siati, Mungoon, Cabillie, Binkin, and Carroon. There are also another set called the Chabon Jolas who live more in the immediate neighbourhood of the Casamance, though they all speak the same language.

This people up to the present appear to have resisted even an imperfect approach to civilisation. Although an industrious race, their ambition has been satisfied by the attainment of the barest necessities of life. Little beyond rice is grown in the Jola country, and this, with fish caught in the creeks, forms the staple food of the people. Their neighbours, and enemies, the Mandingoes, oblige them to procure powder and guns for self-defence; but beyond these articles the Jolas buy or exchange but few of the marketable commodities of Bathurst.

Physically they are not an attractive looking race; and both sexes wear little or no clothing. In their own country there is practically no Government and no law; every man does as he chooses, and the most successful thief is considered the greatest man. There is no recognised punishment for murder, or any other

crime. Individual settlement is the only remedy, and the fittest survives.

Unlike the rule amongst most African races, there is absolutely no formality in regard to marriage, or what passes for marriage, amongst them. Natural selection is observed on both sides, and the pair, after having ascertained a reciprocity of sentiment, at once cohabit. No presents are made by the bridegroom, and the consent of parents is entirely ignored. They do not intermarry with any other race.

Their language is quite distinct from that of any other contiguous people, and I understand that it is not easily acquired. It appears to be poor in vocabulary, as might be expected in the case of a race with so few wants. The Jolas do not count beyond 10, and distinct terms are used only up to five, as in all the tribes noticed except the Mandingoes. I have had some difficulty in ascertaining the numerals, each Jola whom I have questioned having given me different information; but the following appear to be generally recognised and understood:—

One . . .	Eanor.
Two . . .	Coo-cooba, or Soo-Cooba.
Three . . .	Hoo hahjee, or See hahjee.
Four . . .	Coo bakeer, or See bakeer.
Five . . .	Foutoe.
Six . . .	Fou-toe d'eanor.
Seven . . .	Fou-toe coo-cooba.
Eight . . .	Fou-tou-hoo hahjee.
Nine . . .	Fou toe coo-bakeer.
Ten . . .	Koo-n'Yen.

Beyond these figures counting becomes pantomimic, the people using both hands and feet to represent higher numbers. Pieces of stick are also sometimes employed for the same purpose.

It is evident from these facts that the Jolas, whether from persecution, or from some other cause, have always been an isolated race, and have shunned contact with their neighbours. They are, however, a brave people and have proved themselves capable of holding their own against the warlike Mandingoes, who are constantly attacking them.

5. *Jolofs.*—Although "Jolof" is a word very frequently used in Bathurst, and most of the native inhabitants speak that language, yet, as a matter of fact, very few of the genuine race are to be found in it. The habitat of the Jolofs is in the adjoining French Colony of Senegal, and comprises Jolof, Cayor Baol, and Saloum. Formerly the Jolof nation was united under one Emperor or King, who was styled "Burb i Jolof;" but dissensions arose ending in

separation, each district choosing a King of its own. The Jolofs proper are stated to be a handsome race; and, as a rule, those of both sexes with whom I have come into contact have been tall and well-formed, with a jetty blackness of complexion. They are proud, and exceedingly vain, claiming for themselves a very ancient descent. The women are inordinately fond of gay apparel and personal adornment of every description. They frequently pierce the ear along the entire edge with a series of holes, so that this feature may be as far as possible loaded with ornamentation. The wool is pulled out to its extreme length, and plaited into thin strips which hang from the head, giving a peculiar character to these natives. The natural plaits are supplemental with artificial ones made of a native dyed fibre, and the whole is smeared with a rancid grease which emits a very offensive odour. Of their moral qualifications report speaks very unfavourably, mendacity, deceit, and licentiousness being prominent characteristics of this people. In religion they are fervent Mohammedans; they rarely intermarry with any other race, and are extremely sensitive to any mishap in this direction.

Any mention of this race, apart from its ethnological interest, would be superfluous in the Gambia Blue Book were it not for the existence of the language in certain districts, and for the fact that a portion, at least, of the adjacent country of Baddiboo, which has played an important part in Gambia affairs, contains numerous representatives of this race. This region borders on Saloum, which is a portion of Jolof proper.

The Jolof language is expressive though not rich in vocabulary, and, I understand, depends much upon accentuation for its correct rendering and apprehension. The numerals are as follows:

One	Bew-na.
Two	Yar.
Three	Nee-ec-ta.
Four	Nee-a-veut.
Five	Joorome.
Six	Joorome-beuna.
Seven	Joorome ^{n}Yar.
Eight	Joorome Nee-et-ta.
Nine	Joorome Ne-a-veut.
Ten	Fooka.

It will be readily understood from the foregoing that counting in Jolof gets to be a very complicated process after a time, and that mathematics has yet to become an exact science amongst this people. Golberry, in the work previously alluded to, very pertin-

ently comments upon the curious fact that in spite of the contiguity of the Jolofs to the Moors, who adopt the Arabic system of numeration, the former should have persistently adhered to the primitive method of reckoning on one hand only instead of on both. It is a curious and perplexing circumstance that the Mandingoes, who are an inland people, and probably came into contact with more enlightened races at a later period than the tribes nearer the coast, should be in advance of all the other races in this portion of Africa in their system of counting. The question whether their method originated with the language, or has been acquired at a later period of their history must be left to more experienced philologists than myself. The Mandingoes, however, have always been great traders, and it is possible that their instincts taught them at an early stage the advantages of a system based on ten fingers instead of five.

6. *Salum-Salums.*—This race requires only a brief notice. They are neighbours of the Sereres, and, through intermarriage, their language is a mixture of Jolof and Serere.

In religion they are partly Marabouts and partly Soninkees. The former frequently take wives from the latter, but no Marabout would give his daughter to a Soninkee unless to a King or a Prince, and that reluctantly.

7. *The Lowbeys.*—This race may be described as the gipsies of North-West Africa. It is almost impossible to get any certain information in regard to their history. They wander about from place to place, and none whom I have questioned have been able to tell me the part of Africa from whence they originally came. I am informed (not by a Lowbey) that there is a tradition which assigns to them the land of Midian as their original country, and that they were cursed by Jethro for stealing cattle, and doomed to a wandering life. I am inclined, however, to regard this story as a modern invention, seeing that I have not yet discovered a Lowbey who ever heard of Jethro, of Moses, or of the land of Midian.

They are a decidedly handsome race, bearing a stronger resemblance to the Foulahs than to any other people, though, as a rule, darker in colour. In all probability they were descended from the Foulahs, but, if so, it is curious that they should have completely changed their mode of life, the Foulahs being a pastoral and agricultural people, while the Lowbeys almost exclusively confine themselves to the making of the various wooden utensils in use by natives generally. They settle temporarily with any tribe, but never intermarry with another race, thus preserving the type of feature which obviously separates them from their human surroundings.

In religion most of them are pagans, though a few profess the Mohammedan faith. They have no laws of their own, but are guided by those of the people amongst whom they are for the time being located. In case of war happening they very sensibly remove at once into a district where there is peace. Their language appears to be allied to the Foulah tongue, but they usually speak the language of the tribe with whom they are staying.

The Foulahs and Toocalores, to whom allusion has been made, are practically the same race. Little need be said of them, as the former are a well-known African race, and many travellers have noted their unusual lightness of complexion. Dr. Gouldsbury in his report on the Upper Gambia Expedition gives a concise history of this people.

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The following notes are from *Voyage to the Canaries, Cape Verd, and the Coast of Africa, under the command of M. Dancourt* (1682). Translated from the French of M. Le Maire by Edmund Goldsmid. (*Privately printed.*) Edinburgh, 1887.

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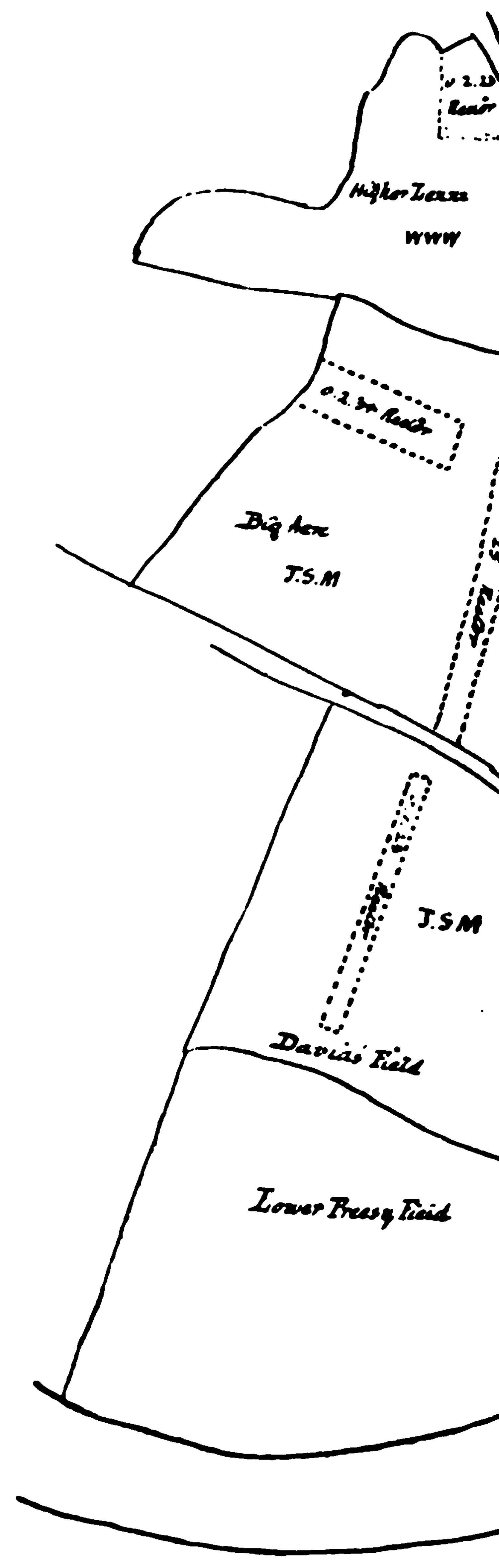
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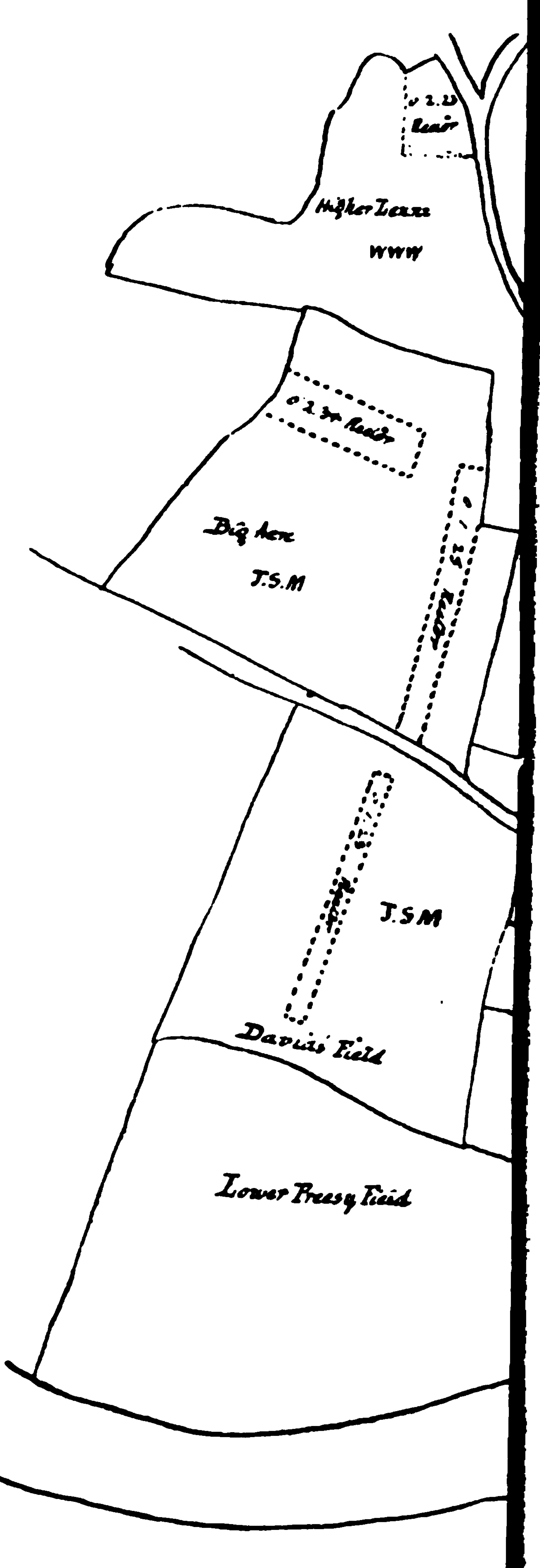

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RELICS OF THE ANCIENT FIELD-SYSTEM OF NORTH WALES.

THE fields that lie within the ancient arable areas of hundreds of townships in North Wales are still, in many cases, divided into what (in English) are called "quillets," that is to say, into open strips marked off from each other merely by boundary stones, and belonging to different owners. The quillets belonging to each owner are often scattered in many fields and strangely intermingled with the quillets belonging to others.

On the accompanying map the quillets are the spaces formed by the dotted lines, while the figures within each quillet represent its area, and the letters the initials of its owner.

Under modern conditions, land in quillets is inconvenient to farm and undesirable to own. The agents and surveyors of mineral estates, which include much of this form of property, find the quillets a constant source of worry and trouble, and are apt to break out into instant blasphemy at the very mention of the hated name. It is not, therefore, surprising that landlords owning quillets in the same set of fields should, by exchange or purchase, have been successful, in an enormous number of cases, in abolishing them altogether. What must really excite surprise is that so many quillets remain. In the Fields of Erbistock,[1] in particular, within a comparatively small area, an unusually large number of quillets may still be found, and afford an important series of examples for study. In the beginning of the present century, it is said, many of the Erbistock quillets were exchanged and extinguished so as to effect an enlargement of the rectory grounds. Fortunately, the alterations then and at other times made were not extensive enough to upset altogether the earlier arrangements, and the accompanying map shows how a large portion of the arable area of that parish remained divided in several ownership so late as the year 1844, and how substantially it is divided still.

Before, however, we come to deal with the special points of interest presented by the Erbistock map, it will be necessary to say

[1] Erbistock is a parish in the counties of Denbigh and Flint, about five miles from Wrexham.

something of quillets in general. They all come down from an earlier time, and though they are not in general found in every part of the ancient arable areas of the townships in which they occur, they are never found outside those areas. After examining a very large number of quillets in perhaps half a hundred distinct townships, and carefully considering every reference to them available in ancient wills, deeds, and surveys, it becomes plain that *those quillets which appear to retain their original area* belong really to two great groups. First, there are those that have no normal area, every quillet in the *same* field being, however, roughly speaking, of the same size. And, secondly, there are those that appear to conform, wherever found, to a normal area, and that may, therefore, be called *normal quillets.*

The quillets of the first group resulted from the *unmodified* operation of the custom of gavelkind—a custom formerly universal in Wales, whereby a man's property was, at his death, shared equally among his sons. When the deceased proprietor had but a few fields, every one of them appears to have been divided. If he had three sons, each field would be divided into three quillets. Quillets that arose in this way would obviously have no normal area, the size of them being determined by the size of the field, and the number of the sons among whom it was shared.[1]

The quillets of the second great group appear, on the other hand, to conform to a normal area. Speaking now only of East Denbighshire and South Flintshire—the district best known to me—this area seems to be *the cyfar,* a local measure still partially used, and which contains 2560 square yards. Many of the quillets which I assign to this group measure half a cyfar, and others two cyfars, but most of them approach so nearly to the measure of a single cyfar that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that it was as cyfars they were at first set out. Now, what does this name "cyfar" mean? It means *a joint ploughing.* It is known, in fact, to have stood originally for the quantity of land ploughed in a

[1] I have refrained from pointing out that some of these quillets might themselves subsequently be divided into smaller ones, according to the same custom of gavelkind, inasmuch as in the first part of this paper, for the sake of precision, I confine myself to the case of those quillets that retain their original area. But that the quillets were frequently subdivided in the way suggested is quite certain. Sometimes they appear to have been subdivided after an odd fashion. A quillet, for example, in the fields of Hope Owan, has the form of a right-angled triangle, thus :— and which, as it only extends to the middle of the field, s probably the fourth of an older quillet which was shared thus :—

single yoking by the common plough-team—a common plough-team being one to which two or more owners of oxen contributed.[1] The quillets of the first group, or many of them, come down, it is evident, from the time when the law of gavelkind was still observed, but the custom of joint ploughing had fallen into disuse, while the normal quillets, or quillets of the second group, come down from the earlier time when the law and the custom were both in operation. In the case of the normal quillets, however, the effects of the first have been so masked by the results of the operation of the second that it is this latter—the custom of joint ploughing—which becomes now the main factor to be considered.

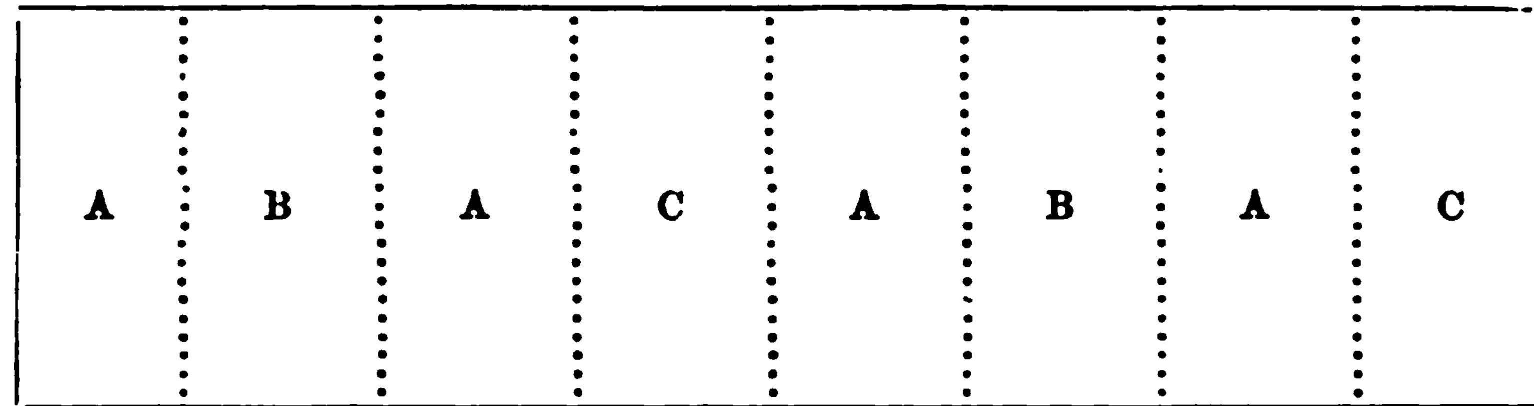
The regulations as to joint ploughing or co-operation are minutely described in the Welsh Laws, and have long been well known, but Mr. Frederic Seebohm (in his *English Village Community*) was, I believe, the first to point out that those regulations involved not merely the wide scattering of the strips belonging to each owner, but also a particular order of sequence in the arrangement of those strips. Extending Mr. Seebohm's explanation by help of the order of sequence which we still sometimes find among the quillets of East Denbighshire and South Flintshire, we may venture to give the following account of the common plough-team and of the results of its operation.

Let us suppose a field measuring about four cyfars[2] in which A had a half-share and B and C quarter-shares, and let us further suppose the plough-team to have consisted of four oxen, A would have to contribute two oxen to this team, and B and C one ox each: then A would have assigned to him the first cyfar ploughed; B, the second; A, the third; and C, the fourth. Or, if the field measured

[1] The cyfar was theoretically (and under some circumstances all along actually was), a single butt of land of a definite form (ten times longer than broad), but when the areas of the fields ploughed were small, it was impossible for the cyfar to retain this form, and it often then included two or more butts.

[2] I shall probably be thought mistaken in treating as a normal fact the existence of a field so small as that above supposed at the early date now under consideration. But although the field system of North Wales was, as will hereafter be explained, in many cases, an open one, it does appear to me that, so far at least as the *townships of the freeholders* were concerned, large portions of most of the quilleted areas of the district now being discussed must have been, before the *close* of the period of co-aration, already divided into a large number of small fields. In some of the *servile townships* there is evidence of the existence of large quilleted fields, but I do not believe there was any constant difference in this respect between the two classes of townships, for the small fields were due, in one way or another, to the operation of the custom of gavelkind, and in later times this custom was in force among the Serfs (*Taeogion*) as well as among the freeholders.

eight cyfars, A would have the first, third, fifth, and seventh; B, the second and sixth; and C, the fourth and eighth; thus:—



Or, if A and B had equal shares in the field, each would have every other cyfar in it. When the plough-team consisted, as was often the case, of eight oxen, and four or five owners of cattle contributed, a more complex order of succession would be introduced, but I purposely here deal with the simplest cases only. Even, however, the simpler series of sequence among the quillets we can hardly expect to find preserved very often down to our own time. In the course of centuries so many changes have taken place. Quillet holders have exchanged their slips. The boundaries of fields have often been altered so that the quillets formerly in one field are now in another, and other alterations have been made—too numerous here to specify—which have introduced confusion. Nevertheless, it is still rather common to find fields of which the quillets belong alternately to A and B. This will be noticed to be the case, for example, with *The Big Slang* in the Erbistock map, with the *butts* of *The Big Square Field,* as well as with four out of the five quillets of *Little Boltha*[1] in the same map. In *Barn Field* (see map), if we put out of consideration the large quillet which has probably taken the place of three or four smaller ones, we get the series A B A C, and we get the same series in the first four of the five quillets of *Well Field.* In *The Parson's Field* no such series can be traced, but here confusion appears to have been introduced by an exchange of quillets, as the result of which two strips in the middle of the field have been joined together.[2]

[1] Two centuries and a half ago, when all the names were Welsh, the field-nomenclature of Erbistock was exceedingly picturesque and varied, but, with the subsequent Anglification of the parish, the old names, when they have not disappeared altogether, have become corrupted in form. "Lenni"—the name of two of the fields shown on the maps—stands evidently for "Lleiniau"—*the strips* or *quillets*; while "The Boltha" is as evidently "Y Bwllfa"—*the place of the pool.* Nothing can be more trivial than most of the names now given to the Erbistock fields.

[2] It ought to be said that five owners share now among them all the quillets of Erbistock. Every quillet, that is, belongs either to A, B, C, or D. Of these five, three are the owners of estates each of which represents two or more smaller and more ancient ones. But this does not necessarily invalidate the fact of the definite sequence among the quillets, but may only make more complex

The Erbistock map presents other interesting points. Look, for example, at the quillet belonging to the Rector in *David's Field*: it consists of a single butt, and does not include any portion of the two headlands. In the *Big Square Field*, on the other hand, the alternate butts (or groups of butts) and the adjoining portions of one of the headlands belong to A and B, while the whole of the other headland belongs to B. There is another point to be noticed. The ancient parish of Erbistock consisted formerly of two distinct townships, Erbistock and Maelor, represented each by its own churchwarden. Erbistock, which includes a portion of the quilleted tract, was, it is quite certain, a free township. Maelor, which forms still a detached bit of the *hundred* of Maelor in Flintshire, and which includes the remaining and larger portion of that tract, was, I have some reason to suspect, a servile township, and here in the name *Village Field*, thrice repeated, we have *perhaps* a relic of the open field system. Notice, again, how the whole of this quilleted tract is grouped about the ancient site of the parish church, and lies enringed in a bend of the silver Dee.[1]

The mention of the parish church of Erbistock gives occasion for some other observations which in this connection seem fitting to be put on record. This church, twice rebuilt in modern times, has been immemorially dedicated to St. Hilary. In the year 1530, however, or a little before, the offerings therein "before Saint Erbin," who was then evidently the patron saint of the church, are mentioned. It is plain from this that Saint Erbin's name and the name of the parish are connected; that "Erbistock" means Erbin's Stoke (*stoke*, a place or settlement enclosed with *stakes*); and that it is a name which must have been given by Englishmen. Erbistock lies, in fact, in that large portion of the borderland of Wales which, about the time of Offa and for nearly three hundred years after, was so thoroughly settled by Englishmen that scores of the names which the latter gave to their townships survived the Welsh re-conquest of that

the order of that sequence. Take, for example, the four quillets of *The Big Slang* where we have the series A B A B, and where A is the Rector, whose glebe is exceedingly ancient, and whose quillets are, *for the most part*, the same as they were hundreds of years ago. If now we grant that B stands for two original owners, we only get, instead of A B A B, the less simple series A B A C.

[1] I do not know whether it is worth noting that "none of the Erbistock quillets is subject to the payment of tithes," and that "with two or three exceptions, all the unquilleted fields that lie within the quilleted area enjoy the same immunity." "This untithability of the common fields of Erbistock is, I believe, a quite local phenomenon, and does not, so far as I know, exist in any other part of the district."—*History of Ancient Tenures of Land in the Marches of North Wales.*

borderland, its complete incorporation in the Welsh political system, and its exclusive occupation by a Welsh-speaking population.[1] Now, are there any signs in the field-system of this district of the prolonged English intrusion just indicated? There appear to be no such signs. Except that the names of many of the old Mercian settlements were retained, the effects of the English occupation were wholly wiped out. The relics of which I have attempted to give an account are, so far as can be ascertained, the relics of a Welsh field-system, and not of an English.

Now, the Welsh field-system differed, it is already obvious, in many of its features from the old common-field system of England. And the most important of these special features of it are, it would appear, in the main to be referred to the universal operation in Wales of the custom of gavelkind.

This custom of gavelkind operated, there is good reason to believe, in the simple and direct manner supposed in the preceding paragraphs for a very long time prior to its legal abolition. But at an earlier date its operation was complicated by its connection with a peculiar method of entail whereby land was in certain circumstances tied up for three generations. And long after this method of entail ceased to be observed, the effects of its working remained often visible in the field-arrangements of the ancient arable areas. The peculiarities of those arrangements cannot, in short, be fully understood unless we bear in mind that, so far at least as the *free* townships[2] were concerned, the occupied land of Wales was aforetime held in *gwelys*, or tracts of family land, all the occupiers of each gwely being co-heirs and descendants of a common ancestor, the last full proprietor of it. We know that in Erbistock

[1] Already by the time of Edward the Confessor Erbistock seems to have fallen into the hands of Rhys Sais ap Ednyfed who, however, appears to have held it of the English king. Although subsequently it was seized by the Normans so that in Domesday Book it was returned as in the hundred of "Exestan," the Welsh must very shortly afterwards have recovered possession of it. According to the Domesday Survey there were in "Erpestoch half a hide of land geldable, one carucate (in demesne), one radman, one villain, and one bordar." A direct descendant in the male line of the above-named Rhys ap Ednyfed, was a few years ago a bellman in the streets of Wrexham.

[2] Among the Serfs (taeogion) of the bond townships the land was originally regularly redistributed so that every serf should have an equal share, but in later times I do not find so much as a trace of this practice; on the contrary, bond holdings are mentioned in those townships, the occupiers of which were co-heirs, and in which therefore the succession was probably regulated by the custom of gavelkind. We should, under these circumstances, expect to find the quilleted tracts in the townships formerly servile not dissimilar in their arrangements from those existing in the townships formerly occupied by freeholders. And, upon the whole, this expectation is not contradicted by actual observation.

also (that is, in the free township), all the occupied land formed in 1270 a gwely, for a deed was executed in that year wherein "all the heirs of Erbistock" are mentioned as having sold to the lord Howel ap Madoc a certain parcel of land there. Now, in the third generation each gwely would be finally shared among the great-grandchildren of the last full proprietor or among their heirs. There is, however, much that remains obscure as to the details of the working of this practice, and as to its effects upon the field-arrangements of the areas affected by it. The explanations that I shall now offer are therefore very general and necessarily incomplete.

If a gwely, at the time of its final partition, was very large, and there were few to share it, each of the partitioners would probably have cattle enough to furnish his own plough-team, so that in the holdings of none of them would there be any scattered strips to come down as quillets to a later time. If, on the contrary, the gwely shared was small and subdivided, not a single one perhaps of the partitioners would be able to make up a team of his own, so that the gwely might still in a way be held together by the necessity that existed for co-operative ploughing. The person, or the persons, who held each share would contribute to the plough-team according to what his or their share of the gwely was. The holder, or holders, of the eighth part would furnish one ox to the full team of eight, and would then have every eighth cyfar ploughed. It is not quite certain whether we should be justified in supposing that these cyfars would be scattered throughout the whole of the arable portion of the old gwely. If so, the fields would be rather large, the cyfars belonging to each owner or group of owners would be widely dispersed and be of normal form and area, and the conditions generally would at first closely resemble those present in the large common fields of England. But these conditions would almost at once begin to be modified under the influence of the Welsh law of family succession, and that variety of phenomena to appear which, in the case of the Welsh common fields, is at first so perplexing to the reader.

The explanation just given would cover the case of many areas in which the quillets are still rather thick upon the ground. In other cases of this kind we must suppose the gwely to have been wholly broken up. It would then be partitioned into a large number of comparatively small fields in separate ownership. And as each partitioner might in course of time be represented by a group of persons, his heirs, each of these fields might either be again partitioned into smaller enclosures, or, under the influence of

co-operative ploughing, be distributed into separately owned cyfars.

Finally, the disuse of the custom of co-operative ploughing would bring to an end the annual shifting of the quillets in the same field, while the ultimate abolition of the law of gavelkind would bring to an end the further subdivision of them.

Wrexham. ALFRED NEOBARD PALMER.

THE PHYSICIANS OF MYDDFAI.

AT the foot of the steep grassy cliffs of the Van Mountains in Carmarthenshirè lies a lonely pool, called Llyn y Fan Fach, which is the scene of one of the best known and most beautiful of Welsh Folk Tales. The legend may still be heard on the lips of the peasantry; and, stated shortly, it relates that the son of a widow living at Blaensawdde, a little village about three-quarters of a mile from the lake, won the love of a water-fairy who dwelt in the pool. She wedded him on condition that he should never strike her "three causeless blows;" and when that condition was broken, albeit inadvertently, the lady quitted her husband for ever. Sometimes, however, she afterwards appeared to the three fair sons whom she had borne to him, and gave them instruction in herbs and medicine, predicting that they and their issue would become during many generations the most renowned physicians in the country. More than one version of the story has found its way into print;[1] and it is unnecessary to transcribe it here at length. I shall simply give such details in the course of my remarks as will enable all who are unfamiliar with it to follow what I have to say.

Students of Folklore will at once recognise the plot as one of a large class, technically known as Taboo stories, in which the hero, married to, or otherwise in the power of, a supernatural being, breaks a prohibition laid upon him by that being, and thereby brings about the catastrophe.

[1] Mr. Wirt Sikes, in his *British Goblins*, p. 38, gives two versions, one from the Cambro-Briton, and the other, according to a bad habit of his, without citing his authority. The fullest account is quoted by Professor Rhys in his collection of Welsh Fairy Tales, published in the Cymmrodor, iv. 164, from a version written down by Mr. William Rees of Toun, from the oral recitation of two old men and a woman, natives of Myddfai, supplemented by other enquiries on the spot. Mr. Lewis Morris, I should add, has recently published, in his Songs of Britain, a version in poetry of great beauty and pathos, which at the time the above paper was written, I had not had the opportunity of reading.

But before directing attention to the prohibition, or taboo, it is desirable to ascertain the personality of the heroine. There is a group of Folktales, generally called the Swanmaiden group, whose variants are found throughout the world. They tell of maidens who descend from the sky in the form of birds at certain times and lay aside their plumage, in order to lave their human limbs in some sequestered fountain. There the bathers are watched by a youth, who steals the prettiest damsel's clothes, and takes advantage of her destitute condition to force her into marriage, or into rendering him assistance in some rash enterprise. This is the usual formula, but there are of course many variations. The bird plumage does not always appear, though reminiscences of it may peep out. A Burmese drama, for instance, sets before us nine princesses of the city of the Silver Mountain, who wear enchanted girdles that enable them to fly as swiftly as a bird. The youngest of these princesses is caught while bathing, by means of a magical slip-knot. A divine ancestress of the Bantiks, a tribe inhabiting the Celebes Islands, came down from the sky with seven companions to bathe. A man who saw them took them for doves, but was surprised to find that they were women. He possessed himself of the clothes of one of them and thus obliged her to marry him. In a story told by the Santals of India, the daughters of the sun make use of a spider's thread to reach the earth. A shepherd, whom they unblushingly invite to bathe with them, persuades them to try which of them all can remain longest under water; and while they are in the river he scrambles out, and, taking the upper garment of the one whom he loves, flees with it to his home. In another Indian tale, five apsaras, or celestial dancers, are conveyed in an enchanted car to a pool in the forest. Seven supernatural maidens, in a Samoyede märchen, are brought in their reindeer chariot to a lake, where the hero possesses himself of the best suit of garments he finds on the shore. The owner prays him to give them up; but he refuses, until he obtains a definite pledge of marriage, saying "If I give thee the garments thou will fare up again to heaven." [1]

But perhaps the most curious of the stories of this group from which the plumage has disappeared is the Malagasy tale of the way in which Andrianòro obtained a wife from heaven. There three sisters, whose dwelling-place is in heaven, frequent a lake in whose crystal waters they swim, taking flight at once on the approach of

[1] These stories are all cited from various sources by M. Cosquin, Contes Pop. de la Lorraine, ii. 18. Cf. Ralston, Tibetan Tales, 53.

any human being. By a diviner's advice the hero changes into three lemons, which the youngest sister desires to take; but the others, fearing a snare, persuade her to fly away with them. Foiled thus, the hero changes into bluish water in the midst of the lake, then into the seed of a vegetable growing by the waterside, and ultimately into an ant. He is at length successful in seizing the youngest maiden, who consents to be his wife in spite of the difference of race; for, while her captor is a man living on the earth, her father dwells in heaven, whence the thunderbolt darts forth if he speak, and she herself drinks no spirits, "for if spirits even touch my mouth I die." After some time, during his absence, his father and mother force tòaka, or rum, into the lady's mouth, and she dies; but on his return he insists on opening her grave, and, to his joy, finds her alive again. But she will not now stay on earth: she must return to her father and mother in the sky. They are grieving for her, and the thunder is a sign of their grief. Finding himself unable to prevail upon her to stay, he obtains permission to accompany her. She warns him, however, of the dangers he will have to encounter,—the thunderbolt when her father speaks, and the tasks her father will lay upon him. Before he goes he accordingly calls the beasts and the birds together; he slays oxen to feed them; he tells them the tests he is about to undergo, and takes promises from them to accomplish the things that trouble him. Obedient to his wife, he displays great humility towards his father-in-law; and by the aid of the lower animals he comes triumphant out of every trial. The beasts with their tusks plough up the spacious fields of heaven; the beasts and birds uproot the giant trees; from the crocodile lake the crocodiles themselves bring the thousand spades; between cattle which are exactly alike the cattle fly distinguishes the cows from the calves; and the little fly, settling on the nose of the heroine's mother, enables the hero to point her out among her daughters. The wife's father is astonished, and gives his daughter anew to the hero to be his wife, dismissing them with a dower of oxen, slaves and money.[1]

Many points of agreement with the legend of the Van Pool will be noted here. According to the version of that legend adopted by Professor Rhys the first time the youth of Blaensawdde beheld the Lady of the Lake she was sitting upon its unruffled surface, which she used as a mirror while she combed out her graceful ringlets. She imperceptibly glided nearer to him, but eluded his grasp and

[1] Folk Lore Journal. i. 202.

refused the bait of barley bread and cheese that he held out to her, saying as she dived and disappeared:

> "Cras dy fara;
> Nid hawdd fy nala!"
> ("Hard-baked is thy bread;
> It is not easy to catch me!")

An offer of unbaked dough, or *toes*, the next day was equally unsuccessful. She exclaimed:

> "Llaith dy fara!
> Ti ni fynna'."
> ("Unbaked is thy bread!
> I will not have thee.")

But the slightly baked bread, which the youth subsequently took, by his mother's advice, was accepted: he seized the lady's hand and persuaded her to become his bride. Diving into the lake she then fetched her father—"a hoary-headed man of noble mien and extraordinary stature, but having otherwise all the force and strength of youth"—who rose from the depths with *two* ladies and was ready to consent to the match, provided the young man could distinguish which of the two ladies before him was the object of his affections. This was no small test of love, inasmuch as the maidens were exactly alike in form and features. One of them, however, thrust her foot a little forward, and the hero recognized a peculiarity of her shoetie, which he had somehow had leisure to notice at his previous interviews. The father admits the correctness of his choice, and bestows a dowry of sheep, cattle, goats, and horses, but stipulates in the most business-like way that these animals shall return with the bride, if at any time her husband prove unkind and strike her thrice without a cause.

The version published in the Cambro-Briton is somewhat different. Three beautiful damsels appear from the pool, and are repeatedly pursued by the young farmer, but in vain. They always reached the water before him and taunted him with the couplet:

> "Cras dy fara,
> Anhawdd ein dala!"

One day some moist bread from the lake came floating ashore The youth seized and devoured it; and the following day he was successful in catching the ladies. The one to whom he offers marriage consents on the understanding that he will recognize her the next day from among the three sisters. He does so by the strapping of her sandal; and she is accompanied to her new home by seven cows, two oxen, and a bull from the lake.

The third version presents the maiden as rowing on New Year's Eve up and down the lake in a golden boat with a golden oar. She disappears from the hero's gaze, without replying to his adjurations. Counselled by a soothsayer who dwells on the mountain, he casts loaves and cheese night after night from Midsummer Eve to New Year's Eve into the water, until at length the magic skiff again appears, and the fairy, stepping ashore, weds her persistent wooer.

Not the least of the remarkable resemblances here is the suit by offerings of food. In the Malagasy story, indeed, this device is unsuccessful; but in a Carnarvonshire analogue the youth entices his beloved into his grasp by means of an apple;[1] and in the Van variants the offering assumes almost a sacramental character. Until the Elfin maiden has tasted earthly bread, or until her lover has eaten of the food which sustains her, he cannot be united to her. The heavy father also plays his part in the Welsh story, though that part is not quite the same as in the Malagasy and other versions. In these the hero has lost his wife by some of the means we shall discuss presently, and is seeking to recover her, as in the tale, perhaps best known of all, of Hasan of Bassorah. Among Hasan's difficulties, however, we do not find one of the most characteristic episodes, that, namely, of the tests imposed on the pretender to the hand of the ogre's daughter. This episode is preserved in two of the three Welsh versions cited above, by the demand to select the maiden from others exactly like her. It would be interesting to review with some care the various tests; but this would lead to too long a digression. I must content myself with a few references to the test before us, which, in the stories where it occurs, is the last of all the suitor's trials, and on this account, perhaps, the one most likely to survive in tradition.

Now there are three chief means by which the lover or husband is enabled to identify the object of his devotion. Two of these are indicated in the two versions of the Carmarthenshire saga: in the one the lady slyly helps her lover; in the other he recognises an insignificant peculiarity either of her person or attire. The third means is that of the Grateful Beast which has better means of knowledge than the suitor, due probably to the magical powers credited to the lower animals by all peoples in a certain stage of culture. This is the method adopted, as we have seen, by Andrianòro. In like manner the princess in the Burmese drama already referred to is betrayed by the "the king of flies" to her husband,

[1] Y Cymmrodor, v. 94.

though the Tibetan version of the same plot given by Mr. Ralston from the Kah-Gyur knows nothing of this entomological agency. There the hero is a Bodisat, who, if he does not know his beloved from the thousand companions who surround her, at least has a spell the utterance of which compels her to step out from among them.[1] It does not appear that Kasimbaha, the Bantik patriarch, is required to undergo this test. But he is indebted to a bird for indicating the lady's residence; a glow worm places itself at her chamber door; and a fly shows him which of a number of dishes set before him he must not uncover. Jagatalapratâpa, in the Tamil book translated into English under the title of "The Dravidian Nights Entertainments," pursuing one of Indra's four daughters, is compelled by her father, after three other trials, to choose her out from her sisters, who are all converted into one shape. He prays assistance from a kind of grasshopper; and the little creature, in return for a previous benefit, hops upon her foot.[2] All the foregoing examples present the hero in search of a wife who, after a period of married life, had escaped him; and, so far as I recollect, it is in such a case only that he discovers her by the instrumentality of an insect without concert with her. There is a Russian story, however, in which a fly assists him to win his bride in the first instance, but only through a previous understanding. He is in the power of her father, the Water King. On his way to that potentate's palace he had, by the advice of the Baba Yaga, gone to the seashore and watched until twelve spoonbills alighted, and, turning into maidens, had unrobed for the purpose of bathing. Then he had stolen the eldest maiden's shift, to restore it only on her promise to aid him against her father, the Water King. She redeems the pledge by performing for him the usual tasks, the last of which is to choose the same bride thrice among the king's twelve daughters. The first time she secretly agrees with him that she will wave her handkerchief; the second time she is to be arranging her dress; and the third time he will see a fly above her head.[3] This programme forms a connecting link between the incidents in the Welsh variants and those we have just been considering.

If we take this Russian story as a point of transition, and turn to the other two means of identification, we need not be long detained. The stories in which these means appear are, I think, all

[1] So much stress has been laid, by Benfey's followers, on the Grateful Beast formula as an evidence of Buddhist influence, that this variation, from an incontestably Buddhist source, is worth while noting.

[2] P. 80.

[3] Ralston: Russian Folk Tales, 120, from Afanasief.

cases of bride-winning, not bride-recovery; all *märchen*, not sagas; and all found in Europe. It would not be safe, in the present state of our knowledge, to draw any general conclusion as to the racial peculiarity of this form of the myth, since it is found among tribes as diverse as Basques and Danes; but the evidence certainly does point both to this and to the influence of geographical proximity. The most usual personal idiosyncrasy of the damsel is the want of a finger, or some deformity in it, the result of her previous efforts to aid the hero. Thus, in the Basque tale the lad is set to find a ring lost by the ogre in a river. This is accomplished by cutting up the maiden and throwing the pieces into the stream; but a part of the little finger sticks in his shoe. When he afterwards has to choose between the ogre's daughters with his eyes shut he recognises his love by the loss of her little finger.[1] The giant's daughter, in a West Highland tale, makes a ladder with her fingers for her lover to climb a tree to fetch a magpie's eggs, and, in the hurry, she leaves her little finger at the top.[2] This accident arises sometimes from the dropping of a piece of flesh on the ground when the hero cuts up his beloved;[3] or, as it would seem from a story of the Italian Tyrol, from spilling some of her blood. In the latter case, three drops of blood fall into the lake, instead of the bucket prepared to receive them, and thereby almost cause the failure of his task. When the magician afterwards leads the youth to his daughters and bids him choose, he takes the youngest by the hand, and says "I choose this one." We are not told that there was any difference in the maidens' hands, but this is surely to be inferred.[4] In the Milanese story of the King of the Sun the hero also chooses his wife blindfold from the king's three daughters by touching their hands;[5] and here, too, we must suppose previous help or concert, though it has disappeared from the text. In a story from Lorraine John has to take the devil's daughter, Greenfeather, to pieces to find a spire for the top of a castle that he is compelled to build, and in putting her together again he sets one of her little fingers clumsily. With bandaged eyes he has to find the lady who has assisted him; and he succeeds by putting his hand on hers.[6] The lad who falls into the strange

[1] Webster: Basque Legends, 120.

[2] Campbell, Pop: Tales of the West Highlands, i. 25. Cf: a Picard tale, Mélusine, col. 446, and the other stories referred to by Cosquin, op. cit., 25.

[3] Biblioteca de las Trad. Pop. Españolas, i. 187.

[4] Schneller: Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol, 71.

[5] Imbriani: La Novellaja Fiorentina, 411.

[6] Cosquin: op. cit., 9.

gentleman s hands in a Breton tale, forgets to put the little toe of the girl's left foot into the caldron; and when she and her two sisters are led before him veiled and clad in other than their ordinary garb, he knows her at once by the loss of her toe.[1] As it is told in Denmark the enchanted princess agrees with the king's son to wind a red silken thread around her little finger; and by this means he identifies her, though in the form of a little grey-haired, long-eared she-ass, and again of a wrinkled, toothless, palsied old woman, into which the sorceress, whose captive she is, changes her.[2] In a Swedish story the damsel informs her lover that when the mermaid's daughters appear in various repulsive forms she will be changed into a little cat with her side burnt and one ear snipped.[3]

All the stories concur in representing the father under a forbidding aspect. Not infrequently he is the devil, at other times a giant or an ogre; and the contrast between himself and his lovely daughter is so strongly felt that occasionally, as in the two last-cited instances, she is held to be enchanted and captive in the hands of a malevolent being, like a witch or a mermaid. The genius of the Van Pool has escaped this character, unless some remains of it be found in a sequel to the tale which I shall mention hereafter. But he has escaped it at the expense of his very existence, or at least of any substantial influence over the course of events; for he does not appear in two of the three versions of the story at all, and where he does appear it is only to do that which the lady herself performs in the Cambro-Briton version. The difference effects a material change in the current of the story,—far more than the alteration of the circumstances in which the maiden is found by the hero. It is true she comes in no swan-plumage to the lake to bathe in its cool waters, but dwells in its depths, and only walks at rare intervals upon the shore, or sits upon the surface to comb her locks, plunging in again, and not flying away, when disturbed. But her real personality cannot be doubtful. It is not every swan-maiden who is endowed with bird's plumage. This is a detail, which, as we have already seen, sometimes slips out of the story,—and that, in spite of its picturesqueness.[4] And even where it is preserved we

[1] Sébillot: Contes Pop. de la Haute Bretagne, i. 197.

[2] Grundtvig: Dänische Volksmärchen, i. 46.

[3] Cavallius and Stephens: Schwedische Volkssagen und Märchen, 255.

[4] One of the most remarkable instances of this is a tale rendered from the modern Greek by Von Hahn, where the name Swan-maiden is preserved in the title, though the plumage has disappeared from the text. Von Hahn, Griechische und Albanesische Märchen, i. 131. Wrongly cited Folklore Journal, iii. 233, where the reference is, by mistake, only to the notes. Cf: Leland: The Algonquin Legends of New England, 140, where the maidens are called Weasels.

do not find it exactly how and where we should have expected it. Witness the curious Algonquin tale of How one of the Partridge's wives became a Sheldrake Duck. A hunter, we are told, returning home in his canoe, saw a beautiful girl sitting on a rock by the river, making a moccasin. He paddled up softly to capture her; but she jumped into the water and disappeared. Her mother, however, who lived at the bottom, compelled her to return to the hunter and be his wife. The legend then takes a turn in the direction of the Bluebeard myth; for the woman yields to curiosity and thus deprives her husband of his luck. When he finds this out he seizes his bow to beat her. "When she saw him seize his bow to beat her she ran down to the river, and jumped in to escape death at his hands, though it should be by drowning. But as she fell into the water she became a sheldrake duck."[1] The Passamaquoddies, who relate this story, have hardly yet passed out of the stage of thought in which no steadfast boundary is set between men and the lower animals. The amphibious maiden, who dwelt in the bottom of the river, could not be drowned by jumping into the stream; and it is evident that she only resumes her true aquatic form in escaping from her husband, who, it should be added, is himself called Partridge and seems to be regarded as, in fact, a fowl of that species. If then, we may believe that this lady in her maidenhood had the shape of a bird, although no mention be made of it, we need not hesitate to conclude that the heroine of the Van Pool was a swan-maiden.

In this connection it is material to observe that in the Carnarvonshire story of the fairy bride of Corwrion, referred to later on, we are told that when the unlucky husband infringed the lady's prohibition she at once flew through the air and plunged into the lake; and one account significantly describes her as flying away *like a wood hen.* Can it have been many generations since she was spoken of as actually changing into a bird?

E. Sidney Hartland

(*To be continued.*)

[1] Leland, op. cit., 300. I have considered this legend in connection with The Forbidden Chamber, Folklore Journal, iii. 238.

AGRICULTURAL DIALECT WORDS.

I.—WILTSHIRE.

With Notes by Professor W. W. Skeat.

IN the third volume of the "Beauties of Wiltshire," by John Britton, published in 1825, there is a list of the provincial words of that county. Mr. Akerman in 1842 published a glossary of Wiltshire dialect. Until 1879, these were apparently the only two lists of Wiltshire words. In that year Professor Skeat reprinted Britton's list, comparing it with Akerman's Glossary, and making sundry additions from other sources, the net result being, it was said, that this list practically contained "all that was to be had concerning Wiltshire words before the publication of Halliwell's Dictionary." But a very interesting glossary has been overlooked by all these authorities. It is contained in pp. 258-268 of Davis's Agriculture of Wiltshire," 1813, 8vo. The importance of the Agricultural reports are well-known to the English Dialect Society, and in 1880, they published Mr. Jas. Britten's valuable "Old Country and Farming Words gleaned from Agricultural Books." The fifth section of this work is derived "from the Reports of the Agricultural Survey 1793-1813," but it does "not include all the counties surveyed by the board of Agriculture." Accordingly the following glossary has not before been brought to the notice of Dialect students; and it will be found that many additions may now be made to the list of Wiltshire words. But the importance of this glossary is not limited to the additions it makes to the word-list; of far more importance are the definitions it supplies to all the words. These definitions take us back to the times when the words were living realities applied to existing agricultural institutions, and it cannot escape attention how archaic these institutions were.

The original is not arranged in alphabetical or any other order; but in arranging it for these pages no alteration whatever has been made in the phraseology used, both word and definition being given exactly as they stand in the 1813 glossary. A reference is added between square brackets where the word is to be found in either Akerman or Britton and in Mr. Britten's "Old Country Words." It will be seen by this means what is the nature of the additions from this list to the other Wiltshire lists.

Professor Skeat has very kindly looked through the proof-sheets, and his notes are indicated by his initials. Professor Skeat says, "In every case the author's etymological suggestions are wrong.

What he *did* understand was the country talk and the country uses. Such men are of great use in their way. It is a valuable and useful list beyond doubt."

AGISTMENT—Cattle at agistment are those taken to keep by the week or month. [Linc: See Britten's *Old Country and Farming Words*, iv.]

AILES—Barley-ailes, the beards of the barley. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, i.]

AIS, or as—Harrows and drags are frequently called by this term in South Wilts from being originally made in the shape of the letter A. [A bad guess; it is more likely to be the M.E. *eythe*, A.S. *egethe*, a harrow. The pl. would be *aithes* in mod. E., and the *th* would be dropped as in *clothes*. The letter *a* was called *aa*.—W.W.S.]

AISLES—Wheat aisles or isles, an indeterminate number of sheaves set up together in a double row.

ARRAYED, or rayed—Used speaking of corn; thus, corn well arrayed, or rayed, is corn well dressed and cleaned. [Compare Ree or Ray in Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii.]

BACKHEAVED—Winnowed a second time.

BANE—See "Coath."

BERRY—Wheat is a good berry, when the grain is plump and well fill d. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii. and v.]

BOSSELL, corn-marygold—This plant is the plague of the sandy lands in the barley crop, and is frequently destroyed by chalking.

BOURNES—The vallies between the chalk hills or the rivers in those vallies; but usually applied to the river and valley jointly.

BREAD-BOARD—See "grate-board."

BRINDED—Colour of light brown approaching to dunn.

BRITTED—Shed [,as] corn. [See Britten's *Old Country and Farming Words*, ii.]

CAFFING or caving-rudder—The winnowing fan and tackle.

CAMMOCK—Rest-harrow. [See Glossary to Piers Plowman.—W.W.S.]

CATCH LAND—Pieces of arable land in common fields of equal sizes, the property not being ascertained, but he that ploughed first chose first. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii.]

CATCH MEADOWS—Those on a declivity where the water falls from one level trench to another.

CAVE, or dust—The chaff of the wheat and oats which is generally given to the horse. [See "caving," Britten's *Old Country Words*, vi.]

CHARLOCK—A weed in part of South Wilts.

CHILVER-HOGS—The name for sheep from Christmas till shear time. [A.S. *cilforlamb*; see *Wilts Glossary*.—E.D.S.]

COATH or BANE—The rot in sheep of which the first symptoms are flukes, provincially "plaice" in the liver. [Compare "Plaice-worm" in Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii. See *Coathe* in Halliwell; A.S. *cothu*, disease.—W.W.S.]

COCKED BARLEY and OATS—Barley and oats are always pooked or cocked, seldom carried from the swath. Oats sometimes reaped and sheaved in North Wilts. Hay is pooked, cocked, first in foot-cocks, and when dry in hay-cocks. [Compare the same word used for "hay-making" in Britten's *Old Country Words*, i. iii.]

COMBES—The wooded side of hills. [A *combe* is a hollow in a hill-side; W. *cwm*.—W.W.S.]

CORD of PLOCK WOOD—A pile of cleft wood, eight feet long, four feet high, and four feet wide. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii. vi. vii.]

COUCH—Black couch, *agrostis stolonifera*, or couchy bent. White couch, *triticum repens*, called in other counties stoyle squith or quitch.

COULTER—The cutting part of a plough, which divides the land.

CROOKS—Wiltshire shepherds seldom use crooks, as the sheep are so much easier caught when in fold, but they always use dogs to keep the sheep out of bounds, and by these means are enabled to feed close to an unenclosed piece of standing corn without injuring it.

CROWPECK—Shepherd's purse, or shepherd's pedler.

DOWNS—The chalk hills, particularly when in a permanent state of pasturage.

DRAGS—A provincial name for harrows. [Derby, see Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii.]

DRAIL—The iron bow of a plough from which the traces draw, and which has teeth to set the furrow wider or narrower.

DRASHOLS—See "threshles." [*Drashel* is the common Wilts pronunciation of *thrashel*; so also *drow* for *throw*.—W.W.S.]

DRAUGHTS—Hazel-rods selected for hurdle-making.

DRIFTS—The rows in which underwood is laid when felled.

DRUGGING TIMBER—Drawing [timber] out of the wood under a pair of wheels.

EA-GRASS—After-grass.

EDGE-GROWED—Barley is edge-growed, or in two shares twi-ripe. Barley coming irregularly from a want of rain after first sown, of course ripening unequally. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii. *Twi-ripe*, ripening twice, or at two different times; cf. *twi-bill*.—W.W.S.]

FIELD—Parts of a barn, that part of a barn between beam and beam: *e.g.* a barn of four fields. [Also called a *bay*.—W.W.S.]

FLYALS—See "threshles."

FLOWING or FLOATING MEADOWS—Those that are laid up in ridges, with water carriages on each ridge and drains between.

FOSSELS or FOLDSHORES—The stakes to which the hurdles are fastened with a loose twig-wreath at the top. [Fossel = fold-sail; see *sails*.—W.W.S.]

FRITH—Thorns or bush underwood. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii. vi.]

FRYING, FREAING, or FRITHING—Making covered drains filled up with brushwood.

GAY WHEAT—[Wheat] rank in the blade.

GORE—A triangular piece of ground. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, vi.]

GRATE BOARD or BREAD BOARD—The mould or earth-board of a plough which turns the furrow; earth being frequently called grate.

GRATINGS—The right of feed in the stubs or stubbles.

GRIPE—Wheat is laid down in gripe when laid down in handfuls untied. [Britten's *Old Country Words*, v.]

GRIPING or TAKING UP GRIPES—Draining with covered drains chiefly with turf or stone. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii.]

GROUND-REST—Wood on which the shares of a plough rest. [Not at all; I believe *rest* is for *wrest*; see *wreest* in *Old Country Words*, iv.—W.W.S.]

HAIN UP THE LAND—To shut it up for a crop of hay. [West Eng., see Britten's *Old Country Words*, vi.; *Wilts Glossary*, E.D.S.]

HAM, and particularly MILL HAM—A narrow strip of ground by the side of a river. [Devon, Britten's *Old Country Words*, vi., sub voce "haugh."]

HAND—Corn has a good hand when it is dry and slippery in the sack, a bad hand when damp and rough.

HARLED—Oats, well harled, or well kidded, [*i.e.*] well eared. [Britten records a different meaning, *Old Country Words*, ii.]

HARROWS, parts of, called by provincial names. See "ais," "drags," "harrows," "shares," "tines," "whippence."

HARROWS—The longitudinal bars of harrows.

HAULING is applied to the carriage not only of timber but of all other commodities.

HAYES—As a termination of a word, such as calf-hayes, cow-hayes, &c.; a piece of ground enclosed with a live hedge; from the French word *haie*, a hedge. [A common error; it is simply the A.S. *hege*, a hedge.—W.W.S.]

HAY-RICKS are usually made round and cut out at the bottom, from three or four feet high, to make the rick stand like a ninepin, sometimes oblong with cooted ends, not gable ends.

HEALED—Wheat, not well healed, not well covered with earth when sown. [Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii. A.S. *helan*, to cover.—W.W.S.]

HINTED—A barn process, well hinted—well secured. [Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii. From A.S. *hentan*, to grasp.—W.W.S.]

HOG—From hough or hook to cut; as a hog'd mane or hog'd thorn edge, originally meant a cut or castrated animal and in that sense was applied equally to all kinds, as a hog colt, a hog sheep, a hog pig; but at this time it is used in a more extended sense for any animal of a year old, as a hog bull, a chilver hog sheep.

HOP and RAY—Hop, clover, and ray-grass sown together, a very common and good custom.

HURDLES—For sheep-folding, six feet long, three and a half feet high, made of hazel-rods closely-wreathed, the upright rods called sails and the long rods wreaths.

ISLES—See "aisles."

ISNET—Alkanet bugloss.

KIDDED—Beans or oats well kidded [have] the stalks full of pods; [they are] bunched, when planted in bunches and not in rows. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, i. and ii.]

KNEE-SICK—Wheat is knee-sick [when] weak in the stalk and dropping on the first joint. [Britten's *Old Country Words*, v.]

KNIFE—Cutting-knife, the hay-knife; the blade, a right-angled triangle, and the handle of wood, bent.

LAINING—When the smith dresses the wing and point of a share it is called laining.

LAMBS'-CAGES—Cribs for foddering sheep in fold; they are usually made semi-cylindrical, with cleft Ash-rods about six to seven feet long and about one foot diameter.

LINCH, LINCHET, or LANDSHARD—The mere green-sward dividing two pieces of arable in a common-field called in Hants, a lay-bark. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii., iii.; Seebohm's *Village Community*. 5. *Linch* is quite a distinct word from *land-shard*.—W.W.S.]

LINED—An animal is lined who has a white back.

LODGED—Wheat is lodged [when] thrown down by wet or wind. [Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii.]

LOT-MEADS—Common meadows divided into acres or equal sized pieces; but the property to the hay of each piece being determined yearly by lot.

LUG—Called in other counties a rod, pole, or perch, or land-yard (all these names meaning the stick by which it is measured), is of three lengths in this county—15, 18, and 16½ feet. The first of these measures is getting out of use, but is still retained in some places, particularly in increasing

masons' work. The second is the ancient forest measure, and is still used in many parts of the county for measuring wood-land. But the last, which is the statute perch, is by much the most general. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, vii. ; *Wilts Glossary*, E.D.S.]

LUGS—Poles. [Britten's *Old Country Words*, v. See above.]

MAIN-PIN, or THOROUGH-PIN—The pin which fastens the bed of a waggon to the carriage.

MAUDLIN, or MATHERN, or WILD CHAMOMILE—These weeds usually prevail when the ground is overworked and made too light. Common to cold wet arable lands in North Wilts. [Britten and Holland's *English Plant-Names.*]

MELILOT, or KING'S CLAVER—[See Britten and Holland's *English Plant-Names.*]

MILLED HOP—Hop clover-seed cleaned from the husk.

NEAT CATTLE—Bull, cow, calf: one-yearling heifer or bull, first year; two-yearling heifer or bull, second year. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii.]

PEEL—The pillow over the axle of a waggon.

PENNING—See "Poyning."

PICK—See "Prong."

PIGS—Boar and sow ; shoots, young pigs of three or four months old ; maiden pig, a young sow that has not bred ; boar stag, a castrated boar.

PITCHED MARKET—Where the corn is exposed for sale as in Salisbury, Devizes, and Warminster, and not sold by sample.

PLAICE—See "coath."

PLOCK WOOD—Cleft wood.

PLOUGH—A waggon and horses, or cart and horses together, are called a plough in South Wilts. [In Somerset a waggon. See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iv.]

PLOUGH—Parts called by provincial names, see "coulter," "drail," "grate board," "ground-rest," "laining," "shoot," "whippence."

POOKED—See "cocked."

POT—*Dung-pot*, a dung cart. See "Sole."

POYNING, or PENNING—Shutting up the sheep in the fold.

PRONG or PICK—A fork for the stable or for hay-making.

PROUD—Wheat is winter-proud, [when] too rank. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, i. ii. ; sub voce "winter-proud."]

RANGES—Two drifts. See "Drifts."

RAVES, or SIDES—A part of a waggon called the waggon-bed. [See *Raves* fully described in Halliwell.—W.W.S.]

RAYED—See "arrayed."

REAP-HOOK—This is a short-handled hook without teeth, the blade bent beyond the square of the handle, and used to cut to the hand a handful at a time.

RED WEED—The red poppy, which is the plague of the down-lands in the wheat crop if sown when the land is dry.

SAILS—The upright rods of hurdles used for sheep-folding.

SCOOP—A shovel.

SCYTHE or SIVE—The handle [is] called the snead, usually about four feet long in the blade, and the stroke about six feet.

SEED-TIP—The box in which the sower carries his seed. [An error for *seed-lip*, M.E. *seed-leep* ; see *Lep* in *O. Country Words*, vi.—W.W.S.]

SHARES—The cross-bars of harrows.

SHEEP—Ram, ewe ; lambs till about Christmas ; wether-hogs, chilver-hogs from thence till shear.time, two-teeth wethers or ewes from the shear-time after

one year old; six-teeth, fr m the shear-time after three years old; full mouthed, from the shear-time after four years old.

SHOOT—Fore-shoot and backward-shoot. Two pieces of wood immediately behind the coulter of a plough.

SHOOTS—Young pigs of three or four months old.

SHOUL—Usually means a shovel, but frequently a spade. [See *Wilts Glossary*, E.D.S.]

SILLOW—See "sole."

SLEIGHTING or SLAYING—Depasturing the sheep in the downs, whence a sheep-down is frequently called a sheep-sleight.

SOLE, SULL, or SILLOW—The word sole, now sull, or sillow, meant a particular kind of plough—viz., a sole-plough, the old ploughs being made without a sole to the share, having only a socket to fasten on the fore-shoot or chip; and when these ploughs became general they were called soles, and so distinguished from the old kind of ploughs, which are now scarcely known in the country. [Britten's *Old Country Words*, i., iii., vi.] To understand these terms, recourse must be had to those counties where the old order and terms of husbandry still remain—viz., Devon and Cornwall, where the ploughing is done by oxen, and the carriage by horses under the pack saddle. When a cart or wain was wanted, and which was seldom the case except for timber, the plough-beasts were used, and it was said the plough did such and such work; when dung was to be carried, it was put in two pots or tubs across the horses' backs, whence dung-carts are still called pots. [Very confused; of course *sole* is a totally distinct word from *sull* and *sillow*; the two latter represent A.S. *sulh*, a plough; and are older words than *sole*.—W.W.S.]

SPANCES—A part of a waggon called the waggon-bed.

SPARKED—Cattle of two colours, mottled. [Mr. Skeat suggests "probably of too active a kind," see Britten's *Old Country Words*, iv., but the above explanation gives the dialect meaning.—I retract.—W.W.S.]

SPURLING-BOARDS, fenders, side-boards, end-boards—[Boards] to prevent the corn from flying out of the floor.

STOWLS, or STOOLS—The stocks on which underwood grows. [Britten, *Old Country Words*, vi., explains this word as the same as *moots*, roots of trees. See also *Wilts Glossary*, E.D.S.]

STUBS—The stubble of all corn is usually called stubs, as wheat-stubs, barley. stubs, &c.. The right of feed in the stubs is sometimes called gratings.

SULL—See "sole."

SWATH—Hay [is] in swath when just mowed. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii.; *Wilts Glossary*, E.D.S.]

TARE—Vetch with wind, the red and white striped convolvulus, these two plants are the plague of a weak wheat-crop in the sand-lands. [With wind is an error for *withwind*, *i.e.*, convolvulus.—W.W.S.]

TEDDED—Hay is tedded when first thrown abroad. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, iii., vi.]

TENANTRY FIELDS and DOWNS—Fields and downs in a state of commonage on the ancient feudal system of copyhold tenancy.

THRESHLES—A pair of threshles or drashols, or flyals, [*i.e.*,] a flail.

TINES—The teeth of the harrows or drags, so called because formerly made of wood from the old word tine a stake. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, ii., iii., and vi. Etymology quite wrong; *tine* is A.S. *tind*, a tooth, prong of a harrow.—W.W.S.]

TINING—A new enclosure made with a dead hedge; from the old word tine, a stake. [No; from M.E. *tinen*, to enclose.—W.W.S.]

TITHINGS—Ten sheaves of wheat set up together in a double row. [See Britten's *Old Country Words*, v.]

TON of ROUGH TIMBER, 40 feet, the load 50 feet, is only used when timber is hewn for the navy.

TRENCHING or GUTTERING LAND—Draining it with open drains.

TWI-RIPE—See "edge-growed."

WAGGON, parts of—Called by provincial names:—raves or sides, spances, compose the waggon-bed; peel [is] the pillow over the axle; main-pin or thorough-pin, the pin which fastens the bed to the carriage.

WAKED—Hay is waked when raked together in rows. [See *Wakes* in Halliwell. —W.W.S.]

WHEAT—Reaping is done with a short crooked hook in handfuls or gripes.

WHEAT-REED—Straw preserved unthrashed for thatching as it is usually done in the south-west part of the county, the ears having been previously cut off to be thrashed.

WHIP LAND—Land not divided by meres, but measured out, when ploughed, by the whip's length.

WHIPPENCE—The weigh-beam and bodkins, the fore-carriage of a plough as also of the harrow and drag.

WIND-MOWS—Cocks of a waggon-load or more, into which hay is sometimes put previous to ricking in catching weather.

WINTER-PROUD— See "proud."

WOOD-WAX—Common in poor pasture; flower yellow.

WREATHS—The long rods of hurdles used for sheep-folding.

YARD of LAND—A quarter of an acre, so called because in ancient common field lands where the furlongs were forty poles long, the quarter of an acre was a land-yard or pole at the end.

YARD-LAND—That is land sufficient for a plough of oxen and a yard to winter them. Ancient copyhold tenements into which manors were usually divided each being occupied by one tenant and enjoying equal stinted rights of common. [The importance of this definition as a current custom of Wiltshire will be fully seen by reference to Seebohm's *Village Community*, pp. 117-125.]

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REVIEWS.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND Before the Thirteenth Century. By J. ROMILLY ALLEN, F.S.A., Scot. London: (Whiting & Co.), 1887. 8vo, pp. xix., 408.

THE Rhind Lectures have been the means of giving to the world such excellent books that the announcement of a new series by a new author raised high hopes of another of like sort. But the present volume is somewhat disappointing. Mr. Allen has neither Dr. Mitchell's thoughtful matter nor the careful method which makes Dr. Anderson's books the best summaries that exist of their respective subjects according to our present knowledge of them. This book is wanting in system and in accurate scholarship. Mr. Allen has taken much trouble in collecting his materials and has freely used the work of those who have been before him in the field. But he lacks order in his arrangement and judgment in weighing the respective worths of the authorities he uses. When he borrows he gives references, which is a right virtue, but some of them are rather strange ones. And it is evident that most of the more important quotations are given at second hand.

In one thing, however, Mr. Allen is highly to be praised: *Symbolism* is a dangerous subject, and they who assume to expound it, are apt to write nonsense more than most men. Mr. Allen does not do so. He rightly condemns the wild guess-work which has wrought such mischief in the study of antiquity and has often made it ridiculous in the eyes of the world. And, if he claims to see further into an old stone than others, he has something better than his own inner light to guide him. He deals chiefly with old stones, and may fairly claim to have helped forward the study of them. The figures, over a hundred and fifty in number, will be of great use to future workers, though most of them are only outline diagrams, some being taken from rubbings. We must protest against this short and easy method which has unfortunately found its way into some archæological publications of good repute. It is most unfit to produce an even tolerable representation of any object, unless, as in an engraved brass, all the work is on one plane. Mr. Allen's figures are useful as suggesting objects to be studied rather than as providing a substitute for direct study of them. That can only be done on paper by means of photography. With rude work it is so easy to miss or to misinterpret a feature that even careful drawings are often not enough, as is shown by the different appearance of an object in different drawings, each purporting to represent it. For instance, compare the figures of the old grave stone at Penmachno on page 87 of this book, with that on plate 11 of Messrs. Brindley and Weatherley's new book on sepulchral monuments. Mr. Allen's figure 32 is of the right kind.

We note two very singular omissions. On page 77 Mr. Allen gives a list of the few known remains of Romano-British Christianity, but makes no mention of finger rings of which several have been found. And though he more than once mentions the famous cross at Gosforth, and refers to Mr. Calverley's paper in the *Archæological Journal* (by the by, he always calls it *Journ. Brit. Archæol. Inst.*, which is not its title) he says not a word about Mr. Calverley's remarkable interpretation of the carvings on the cross

Perhaps the interpretation does not square with Mr. Allen's "celtic" ideas, but we hold it to be the brightest light that has yet been thrown on this dark subject and expect that it will show the way to further discoveries.

In conclusion we would echo Mr. Allen's protest against the neglect of our ancient remains and appeal for their protection. We should be sorry to have them moved from their ancient places and put into museums, as he appears to wish, but even that would be better than that they should be allowed to perish from exposure or wanton mischief.

SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM ART HANDBOOKS: EARLY CHRISTIAN ART IN IRELAND. By MARGARET STOKES. Published for the Committee of Council on Education. London: (Chapman and Hall.) 1887. 8vo, pp. xvi., 210.

THIS is a valuable work on an important subject. In the able hands of Miss Stokes, who has already written much on cognate topics, and has executed exquisite fac-similes of illuminations from the Book of Kells and other Irish MSS., the arts of ancient Ireland have been presented with fullness of knowledge, clearness of statement, and in a most convenient form. This Handbook has one hundred and six admirably selected and executed wood cuts which greatly enhance its value. The most casual glance will prove how refined and delicate was the sense of beauty, how accurate the hand and eye, and how patient the labour of these Irish scribes and workers in metal, whose productions yet remain in the Museum and Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. Specimens may also be met with in museums and libraries in London, Oxford, Cambridge, and elsewhere in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. The subject of this book embraces *Illumination, Metal Work, Sculpture*, and *Building Architecture*. A valuable chronological table of examples of Irish Art, the date of which can be approximately fixed, has been added with an index, so that the handbook is convenient for reference. At the close of each branch of the subject a list of authorities is appended, enabling the student in any department to have access to the sources of further knowledge.

Miss Stokes's work, however, is much more than a mere handbook, it is a comprehensive, reverent, loving account of the services to civilisation rendered by Ireland during the dark ages, from about the fifth to the twelfth century. The pious zeal of Irish missionaries impelled them to visit pagan lands, bringing with them not only religion, but arts and culture. In her interesting chapter, "Irish Scribes on the Continent," she observes of these pioneers of light and truth that "they excelled in music, as in painting or carving. They penetrated to places where Christianity had never before reached, not only to Poland and Bulgaria, but to Russia and Iceland, settling down as duty or inclination prompted them."

Writing formed an important part of the monastic occupations. "Great labour was bestowed upon the ornamentation of some manuscripts, especially the sacred writings; these are wonderful monuments of the conceptions, skill, and patience of the scribes of the seventh century." Nor will this be called in question by any who have seen that gem, the *Book of Kells*, preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Thirteen illustrations from it are given in the book before us. These are admirable, but, of course, they lack the perfect colouring of the MS. itself—so marvellous in its clear, pure, delicate, and harmonious tints, which are the wonder and envy of

artists of our own day, who know not what pigments were used by these early scribes, nor even how they were produced.

"The peculiarity of Irish Art," writes Miss Stokes, "may be said to be the union of such primitive rhythmical designs as are common to barbarous nations, with a style which accords with the highest laws of the arts of design, the exhibition of a fine architectural feeling in the distribution of parts, and such delicate and perfect execution, whatever the material in which the art was treated, as must command respect for the conscientious artist by whom the work was carried out."

The chapter on Metal Work contains illustrations of many beautiful objects from the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, the Cross of Cong, the Ardagh Chalice, the Shrines of St. Patrick's Bell, of St. Molaise's Gospels, and of the Stowe Missal; of brooches known as the *Tara*, *Roscrea*, and *Ardagh*, as well as some richly decorated croziers, book covers, and other similar objects.

The Sculptured Crosses, of which thirty-two elaborately ornamented ones are standing, are amply illustrated. As many of them bear the names of personages whose deaths are recorded in the Annals, Miss Stokes's conclusions, in assigning them to the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries, have a solid basis to rest on. The MSS. were much older, the finest examples ranging from the 7th to the 9th century. The death of the scribe of the Book of Armagh is thus recorded in the Annals:—"A.D. 844, Ferdomnach, a sage and choice scribe of the Church of Armagh, died."

In the chapter devoted to Building and Architecture, many examples of ancient oratories, churches, round towers, and also of doorways, capitals, mouldings, etc., are given. Also a broad classification of the towers, according to the average styles of their masonry and apertures. On this subject Miss Stokes observes, "Ireland, in her ecclesiastical circular towers, shows us, in upwards of a hundred instances, what were the first and simplest types. Thus, from the study of the monuments of Ireland, the historian of Christian Art and Architecture may learn something of the works of a time, the remains of which have been swept away elsewhere; and it may yet be seen, as in the case of her institutions, customs, faith, and forms in art, so in architecture, Ireland points to origins of noble things."

We must not conclude this brief notice of a very delightful and instructive volume without alluding to the practical object which its author desired that it should serve:—

"In presenting the following Manual of the Archæology of Ireland, the writer's object is to indicate how far the knowledge of her native arts in the past may subserve to their higher development in the future. It is only by adherence to a certain system of study and method of treatment that this result can be looked for. The object is not to present a guide for the antiquities of Ireland, but rather to indicate how these antiquities should be approached, so as to draw forth whatever elements of instruction may lie hidden in them for workers in the present day."

History.

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THE PICTS OF GALLOWAY.

EVERY one who has studied the life of Agricola will remember his favourite project for the conquest of Ireland. Tacitus, who often talked with him on the subject, has told us that in the fifth year of his government (A.D. 82) he concentrated a force in that part of Britain which looks on Ireland, not from any fear of invasion in that quarter, but rather in the hope that something might occur which would enable him to bring a new country into the Empire. The coasts and ports of Ireland were already better known by the reports of sailors and merchants than the northern parts of Britain. One of the petty kings, moreover, had been expelled in some domestic war, and had taken refuge with the Roman general, who received him with every sign of friendship, meaning to use his cause, when occasion offered, as a pretext for intervention and conquest. It was calculated that one legion with sufficient auxiliaries, say a force of ten thousand men, might subdue the island from sea to sea; and Agricola hoped that in this way the Western Provinces of Spain, Gaul and Britain might be strengthened and knit together, and that the total disappearance of liberty among their neighbours might strike despair into the hearts of the still unconquered Britons.

According to Agricola's informants there was but little difference, as far as natural disposition and habits of life were concerned, between the tribes on either side of the Irish Channel; and this is borne out by what we learn from Ptolemy as to the similarity of the names of peoples and places in Ireland and on the opposite coasts of Britain. We must, however, take this information in connection with another statement by Tacitus, who observed that the tribes which had been already subdued were rapidly adopting the Roman civilisation, that Agricola had taught them to build temples and market-places and fine houses, and that they were even learning to enjoy the luxuries of "the bath, the lounge, and the banquet." The Caledonians, or "the Picts," as they were afterwards called, and their neighbours and kinsmen across the sea were still in the condition of barbarians. If we may believe the old descriptions they were a surly and savage race, dispersed in wandering tribes and always ready for the chances of war. The tattooed warriors

are said to have drunk of the blood of their slaughtered enemies and to have smeared their faces with the gore; the first ceremony after an infant's birth was to feed it on the point of a sword with a prayer that it might die on the field of battle. They were expert swimmers and good sailors; and were bold enough to cross the rough channel in canoes of wicker and oxhide.

Our knowledge of the topography of Agricola's campaigns must always remain too slight to enable us to determine exactly the coasts inhabited by these barbarian tribes. But the great preponderance of opinion is in favour of choosing Galloway, which appears as the country of the Novantæ in Ptolemy's Geography, as the district where the army was concentrated. There are several reasons for making this choice. In the first place the rival claims of Kintyre seem to be removed by the persistent belief of the ancient geographers that the Promontory of the Epidians, as Kintyre was called, and all the rest of the west coasts above Galloway, ran in an east and west line towards Denmark, instead of approaching Ireland and running in a northerly direction. Galloway, on the other hand, and the opposite Irish coast were described with remarkable accuracy by the same geographers. This opinion is borne out by the fact that remains of Roman forts have been discovered in Wigtonshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright in situations corresponding with those of the towns of the Novantæ which were described by Ptolemy as existing in the reign of Hadrian. It should be stated, however, that Mr. Skene adopted another view in his great work upon Celtic Scotland. He preferred to think that the country fortified by Agricola lay among the promontories and broken coasts of the modern county of Argyll. He points out the undoubted fact that Agricola did start with a fleet from the Clyde in the summer of A.D. 82, and that many engagements were fought with nations up to that time unknown. Mr. Skene is of opinion that Galloway may very likely have been visited three years previously, when the general in person explored the wooded estuaries which were occupied in his second compaign. He therefore favours the view that on the later occasion the Romans fought their way through the hostile districts of Cowall and Kintyre "till he saw the Western Ocean, with the coast running due north, presenting in the interior one mass of inaccessible mountains, the five islands of the Hebrides, and the blue shores of Ireland rising above the western horizon." The description, however truthful in its approach to nature, appears to be quite inconsistent with the geographical beliefs of antiquity, and we can only suppose that

those beliefs imply that Agricola did not visit the districts in question.

If we are asked what difference it makes whether Agricola looked towards Ireland from the Mull of Galloway or the Mull of Kintyre, any more than it matters what was the name of Hecuba's mother or the title of the Siren's song, we should answer that the solution of the difficulty might throw some much-needed light on the obscure history of the Picts, and especially of the Irish Picts, a subject on which every fragment of information is of great ethnological value. The practical difference of settling the question in the one way or the other would be that in the first case we should know a little more about the Picts of Galloway, whose name drops out of English history about the time of the Battle of the Standard; and in the other case we should be dealing with another branch of the Pictish race, about which we can learn no more than that their history was blotted out by a very early invasion of the Scots from Ulster and the establishment by them of the Scottish kingdom of Dalriada.

There were Picts on both sides of the Irish Channel. Very little seems to be known about the Picts of Ulster before part of their territories was seized by the Scots under the ruling tribe of the O'Neills, who set up an Irish kingdom of Dalriada in the north-eastern corner of Ireland. The Picts on that side of the sea were known as "Cruitnigh," from a word which signifies form or colour and is supposed to have reference to the custom of tattooing. They seem to have occupied a district opposite to Galloway, once called "Dalaraidhe" or Dalaradia, and now represented by the modern county of Down and the southern parts of Antrim.

Without dealing too minutely with the vexed problems of the annals of Dalriada, we may say that it appears clear that at the beginning of the sixth century the Scots crossed over to Argyll and the neighbouring islands, and there set up a kingdom which for some time remained in dependence upon the Ulster Dalriada. Mr. Skene points out that St. Columba arranged a treaty in the year 575 to the effect that the Scotch Dalriads should thenceforth be free from all tributes and exactions, but should join with the parent-stock "in all hostings and expeditions." About sixty years afterwards, however, the Scotch Dalriads are found, in conjunction with the remnant of the Picts of Ulster, arrayed against the Irish king at the famous Battle of Moira. Some slight trace still remains of the continuity of these Dalriad stocks. In a certain district of Ulster, lying opposite Kintyre, and known as the Glens of Antrim,

a dialect of Gaelic is spoken which is declared by competent authorities to be absolutely identical with the south-western dialect of the Scottish Gaelic now spoken in Argyll, Perthshire, and the southern isles. According to Mr. Murray's well-known essay in the 2nd volume of the *Revue Celtique*, this dialect is nearer to the Irish than that which is used in the northern and central parts of Scotland. But still it is very different from the Irish of other parts of Ulster. "The Celtic of all the rest of Ulster, viz., in Donegal and isolated patches in Derry, Tyrone, and the south of Armagh differs considerably from the Scottish dialect, and is truly an Irish dialect." He remarks that there is not the slightest reason for deducing the Glensmen of Antrim from Scotland; and we may add that there is no evidence of any kind to indicate that the Picts of Galloway crossed over from the shores of Ulster. What is now required is to institute a search among those who are best acquainted with the localities about the question whether or not the Gaelic of the isolated patches in Derry, Tyrone and Armagh bears any marked resemblance to the form of Gaelic which once prevailed in Galloway.

It is well known that the people of Galloway retained their ancient language till some time in the sixteenth century; its disappearance after the reign of Queen Mary is usually attributed to the effects of the Reformation, and especially to the use of the Lowland Scotch in public worship, and in the parish schools. Some have thought that this language may have been Teutonic; others have been inclined to believe that it was the same kind of Welsh as that which is known to have prevailed in the neighbouring Kingdom of Strathclyde. The patient industry of Celtic scholars has now collected so much evidence on the points in dispute as to make it certain that the Teutonic hypothesis is mistaken.

The problem as to the Cumbrian origin of the "Novantæ" is more obscure. Their next neighbours on the east bank of the Nith were almost certainly members of the great nation of the Brigantes, and so far the ground still requires to be cleared by the men of "words and places," the students of *Toponomastique*, as the French call the modern science of "habitative nomenclature." Mr. Skene states the problem in clear language. "In this remote district," he says, "in which the Picts remained under their distinctive names as a separate people until the twelfth century, a language, considered to be the ancient language of Galloway, was still spoken as late as the sixteenth century, and that language was Gaelic." He then enquires whether there are any fragments of the Pictish still pre-

served, by which we can estimate its place among the Celtic languages of Britain. Very little is found. A few proper names of kings, and the Galloway word "scolofthe" for a poor scholar, nearly exhaust the list. There is one other word which we must refrain from discussing for fear of reviving the celebrated controversy about "the head of the wall." The appearance of the list certainly indicates a tendency towards Irish forms as contrasted with Welsh and the Gaelic of other parts of Scotland. It remains therefore for the topographers to examine into the matter, and to report whether the local names are rather Irish than Scotch, and (if so) whether they resemble any particular dialect of Irish which may be supposed to have affinity with the language of the Picts of Ulster. The difficulties of the undertaking are enormous. Sir Herbert Maxwell has told us in his studies of the Topography of Galloway that it would have been almost hopeless, but for the labours of Pont, who wrote down many of the still-living Gaelic names for use in the maps which were published after his death by the Blaeuws of Amsterdam, and could never have been attempted without the assistance of Dr. Joyce's works on the origin and history of Irish place-names. It must be remembered also that the names in question were given during a long period in which the Celtic speech was itself growing and changing its form, that they have been preserved by the people who for centuries have spoken a totally different language, and that their present form is due to persons who wrote them down phonetically without caring in any way for their ancient meaning. Besides all this, who does not know that "the Celts are fertile in etymology," and that there is hardly a simple place-name for which several equally plausible derivations have not at different times been suggested?

Let us consider, without entering too much into detail, what are the chief materials prepared for the solution of the problem. In the first place, of course, come the names used in Ptolemy's description of the country. The Novantæ take their name from the Novius or Nith, a common river name; their other rivers are the Deva, the Abravannus, and the estuary of the "Lena;" in these the geographers have no difficulty in recognising the Dee, the Luce, and the Cree. Some of the names would certainly appear to be Celtic. We cannot say as much for the towns of "Lucopibia" and "Rerigonium," which have a barbarous look, and may belong to one of the unknown tongues which it is the fashion to correlate with the Basque. On the other hand, "Lucotetia" was one of the names for Paris, and it is possible that the names were given by

soldiers between the time of Agricola's campaign and the appearance of Ptolemy's work. Both places have been connected with baseless legends, the one being identified by Camden, and afterwards by Pont, with the "White House" of St. Ninian at Whithern, which was at one time the seat of an Anglian bishopric, while the other, owing to a misprint in an early edition of the geography, was taken for a palace of the Dalriad kings at "Bargennie," and confused with the vitrified fort in Loch Etive, best known in connection with the legend of the Lady Deirdre and the fate of the Children of Uisneach.

The name of the Province of Galloway bears witness to some of the events which have confused its language. The natives were called Gall-Gael or foreign-Gaels at first because of their falling under the foreign rule of the Anglians, and the name was afterwards extended to take in all the people of the Western Highlands and Islands who, as subjects or allies, were under the power of the Norwegians. Many of the place-names collected by Sir Herbert Maxwell are of the old Northumbrian type; some seem to be Welsh of Strathclyde, and others Norwegian; and many others again, as we might have expected, are in the modern dialect of Lowland Scotch. A very large proportion of the names, and especially of those relating to church matters, are of a very ancient type. There are, for example, many early dedications to saints, such as Kilmore, Kirkcudbright, where St. Cuthbert preached to the "Nidwari Picts," and "Killemacuddican," an endearing name for the same saint's habitation, and we are assured that, in almost every case where "Kil" precedes a proper name, the word refers to the cell of an early saint and may be as old as the 6th century.

Whether we look at the words derived from the physical aspect of the country, from hill, wood, and stream, from domestic animals and beasts of the chase, or from the offices, trades, or personal characteristics of men, we are struck with the great similarity of the nomenclature to that of Ireland, which Dr. Joyce has so luminously explained. Broadly speaking, the work leaves no doubt that the Picts of Galloway spoke a language extremely like the Gaelic dialects of the Highlands and south-western districts of Scotland, and also extremely like the cognate dialects which are used or have at different times been used in the several Provinces of Ireland. Much has already been gained; and everyone who looks through Sir Herbert Maxwell's collections will be grateful to him for the skill and industry with which he has accumulated and marshalled his facts. Much, how-

ever, still remains to be done. What has been accomplished should be taken as the starting-point for new discoveries. What is wanted now is an application of the method of differences. The stress or accent on the syllables of a name seems to be different in Galloway from that which is found in Irish. Some words which are not used in other parts of Scotland appear to have been common in Galloway and parts of Ireland. Other Irish words, such as "sliabh," a hill, occur very frequently in Galloway, though rare in other parts of the country; but they occur with slight variations from the Irish usage in their meaning and pronunciation. There are many other points as to which an enquiry is needed, with special reference to the varieties of dialect in Ulster. It is to be hoped that some of the persons who are specially qualified by knowledge of the localities, and who take an interest in Celtic philology, will undertake the task, and let us know whether the Irish King was right when he told Agricola that the people on the two opposite shores were similar in their dispositions and habits of life.

C. ELTON.

SUSSEX DOMESDAY STUDIES.

No. I.—THE RAPES AND THEIR ORIGIN.

BY FREDERICK ERNEST SAWYER, F.S.A.

THE entire district or kingdom now known as Sussex, and in Domesday called Sudsexe, has almost from its foundation (*i.e.*, for 1400 years), possessed the same boundaries. Professor E. A. Freeman remarks: "Sussex is no shire, no department but a component element of England, older than England."[1] The county boundary on the east was probably always formed by the river Rother and its estuary, and the western boundary by Chichester Harbour and one of the streams running into it, whilst the almost impenetrable forest of Andredsweald formed a natural boundary on the north.

The county of Sussex appears in Domesday divided into six *rapes*, a territorial division peculiar to the county. The name has caused much discussion, and it will therefore be desirable to consider the matter fully. We may observe that the term does

[1] English Towns and Districts, p. 125.

not occur in any document extant before the Domesday Survey, in which it is first mentioned, and it is probably derived from the Icelandic *hreppr*, signifying land divided by a rope. It was a relic of the Scandinavian ancestors of the Normans, and was doubtless introduced by the latter into the county soon after the Conquest. There is little or no evidence for the conclusion of Lappenberg,[1] that "to the first German population belongs apparently the singular division of Sussex into six rapes, each of which is again divided into Hundreds." Robertson endeavours [2] to trace the trithing in Kent and Sussex, and observes that Sussex is divided into East and West, and both of these into three rapes each, whilst Kent contains three lathes. Bishop Stubbs quotes from Robertson, and observes that "Kent and Sussex are two of the Heptarchic kingdoms of which their lathes and rapes are perhaps the original shires."[3] There is, however, apparently nothing to show that any distinction between East and West Sussex existed until long after the Conquest, when for convenience the County Court was appointed to be held at Lewes as well as at Chichester. (See Act 19 Henry VII., cap. 24.)

There appear to be three good reasons for rejecting the suggestions of a pre-Domesday origin of the Sussex rapes, viz.:—

1. Their boundaries and physical characteristics.
2. Their names.
3. Their history.

1. The sea-coast of Sussex was formerly marked by several important fiords or estuaries, namely, those of the Arun, Adur, Ouse, Bourne, and Rother, but of these only one, the Ouse, from the coast to Barcombe, forms the boundary of a rape. Major-General Lane-Fox (now Pitt-Rivers) points out that the existence of these large estuaries is opposed to a connected system of defence in the hill-forts of Sussex, which are of British origin. He considers that each group formerly had a stronghold of its own, intended, no doubt, to contain the inhabitants of the surrounding district, who dwelt in the valleys beneath, where fuel and water were obtainable, where traces of their cultivation still exist, and who, like the savages of Africa and many other parts of the world, resorted to their stronghold in times of danger, each man carrying with him fuel, water, and provisions sufficient to sustain him during a predatory attack.[4]

[1] History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, I., 107.
[2] Scotland under her Early Kings, II., 433.
[3] Constitutional History of England (1880 edit.), I., 128.
[4] Archæologia, xlii., p. 51.

Now, so far as we can conjecture, early and half-civilized settlers like the Saxons would certainly choose physical boundaries, such as rivers, if they had introduced the rape as a land division, but we find, in fact, that (except as already mentioned) the rape boundaries can only be defined on a map. Moreover, they run, roughly speaking, at right angles with the coast, and thus resemble closely the county and state boundaries which in many parts of North America follow meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude. This tends to confirm the suggestion that the rapes were "set out with a rope," or by a surveyor. We find again that most of the parishes between Hurstpierpoint and Lewes run northwards from the Downs in parallel slips, greatly resembling the rapes, and in shape they lack the irregularity which is characteristic of early settlements.

Palgrave thus describes the matter:—"He [William the Conqueror] divided the county into six districts, extending right down from the northern border, each possessing a frontage towards the sea, each effecting a ready communication with Normandy, and constituting, as it were, six military high-roads to his paternal duchy. But few Norwegian or Teutonic terms can comparatively be found preserved among the Normans, but the *hreppar* seems to have been retained almost unaltered among them. Hence these demarcations were, and still are, called *rapes*. Each possessed within its bounds some one castle or other important station for defence or protection, and each appears to have been placed under some military commander. Sussex alone, of all the counties in England, sustained this great territorial alteration, being dealt with from the first moment entirely as a conquered territory." [1]

2. The Sussex rapes invariably bear the name of their chief town, and taking them from east to west, we find the names are Hastings, Pevensey, Lewes, Bramber, Arundel, and Chichester. The towns from which the four central rapes derived their names were situated at the head of important estuaries (now long reduced in extent), while the other two were in close proximity to the sea. In the Domesday Survey, Chichester rape does not appear by name, and the only rapes named are those of Arundel, Hastings, Lewes, and Penevesel. The rape of Bramber is described as that of William de Braiose. There is little doubt, however, that the six rapes then existed. The names of the rapes are, as will be seen, derived from the principal towns (or castles), and this is a strong argument in favour of their having originated shortly before the compilation of

[1] History of Normandy and England, II., p. 394.

Domesday, for if they had been introduced 600 years previously by the Saxon invaders they would have born distinctly Saxon names, and probably the patronymic "ing," which is very common in Sussex.

The derivations of the Sussex rape names, according to the best authorities, are as follows :—

HASTINGS.—From Hasting, a Danish pirate who landed in England in 893 (*Sax. Chron.*, *&c.*).

PEVENSEY.—The *eye* or island of *Peofn*.

LEWES.—From Ang.-Sax. *hlæw*, a word expressive of the gradual ascent which the eastern termination of the Downs makes from the river, and joined to the old British name of the stream *Isca* or *Ise*, whence hlæw-ise or hlew-ise, *or* Lewes. (Charnock, *Local Etymology*).

BRAMBER.—Ang.-Sax. *Brymmburh*, a hill fortification (Lower *Hist. Suss.* I., 72). Why not, however, from its Norman owner, De Braiose, and so "Braiose's Burgh ?"

ARUNDEL.—The dell or dale of the Arun (Charnock, *Local Etymology*). (Ferguson, *River Names of Europe*, p. 38, says, Arun, from Sanscrit *ar*, *ir*, or *ur*, to move.)

CHICHESTER.—The *cester* or castle of *Cissa* (son of *Ælle*). *cf.* Cissbury in Findon parish.

The last-mentioned is the only unmistakable Saxon name, though Peofn may also have been a Saxon.

3. The towns which gave their names to the six Sussex rapes are not associated with any of the early Saxon settlements in the county, and are not referred to in early charters. This is strong proof of their unimportance in Saxon times. Chichester (Regnum) and Pevensey (Anderida), it is true, had been Roman cities, but the former was not of special consequence under the Saxons, and until after the Conquest, when the seat of the bishopric was transferred there from Selsey, which doubtless explains the increase of its houses (as stated in the Domesday survey) from 100 in the time of the Confessor to 160 then. The latter, after its capture in 491, had been left desolate.

The rapes were, as Palgrave points out, of military origin, and we accordingly find a large number of manors in Hastings rape were held by *Castle-guard* tenure,[1] and made payments for the support of Hastings Castle as the head of the barony (or Honor) of

[1] This tenure is explained by Mr. C. J. Elton in his book, *The Tenures of Kent*, p. 200.

Hastings. The Earl of Chichester, as owner of Hastings Castle, still receive Castle-guard rents in the Hundreds of Baldslow, Goldspur, Guestling, Hawkesborough, Henhurst, Netherfield, Ninfield, Shoyswell, and Staple.[1] Castle-guard (*warda castri*) rent became payable every sixteen weeks, and consequently in every leap year four payments were due, and the total was one-third more than in ordinary years.[2] The reason for this singular arrangement is not known. This tenure, though not mentioned in Domesday, explains the relation of the rape to the hundreds and manors.

In Pevensey Rape much of the land round the Castle was wardable,[3] *i.e.*, paid Castle-guard, or Castle-ward, and Otteham Manor paid 3s. 4d. annually.

In Lewes Rape it is clear that the borough of Lewes was the only important place, and from the Domesday Survey we find that nearly all the manors had *hagæ* or houses in Lewes, again showing the importance of the chief rape-town for military purposes and for defence, and affording shelter to the inhabitants of the unfortified villages. *Hagæ* also occur frequently in Chichester Rape in a similar manner. We find again William de Braiose in 1268 exonerating certain estates in Bramber Rape from murage (a tax for the repair of a castle), indicating the existence of an obligation to support the castle of that rape.

Sir Henry Ellis observes that "we have no mention in the Domesday Survey of any mote or court attached to the rape, nor is there any reference to its testimony as in the case of the hundred." [4] It would seem, however, that there was a joint Sheriff's Court for the rapes of Arundel and Chichester, for in the "Particulars of the Honor and Castle of Arundel," it is stated that all the tithings within the hundreds and half-hundreds of Poling, Avysforde, Boxe and Stockbridge, Bourne and Singleton, West Easwrith, Eseborne, Rotherbridge, Burye, and Demfourde, "be suters to the Sheriff's tourne of No-Man's-Land twice every year, which said tournes be kept within the forest of Arundel after our Lady Day and Michaelmas." [5] The recent introduction of the rape at the time of Domesday is the probable reason why no Rape Court is mentioned. No other Rape Court can be traced.

[1] Suss. Arch. Coll., vi., 57.

[2] Burrell MS. add 5680 pp., 81, 171, 177, 315, 337, 340, 420, &c. It is also referred to in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (Public Rec. edn.), I., 355.

[3] S.A.C., vi., 227.

[4] *General Introduction to Domesday*, p. lvii.

[5] Burrell MS., 5701, add.

The Domesday Lords of the Rapes were as follows:—

HASTINGS	Earl of Eu (or Owe).
PEVENSEY	Earl of Mortain.
LEWES	William de Warenne.
BRAMBER	William de Braiose.
ARUNDEL AND CHICHESTER .	Earl Roger de Montgomerie.

The division of the county into rapes is still mentioned and indicated on maps, but the only rape which exists for any practical purpose is Hastings Rape, which has a separate coroner.

The Rape of Bramber until lately elected a member of Parliament, this privilege having been conferred by statute in last century, when, in consequence of the gross bribery which prevailed in the borough of New Shoreham, the constituency was extended so as to include the entire Rape of Bramber. The Redistribution of Seats Act, however, in 1886, abolished this special constituency.

John Rowe, in his *Customal of Lord Abergavenny's Manors in the Barony of Lewes*, says:—"The freeholders are to appear only twice a year, viz., at the courts holden at Easter and Michaelmas, where, if they know of any wrong done to the lord, they are bound to make it known on oath or fealty. But they are not to be of the homage, because they perform service of juries at the Barony Court held at Lewes for the whole rape." [1]

In West Sussex the rape also survives for the important purpose of liability to the repair of bridges, which in that division falls, as of common right (*i.e.*, in the absence of proof that any other body or person is liable), not on the County Division, but on the rape in which the bridge is situate.[2]

[1] John Rowe was steward to Lord Abergavenny from 1579 to 1622. The customs are printed in Horsfield *Hist. and Antiq. of Lewes*, I., 177-179.

[2] This interesting fact was kindly communicated by F. Merrifield, Esq., Clerk of the Peace for Sussex.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CORNISH ACRE.

I do not know whether attention has ever been drawn to the curious early list of the Bishop of Exeter's free tenants contained in the "Testa de Nevill" (pp. 201-203), and the list of Henry de la Pomeray's tenants (1293-4) printed with it (pp. 204-5).

In my "Notes on Domesday Measures of Land,"[1] I ventured to advance, as my own hypothesis, that the "acra" or "ager" of Cornwall, in Domesday, must be something quite different from either the geld-acre, or the actual acre spoken of by Domesday in England. My ground for this supposition was that, if not, a levy of Danegeld on such an assessment would produce a *reductio ad absurdum*. Mr. Eyton, however, had unhesitatingly accepted the Cornish acre, in Domesday, as identical with the English acre. He gave, as an instance, the entry (Domesday I., 145, a):—"Ibi sunt 4 *acræ* terræ, terra 4 carucis. Ibi sunt 2 carucæ." The natural inference from such an entry would be that the "acra" here is equivalent to a ploughland rather than to an acre.

Now, in the list of Henry de la Pomeray's tenants in Tregony, Cornwall, we first read that there were in demesne "II. acras cornubienses continentes II. carrucatas cornubienses," and then, through the long list of his tenants, we find them holding in every case "Cornish acres" equating "Cornish ploughlands." Turning to the Bishop of Exeter's tenants, we find them all with similar holdings of "acres," for which they pay two shillings and one sheep for every "acre," *plus* having to plough a slightly varying amount of land expressed sometimes in terms of the "English acre" ("acra Anglica") and sometimes in those of the Cornish acre.[2] The proportion of land to be ploughed to the land is about $\frac{1}{5}$ or $\frac{1}{6}$, which makes it more than doubtful whether even these "English acres" were really acres at all. Now the local Cornish (South Welsh) acre is reckoned as rather larger (5760 sq. yds.) than the English one (4840 sq. yds.), but the "acres" of these records must represent a much larger unit. Perhaps some of your readers can throw light on this local custom, which, from its occurring in so unique a region, should prove of some value to students of our early land system.

J. H. Round.

REVIEW.

The Fleet: its River Prison and Marriages. By John Ashton. Illustrated by Pictures from Original Drawings and Engravings. London: (Unwin) 1888, 8vo., pp. xvi., 391.

We cannot altogether quarrel with Mr. Ashton over this book, because it is built up by well selected extracts from works not always readily accessible, and by very good drawings, copied from contemporary sources, exhibiting

[1] Domesday Studies.
[2] I omit the "servitia et auxilium."

the topographical aspect of a considerable portion of London at various periods of its history. But these two features exhaust the good qualities of the book. To slipshod and often unmeaning language Mr. Ashton adds the graver fault of a total absence of arrangement or of analysis of his evidence. Certain facts are repeated in two or three different places; other facts are totally ignored; and very frequently a most irrelevant piece of history is dragged in on no sufficient ground, either of literary or historical necessity, but simply because it is interesting. To these faults we must add that of occasionally giving some very unnecessary and not always correct criticism of authorities. But although on historical and literary grounds we cannot commend Mr. Ashton's book, there is no gainsaying that it is of interest and will prove of service to the student.

The truth is, Mr. Ashton has hit upon a very interesting topic, and he goes to out-of-the-way sources for his information, and never omits to give full references to the books he quotes. His pictures, however, constitute the great charm of the book. Any one who has examined the Crace collection, or who has dipped into the interleaved copy of Pennant in the British Museum, knows what vivid interest is to be obtained from a study of topographical engravings. Mr. Ashton has been at pains to select some of the best and most telling specimens. The mouth of the Fleet river, 1765, is a very curious view of a part of London that has now completely disappeared, and the two illustrations of Holborn Bridge are also specially interesting. The Fleet river is now, like many other old London streams, converted into a sewer, and it would be worth the while of any London topographer to examine the plans of the sewers constructed during the past thirty or forty years. The routes of the old streams were nearly always adopted as the natural course of drainage, and their influences upon the topography of London are still to be seen in many places. One of the subjects noted by Mr. Ashton in connection with the Fleet, are the wells which were situated near its banks, and although his notes are not complete they are sufficient to give a fair idea of an interesting topic. Mr. Ashton might have consulted with advantage some papers on this subject in the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

The chapters relating to the prison and to the marriages classed under the name of Fleet are more discursive, and less satisfactory, because they have been dealt with by other authorities. The plan and section of Fleet Prison which Mr. Ashton reproduces are both acceptable.

Literature.

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THE FOLKLORE LIBRARY—A RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW.

No. I.

MR. LANG in his recently published *Myth Ritual and Religion* has demonstrated how important it is to sometimes turn to the records of old literature for lessons upon modern scientific subjects. It is not likely that the remarkable illustration of Aristotle's opinion that most discoveries and inventions have been made time after time and forgotten again, which Fontenelle affords in his examination of "the absurdities of mythology," will be again met with in the writings of old authors on subjects so little influenced by scientific considerations as the beliefs of mankind. Still there is much folklore material still lying unquarried in the mines of old English literature. Some of this was brought to light by Sir Henry Ellis in his edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, but here the extracts from old books are necessarily given piece-meal, and the student never knows whether in quoting these old authorities Sir Henry Ellis merely confined himself to his requirements for illustrating Brand, or whether he exhausted his author. A systematic account of these books will therefore be of considerable gain to the student, and we propose in these papers to examine from time to time such books as afford evidence of English popular superstitions. No attempt will be made to use the material thus obtained merely for writing a pleasing article, but all quotations will be given in full with paginal references, and each article will be in reality a complete analysis of the book for folklore purposes. It is to be understood that when no quotations are given from, or note made of, any section of the book, there is nothing in that section of importance.

One of the most curious of the books referred to by Ellis, is *A declaration of egregious popish impostures to withdraw the harts of his Maiesties subiects from their allegeance and from the truth of Christian religion professed in England vnder the pretence of casting out of deuils:* at London, newly printed by Ja. Roberts, dwelling in Barbican, 1605, 8vo., pp. [vi] 284. The preface is signed S. H., that is Samuel Harsnet, Bishop of Oxford, who afterwards became Arch-

bishop of Canterbury. Harsnet had the most bitter hatred against the Roman Catholics, and this book, together with his *Discovery of fraudulent practices of J. Darrell*, 1599, are full of charges of the most heinous description against the Romish priesthood.

He first gives "the names of the parties supposed to be possessed." They were these: "Marwood, seruaunt to Ma. Anthony Babington, Will. Trayford, attendant at that time vppon Ma. Edmund Peckham, Robert Maynie, Gentleman, lately before come out of Fraunce, Sara Williams, Friswood Williams, two sisters, and Anne Smith, all these meniall seruaunts to Maister Peckham aforesaid. The names of the actors in this holy comedie were these: Edmunds alias Weston, rector chori, Ma. Cornelius, Ma. Dibdale, Ma. Thomson, Ma. Stemp, Ma. Tyrrell, Ma. Dryland, Ma. Tulice, Ma. Sherwood, Ma. Winkefield, Ma. Mud, Ma. Dakins, Ma. Ballard, and some others besides that were daily commers and goers." And then he goes on to say that "this play of sacred miracles was performed in sundry houses accōmodate for the feate, in the house of L. Vaux at Hackney, of Ma. Barnes at Fulmer, of Ma. Hughes at Vxbridge, of Sir George Peckham at Denham, and of the Earle of Lincolne in Channon Row, in London."

On p. 14 occurs a general description of the pranks of the devils. "The penner of the miracles as if he meant to scare us with the very noyse, reports vs the manner of the Hobgoblins in a very tragicall stile. The whole house, saith he, was haunted in a very terrible manner, molesting all that were in the same by locking and unlocking of dores, tinckling amongst the fier-shouels and the tonges, ratling uppon the boards, scraping vnder their beds, and blowing out the candels, except they were halowed. And further, that these illmannered vrchins did so swarme about the priests in such troupes and thronges, that they made them sometimes to sweat as seemes with the very heate of the fume that came from the deuils' noses."

The real interest of the book commences with Chapter 10, which is headed, "the strange names of their deuils." It says "you are to vnderstand that there were in our possessed 5 captaines or cōmaunders aboue the rest:"—Pippin, Philpot, Maho, Modu, Soforce. They "were not of equall authoritie and place, but some had more, some fewer vnder theyr commaund . . . The names of ther punie spirits . . . were these, Helco, Smolkin, Hillio, Hiaclito and Lustie buffe-cap . . . Modu was a graund commaunder, mustermaister over the captaines of the seaven deadly sinnes: Cliton, Bernon, Hilo, Motubizanto and the rest.

"Here, if you please, you may take a suruay of the whole regiment of hell, at least of the chiefe Leaders and officers, as we finde them enrolled in theyr names.

"First Killico, Hob, and a third anonymous are booked down for three graund commaunders, euery on having vnder him 300 attendants.

"Portirichio had with him two captaines and an hundred assistants.

"Frateretto, Fliberdigibbet, Hoberdidance, Tocobatto were foure deuils of the round or morrice, whom Sara [Williams] in her fits tuned together in measure and sweet cadence. These foure had forty assistants vnder them as themselues doe confesse.

"Lustie Jollie Jenkin by his name should seeme to be foreman of the motly morrice: hee had vnder him, saith himselfe, forty assistants, or rather if I mistake not he had beene by some old exorcists allowed for the master setter of catches or roundes vsed to be sung by Tinkers, as they sit by the fire with a pot of good ale betweene theyr legges, 'Hey iolly Jenkin. I see a knaue a drinking, et cæt.'

"Delicat another captaine hauing vnder him twenty assistants—all were there tag and ragge, cut and long-tayle, yet diuers of them it pleaseth the holie exorcist to commaund theyr names to doe them some grace, others he lets goe out leauing no names but an ill fauour behind thē. The names of such as the exorcist thought good to fauour were these, Puffe, and Purre, the two fat deuils that had beene coniured vp for mony. Lustie Dickie, Cornerd-cappe, Nurre, Molkin, Wilkin, Helcmodion, Kellicocam, these having neither service nor rank.

"Maho was generall dictator of hell, yet for good manners sake hee was contented of his good nature to make show that himselfe was vnder the check of Modu." (pp. 45-50.) Two other names, Hoberdicut and Cocabatto are given incidentally on p. 129. From this curious list of devils, it is believed that Shakespeare procured the names quoted in Lear, or as Mr. Halliwell-Phillips puts it, "the first edition of a book (1603) that was in Shakespeare's recollection when he composed his tragedy of Lear.'[1]

In considering the value of the names of the devils, it is well to turn to the confessions of the "possessed" which are given at the end of the book. Sara Williams said that the names of the spirits were written "vpon the wals at Sir George Peckham's house vnder the hangings," (p. 181), and she apparently believes that the

[1] "Calendar of Shakespeare rarities," p. 29.

names were there before the priests tried to make her believe that they were devils' names. Of two of the names she gives very interesting information, introducing us perhaps to two unknown chap-books or English folktales. She says, "she wel remembreth and saith that her mistres as they were at worke had told them a merry tale of Hobberdidaunce that vsed his cunning to make a lady laugh" (p. 180), and "the name of Maho came into her minde for that she had heard before her vncle reade the same out of a booke, there being a tale therein of Maho" (p. 181). We do not know what tales these can be, but they introduce us to a lost portion of English folklore. In another place, however, we have mention of well-known tales. On page 61, after relating an absurd story, the text proceeds, "I doe verily suspect this wonder was acted somewhat neere Gotham, and that the spectators were the posteritie of them that drowned the Eele," and on page 136, is the following—"coyners of fables, such as puffe vp our young gallants with bigge lookes and bombast phrases, as the booke of Lancelot du Lake, Guy of Warwicke, The Mirrour of Knighthoode, Amadis de Gaule, and such like their legends, out of these they conceit their monstrous shapes, vgly bug-beares, hydeous apparitions of ghosts, out of these they conforme their charmes, enchauntments, periapts, amulets, characters, wast coates and smockes of proofe, against hayle, thunder, lightning, biting of mad dogges, gnawing of rats against botches, biles, crosbiting, sparrow blasting, owle hunting and the like."

Chapter 19 treats "of the astonishing power of nicknames, reliques, and asses' eares, in afflicting and tormenting the deuill" (110-122). In this chapter we read that "a witch can transforme herselfe into the likenes of a cat, a mouse, or an hare, and that shee being hunted with hounds in the forme of an hare, and pinched by the breech, or whipped with scourges in the similitude of a cat, the same pinch or marke shal be found in the breech of the witch that was before made by the hounds in the breech of an hare, and yet shal you see this sencelesse witlesse and brainlesse conceite verified and made sooth in the practise of our holy coniuing crue" (p. 111).

Reverting to more general items of folklore, chapter 11 gives "the reasons why sometimes one deuill alone, sometimes an 100, sometimes a thousand, are cast out at a clap" (51-57). Chapter 21 tells us "of the strange formes, shapes, and apparitions of the deuills" (131-139); and there are several important passages to note. On page 135 we have: "If that the bowle of curds and creame were not duly set out for Robin Goodfellow, the Fier, and

Sisse, the dairy maide, to meete at 'hinch pinch and laugh not,' when the good wife was a bed, why then either the pottage was burnt to next day in the pot, or the cheese would not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat would neuer haue good head. But if a Peeter penny or an houzle egge were behind, or a patch of tyth unpaid to the church, thē ware where you walke for feare of bull beggers, spirits, witches, vrchons, elues, hags, fairies, satyrs, Pans, Faunes, Syluans, Kit with the candlesticke, tritons, centaurs, dwarffs, giants, impes, calcars, coniurers, nymphs, changlings, scritchowles, incubus the spurne, the mare, the man in the oake, belwayne, the fire drake, the puckle, Tom thumbe, hobgoblin, Tom tumbler, Boncles, and the rest."

A witch is very minutely described on page 136 as follows: "Out of these [legends] is shaped vs the true idea of a witch, an olde weather-beaten croane hauing her chinne and her knees meeting for age, walking like a bow leaning on a shaft, hollow eyed, vntoothed, furrowed on her face, hauing her lips trembling with the palsie, going mumbling in the streetes, one that hath forgottē her paternoster, and hath yet a shrewd tongue in her head to call a drab, a drab. If shee haue learned of an old wife in a chimnies end, Pax, max, fax, for a spel; or can say Sir John of Grantam's curse for the miller's Eels that were stolne: 'All you that have stolne the miller's eeles laudate dominum de cœlis, and all that have consented thereto benedicamus domino.' Why then ho beware, looke about you, my neighbours, if any of you haue a sheepe sicke of the giddies, or an hogge of the mumps, or an horse of the staggers, or a knauish boy of the schoole, or an idle girle of the wheele, or a young drab of the sullens, and hath not yet fat enough for her porridge, nor her father and mother butter enough for their bread; and she have a little helpe of the mother, epilepsie or cramp, to teach her role her eyes, wrie her mouth, gnash her teeth, startle with her body, hold her armes and hands stiffe, make anticke faces, girne, mow, and mop like an ape, tumble like a hedgehogge, and can mutter out two or three words of gibridg, as obus, bobus, and then withall mother Nobs hath called her by chaunce idle young housewife, or bid the deuil scratch her, then no doubt but mother Nobs is the witch, the young girle is owleblasted and possessed."

Chapter 22 treats "of the admirable small act of expelling the deuils and of their formes in theyr departing."

These perhaps exhaust the subjects dealt with at any great length by the learned Bishop. Throughout the volume are some curious allusions to some of the bye-paths of folklore. On

Christmas games, the Bishop says that, in his opinion, "there was neuer Christmas game performed with moe apish, indecent, slouenly gawdes then your baptising" (p. 32), and we have the following note on p. 116: "The exorcists being pleased for want of better recreation to play all Christmas games with those sowes, as 'laugh and lye downe,' and my 'sow hath pigd,' and the deuil being but a prompter and candle-holder to such sport." On miracle plays a very interesting passage occurs (p. 115): "It was a pretty part in the old church playes when the nimble vice would skip vp nimbly like a Jacke an apes into the deuil's necke, and ride the deuil a course and belabour him with his woodden dagger til he made him roare, wherat the people would laugh to see the deuil so vice haunted. This action and passiō had som semblance by reason the deuil looked like a patible old Coridon, with a payre of hornes on his heade and a cowes tayle at his breech."

These extracts give the most important facts to be obtained from Dr. Harsnet's book on the popular superstitions of his day. In the original they are mixed up with expressions of his own contemptuous indignation against those who believe and those who encourage such beliefs, and his indictment against the Roman Catholic priests is a heavy one, though doubtless charged with considerable prejudice. With this we have nothing to do here: the value of the book for our purpose is for the information it contains on folklore.

Students consulting the book will find some singular allusions to the facts of the day, as, for instance, "the shittle (*sic*) of a weauer's loome" (p. 92), and the idea that the devil appeared "sometimes like a Russian with curled haire" (p. 139). The proverbial phrase, "a month's minde," occurs on p. 25, and to "tell tales out of schoole" on p. 52. Schools and their books are alluded to also on p. 92: "We are not fit matter for these deuil powers to work vpon till we haue been at their schoole and haue learned to spel our horne booke and the Crosse rowe with them."

We conclude with some passages illustrating the contemporary life of London, which will be of service to the historical section of our readers. Speaking of the doings of the priests at the exorcising of spirits, Dr. Harsnet says: "It does not appeare that they acted in any Church, Chappell, or consecrated place, except happily they slipped into some nobleman's voide house in London, which houses, in regard of theyr owners' callings being aboue reach of authority, are commonly now adayes the sanctuaries of popish traison . . : . not that the noblemen themselves are privy to such

meetings." Of the cries in the London streets, the following passage is illustrative: "doe but imagine him [an exorcist] walking in our London streets a little before day light, what time the chimney sweepers vse to make theyr walke, and crying in his hellish, hollow voyce, 'hay ye ere a deuil to driue?' 'hay yee ere a wench to fire?' 'hay yee ere a boy to dispossesse?'" (p. 95). On p. 59 the Bear-baiting at Paris Garden is alluded to as follows: "I have heard of a good-natured gentleman at Parish garden that cryed, 'take off the dog for shame, and let the poore Beare alone;'" and the sign of "the dogges head in the pot" is alluded to on p. 241 as existing in Fleet Street.

THE WOOING OF EMER.

[The following tale, of which a translation is here for the first time attempted, belongs to the oldest, or heroic, cycle of early Irish literature. Its central figures were the Ulster King Conchobor and Cuchulaind, the hero of his war band and of the people. Several versions have come down to us, on which see Jubainville, *Catalogue de la Littérature Epique de l'Irlande*, p. 227. My translation is based on the fragment in the *Lebor na h-Uidre* (compiled about 1050 A.D.) and on a complete version in the Stowe MS. 992 (compiled in 1300 A.D.).

The tales of the heroic cycle were written down perhaps as early as the sixth century; at any rate the literary activity of the Irish monks turned early to the preservation of their national literature. But, with the exception of three ecclesiastical MSS. and the old Irish MSS. of the Continent, the whole of this literature was destroyed by the Norse invaders of Ireland, who "burnt and threw into the water" all MSS. that they found in the monasteries. See *Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, ed. Todd, p. 139.

When, however, in the eleventh century, a period of comparative quiet followed, the monks once more set to work to rescue what was left of the old literature, recovering the tattered fragments of the old MSS. and procuring copies from monasteries abroad.

Thus, although we have these tales in this later form, there is no reason to suppose that they have been much changed. Their contents are evidence of their origin and age.

Conchobor and Cuchulaind were, I believe, historical personages, and Irish tradition and chronology were not perhaps so wild as one might think when they fixed their age at the beginning of our era. But on this, and on less startling problems, when the reader has the whole tale before him, I would like to say something.]

THERE lived once upon a time a great and famous king in Emain Macha,[1] whose name was Conchobor, son of Fachtna

[1] The royal seat of Ulster.

Fathach.[1] In his reign there was much store of good things with the men of Ulster. Peace there was, and quiet and pleasant greeting; there was fruit and fatness and harvest of the sea; there was sway and law and good lordship during his time with the men of Ulster. There was great state and rank and plenty in the king's house at Emain. On this wise was that house—viz., the Red Branch of Conchobor, after the likeness of the House of the Mid-court.[2] Nine beds were in it from the fire to the wall. Thirty feet was the height of each bronze front that was in the house. Carvings of red yew were therein. It was a board . . . below, and a roof of tiles above. The bed of Conchobor was in the front of the house, with boards of silver, with pillars of bronze, with the glitter of gold on their head-pieces, and carbuncles in them, so that day and night were equally light in it, with its silver board above the king to the highest part of the royal house. Whenever Conchobor struck the board with a royal rod, all the men of Ulster were silent thereat. The twelve beds of the twelve chariot-chiefs were round about that bed. Yea, the valiant warriors of the men of Ulster found place in that king's house at the drink, and no man of them would touch the other. Splendid, lavish, and beautiful were the valiant warriors of the men of Ulster in that house. There were great and numerous gatherings of every kind in that house, and wonderful pastimes. There were games and music and singing there—viz., heroes were at their feats, poets sang, harpers and players on the *timpan*[3] struck their sounds.

Now, once the men of Ulster were in Emain Macha with Conchobor drinking the *iern-gual* (iron-coal).[4] A hundred fillings of beverage went into it every evening. ‹This was the drinking of the "coal" that would satisfy all the men of Ulster at one time.› The chariot-chiefs of Ulster were performing on ropes stretched across from door to door in the house at Emain. Fifteen feet and nine score was the size of that house. The chariot-chiefs were performing three feats—viz., the spear-feat, and the apple-feat, and the sword-edge feat. These are the chariot-chiefs who performed those feats—Conall the Victorious, son of Amorgen; Fergus, son of Roich

[1] Fachtna Fathach, son of Rudraige, was king of Erinn. He was the lover of Ness, the wife of the druid Cathbad. Hence Conchobor is also called the son of Cathbad. See Rev. Celt. VI., p. 178.

[2] The feasting hall at Tara.

[3] A small stringed instrument played with the fingers. Cf. Rev. Celt. VI., p. 183, 15.

[4] This was the name of a huge copper wine-cask, so called, according to LL., p. 258 b, "because there was a coal-fire in the house at Emain when it was drunk."—Cf., also LL., 254 b.

the Overbold; Loegaire the Victorious, son of Connad; Celtchar, son of Uthider; Dubthach, son of Lugaid; Cuchulaind, son of Soaldam; Scel, son of Barnene (from whom the Pass of Barnene is named), the warder of Emain Macha. From him is the saying, "a story of Scel's," for he was a mighty story-teller. Cuchulaind surpassed all of them at those feats for quickness and deftness. The women of Ulster loved Cuchulaind greatly for his quickness at the feats, for the nimbleness of his leap, for the excellency of his wisdom, for the sweetness of his speech, for the beauty of his face, for the loveliness of his look. For there were seven pupils in his kingly eyes, four of them in his one eye, and three of them in the other. He had seven fingers on either hand, and seven toes on either of his two feet. Many were his gifts. First, his gift of prudence until his warrior's flame appeared, the gift of feats, the gift of buanfach,[1] the gift of draught-playing, the gift of calculating, the gift of sooth-saying, the gift of sense, the gift of beauty. But three faults had Cuchulaind—that he was too young (for his moustache had not grown, and all the more would unknown youths deride him), that he was too daring, that he was too beautiful. The men of Ulster took counsel about Cuchulaind, for their women and maidens loved him greatly. For there was no wife with Cuchulaind at that time. This was the counsel, that they would seek a woman whom Cuchulaind might choose to woo. For they were sure that a man who had a wife to attend to him would less ravish their maidens and accept the love of their women. And, besides, they were troubled and afraid that Cuchulaind would perish early, so that for that reason they wished to give him a wife that he might leave an heir; for they knew that his re-birth would be of himself.

Then Conchobor sent out nine men into each province of Erinn to seek a wife for Cuchulaind, to see if they would find in any dun or in any chief place in Erinn the daughter of a king, or of a chief, or of a lord of land, whom Cuchulaind might be pleased to choose and woo. All the messengers returned that day a year gone, and had not found a maiden whom Cuchulaind chose to woo. Thereupon Cuchulaind himself went to woo a maiden that he knew in Luglochta Loga—viz., Emer, the daughter of Forgall the Wily. Then Cuchulaind himself and his charioteer Loeg, son of Riangabar (or Reincobir), went in his chariot. That was the one chariot which the host of the horses of the chariots of Ulster could not follow, on account of the swiftness and speed of the chariot and of the chariot-chief who sat in it. Then Cuchulaind found the maiden

[1] Some sort of game like draughts. See Lu. 66a, 27.

on her playing field, with her foster-sisters around her. These were daughters of the lords of land that lived around the dun of Forgall. They were learning needle-work and fine handiwork from Emer. She was the one maiden whom he deigned to address and woo of the maidens of Erinn. For she had the six gifts—viz., the gift of beauty, the gift of voice, the gift of sweet speech, the gift of needle-work, the gift of wisdom, the gift of chastity. Cuchulaind said that no maiden should go with him but she who was his equal in age and shape and race, and skill and deftness, who was the best handworker of the maidens of Erinn, and that none was a fitting wife for him unless such were she. And as she was the one maiden that fulfilled all those conditions, Cuchulaind went to woo her above all.

It was in his festal array that Cuchulaind went on that day to address Emer and to show his beauty to her. As the maidens were sitting on the bench of gathering at the dun, they heard something coming towards them, the clatter of the horses' hoofs, the creaking of the chariot, the cracking of the straps, the grating of the wheels, the rush of the hero, the clanking of the weapons.

"Let one of you see," said Emer, "what it is that is coming towards us." "Truly, I see here," said Fiall, daughter of Forgall, "two steeds of like size, beauty, fierceness, and speed, bounding together, . . . , high-headed, spirited, powerful, pricking their ears (?), thin-mouthed, with long tresses, with broad foreheads, much speckled, slightly slender, very broad, impetuous, with curling manes, with curling tails. At the right pole of the chariot is a grey horse, broad-haunched, fierce, swift, fleet, wild, taking small bounds, broad-maned, . . . , thundering, stamping, with curling mane, high-headed, broad-chested. The large-glebed . . . hard turf is aflame under his four hard hoofs, a flock of swift birds follows, he takes his course along the road, there darts from him a flash of breath, a blast of red-sparkling fire stands out from his curbed jaws. The other horse jet-black, hard-headed, round, slender-footed, broad-hoofed, . . . spirited, curly, plaited, tressed, broad-backed, firmly shod, . . . fiery, fierce, strongly striding, firmly stamping, long-maned, curly-maned, long-tailed, with firm curls, broad of forehead, beautiful he moves along after having beaten the horses in the land, he bounds over the smooth dry sward, he follows the levels of the midglen, he finds no obstacle in the land . . . . . . A chariot of fine wood with wicker-work, on which are white bronze wheels. A white pole of white silver with a mounting of white bronze. A very high creaking frame of tin, round and firm. A curved strong

yoke of gold. Two plaited firm yellow reins. Hard poles, straight as sword-blades. A dark[1] sad man in the cnariot, the fairest of the men of Erinn. A beautiful purple five-folded tunic around him, a brooch of inlaid gold on his white breast at its opening, against which it heaves, full strokes beating. A shirt with a white hood, interwoven red with flaming gold. Seven red dragon-gems on the ground of either of his two eyes. Two blue-white blood-red cheeks that breathe sparks and flashes of fire. A ray of love burns in his look. Methinks, a shower of pearls has been poured in his mouth. As black as the side of a black . . . each of his two eyebrows. A gold-hilted sword resting on his two thighs. A blood-red hand-fitted spear with a sharp mettlesome blade on a shaft of wood . . . is fastened to the copper frame of the chariot. A purple shield with a rim of silver, with ornamental beasts of gold over his two shoulders. He leaps the heroes' salmon-leap . . . many like swift feats over it, the chariot-chief of the one chariot. There is a charioteer before him in that chariot, a very slender, long-sided, much freckled man. Very curly bright-red hair on his head. A ring of bronze on his brow which prevents his hair from falling over his face. Patins of gold on both sides of the back of his head to confine his hair. A shoulder-mantle with sleeves about him, with openings at his two elbows. A rod of red gold in his hand with which he keeps the horses in order."

Meanwhile Cuchulaind had come to the place where the maidens were. And he wished a blessing to them. Emer lifted up her lovely fair face and recognised Cuchulaind. And then she said: "May God make smooth the path before you!" "May you be safe from every harm!" said he. "Whence hast thou come?" she asked. "From Intide Emna," he replied. "Where did you sleep?" said she. "We slept," he said, "in the house of the man who tends the cattle of the plain of Tethra." "What was your food there?" she asked. "The ruin of a chariot was cooked for us there," he replied. "Which way didst thou come?" said she. "Between the Two Mountains of the Wood," said he. "Which way didst thou take after that?" said she. "Not hard to tell," said he. "From the Cover of the Sea, over the Great Secret of the Men of Dea,[2] over the Foam of the two Steeds of Emain, over the Garden of the Morrigan,[3] over the Back of the Great Sow, over the Glen of

[1] In LL., p. 56, 29, Cuchulaind is called *find*, "fair.'

[2] *i.e.* The Túatha De Danand, a name for one of the races who inhabited Ireland before the coming of the Goidels.

[3] One of the names of the Battle-goddess of the ancient Irish, lit., "Great Queen."

the Great Dam, between the God and his Seer, over the Marrow of the Woman Fedelm, between the Boar and his Dam, over the Washing of the Horses of Dea, between the King of Ana (or Ara) and his Servant, to Mondchuile of the Four Corners of the World, over Great Crime, over the Remnants of the Great Feast, between Dabach and Dabchine, to Luglochta[1] Loga, to the daughters of the nephew of Tethra, King of the Fomori. What is the account of thee, oh maiden?" said Cuchulaind. "Not hard to tell, truly," said the maiden. "Tara of the women,[2] the whitest of maidens, the . . . of chastity, a prohibition which is not taken, a watchman who sees no one.[3] A modest woman is a worm,[4] a scaldcrow . . . . . . a rush which none come near.[5] The daughter of a king, a flame of honour, a road that cannot be entered . . . . . viz. I have champions that follow me to guard me from whoever will take me against their pleasure, without their and Forgall's knowledge of my act." "Who are the champions that followed thee, oh maiden?" said Cuchulaind. "Not hard to tell, truly," said Emer. "Two Lui, two Luath, Luath and Lath Goible, son of Tethra, Triath and Trescath, Brion and Bolor, Bas, son of Omnach, eight Condla, Cond, son of Forgall. Every man of them has the strength of a hundred and the feats of nine. Forgall himself, too, hard is it to tell his many powers. He is stronger than any labourer, more learned than any druid, sharper than any poet. It will be more than all your games to fight against Forgall himself. For many powers of his have been recounted . . . of manly deeds." "Why dost thou not reckon me, oh maiden, with those strong men?" said Cuchulaind. "If thy deeds have been recounted, why should I not reckon thee among them?" "Truly, I swear, oh maiden," said Cuchulaind, "that I shall make my deeds recounted among the glories of the strength of heroes." "What then is thy strength?" said Emer. "Not hard to tell, truly," said he. "When I am weak in fight, I defend twenty. Sufficient for thirty is a third of my strength. I alone make combat against forty. My protection guards a hundred. Fords and battlefields are avoided for fear and dread of me. Hosts and multitudes and many armed men flee with the terror of my face." "Those are goodly fights of a tender boy," said the maiden, "but thou hast not yet

[1] Gloss: *i.e.* to the gardens.

[2] Gloss: *i.e.* as Tara is above every hill, so I am above every woman.

[3] Gloss: *i.e.* I am looked at by everybody for my beauty, and I look at nobody.

[4] Gloss: *i.e.* when the worm is seen, it goes into the depth of the water.

[5] Gloss: viz. for her beauty.

reached the strength of chariot-chiefs." "Truly, oh maiden," said he, "well have I been brought up by my dear foster-father Conchobor. Not as a churl looks to the heritage of his children, not between flag-stone and kneading-trough, nor from the fire to the wall, nor on the floor of the one larder (?) have I been brought up by Conchobor, but among chariot-chiefs and champions, among jesters and druids, among poets and learned men, among the lords of land and farmers of Ulster have I been reared, so that I have all their manners and gifts." "Who then have brought thee up in all those deeds thou boastest?" said Emer. "Not hard to tell, truly. Fair-speeched Sencha[1] has taught me so that I am strong, wise, swift, deft, . . . I am wise in judgments, I am not forgetful. I . . . anybody before wise men, I attend to their speeches. I direct the judgments of all the men of Ulster, and do not alter them, through the training of Sencha. Blai, the lord of lands, took me to himself on account of the kinship of his race, so that I got my due with him, so that I invite the men of Conchobor's province with their king. I entertain them for the time of a week, I settle their gifts and their spoils, I aid them in their honour and their fines. Fergus has fostered me, so that I slay strong warriors through the strength of valour. I am fierce in valour and prowess, so that I am able to guard the border of the land against foreign foes. I am a shelter for every poor man, I am a rampart of fight for every wealthy man, I give comfort to each wretch, I deal mischief to each strong man, through the fosterage of Fergus. I came to the knee of the poet Amorgen, so that I praise a king for any excellency he has, so that I can stand up to any man in valour, in prowess, in wisdom, in splendour, in cleverness, in justice, in boldness. I am a match for any chariot-chief, I give thanks to no one, but to Conchobor all. Findchoem[2] has cared for me, so that the victorious Conall Cernach[3] is my . . . foster-brother. Cathbad of the gentle face has taught me for the sake of Dechtire,[4] so that I am a skilful student of the arts of the god of druidism, so that I am learned in the excellencies of knowledge. All the men of Ulster have equally brought me up, both charioteers and chariot-chiefs, both kings and chief-poets, so that I am the darling of the host and multitude, so

[1] An *ollam* or chief poet of Ulster.
[2] Findchóem and Dechtire were daughters of Cathbad.
[3] The son of Amorgen and Findchóem.
[4] The mother of Cuchulaind.

that I fight for the honour of them all alike. Honourably have I been asked by Lug,[1] son of Cond, son of Ethlend . . . . of Dechtire to the house . . . of the brug. And thou, oh maiden," said Cuchulaind, "how hast thou been reared in Luglochta Loga?"

KUNO MEYER.

(*To be continued.*)

INDEX NOTES.

THE OLD ENGLISH DRAMA.

EVERYONE knows that in the Old English plays there are a very great many allusions to manners and customs, superstitions, &c., prevalent at the time they were written. Proverbs, obsolete words and phrases are also enshrined in and sometimes originate from these plays, and there are many glimpses into the daily life of London. Nothing has yet been done to bring these facts into a condition for the use of students, and it is therefore proposed to index in these pages each play separately and thus build up gradually what will ultimately become an historical index to the early dramatic literature of England. The play selected to begin the series is not chosen specially, but we think it will be found to contain sufficient interest to show the value of such index notes as are proposed. The references are to act and scene.

I. MIDDLETON (THOMAS), *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, 1630.

Amber, dissolved for a love potion, v., 2.
Amsterdam, the refuge of Puritans, iii., 2.
Apostle-spoons, a christening gift, iii., 2.
Auction sale, iii., 3.

Barn elms, iv., 3.
Blackfriars theatre, iv., 3.
"Bo to a Goose," i., 1.
Bonfires made before the door, v., 3.
Bracks, cracks, flaws. (See Nares' *Glossary*), i., 1.
Brentford, Branford, ii., 2; v., 4.
Bridewells, ii., 1.
Buss, kiss. (See Nares' *Glossary*), ii., 2.

[1] One of the Túatha De Danand, a supernatural being, who in the shape of a baby slept with Dechtire before she was married to Soaldam, and thus begat Cuchulaind. The house of the "Brug" referred to in the text is probably the same as that in which the Ulster heroes were entertained when they were in search of the wonderful birds. Cf. the *Compert Conculaind* 3 and 5 (Windisch, Ir. Texte pp. 137, 139), and LL. 144b, 18.

Cambridge, merchants' sons at, i., 1.
Cato (Dionysius), *Disticha de Moribus*, a school book, iv., 1.
Christening gifts, iii., 2.
Coals, burning of, i., 2.
Coffins, adornment of, v., 4.
Cog, dissemble. (See Nares' *Glossary*), iv., 1.
Corderius (Mathurin) *Colloquia*, a school book, iv., 1.
Crier, common, sale announced by, iii., 3.
Customs. See "bonfires," "christening," "coals," "coffins," "crier," "horse-racing," "rushes."

Dancing, i., 1.

Figient, fidgetty. (See Nares' *Glossary*, s.v. figent), iii., 3.
Finger (ring) superstition as to connection with the heart, iii., 1.
Fitters, pieces. (See Nares' *Glossary*), iii., 2.
Foutra, a foutra for=a fig for. (Not in Nares'), ii., 2.
French language, i., 1.

Gaudy-shops, shops where finery was sold, i., 2.
Gear, business. (See Nares' *Glossary*), i., 1.
Golls, a cant term for hands. (See Nares' *Glossary*), ii., 2.
Gossiping, christening, ii., 1.

Haberdines, probably a childish sport. (Not in Nares'), iv., 1.
Henry V., sword of, at Westminster, iv., 3.
Hobson, the celebrated Cambridge carrier, from whom was derived the proverb Hobson's choice, i., 1.
Horse-racing at Brentford, v., 4.

Informers, who for prosecuting delinquents were rewarded with part of the fines, ii., 1.

Lammas, iii., 2.
Latin language, i., 1.
Lent, prohibitions during, ii., 2.
Lin, cease. (See Nares' *Glossary*), iii., 2.
London, Blackfriars theatre, iv., 3; Bucklersbury, iii., 2; Cornhill, conduit in, iii., 2; Gresham's Burse, i., 2; Holborn Bridge, i., 1; Paul's school, iii., 2; Queenhithe, ii., 2; the Strand, v., 1; Turnbull Street, ii., 2.
———, Government, character of, ii., 1.
Love potions, v., 2.
Lurch, filch, iii., 2.

Outcry, auction, iii., 3.

Pearl dissolved for a love potion, v., 2.
Posy on wedding ring, i., 1.
Precedence of city wives, ii., 4.
Proceeded, taken a degree, iv., 1.
Progress, royal, ii., 1.
Proverbs. See "Bo to a goose," "Hobson."

Quean, used as term of reproach to women, ii., 2.

Red-hair, objection to, iii., 2.

Rider's Dictionary, a dictionary Eng. Lat. and Lat. Eng., published in 1589, iv., 1.
Ring, wedding, i., 1.
Romford hogs, iv., 1.
Rules, sports, revels, i., 1.
Runts, oxen of small size, iv., 1.
Rushes used for floor covering, iii., 2.

Salads, i., 1.
Sale announced by crier, iii., 3.
School books, iv., 1 ; boys, i., 2.
Schools, St. Paul's, iii., 2.
Shittle-cock, the old form of shuttle-cock, iii., 2.
Sir-reverence, a form of apology, a corruption of save reverence, iv., 1.
Snaphance, a spring lock to a gun, hence by metaphor applied to anything that strikes sharply. (See Nares' *Glossary*), ii., 1.
Spiny, slender. (See Nares' *Glossary*, s.v. spinny).
Spittlehouses, ii., 1.
Stage, sword dancing on the, iv., 3. (See "Blackfriars Theatre.")
Superstitions. See "amber," "finger-ring," "red-hair."
Surrey. See "Barn Elms."
Sweetmeats, iii., 2.
Sword-dancing, iv., 3.

Tester, a silver coin, i., 1.
Thames, stairs, iv., 2.
Theatres, Blackfriars, iv., 3.

Undergraduates, whipping of, iii., 2.

Virginals, a musical instrument resembling a spinnet, i., 1.

Watermen of London, iv., 3.
Wedding ring, i., 1.
Westminster, monuments at, iv., 3.
Wittol, a contented cuckold. (See Nares' *Glossary*), i., 2 ; iv., 1.

II. Glossaries Appended to Books.

The importance of some glossaries not published separately, but appended to the books for which they are compiled, is not generally recognised. A complete list of such glossaries is a desideratum in English literature, and the following is an instalment towards such a list :—

1. English Words, Phrases, and Customs.

Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke named the Gouernour*, 1531, edited by H. H. S. Croft, London, 1880. 2 vols. 4to. The glossary is very full and valuable vol. ii., pp. 449-637.

Sir John Fortescue, *The Governance of England*, 1471-1476, edited by C. Plummer, Oxford, 1885. 8vo. "The glossarial index is merely intended to give help to those who, reading the text for historical purposes, may be puzzled by middle English forms and meanings. It makes no pretensions to any philological value."—Preface, p. xi. ; pp. 357-362.

F. J. Furnivall, *Fifty Earliest English Wills in the Court of Probate, London, 1387-1439*. London, 1882. 8vo. List of words and subjects, pp. 170-200.

Toulmin Smith, *English Gilds, London*, 1870. 8vo. "Glossarial Index," pp. 462-483.

R. T. Hampson, *Medii Ævi Kalendarium*, London, 1841. 2 vols. "Alphabetical digest of obsolete names of days, forming a glossary of the dates of the middle ages."—Vol. ii., pp. 1-430.

Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, 1584, edited by Brinsley Nicholson, London, 1886. 4to. Glossary, pp. 580-589.

Joseph Lucas, *Studies in Nidderdale*, London (no date). 8vo. "Glossary of some of the words used in the dialects of Nidderdale, chiefly from words collected between the years 1868 and 1872."—pp. 227-292.

G. S. Streatfeild, *Lincolnshire and the Danes*, London, 1884. 8vo. "Glossary dealing with the surviving traces of the Danish language."—pp. 314-377.

Rev. R. Morris, *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, London, 1880. 4to. Index (and glossary) of words, pp. 265-392.

2. Law and Historical Words.

W. Stubbs [Bishop of Chester], *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1870. 8vo. "This glossary does not contain the French or Anglo-Saxon words contained in the translations given in the body of the work; nor mediæval forms of classical words differing in spelling only from the accepted usage; nor has it been thought necessary to specify the ordinary meanings of words the peculiar senses of which only are worth noting."—pp. 513-531.

Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. iii., 1884. 8vo. "Table of Abbreviations, besides serving as a key to the contracted words most frequently recurring in the early Rolls, should also be carefully studied by the reader in order to familiarize himself with the general principles of abbreviating."—pp. 10-34. Glossary—"Short explanations are given of some historical words and phrases used in the Pipe Rolls. It should be clearly understood that this glossary has been compiled from ordinary authorities for general purposes, and is in no way intended to apply solely to the pipe rolls of the reign of Henry the Second."—pp. 70-100.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited by B. Thorpe, London, 1861. 2 vols. 8vo. "Glossary of a few Anglo-Saxon terms necessarily retained in the translation, for which there is no exact equivalent in English." Vol. ii., pp. 321-323.

Thomas Blount, *Tenures of Land and Customs of Manors*, edited by W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1874. 8vo. Glossary, pp. 411-446.

Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis, edited by H. T. Riley. Liber custumarum. London, 1862. 3 vols. 8vo. "Glossary of Anglo-Norman and Early English words," vol. iii., pp. 289-372; "glossary of Mediæval Latin," vol. iii., pp. 375-407; "glossary to the appendices," vol. iii,, pp. 467-472; "glossarial index of festivals and dates," vol. iii., pp. 475-476.

Records of the Borough of Nottingham, 1155-1547. London and Nottingham, 1885. 8vo. 3 vols. "Glossary of English and Latin," vol. iii., pp. 481-505.

R. T. Hampson, *Origines Patriciæ*, or a deduction of European titles of nobility and dignified offices from their primitive sources. London, 1846. 8vo. Glossarial index, pp. 397-428.

3. Indian Words and Usages.

Sir J. B. Phear's *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*. London, 1880. 8vo Glossary, pp. 289-295.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF MOROCCO.

I am preparing a complete Bibliography of Morocco as a companion to that of Sir Lambert Playfair on Algeria and Messrs. Graham & Ashbee on Tunis. This was attempted by Renou nearly half a century ago, and still more recently M. de Mortiniere published what professed to be a continuation of Renou's list. Both catalogues are, however, full of errors and so imperfect that I have already been able merely out of my own collection to nearly double the published rolls of works and papers treating of the Empire. My library contains many rare MSS. and several unique, or all but unique, pamphlets and chap books. I shall be glad to hear (at "Ferslev, Rydal Road, Streatham, London,") of any privately printed works, or reports, or of memoirs bearing on Moorish Piracy or Christian Slavery, and on the English occupation of Tangier not mentioned in Col. Davis' recent history of the Tangier Regiment.

ROBERT BROWN.

ANCIENT IRISH EXPRESSIONS OF SOCIAL CONTEMPT.

Mr. Whitley Stokes in his new edition of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick (Rolls Series) p. clxxii., mentions "that the solitary mention of the way in which social contempt was expressed is p. 138, when Patrick prophesied that a certain tribe who had stoned him, would be under spittles and wisps and mockery in every assembly (Irish: ocus bethi foselib *ocus* sopaib *ocus* cuitbiud hicach airecht imbed)," and he adds "what these wisps were is not clear." It seems legitimate to compare this expression with a common incident in the Celtic folk-tales still current in the Highlands. A personage of the tale falling into the hands of enemies has the "bindings of the three smalls" (*i.e.* wrists, and ankles, and waist) laid upon him and is cast under the table, "under the drippings of the lamps and the feet of the big dogs," as one tale (Campbell, ii., p. 453) has it: "under the cats, and dogs, and men's spittles, and with shame and insult on themselves," according to another one (Campbell, iii., p. 270), to quote but two out of many instances. The incident is peculiar so far as I know to the Celtic folk-tales, and it is interesting to be able to trace it back to the 9th if not to the 4th century. The "wisps" which puzzle Mr. Stokes may be conjectured to be either the cords or withies with which the tortured ones are bound, or the rushes which covered the floors.

ALFRED NUTT.

THE AYLESFORD LIBRARY.

In the forthcoming sale of the library of the Earl of Aylesford at Messrs. Christie's rooms on the 6th of March, there are, among many other rare and valuable works, some few which seem to deserve special notice, *e.g.* (No. 409), a fine copy of *The Chastysing of Goddes Children*, commonly ascribed

to Caxton, but although printed with his types, there seems good reason for supposing with Mr. Blades that the work was really executed by W. de Worde. (527) The original autograph MS. of Cornwallis's *Discourse of the Most Illustrious Henry, late Prince of Wales* (1626), with the dedication to King James I., for which the author's nephew substituted his own dedication to Charles I. in the edition published by him in 1641. (799) A fine copy of the first edition of Fabyan's *Chronicle*, of which very few perfect copies are known to exist. (864) The very rare *Parochial History of Cornwall*, by Hals, containing, in addition to the printed text (which has MS. corrections by Davies Gilbert, who had the use of this copy while compiling his own "Parochial History"), a transcript of all that remained unpublished of the work of Hals, in which are many passages altogether omitted by Gilbert. This volume, as well as the "Fabyan," was bought by Lord Aylesford in 1820 at the sale of the library of Sam. Lysons. (1026) Higden's *Polychronicon* (Caxton, 1482) has a few leaves supplied in facsimile by Harris, but is in other respects a good copy. (1076) A fifteenth century MS. on vellum, containing thirteen historical documents, chiefly relating to the dioceses of Canterbury and Rochester. It appears to have been the MS. used by Hearne, who has printed several of the documents in his edition of Sprott's *Chronicle.* (1496) A collection of more than three hundred Royal proclamations issued in the reign of Charles I., beginning with the announcement of the death of James I. and extending down to March, 1641. (1704, 5, 6) The first, second, and third folio impressions of Shakespeare. The most important of these is the *second*, which formerly belonged to Theobald, and after his death to Dr. Johnson. It contains numerous MS. notes by both.

F. N

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All communications should be directed to "The Editor, Archæological Review, 270 Strand, W.C.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected MSS. unless a stamped directed envelope is sent for that purpose.

Erratum.

Page 22, note 1, line 7, for "one carucate (in demesne)" *read* "land for one plough."

THE

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Anthropology.

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THE LANGUAGE OF ANIMALS.

"Sie sprechen eine Sprache
Die ist so reich, so schön;
Doch keiner der Philologen
Kann diese Sprache verstehn."

IT is an old belief that animals, and even plants, talk to each other, and that men can freely understand and answer them. But this belief, born of that primitive communism which makes the whole world kin, is gradually dispelled by a more exact observation of nature; and men, beginning to draw the line more sharply between themselves and the lower creatures, are fain to confess that they understand the beast language no longer, though they cling to the idea that the faculty is still enjoyed by a few, either as a natural gift or an acquired accomplishment. Sometimes with a peculiar fitness this antique lore is the special attribute of simple folk, as fools or children, who reflect the mental state of a bygone age. A modern poet can still ask the children to

"Whisper in my ear
What the birds and the winds are singing
In your sunny atmosphere,"

as if the kingdom of nature, like the kingdom of heaven, were hidden from the wise and prudent and revealed unto babes.[1]

[1] "*Ut non alius fere sit aditus ad regnum hominis, quod fundatur in scientiis quam ad regnum coelorum*, in quod, nisi sub persona infantis, intrare non datur." Bacon, *Novum Organum*, i. 68.

Combating the practice of killing animals for food, Porphyry argues that they are reasonable creatures and speak a language which differs from that of men only in this, that whereas human language is regulated by human laws, the language of the beasts is bound by no rules save those imposed by nature and the gods. "What though we do not understand the beast language?" he asks, "a Greek does not understand a Hindoo; and to a man bred in Attica, the Syriac, Thracian, or Scythian tongue is unintelligible, and sounds like the croaking and creaking of cranes."[2] A belief like Porphyry's is still held, on grounds not unlike his, by the Indians of Guiana. "In Guiana countless Indian stories, fully believed, introduce the sayings of animals; and though the individual Indian knows that he no longer understands the language of the beasts and birds around him, yet he attaches but little weight to this, in that he is constantly meeting with other Indians of one or other of the many alien tribes which surround him, who speak languages at least as unintelligible to him as are those of birds or beasts; and in that, as he is fully persuaded, he constantly hears the peaiman [medicine-man] still converse with birds and beasts."[3]

When the language of the beasts is thus a foreign tongue to man, the ideas he has of it are naturally vague. Sometimes he seems to think that all animals speak the same speech, sometimes that the speech of birds differs from that of beasts, sometimes that each species of animal has its own distinct language. The last was perhaps Porphyry's notion, for according to him some races of men have a natural aptitude for the language of certain animals; the Arabs, he said, understand crows, the Etruscans eagles.[4] A Syrian story[5] specially mentions the bear language and the lion language; a young man understands and converses in both, and acts as interpreter between the lions and the daughter of the elfin-king, who, brought to be the bride of the lion-prince, does not understand the lion language. When a bear asks the youth how he learned the bear language, he answers "By the grace of God." In another Syrian tale[6] a chief's daughter has been swallowed by a shark; and a fish, who had been swallowed by the shark at the same time, is questioned as to the girl's fate by a Mahommedan doctor of law who understands the language of fish. A Swabian story[7] tells how

[2] Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iii., 3.
[3] Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 352.
[4] *De Abst.*, iii. 4.
[5] Prym und Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Mährchen* (Göttingen, 1881) no. xxx.
[6] *Ib.*, no. xxiv.
[7] Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben* i., p. 335.

a man understood the language of geese, and from overhearing a conversation of these birds was able to anticipate their attack on a farmer's crop. In a modern Greek tale from Epirus[8] a poor man goes out to earn his bread. He comes to a river on whose banks the birds twitter and sing. Here he stays three years to learn their language. When he has mastered it he returns home, and hearing that a certain queen has a toad in her body and can get no help from any physician, he goes to see what he can do for her. First he speaks in the snake language, but the toad makes no answer. Next he tries the frog language; still no response. Lastly he tries the toad language. Immediately the toad answers from the queen's body, and in the course of conversation admits that he dislikes sour things. A dose of vinegar is promptly administered to the queen, who is soon rid of the toad. The poor man receives a ducat from the grateful monarch. In this story it is implied that a knowledge of the bird language carries with it a knowledge of the languages of other animals. We shall meet the same implication again.

A knowledge of the language of animals is sometimes ascribed to particular persons, legendary or historical. Peter Petrovitch of Cracow, a hero of Russian song, talked with the fowls of the air.[9] The Indians say that Menabozho understood the languages of all animals.[10] In a fabulous life of Alexander the Great, written in French prose in the fifteenth century, Alexander is represented as borne through the air in a glass cage, yoked with eight griffins, and he is accompanied by magicians who understand the language of birds.[11] In the Koran[12] Solomon is made to say, "O ye folk! we have been taught the speech of birds;" and he is supposed to have understood more than the bird language, for, coming with his

[8] Hahn *Griechische und Albanesische Mährchen*, no. 33.

[9] A. Rambaud, *La Russie épique*, (Paris, 1876), p. 80.

[10] A. Bastian in *Zeitschrift f. Ethnologie*, i., p. 158.

[11] John Dunlop, *History of Fiction* (2nd ed., 1816), ii., p. 127; *id.* p. 184 of F. Liebrecht's German translation (Berlin, 1851). The prose romance is based on two metrical romances, one by Lambert li Tors, the other by Thomas of Kent (Dunlop, ii., p. 124). A collection of medieval French metrical romances on the history of Alexander (including extracts from Thomas of Kent) was lately published from the MSS. by Mr. Paul Meyer, under the title *Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature Française du moyen âge* (Paris, 1886). In one of them (*MS. de la Bibl. Imp.*, No. 789) Alexander sails through the air in a griffin-car, and says (vv. 377 *sq.*):

> "*Et saurai des oisiax com lor est convenant*
> *Quant il volent là sus en l'air ki est ardant.*"

[12] Ch. xxvii. (vol. ii., p. 190 *sq.*, Palmer's translation).

hosts to the valley of the ants, he hears an ant saying, "O ye ants! go into your dwellings, that Solomon and his hosts crush you not while they do not perceive," at which speech the king laughs.

According to an Arabic legend,[13] Solomon, reposing in the valley between Hebron and Jerusalem, is visited by the angels of the winds and the angels that bear rule over all living things; by their help he summons to his presence animals of every kind, and converses with them. Moslems still believe that "all kinds of birds, and many (if not all) beasts, have a language by which they communicate their thoughts to each other."[14] It was from the Moors of Spain that Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., learned the meaning of the cries and the flight of birds.[15] For in the Middle Ages, Spain, so long the home of Arabian arts and learning, was a favourite abode of enchanters; magic was regularly taught at Toledo, Salamanca, and Seville.[16] To this day it is hardly possible to walk the narrow, winding, desolate streets of Toledo—perched like an eagle's eyrie in proud isolation from the modern world—without falling under the spell of the Middle Ages, and feeling that behind these white, silent walls the magician may still be working his "enchantments drear."

Grimm has conjectured[17] that the elevation of Gerbert to the Papal See may have been the origin of a German folk-tale in which a boy who has learned the language of animals rises to be Pope. The story is only one of a widely-spread group of similar tales, which we will now examine.

In the case of authors who wrote before the invention of printing, scholars are familiar with the process of comparing the various manuscripts of a single work, in order, from such a comparison, to reconstruct the archetype or original MS. from which the various existing MSS. are derived. Similarly in folk-lore, by comparing the different versions of a single tale, it may be possible to arrive with tolerable certainty at the original story, of which the different versions are more or less imperfect and incorrect representations.

[13] G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner* (Frankfurt, 1845), p. 225 *sqq.*

[14] Lane's *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, I., p. 35.

[15] William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum*, II., 10, "*Ibi quid cantus et volatus avium portendit, didicit;*" Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale*, xxiv., 98 (paraphrasing William of Malmesbury), "*Ibi didicit et cantus avium et volatus mysterium.*"

[16] Sir W. Scott, note on *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto II.; Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie dans l'Antiquité et au moyen âge*, p. 216. Magic was even called *scientia Toletana.*

[17] Note on *Kinder und Hausmährchen*, No. 33.

The story of "The Boy who became Pope" will furnish us with an example of this process of collation in folk-lore. Versions of the story are found in *a*, Italy,[18] *b*, Germany,[19] *c*, Normandy,[20] and *d*, Brittany;[21] and they all belong to what a palæographer would call the same family, being undoubtedly derived from one archetype. Other versions of the same story, differing more or less from the preceding and from each other, will be afterwards noticed.

We will first give the archetype, as restored from a comparison of the four versions belonging to the same family. Along with the text of the archetype we will give the most important variations (where they occur) in the different versions, indicating these versions by the letters I. (Italian), G. (German), N. (Norman), and B. (Breton).

The story is that of "The Boy who became Pope, or the Three Languages." A man has a son whom he sends away to be educated. After a time the son returns and is asked what he has learned. He replies, "I have learned the language of *dogs*."[22] He is sent away to school again. After a time he again comes back, and is asked what he has learned. He answers, "The language of *frogs*."[23] He is sent away to school again. He returns a third time, and is asked what he has learned. He replies, "The language of *birds*."[24]

The father is angry. *He orders*[25] *a man to take the youth into a wood and murder him. The intended assassin pities the youth and lets him go, but brings as a token to his father the* heart of a deer,[26] *pretending that it is the youth's.*

In his wanderings the youth comes to a dwelling where he is received for the night. The dogs bark, and, understanding the language of dogs, the youth hears them saying that robbers are

[18] Crane, *Popular Italian Tales*, No. xliii.

[19] Grimm, *Kinder und Hausmährchen*, No. 33.

[20] Fleury, *Littérature orale de la Basse-Normandie* (Paris, 1883), p. 123 *sqq*.

[21] Sebillot, *Contes Populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, 2me Série, No. xxv.

[22] Frogs N.; dogs, frogs, and birds I. (this is simply an abbreviation of what follows, the three visits to school being compressed into one. But in I. the order of the archetype—viz., dogs, frogs, birds—is preserved both here and in what follows).

[23] Dogs N.; birds G.

[24] Frogs G.

[25] He orders—pretending that it is the youth's: *omitted in* B.

[26] Heart of a dog I.; eyes and tongue of a deer G. (For bringing back an animal's heart instead of a person's, cf. Fleury, *op. cit. La Fille sans Mains*, p. 153.)

about to attack the house. He gives warning to the master of the house, and the purpose of the robbers is defeated.[27]

He comes to a house where a girl is ill. By understanding what the frogs are saying he learns that the girl is ill because she has dropped *something*[28] which a frog has got hold of. The lost object is rescued from the frog's mouth, and the girl is made well.[29]

He goes to Rome with *two*[30] companions whom he has met on the way. They hear birds singing on a tree, and the youth understands the birds to say that one of the three fellow-travellers will be made Pope.[31] At Rome they find that the Pope is dead, and by *a certain sign*[32] the youth is recognised as the future Pope and elected.

His father visits him, repents of what he had done, humbles himself before his son, receives his pardon, and lives with his son henceforward.[33]

There are two other Breton versions of the story, which differ more or less from the preceding. *c.* In one called "Pope Innocent,"[34] the son of the King of France predicts that his father will pour water for him to wash his hands, and that his mother will offer him a towel to dry them with. His parents are angry. A man is charged to kill the prince, but lets him go free. Hearing that a Pope is about to be elected, he sets out for Rome. He meets two monks who are also bound thither, and they go together. On the way they have various adventures, which have no parallel in the

[27] In B. the incident of the dogs and the robbers follows that of the girl and the frogs, agreeably to the order in which in B. the youth learns the three languages. In G. the robbers are omitted, and the dogs bark simply because there is a great treasure in the house, and they can have no rest till it is removed.

[28] The holy wafer (host) N. B. ; a crucifix I. (which does not say that a frog had got hold of it, but simply that the girl had thrown the crucifix into a fountain).

[29] In G. the frog incident is abbreviated to this, that the youth hears and understands the croaking of the frogs, and is saddened by what he hears.

[30] Three I. In I. he meets these companions after, in N. B. before, the adventures with the dogs and frogs. In G. the fellow travellers do not appear.

[31] In N. it is only said that what the birds said astonished him, and that he kept the secret to himself. But the meaning is plainly as in the text.

[32] In G. two white doves alight on his shoulders ; in I. a dove alights on his head ; in B. all the people pass under the bell to see who will be Pope ; when the youth passes under it, the bell rings. In N. a portion of the sky descends on his head.

[33] His father—henceforward *omitted in* G. ; and lives with his son henceforward *omitted in* N.

[34] *Mélusine*, I. (1878), col. 374 *sqq.* For some of the parallels which follow I am indebted to Dr. Reinhold Köhler's notes in *Mélusine*, I. c. 384.

preceding versions. But the incidents of (1) the castle and robbers, and (2) the girl and the frogs, and (3) the prediction of the birds, all occur, though in (1) the dogs are not mentioned. At Rome the prince's candle takes fire of itself on three successive days, so he is elected Pope. His parents come to Rome to get absolution for their sin; they fulfil their son's prediction; he pardons them, and they live happily together.

f. In another Breton version,[35] called "The History of Christic, who became Pope at Rome," the boy Christic makes the same prediction as in the preceding version. A servant is charged to kill him, but brings back a dog's heart instead. Christic has various adventures, of which the only one like the preceding is that of the robbers, and here the dogs reappear. The test for Pope is the same as in the foregoing tale. His parents visit Rome, and the Pope washes their feet.

In neither of these Breton versions is the language of animals distinctly mentioned, though a knowledge of it is implied in the incident of the frogs in the first and perhaps (though less clearly) in that of the dogs in the second.

Further, the general plot of the story occurs in a number of other tales. *g.* In the "History of the Seven Wise Masters of Rome,"[36] a certain knight sends his son to be educated by a Master in a far country. After seven years the child returned and as he is sitting at table with his parents a nightingale sings sweetly. The knight marvels at the sweetness of the song and wishes that some one

[35] 26. c. 300 *sqq.*

[36] I have used the *Historia calumnie novercalis que septem sapientum inscribitur* (Antwerp, 1490); the English translation, reprinted at London, 1688; and the two old French redactions published by Mr. Gaston Paris (*Deux Rédactions du Roman des Sept Sages de Rome*, publiées par Gaston Paris, Paris, 1876). The *Historia calumnie novercalis*, according to Mr. Paris (preface, p. xi., note) is the same text as the *Historia septem Sapientum*, "*avec des changements des noms et la suppression de tout ce qui est chrétien.*" According to him, the second of the French versions is a close translation of the Latin, and the English version is made directly or indirectly from the Latin. But the French version is certainly not a close translation of the *Historia calumnie novercalis* so far as I have compared the two, but differs from it considerably. On the other hand the French and English translations (so far as I have compared them) agree with each other closely and differ from the Latin; and as in some of these details where they differ from the Latin they agree with modern parallels one can scarcely help concluding that the genuine folk-tale lives independently in these versions, and that the Latin is merely a translation (and an abridged translation) of a vernacular version. Hence in the story in the text I follow the French and English versions, and neglect the Latin. Mr. G. Paris himself believes that the Latin *Historia septem sapientum* is a translation of an older French version. The general question of the relation of the different versions of "The Seven Wise Masters" seems to be very complex, and I do not pretend to enter on it.

could interpret it. His son says he can do so but fears his father's displeasure. The knight bids him speak out. So the son says "The bird foretells that I shall become a great lord and that my father shall bring me water to wash and that my mother shall hold the towel." His father in anger throws him into the sea, but he is picked up by a ship, taken to a distant land, and sold to a duke. The king of the country is plagued by three ravens which follow him continually, screaming loudly. He offers his daughter in marriage and the succession to the throne to any one who shall explain the mystery and rid him of the ravens. The child explains that the ravens are a father, a mother, and a young one; that the mother deserted the young one in a time of scarcity but now claims to exercise a mother's rights over it, while the father-raven, who fed the young one in the time of scarcity, resists the mother's claim; the birds therefore wish the king to decide to whom the young one belongs. The king decides in favour of the father; and the birds fly away. The youth grows up and in time weds the king's daughter. He visits his father and mother, who know him not, but do him reverence; his father offers him water to wash with and his mother presents a towel, as he had foretold. He reveals himself to them, forgives them, and takes them to his kingdom where they dwell in honour and joy.

h. In a French version of the "Seven Wise Masters,"[37] a fisherman is out fishing with his son. Hearing some birds shrieking, the father asks what it means, the son interprets their cries as the boy in the previous version interprets the nightingale. His father flings him into the sea, and the rest follows as before, except that the question between the ravens is, which of two males shall have the hen-bird to wife; the old male had been her mate but had deserted her in a time of scarcity, when the younger male had fed and cherished her. The king decides for the younger male.

i. In a Russian version[38] which reproduces very closely the former version of the "Seven Wise Masters," a man hears a nightingale singing a sad song and wishes that some one could interpret it. His son, a child of six, says that he knows what the nightingale is singing but fears to tell. His father bids him speak out. His son says: "The bird says that a day will come when you will serve me; my father will pour water for me and my mother will offer the towel." His parents, enraged, set him adrift on the sea in a little

[37] The version is the first of the two French versions published by Mr. G. Paris, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50.

[38] L. Leger, *Contes Populaires Slaves*, no. xxxi. (from Afanasief).

boat. He is picked up by a ship and brought to a country where the king is plagued by three ravens, and the rest follows as in the "Seven Wise Masters;" the question between the ravens being, as in the first case, whether the young one belongs to the father or mother, and the king deciding for the father. The son's visit to his parents and the fulfilment of his prediction as to the water and the towel also follow as before.

k. In a Masurian version [39] a merchant sends his son to a master to learn the language of birds. On his return his father hears him conversing with a lark. With some difficulty the son is persuaded to tell what the lark said to him, "When you come back you will be a rich man but your father will be poor; your mother will wash your feet and your father will drink the water." His parents are angry and give him to a merchant to kill. The merchant takes the lad away in his ship but does not kill him. They come to England, where the king's son and daughter are ill of a scurf. The lad explains that at the holy communion the prince and princess had thrown on the ground the consecrated bread which had been swallowed by a toad. The toad is caught and boiled and the children are cured. The king gives the lad his daughter to wife and the kingdom to boot. He now goes to visit his parents, finds them very poor, and his prediction is fulfilled.

l. In a Basque version [40] a son hears a voice saying that his parents will one day be his servants. His parents are angry and give him to two servants to kill; the servants, however, let him go and bring back a dog's heart in token that they had killed the lad. The youth sets out for Rome, meets two men also bound thither, and they all go together. They lodge for the night in a house, which turns out to be an abode of robbers. The young man is warned by a voice, and the three escape from the robbers. Next they come to a house where a girl is very ill; the young man cures her.[41] As the travellers approach Rome, all the bells begin to ring of themselves; so the lad is made Pope. His father and mother come to Rome to get pardon of their sin; the son recognises and forgives them, and they die of joy.

m. In another Basque version[42] a ship-captain asks his son what

[39] Töppen, *Aberglauben aus Masuren*[2], p. 150 *sqq.*

[40] Wentworth Webster, *Basque Legends*, p. 137 *sqq.*

[41] The Basque narrator forgot how the cure was effected. From a comparison of the Norman, Breton (Sebillot), Italian, and Masurian versions, we may conjecture that the girl had dropped the communion bread which had been swallowed by a toad, and that the cure was effected by recovering the bread from the toad.

[42] W. Webster, *Basque Legends*, p. 136 *sq.*

he has learned at school. The son says that he has learned to understand the songs of birds. His father takes him on a voyage. A bird perches on the ship and sings. The father asks what the bird says. The son answers: "He sings that I am now under your orders, but you shall also be under mine." The captain puts his son into a barrel and flings it into the sea. The barrel is cast up on a shore, the boy is taken out and marries the daughter of the king of that country. One day the boy's father is caught in a storm and driven on shore. He goes to the king, his son, but does not recognise him and becomes his son's servant. In time the son reveals himself and they live together happily.

n. In a Teleut version[43] a man sends his son to school. When the boy's schooling is over, his father fetches him home. On their way home they hear birds singing and the father asks his son what they are saying. The son says: "If I tell you, you will be angry." But his father bids him speak out, so he says: "The birds said that I shall be emperor one day and that you will come to my castle and suffer a great indignity." His father is angry and cuts off his son's head; also he cuts off his horse's head, wraps his son's body in the horse's hide, and throws it into the sea. The body is cast ashore; an old woman finds it, opens the hide, and the youth comes forth alive. The king of this land is dead and has left no son· Two golden posts with a candle on the top of each are set up in the village, and every one has to jump between them. He is to be king upon whom the two candles fall. They fall upon the youth *and take fire,*[44] so he is made king. The father comes to his son's palace and suffers the indignity his son had foretold. The son reveals himself and treats his father and mother well.

The king's decision between the ravens in *g, h, i,* occurs in a

[43] W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der Türkischen Stämme Südsibiriens*, i., p. 208 *sqq.*

[44] Thus the test is the same as in the two Breton versions of "the Boy who became Pope." The same test (candle lighting of itself) occurs in a Russian tale, Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, i., p. 318. In a Swahili tale a young slave comes to a city where the sultan has just died and a new sultan is about to be elected. "They used to throw a lime, and whoever it struck three times, he was the sultan." The lime falls on the slave three times, so he is made sultan E. Steere, *Swahili Tales*, pp. 141, 143. Dr. Krapf was told by a priest of Gurague that in the Kingdom of Senjero (south of Abyssinia) it was the custom after the death of a king "for the chief men of the kingdom to assemble outside the city, in an open field, and wait till a vulture or an insect settled on one of the assembly; and he to whom this happened was unanimously elected king." Krapf, *Travels, researches and missionary labours during an eighteen years' residence in eastern Africa*, p. 68. This statement, however, was contradicted by another witness whom Dr. Krapf questioned.

modern Indian folk-tale. Considering that this incident occurs in the "Seven Wise Masters" and in a modern Indian tale, it is remarkable that it does not appear to occur in Sindibad,[45] the oriental original of the "Seven Wise Masters." The Indian story is as follows:—Three birds came day after day to a court of justice. The Raja asked his minister what this meant. "I haven't the slightest idea," said the prime minister. "If you don't know by to-morrow," said the Raja, "I will cut off your head." The minister learned the secret from his gardener, who was a fool but understood the bird language and had heard the dispute between the birds. The hen-bird had seen her mate walking with another hen and, suspecting him of bigamy, said: "Let her alone." The cock declined to do so, and they had gone to law. The Raja decided in favour of monogamy by holding up one finger; so the second hen flew away, and the old couple departed together.[46]

So in a Kirgis story a Khan orders his vizier under pain of death to tell him what three geese have just said; the vizier cannot, but is saved by the Khan's daughter who knows the goose language.[47]

In the Pentamerone there is a story which begins somewhat like "The boy who became Pope." A man has five simple sons, whom he sends into the world to brighten their wits. They come back, each with an accomplishment; the youngest understands the language of birds.[48] J. G. FRAZER.

(*To be continued.*)

THE PRE-SEMITIC ELEMENT IN PHŒNICIA.

THE year which has just closed has seen the discovery of one of the most important sepulchres ever as yet excavated in Phœnicia. The riches which it contains are as yet only imperfectly

[45] At least I have not found it in the Greek (*Fabulae Romanenses*, ed. A Eberhard, 1872), the Syriac (as translated by F. Baethgen, *Sindban, oder die Sieben weisen Meister, syrisch und deutsch*, 1879), nor the Arabic (as represented by the old Spanish translation appended to Comparetti's *Researches respecting the book of Sindibad*, translated for the Folk-lore Society. London, 1882).

[46] *Indian Antiquary*, iii., p. 320 *sq.*

[47] Radloff, *Proben, &c.*, iii., p. 347 *sqq.*

[48] Basile, *Pentamerone*, v. 7 (vol. ii., p. 212 *sq.* Liebrecht's German translation).

known to the public, for the Turkish Government—alive to the value of important antiquities—has taken the matter into its own hands, removing the sarcophagi, the precious ornaments, and funeral furniture from Sidon to the Stamboul Museum, and reserving to itself the publication of the results. It is known, however, that gold, silver, and bronze objects, sculptured coffins, a Phœnician inscription, and eleven lines of hieroglyphic writing, have been found, and that the cemetery is of about the Persian age, and therefore belongs to the most perfect period of Phœnician art.

This find—the most important since the magnificent discovery of Royal mummies in Egypt—will no doubt once more direct special attention to the great race which dwelt at the foot of Lebanon, and crossed the seas to Britain and Madeira; and the following suggestions as to the origin and relationships of the Phœnicians, as shown by language, writing, art, and ethnological type, may therefore be of more than ordinary interest.

The longer and deeper that the student works his way into the social history of the past, the more difficult does he find it to put his finger on a pure race, in any part of the world. Not only is this generally recognized in our own time, but from the dawn of history each country seems to have contained more than one distinct stock, together with those cross-breeds due to intermarriage, from which in some cases the most energetic type finally arises. In Chaldea we have two and perhaps three races, as early as 4000 B.C. In Egypt there were certainly three elements of population before 2000 B.C., and probably much earlier. The same was the case in Greece, and in Italy, where Pelasgi and Etruscans represented a stock as distinct from Hellenes and Romans as are the Basques from the Franks. The important point to be recognised in studying Phœnicia is the evident existence here, as in all other ancient countries, of more than one element of population. This fact, which has not, as far as I have read, ever been clearly pointed out, serves to explain much that is still obscure in the antiquities of this enterprising people, and thus throws light on the origin of their neighbours in Western Asia, Egypt and Europe.

Of the existence in Syria of a Semitic race we have monumental evidence as far back as 1600 B.C., in the names of the towns conquered by Thothmes III. As far as it is possible to judge from such sources, the language of the Semitic inhabitants of Syria at this time closely resembled that which we find on the later Phœnician inscriptions. The portraits of the Kefa on the monuments of

this great conqueror are distinctly Semitic in feature and in complexion, and we know from the decree of Canopus that the Kefa were Phœnicians.

From about the age of Solomon downwards we have Semitic inscriptions from Phœnicia, and although these are few and far between, as compared with the numerous Punic texts of a later age from Carthage, they are yet sufficient to give a good idea of the language of the dwellers in Tyre, Sidon, and Gebal. From Cyprus we have texts which, among other interesting peculiarities, show us that the Phœnician calendar was the same as that used by the Hebrews before the captivity. Thus the months Bul and Ethanim, which bear other names in the Assyrian calendar, used by the returning Jews from Ezra downwards, are now known to have belonged to the calendar of Phœnicia—an indication of great interest in connection with the criticism of some books of the Old Testament.

To confine our studies to Semitic languages and races, in considering the ancient history of Syria, would however be a great mistake; although it is an error very common in works on the subject. More than twenty years ago it was pointed out that another race existed, side by side with the Semitic, in northern Syria, a race which in complexion, in feature, and in other peculiarities, appeared nearest to the Altaic, Mongol or Tartar types. Scholars like Mariette and Chabas pointed out that the Kheta kings and the Kheta towns bore names which were certainly not Semitic, and apparently not Aryan, and which consequently would most likely be Turanian[1]—in agreement with the physical type represented on the Egyptian monuments. As we look backwards through history we perceive that in this respect the race relations of the inhabitants of Palestine and Syria have remained almost immutable. From the age of Alexander onward, it is true, Aryan peoples have for a time held the mastery on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; but their dominion has never long endured, and the two races indigenous to Western Asia (Turanian and Semitic) have constantly taken advantage of the weakness of Europe to throw off the yoke. The Semitic element has always been the stronger in the south, and the Turanian in the north, while the balance of power has been sometimes on the one side, sometimes on the other. The later incursions of Turks and Mongols have but repeated the older

[1] This term is used because it expresses generally the type of the non-Semitic race in north Syria without defining it as exactly belonging to any of the branches grouped as north Turanian, such as Finnic, Turkic, Mongol, &c.

migrations of the Parthians, Scythians, or yet earlier Turanian hordes, sweeping down on the Mesopotamian plains and on the Syrian coast, just as we may yet see Russian armies advancing west and south from their base under the Caucasus. These early migrations were not confined to Syria. There is clear evidence of the very early existence of Turanian tribes in Egypt, in Greece, and in Italy, the Etruscans being considered by the best authorities a Turanian race. Even as far west as the Bay of Biscay the last traces of these migrations are to be recognised in the Basque dialects of France and of Spain. In Mesopotamia and in Media the Turanians are found from the dawn of history to have been the dominant people; and to them is to be ascribed the origin of that civilisation which was first accepted, and then further developed by the Assyrians and Babylonians, the Hebrews and Semitic colonists of Phœnicia.

The traditions of the Phœnicians point to their early migration from the Persian Gulf, and it is only from the north—in the neighbourhood of Aleppo—that Syria, defended by that great desert across which none save Khaled has ever brought an army, can be approached from Mesopotamia. There is no solid ground for discarding this tradition, although the suspicion with which modern students regard ancient historians has led to very various proposals, in accounting for the presence of an early Semitic people in Phœnicia. When we remember that Tammuz, Nergal, and Istar were adored by Semitic peoples both in Mesopotamia and in Phœnicia, it is clear that there must have been a very early communion between the two countries.

It may be regarded as a fact accepted at length by the most cautious scholars that the Kheta or Hittites were a Turanian people, who descended into Northern Syria from the region of Ararat, just as the Akkadian tribes from the same centre pushed southwards into Mesopotamia.[2] To give the name of Hittite to all the tribes of the same stock in Asia Minor and Armenia is manifestly an error; but that a common civilisation belonged to these tribes is certain, and the name Kheta is found in monumental history to have applied to the inhabitants of Kadesh in the valley of the Orontes, and to those of Carchemish on the banks of the

[2] Akkadian has been regarded by Lenormant and others as a Finnic rather than a Mongolic language, but detailed comparison shows that it is nearer to the Turko-Tartar dialects. Even in Turkish some two hundred Akkadian words (including numerals and pronouns) remain almost unchanged to the present day.

Euphrates. Thus the Kheta were near neighbours to that region at the foot of Lebanon which was inhabited by the Phœnicians.

The object of the present paper is to point out the existence of an early non-Semitic element in Phœnicia itself. This is indicated partly by the names of the Phœnician gods, and by the Phœnician mythology, and partly by the character of their art. Finally, the origin of the Phœnician alphabet may be very clearly traced to the same element of population.

The most reliable information which we possess as to the Phœnician pantheon is to be found in the inscriptions of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Carthage, collected in the great Corpus of Semitic inscriptions edited by Renan. Here in a Semitic language we find the correct forms of those names which have been distorted by Greek writers so that their sound and meaning are alike sometimes unrecognisable. It does not however follow that even in their monumental forms they are certainly of Semitic origin, any more than are the names of Babylonian and Assyrian gods mentioned in Semitic texts. The Semitic languages of Western Asia in all ages are permeated with a Turanian element, and naturally so since the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, and even Arabs, have always been in contact with Turanian tribes. Thus, in our own time, although Turkish is a language full of Arab and Persian words, yet the Arabic of Syria and of Egypt is not free from an admixture of Turkish. So in Assyria the Akkadian invaded the Semitic speech. Hebrew has indeed been thought by some to have remained pure, but this is certainly not the case. A careful search would bring to light in Hebrew dictionaries many words of pre-Semitic origin, and some have already been indicated by Delitszch and by other scholars; as for instance *Hekal* for "temple," the old Akkadian *E-gal* or "great house"—a simple explanation of a word which has no real Semitic derivation.

Among the deities adored in Phœnicia were Tammuz, Istar, and Nergal. The first name is not known on Semitic monuments in Syria, but it is not disputed that Tammuz was adored both in Phœnicia and among the Hebrews. Istar has been changed in Semitic parlance to Ashtoreth. Nergal is mentioned on a Phœnician text from Greece. Now all three of these deities are of Turanian origin, and they were adored by the Turanian tribes of Mesopotamia. Tammuz is the *Tam-Zi* or "soul of the sun." Istar is the "chief deity," or "Deity of light," originally the moon; and Nergal is "the great ruler" represented in Syria, in Anatolia, and in Chaldea, as a lion-headed god, like the Egyptian Bast or the

Indian Yama. We have in these three names clear indications of the adoration of the Turanian deities common to Chaldea and Phœnicia.

It is probable that many of the untranslated names of Phœnician deities may be explained in the same way. Melcarth, Tanith, Baal Sillek, Abset, Eshmun, Tsid, and Bod, are curious names for which no really satisfactory Semitic derivation is proposed. There are of course in this pantheon many certainly Semitic names, such as Baal, Resheph, Dodah, and many more well-known titles; but the deities of Phœnicia as a rule have different names to those of the Semitic gods of Mesopotamia, and several of the words above-mentioned remain without any satisfactory explanation. Melcarth has been somewhat twisted to mean "King of the City," but as a Turanian word it might mean "Lord of light," a more appropriate term for the Tyrian Sun god. Tanith is probably a Semitic form of *Tan*, a common Turanian word meaning "noble" or "powerful." Sillek is probably to be compared with the Akkadian *Silik*, which forms part of the names of more than one deity, and which is a common Tartar and Finnic word from a widely-spread root meaning "to pierce" or "shine." Abset has been compared by Renan with the Egyptian Bast, but may perhaps mean Father Set[3]—a deity common to the Hittites, Egyptians, and Etruscans, and whose name originally meant "fire" or "redness." Eshmun or Esmun—a word which has puzzled many scholars—may be simply Es-mun, "the Good God," *Es* being one of the commonest and most widely-spread words for deity in Turanian languages. Tsid recalls the Akkadian *Zida* "lucky" or lively,"[4] and Bod or Boda might be connected with the Tartar root *Böt Böd* meaning "to trust," "believe," or with *Buda* "height."

Not only are the names of deities thus in many cases seemingly Turanian, but some of the myths or legends of the Phœnicians appear to have the same derivation. Thus the story of Venus and Adonis is the old Akkadian legend of Istar and Tamzi. According to the Phœnician cosmogony the origin of all things was *Mot*, a word which as a Semitic term could only mean "death," which is the end, not the origin of things. As an Akkadian word it means "to create," "bring forth," "bear," thus explaining a term hitherto

[3] AB for "father" occurs in some of the Turanian languages of Western Asia as well as in Semitic languages.

[4] Sidon may be also a Turanian town name, viz., *Tzid-un* or the "city of Tzid." In Genesis it is connected with the Hittites (x. 15). Tyre, on the other hand, was a Semitic settlement on a "rock" in the sea, and is not mentioned in Genesis, a fact which goes to show the early date of the xth chapter.

hopeless. The Cuneiform emblem for this word was originally an eagle with the sun under his feet, and the title of this emblem was "the good bird." Many of the Phœnician myths are the same as those of Babylonia and were known to the Semitic and to the Turanian peoples as well. Thus the six days of Creation are not exclusively found among Semitic peoples, for even the Etruscans held this belief from an early age.[5] The curious bull-headed monster called Ea-bani ("Spirit of Ea"), who becomes the Greek Minotaur and is connected with the bull-horned god Ea, was a Turanian conception. In Mongol folk-tales his adventures are preserved, as well as in Cuneiform tablets. His head appears on Etruscan vases, and the Greek bull-headed river gods are his relatives, for Ea was the god of rivers and of the ocean. This horned deity is found both in Asia Minor and in Phœnicia.

The three names Khar, Kefa, and Fenekh, applied to the Phœnicians and to Phœnicia on Egyptian monuments are also capable of a Turanian etymology. Khar would mean "mountain" and Kefa "hill,"—referring to the Lebanon. Fenekh, perhaps the original of the words Punic and Phœnician, would mean "settler" or "townsman," from the widely-spread Turanian word *Pin* for a town or settlement. These various indications agree with those recognisable in the religious art of the Phœnicians (which is closely related to that of Mesopotamia originally of Turanian origin), in indicating the early existence of a pre-Semitic element in the Phœnician population.

We may now turn to the question of the Phœnician Alphabet the origin of which is still disputed by antiquaries. It is established that all known alphabets of Asia and of Europe have a common origin in the Phœnician. It is also undisputed that the latter grew gradually out of an original hieroglyphic system, which in turn developed from an older purely picture writing. The alphabet in Phœnicia is not as yet traced back further than 1200 B.C., at most, and the best supported theory of its derivation is that of De Rougé which endeavours to trace the original forms through the hieratic to the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The principal objections to this explanation as yet have been that the resemblances are not close, and that the comparisons are in some cases arbitrary.

A new difficulty has, however, arisen of late which is still more formidable. The Carians and Lycians used a system which con-

[5] See Dennis *Etruria*, i., p. xxxvi.

tained not only the 22 Phœnician letters, but also other letters or syllables interspersed, which are the same used in Cyprus before the Phœnician Alphabet was adopted. The usual explanation of this fact is that a mixed system containing two distinct elements was employed—as though we were to write Hebrew in Roman characters interspersed with Hebrew letters when the Roman Alphabet proved insufficient. This explanation is contrary to the experience of palæographical students who find that nothing arbitrary exists in early methods of writing. Everything is to be explained by gradual development and unconscious change. The Carian and Lycian inscriptions rightly understood prove to us that the Phœnician Alphabet is the survival of a larger system of syllabic forms, which was employed throughout Asia Minor and in Cyprus, and which had itself developed not from the Egyptian but from the misnamed Hittite system of hieroglyphics.

There are in Asia and in the Delta four systems of hieroglyphics —the Egyptian, the Cuneiform, the Chinese, and the Altaic (or Hittite), each of which developed independently and must be independently studied. Of these the Hittite is apparently the most primitive, for several reasons, the chief being that its symbols are fewest, the system as at present known containing only about 130 signs. The Cuneiform includes some 550 signs, but these are easily reduced to an original system of about 130. The Egyptian included about 400 signs; the Chinese, now the furthest developed, is said to have begun with 540, which might no doubt have developed like the Cuneiform from an older and simpler system.

In the opinion of the majority of scholars these systems have no connection beyond the natural use of the same forms for the same objects; but this is not the opinion of the more advanced students. Dr. Hommel and M. Bertin have compared Egyptian and Cuneiform emblems—as have earlier scholars. Prof. de Lacouperie, through a knowledge of ancient Chinese, has been able in half-a-dozen instances to compare the Cuneiform and the Chinese emblems. Were older forms of the latter known the comparison might perhaps be carried further. As regards the Hittite, I find that there are 40 cases in which the emblems may be compared with the Egyptian, and 36 or more in which they can be compared with the Cuneiform. Not only is the form and meaning the same, but in a large proportion of cases the sound is also closely similar.

With regard to such comparisons, it should be remarked that the Chinese (or the Mongols), the Akkadians, and the Hittites are now re-

cognised as belonging to the same original stock.[6] There is therefore nothing surprising in the similarities of their systems of writing. These similarities are not found to extend beyond the representations of objects and actions. The grammatical signs are distinct. The evidence therefore only shows an original common source in an old Asiatic picture writing[7] which developed into three distinct systems.

As regards the Egyptian, however, it may be argued that it has probably a distinct origin, because the Egyptian language belongs, not to the Tartar group, but to that North African race which is represented by Copts, Gallas, Kabyles, Tuariks, and the Guanchos of the Canary Islands—a ruddy or dark people with aquiline features, whose speech places the verb before the noun, and employs prepositions in preference to the Turanian suffixes. It is, however, known that there was a Turanian element in Egyptian population,

[6] The Turanian origin of the Akkadian and Medic languages, though at first disputed, may be said to be now generally accepted. Lenormant has by comparative labour established that the Akkadian grammar agrees with the oldest Turanian grammar recognisable in the Mongolian and Manchu Tartar languages, and to a certain extent also in Chinese (Chaldean Magic, English Edit., 1887, p. 284, seq; cf. Études Accadiennes and La Magie chez les Chaldéens, 1874). In vocabulary he has mainly used Finnic languages for comparative purposes, but Prof. Hommel has lately (Zeitschrift für Keilinschriftforschung, April, '82, 1-2; July, 1884, 1-3; Nov., 1884, 1-4) argued in favour of Turkic affinities. A thoroughly reliable Akkadian vocabulary is still wanting, but there is a substantial agreement between the works of Sayce, Lenormant, and Delitszch as to a great many words. Taking these as a basis, I have made an independent study of both grammar and vocabulary; out of 800 words I find 400 almost unchanged as common words in Vambery's Comparative Turko-Tartar Vocabulary above quoted, and about 300 in Donner's Finnisch-Ugrischen Sprachen. In the latest Turkish Dictionary (Samy Bey Fraschery, 1885), I find as true Turkish words about 200 which are almost identical with Akkadian words. The Turkic roots are generally nearer than the Finnic, as, for instance, *Tin*, "life," Turkic *Tin*, Finnic *Leny*; or *Dingir*, "God," Turkic *Tangri*, Finnic *Jumala*. The peculiar position of the plural preceding the suffix in Akkadian and in Medic is that of the Turanian languages. Oppert says that the peculiarities of Medic "attach it to the great Altaic family," and that with Sumerian (Akkadian), and even more completely, "it is the most ancient specimen left us of the linguistic stock of higher Asia" (p. ix.); and again, "of all the chief stocks, that of the Turk seems to offer most resemblance with Medic, but we must not exclude frequent analogies with the Ugrian and Finnic properly so called" (Les Mèdes, p. 50). Lenormant (La Magie chez les Chaldéens, 1874) agrees that Medic is a Turkic language. About 220 words are known belonging to the language as it existed about 500 B.C. There is substantial agreement as to sound and meaning between Oppert and Lenormant. About 70 of these words are like Akkadian, and the grammar of the two languages is closely similar. The majority of the Medic words will be found in Vambery's Turko-Tartar Vocabulary, and very many exist in modern Turkish.

[7] Prof. de Lacouperie thinks that the Chinese is directly borrowed from the Cuneiform, but the facts are as yet too meagre to allow of a final decision.

and it is perhaps to these Egyptian Turanians and not to the African stock that the hieroglyphic system owes its origin. This is rendered the more likely because in Egyptian, as in Semitic Cuneiform, a double system (syllables and determinatives) occurs. In the Cuneiform this was due to the use of the symbols in expressing a language distinct from that of the original inventors. The same may have been the case in Egyptian, and the language of the monuments is very probably not the language to which the hieroglyphic system originally belonged.

However this may be, the comparative study of these four systems is attracting increased attention, and serves to throw much light on the archaic hieroglyphs used in Asia Minor and in Syria to which the provisional name of Hittite has been given. This system approaches very closely to the Cuneiform, as it is now known, in its most archaic condition, from the monuments of Tell-loh. The arrangement of the texts and the forms and sounds of the symbols alike show most remarkable similarities.

Now, as above noted, it is very generally held that the Cypriote, Carian, Lycian, and Phrygian syllabaries—also found in use at Abydos in Egypt—are the "hieratic" forms or conventional sketches which were derived from the older Turanian system of Asia Minor and of Syria. These syllabaries were employed in countries surrounding Phœnicia. The Cypriote was first deciphered by means of a bilingual in Phœnician (written alphabetically) and in Greek (written in syllables); and it would seem far more natural for the Phœnicians to have improved on a system used by their immediate neighbours than it is to suppose that they imported a foreign system from Egypt.

The comparison between the early Phœnician forms and the Cypriote has not, as far as I can ascertain, been made; and an objection will, at the outset, be offered to such comparison, because it will be urged that as there are four or five syllables to every letter (*Ba, Be, Bi, Bo, Bu,* for B), the selection will be arbitrary and delusive. A careful study of the Cypriote syllables used by the Greeks will, however, dissolve this difficulty. Already in that system we find the emblems beginning to be used as consonants without vowel sound. In every case, when a syllabic emblem is so used, it is a short vowel, *ă* or *e,* which disappears. *Ne* stands for N, *Se,* for S, and so on. Thus if the forms of the Phœnician letters are compared with the forms of the syllables used as consonants only in Cypriote (which is easy in the majority of cases), we have not an arbitrary but a very natural selection, in the survival of

those syllables which have the weakest vowel sound, and in the gradual disuse of the strong syllables, which were replaced by consonants and by the stronger vowels, which were also represented in the Cypriote system by distinct emblems. It appears to me that this derivation of the Phœnician alphabet becomes inevitable from the moment of the discovery of the Asia Minor inscriptions, which present letters not surviving in Phœnicia. The comparisons which may be so attained are very much closer than those on which De Rougé relied in tracing the alphabet from the Egyptian hieratic. Thus the Semitic G may be derived from the Hittite and Cypriote *Ag* or *Ga*, originally a "crook"—such being the meaning of the Tartar root having that sound. The Semitic M can be gradually traced from the old Hittite emblem for country *Ma*, and the double peak still survives in the Roman capital M. Ma, not only in Akkadian, but in many living Turanian languages, is the early word for "country" or "home."[8]

Such a derivation of the alphabet agrees with the existence of a Turanian element in Phœnicia itself. The evidence of art is equally suggestive. The familiar emblems of Phœnicia are common to many countries in which a Turanian element has existed from the earliest times. Hercules, with his lion skin, was hewn at Amathus in Phœnicia 14 feet in height. He is the Etruscan Ercle, and the old Akkadian Er-gal or Uru-gal, "the great man" or "hero." The Scarabæus is an emblem of the Creator in Phœnicia, in Egypt, and in Etruria. The winged horse is common to Etruscans, Phœnicians, Hindus, and Assyrians; the two-headed eagle is found in Cappadocia, in Troy, and in Etruria. The soul is represented as a harpy or human-headed bird among Babylonians, Egyptians, Etruscans, and Phœnicians; the sphinx is found in Cappadocia, in Phœnicia, in Egypt, and in Etruria. The symbolism of ancient art is the same in all those countries into which we find the Turanians to have penetrated; and the Semitic race owed very much of its early civilisation to those settled Turanians whom it conquered and destroyed, just as the Arabs under the Khalifate adopted the civilisation of the Greeks, Persians, and Indians whom they subjugated and then employed. The present sketch will perhaps serve to show how important it is to remember, in studying the Phœnicians, that they were not exclusively a Semitic people.

C. R. CONDER.

[8] This word *Ma* is recognised by Lenormant, and Delitzch, though the common form in Akkadian is *Mat.* In Finnish *Maa*, in Vogul *Ma*, in Ziranian *Mu*, still mean "earth" or "land."

Archæology.

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CHIPPENHAM AS A VILLAGE COMMUNITY.

THE history of the village community, so far as it has been considered the parent of the later institutions of this country, has been narrowed down to an examination of the agricultural economy of certain districts. The position of the tenants, their dues to the lord, their peculiar methods of cultivating, have been exhaustively examined; but the position of the community from which all these other elements were derived has not yet received much attention. Of course the rise of the commercial system of economy shattered the primitive organisation of tribal communities much more quickly and much more efficaciously than it did the primitive methods of agriculture, and while the latter still obtained very extensively in England until quite recently, the former has long since disappeared. But its disappearance must have been due to certain processes of evolution; there is no evidence whatever of a sudden transformation from one system of institutions to another, although in individual examples some drastic measures may have interrupted the general course of events. Like all social organisms therefore which have passed through stages of development, it may be predicted that it has left some indications of its line of progress. If we examine narrowly the history of certain municipal towns we cannot but be struck by the existence of many strange customs and proceedings hardly at one with the commercial ideas which surround them. In a paper printed in *Archæologia* I some time since pointed out how these customs may be traced back to the archaic customs of the village community, and I propose to examine some points in the history of Chippenham which will, I venture to think, throw considerable light upon this subject. Such an examination would fall under the following heads:

1. The conditions of the settlement.
2. The transition from village community to chartered burgh.
3. The structure of the community.
4. The system of cultivation.

I. THE CONDITIONS OF THE SETTLEMENT.

There is some evidence that the Britons had one of their forest homes not far from the present site of the town of Chippenham. Turning up from the river Avon through a narrow roadway indicative enough of early occupation is a farm now known by the name of Cockleborough, and Aubrey has preserved for us a tradition of his time that this place was once a "borough."[1] The thick woods of a forest, which can even now be traced in the forests of Braden, Calne and Bowood, Pewsham Wood, Blackmore, Selwood, Groveley, Gillingham, Cranbourn Chase and New Forest,[2] hemmed this place in and made it a stronghold such as Cæsar tells us that the Britons retreated to. But that this British stronghold guided the settlement of the English on the river Avon, within bowshoot almost of its ruins, there is no evidence to tell. The English settlement was made in a clearing in the forest, and the process may be pictured by what we know of the doings under similar circumstances in other lands. The holding in the forest is traditionally recorded in the rhyme preserved by Aubrey, who, noting that "this towne did stand in the Pewsham forest before it was disafforested about the year 16[30], the people made this rhyme:

> "'When Chipnam stood
> In Pewsham wood
> Before it was destroyed
> A cowe might have gone for a groate a yeare,
> But now it is denayied.'"[3]

and the ancient way to the forest is even now marked in the place-names of the modern town by the name of Forest-lane.

Now with these facts before us may we conclude that the settlement at Chippenham was not accomplished until after the main Anglo-Saxon settlements had taken place? Bearing in mind what Mr. Kemble has to say about the gradual encroachment of the communities on the mark "when once the surface of a country has become thickly studded with communities settled between the marks, and daily finding the several clearings grow less and less sufficient for their support,"[4] we may turn to the evident origin of the name Chippenham as the market-village for our next guidance. Dotted here and there in the ancient forest lands of middle

[1] Aubrey's *Collections for Wilts*, p. 10.
[2] Rev. Canon Jackson, *Hist. of Chippenham*, 2.
[3] *Collections for Wilts*, p. 8.
[4] *Saxons in England*, i. 48-49.

England, are market-villages whose history is of considerable importance. By the side of Chippenham in Wilts we must place Chipping [Campden] and Chipping [Sodbury] in Gloucestershire, Chipping [Lambourn] in Berks, Chippenhurst, Chippinghurst, and Chipping [Norton] in Oxfordshire, Chipping [Wycombe] in Bucks, Chipping [Warden] in Northamptonshire, Chipping and Chipping [Barnet] in Herts, Chipping [Ongar] in Essex, and Chippingham in Cambridgeshire. All these were carved out of the waste lands of the early communities. This crucial fact enables us to take an important step in ascertaining the origin of these market-villages. "In order to understand what a market originally was," says Sir Henry Maine, "you must try to picture to yourselves a territory occupied by village communities, self-acting, and as yet autonomous, each cultivating its arable lands in the middle of its waste, and each, I fear I must add, in perpetual war with its neighbour. But at several points, points probably where the domains of two or three villages converged, there appear to have been spaces of what we now call neutral ground. These were the markets. They were probably the only places at which the members of the different primitive groups met for any purpose except warfare, and the persons who came to them were doubtless at first persons specially empowered to exchange the produce and manufactures of one little village community for those of another."[5] Of course in this passage we have a picture drawn rather from India than England, but there is not wanting evidence to prove that much of it is as true of the past state of one country as of the arrested stage of the other.

Thus then we have the market-village of Chippenham, situated conveniently on the banks of the river Avon, which helps to show us that the Wilsetas understood the art of settlement, a fact which is abundantly evidenced by the situation of their towns throughout the county—a situation which led the rural economists of last century to speak so eloquently about them.[6] When next we come to the period when the Kings of Wessex possessed a hunting seat at Chippenham, and the Latin chronicles begin to style it "villa regia,"[7] we are dealing with the accidents of its early history. That the Danes encamped here for a short time, that one of their chieftains found his last resting-place in a tumulus still called after him "Hubba's low," are facts of more pregnant importance, because

[5] *Village Communities*, p. 192.
[6] See Marshall's *Rural Economy of the Southern Counties*, ii., 307-308.
[7] Canon Jackson's *History of Chippenham*, p. 7.

where the Danes settled, there, as a rule, they stamped the mark of their occupation.[8]

In considering the settlement at Chippenham therefore, there are the following interesting facts to note:—There is scarcely any evidence of contact with the Celtic settlement in its neighbourhood; there is absolutely no trace of any town or even occupation-land having been on this site during the Roman period.[9] My suggestion then is that the community founded for itself a settlement in the free forest or mark: and that this may account for the fact that, passing forward to the days of political history, we find it under no lord but the king. And it may be pointed out that under the lordship of the king, the Saxon community is in the same position as the Welsh free tribal communities, the chieftainship of which, at the time when Wales was conquered by Edward I., was vested directly in the Prince of Wales, and did not fall into the hands of manorial lords.[10] When Mr. Seebohm discusses the creation of new manors out of the folcland he quotes a passage from one of King Alfred's treatises, which is pregnant with suggestions in such a case as Chippenham,[11] but he leaves the question still open whether out of the clearing in the forest would arise a free village community, or a village community in serfdom under a manor and its lord. We will see what the evidence is with regard to Chippenham.

2. THE TRANSITION FROM VILLAGE COMMUNITY TO CHARTERED BURGH.

When we come to gather up the facts for a comprehensive view of the community of Chippenham we see plainly enough that it passed through several stages of decay or disruption until finally it was broken-up, leaving only mosaics of its original constitution. These mosaics will come under examination presently, and in the meantime it is necessary to turn to the evidence of three very important stages in the process of breaking-up which, fortunately, can be ascertained. This evidence is to be derived from the settlement of a dispute in chancery in the reign of James I., the charter of Queen Mary, and Domesday; and I represent these to myself as

[8] That the Danes had some degree of influence at Chippenham is shown by the Domesday record of "Rainaldus Canut," who held there 1 hide of the king. Canut is certainly a Danish name and he held lands nowhere else in Wiltshire.

[9] Jackson's *History of Chippenham*, p. 3. The nearest evidences of Roman occupation are at Studley, Bromham, Lacock, Box, and Colerne.

[10] Seebohm's *English Village Community*, p. 237.

[11] Ibid, 170.

epochs in the history of the Chippenham community when the force of outside events had produced internal disruptions—a state of things which, if read by the light of comparative history, will reveal to us several important features in the transition from village community to an organisation which would meet the requirements of an advanced commercial society.

The document dating from the reign of James I. is a decree of Chancery settling a dispute which had arisen between the inhabitants of one portion of the then borough and the borough authorities as to who were entitled to enjoy the borough lands. Finally it was settled that all the tenements which then stood within the borough were in future to represent the initial rights of the community to the exclusion of all tenements which might subsequently be created. Here it will be seen that in the village itself first commenced the process of decay: the old homesteads did not suffice for the growing population, so long as group-living did not obtain. But this decree not only reveals where the decay had set in, but where the natural development of the primitive community was arrested. The original democratic constitution of the old community is revealed by the struggle which took place before it was possible to create tenements which did not carry with them the rights of burghal freemanship; and this sudden stoppage of a development from a democratic village community to a democratic burghal community is the fact which marks the break-up of the older organisation of the village.

But if in the reign of James I., it had become necessary to resort to the law courts to obtain an arrest of the natural growth of the community, may we not assume that the previous charter of Mary had been obtained for a somewhat similar object? Up to that date, Chippenham was unchartered. Whatever rights and privileges it possessed, had descended with its old position of a village community, or to speak technically, a manor; and for it to have suddenly obtained the position of a chartered borough, without possessing any great commercial activity which needed protection, betokens that something was going on which threatened its existence as a corporate body. This is what appears to me to be fairly deducible from the legal operations of King James and Queen Mary. And this inference is borne out by some facts which are presented to us from other sources, and which show that the danger to be met was the transfer of the village lands into holdings in severalty.

In early days the Bailiff of Chippenham had struggled hard to

maintain the old land-rights of the community,[12] in the days of Mary it would appear, if we take the charter to represent the whole facts of the case, that the community was almost landless. It might be argued from this that the community of Chippenham had lost its lands during the disruptions which enabled the Lords of Hungerford to grasp at all they could lay hands on. But it does not at all follow that the grant of Queen Mary suggests that Chippenham possessed no lands other than those then bestowed. The alienation of the corporation lands has been enormous since this period,[13] and this alienation may well have been from lands held by prescriptive rights, which would be more readily disposed of, while the charter-granted lands, possessing a more definite and publicly-known title, could not have been so readily alienated. This view of the case is confirmed by a very curious piece of evidence. Some land called the West Mead is granted by Queen Mary's charter. The extent of it was then stated to be 30 acres, and it still remained in the hands of the corporation in 1835, its exact acreage being 30 ac., 3. r. 15 p. But in the occupation of this mead, which is cultivated, as we shall presently see, in an extremely archaic fashion, are associated several individual freeholders who hold their portion of the common "in the same manner as the corporation hold theirs."[14] Who then are these individual freeholders? They must have been small holders, as their whole possession did not amount to more than 13 acres, and their intimate association with the corporation lands is most significant. Surely we have something more here than a merely convenient arrangement for agricultural purposes? My own suggestion is, that they are descendants of original members of the community who before Queen Mary's time had transferred their temporary rights in the land to a holding in severalty. If this is the right reading of the evidence, we may go one step further, and say they represent the last of a series of transactions which had been going on from time to time since the days of the first carving out of the market village in the forest, and which will fully account for the necessity of converting the prescriptive village community into a chartered burghal community.

Taking into account then that the community was already in possession of some lands at the time of Queen Mary's grant, our next point is to consider the nature of this grant. The lands granted to the newly made burgh, had belonged to Walter,

[12] Jackson's *History of Chippenham*, p. 21.

[13] For instance, the *Municipal Corporation Commission* shows that over 86 acres of the chartered lands were "missing" in 1835.

[14] *Municipal Corporation Commission.*

Lord Hungerford, beheaded by Henry VIII. They were in temporary possession of the crown, until the heir came of age, which event happened within 23 days after the date of the charter.[15] And the reason for cutting off from the possessions of Lord Hungerford, lands which made up a great part of the parish of Chippenham, seems to me to rest, not so much in the caprice of the sovereign, as in the asserted rights of the community which had at one time or other been despoiled of these very lands. For there are two very important facts which suggest such a state of things. The first and most important is that when the new corporation began to utilize their newly chartered lands, they did so in a thoroughly archaic fashion, and not in the spirit of the charter, nor of the transactions in King James's reign. This gives us evidence of the continuity of the methods of holding and cultivation, and hence it goes a long way towards establishing a continuity of the holding itself; for why should a community suddenly created by a modern charter proceed to exercise its rights in the fashion it might have done if its lands had descended uninterruptedly from the earliest times? It certainly could not have invented the traditional customs of a bygone age, and the tradition could scarcely have survived without the aid of the lands which supported it. Secondly, the evidence of Domesday proves that at the time of the Norman conquest, the community possessed the lands subsequently granted it by Queen Mary out of the possessions of Lord Hungerford. We shall presently deal more at length with the survivals of archaic custom and with the evidence of Domesday, but for the present, it is sufficient to point out that, for both of these reasons, it appears that Mary's grant may be interpreted as representing the asserted rights of the community based upon their continuance from early times. Taking this evidence on the whole, therefore, it seems to prove that the period which witnessed the inauguration of the new borough witnessed, too, the last stages of the village-community. The old democratic and archaic constitution was not suited to the times which recognised landed property as one of the chief means of individual wealth. The village-community, therefore, passed on into the burghal community, and in its new capacity re-asserted some of its old rights. It obtained some of these rights in the charter granted lands, and by retaining with these the old methods of cultivation, we are better able to identify them as remnants of a once more extensive land-community.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

(To be continued.)

[15] Jackson's *History of Chippenham*, p. 23.

THE PHYSICIANS OF MYDDFAI.

(Continued from ante, p. 32)

WE may now deal with the taboo and its breach. It will be remembered that the bridegroom of Myddfai is forbidden to strike "three causeless blows." Of course he disobeys. According to the Cambro-Briton version it happened that one day, preparing for a fair, he desired his wife to go to the field for his horse. Finding her dilatory in doing so he tapped her arm thrice with his glove, saying, half in jest, "Go, go, go!" The blows were slight, but they were blows; and, the terms of the marriage contract being broken, the dame departed—she and her cattle with her—back into the lake. The other two accounts agree in spreading the blows over a much greater length of time. Mr. Rees' version relates that once the husband and wife were invited to a christening in the neighbourhood. The lady, however, appeared reluctant to go, making the feminine excuse that the distance was too far to walk. Her husband told her to fetch one of the horses from the field. "I will," said she, "if you will bring me my gloves, which I left in the house." He went, and, returning with the gloves, found that she had not gone for the horse; so he jocularly slapped her shoulder with one of the gloves, saying, "Go, go!" Whereupon she reminded him of the condition that he was not to strike her without a cause, and warned him to be more careful in future. Another time when they were together at a wedding she burst out sobbing in the midst of the joy and mirth of all around her. Her husband touched her on the shoulder and enquired the cause of her weeping. She replied: "Now people are entering into trouble; and your troubles are likely to commence, as you have the second time stricken me without a cause." Finding how very wide an interpretation she put upon the "causeless blows," the unfortunate husband did his best to avoid anything which could give occasion for the third and last blow. But one day they were together at a funeral, where, in the midst of the grief, she appeared in the highest spirits and indulged in immoderate fits of laughter. Her husband was so shocked that he touched her, saying, "Hush, hush! don't laugh!" She retorted that she laughed, "because people, when they die, go out of trouble;" and, rising up, she left the house, exclaiming: "The last blow has been struck; our marriage contract is broken, and at an end! Farewell!" Hurrying home she called together all the fairy cattle which had been given by her

father as her dowry, walked off with them to the lake and vanished in its waters. A little black calf, slaughtered and suspended on the hook, descended alive and well again to obey his mistress' summons; and four grey oxen, which were ploughing, dragged the plough behind them as they went, leaving a well marked furrow that remains to this day, "to witness if I lie." The remaining version with some differences of detail represents the same eccentric pessimism (which we are presumably to attribute to the greater spiritual insight of the lady's supernatural character) as the cause of the husband's not unwarranted annoyance and of his breach of the agreement.

The lady of the Van Pool, whatever her practice, had in theory some relics of old-fashioned wifely duty. She did not object to the chastisement which the law, at all events in England, allowed a husband to bestow, provided always it were in her opinion deserved; but she refused to bear "causeless blows." The Partridge's wife, on the other hand, declined to be struck at all; and in another Welsh legend—that of Llyn Nelferch, in the parish of Ystradyfodwg, in Glamorganshire, not many miles from the Van Pool—the water fairy is even more exacting. Three simple disagreements, without blows, are sufficient to separate her from her earthly husband: this is incompatibility of temper with a vengeance![1]

A hero of the Welsh border, Wild Edric, of whose historic reality as one of the English rebels against William the Conqueror there is no doubt, has gathered about his name a considerable accretion of myth. One story, given by Walter Mapes, relates that he succeeded in capturing a supernatural maiden and dragging her, despite a furious resistance, from a dance in which she was engaged with a number of companions. She brooded in sullen silence for three whole days; but on the fourth she suddenly exclaimed to her new master, who was endeavouring by caress and persuasion to reconcile her to her lot: "Good luck to you, my dear! and you will be lucky, too, and enjoy health and peace and plenty, so long as you do not reproach me on account of my sisters, or the place from which you snatched me away, or anything connected with it. For on the day when you do so you will lose both your bride and your good fortune; and when I am taken away from you, you will pine away quickly to an early death." He pledged himself to fidelity; and to their splendid nuptials nobles came from far and near. The chronicler, writing little more than a century afterwards, tells us that King William heard of the wonder, and bade

[1] Transactions of the Aberdare Eisteddfod, 225.

the newly wedded pair to London, where he was then holding his court, that he might test the truth of the tale. They proved it to him by the evidence of many witnesses from their own country as well as by the lady's superhuman beauty, and he let them return in peace. One evening, after many years of happiness, Edric returned late from hunting and could not find his wife. When he had spent some time in vainly seeking and calling for her, she appeared. "I suppose," he began angrily, "it is your sisters who have detained you so long; have they not?" At the mention of her sisters she vanished; and neither her husband's self-reproaches, nor his tears, nor any search could ever find her again.[2]

Going somewhat further afield we may note one or two Eastern variants. In the great Sanskrit epic of the Mahábhárata we are told that King Sántanu, walking by a river side one day, met and fell in love with a beautiful girl, who told him that she was the river Ganges, and could only marry him on condition that he never questioned her conduct. To this he, with a truly royal gallantry, agreed; and she bore him several children, all of whom she threw into the river as soon as they were born. At last she bore him a boy, Bhíshma; and her husband begged her to spare his life, whereupon she instantly changed into the river Ganges and flowed away.[3] Tawhaki, a mythic hero of the Maories, was beloved by a girl of heavenly race named Tango-tango, who gave him their little daughter to wash. Evidently he did not like the work, for, while carrying out his wife's instructions, he made a very rude remark about the child. Hearing this, Tango-tango began to sob bitterly, and at last rose up from her place with the child and took flight to the sky, where Tawhaki, after many disappointments and indignities, was allowed to rejoin them, but not to bring them back to earth.[4] In the Bantik legend, cited above, the husband is forbidden to tear out one white hair which Outahagi, his wife, has. He disobeys after she has given birth to a son; and she vanishes in a tempest and returns to the sky. Taking the child on his back, he succeeds in climbing after her and finding her again.

The catastrophe of the normal Swan-maiden story, is the recovery of the magical dress, which enables the wife to return to her distant home. This catastrophe is not the one adopted in The

[2] Miss Burne *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, 59, citing Walter Mapes, De Nugis Cur. Dis. ii., ch. 12.

[3] *Panjab N. & Q.* ii. 207. In this form the story is found as a tradition, probably derived from the Mahábhárata.

[4] Sir George Grey *Polynesian Mythology*, 66. Taylor *New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, 138.

Physicians of Myddfai; and I shall accordingly leave aside all examples of it, profoundly interesting from their weird and poetic beauty though many of them are. There is, however, one observation which will not be irrelevant. In Swan-maiden stories the recovery of the dress is rarely, if ever, made the subject of an express prohibition to the hero. At most he is advised by a friend not to let his beloved obtain, or even see, her cast plumage. And yet, the catastrophe is as inevitable, and as fully foreseen from the beginning, as the breach of an explicit taboo. Both alike are the work of doom. A legend of the Loo-Choo Islands, expresses this feeling in its baldest form. A farmer sees a bright light in his well, and on drawing near, beholds a woman diving and washing in the water. Her clothes, strange in shape, and of a ruddy sunset colour, are hanging on a pine tree near at hand. He takes them, and thus compels her to marry him. She lives with him for ten years, bearing him a son and a daughter. At the end of that time her fate is fulfilled, she ascends a tree during her husband's absence, and having bidden her children farewell, glides off on a cloud, and disappears.[5] This story approaches nearer to the Swan-maiden type than those we have been considering; the heroine's departure occurs during her husband's absence, and possibly the cloud is a reminiscence of the retrieved clothing which may have been lost from some earlier version. But the point emphasized is the fulfilment of fate, a point certainly present alike in the normal story, and in those variants we have been considering, though more or less latent.

Returning to Europe, I need only mention Mélusine, whose stipulation was that she should be permitted to spend her Saturdays alone. An Esthonian tale which I have cited elsewhere[6] sets before us a mer-maid, who conversely to the cases under consideration, takes the hero to dwell with her below the seas. She passes her Thursdays alone. Here we are on the threshold of another series of traditions, such as those of Olger the Dane, Ossian, and Thomas the Rhymer. Their investigation is foreign to our purpose, and having simply indicated their connection with the group we are reviewing, I pass on.

In Wales the tale of the supernatural bride, is by no means confined to the Van Pool and Llyn Nelferch. In one case given by Professor Rhys, the heir of the owner of Corwrion in Upper Arllechwedd, Carnarvonshire, fell in love with a fairy of "the

[5] Dennys *The Folk-Lore of China*, 140.

[6] Kreutzwald, *Ehstnische Märchen*, 212, cited *Folk-Lore Journal*, iii. 231.

bottomless pool of Corwrion," and the marriage took place upon two conditions—first, that the husband was not to know his wife's name, though he might give her any name he chose; and, second, that if she misbehaved towards him, he might now and then beat her with a rod, but that he should not strike her with iron, on pain of her leaving him at once. "This covenant was kept for some years, so that they lived happily together, and had four children, of whom the two youngest were a boy and a girl. But one day as they went to one of the fields of Bryn Twrw, in the direction of Penardd Gron, to catch a pony, the fairy wife, being so much nimbler than her husband, ran before him and had her hand in the pony's mane in no time. She called out to her husband to throw her a halter, but instead of that he threw towards her a bridle with an iron bit, which, as bad luck would have it, struck her. The wife at once flew through the air, and plunged headlong into Corwrion Lake. The husband returned sighing and weeping towards Bryn Twrw (Noise Hill), and when he reached it, the twrw (noise) there was greater than had ever been heard before, namely, that of weeping after 'Belene,' and it was then, after he had struck her with iron, that he first learnt what his wife's name was."[7]

I trust I may be acquitted of a joke if I say that here the terms of the taboo are striking, and may well detain us a short time. It is so difficult for us to put ourselves into the mental attitude of savages, that we do not understand the objection which they almost all entertain to mentioning their own personal names. The objection itself is, however, well-known; but it is not always manifested in exactly the same form. In some cases a man only refuses to utter the name himself, while he will utter another's name readily enough. Sometimes it is deemed an unpardonable thing to call another by name; he must be addressed, or spoken of, by an epithet. And frequently a man's real name is a profound secret known only to himself, all others knowing him only by some epithet or title. Sometimes it is only forbidden to relatives by marriage to speak one another's names. Thus in various ways etiquette has prescribed a number of customs limiting the utterance of names among savage and barbarous peoples all the world over. The origin of these rules and customs seems to have been the dread of sorcery. A personal name was held to be a part of its owner; and, just as the possession of a lock of another's hair, or even a paring of his nail, was believed to confer power over him, so was the knowledge of his name.

[7] *Cymmrodor*, iv., 201.

Similarly men in the lower culture have a great fear of having their likenesses taken, and everybody is familiar with the belief that a witch, who has made a waxen image and given it the name of any one whom she wants to injure, can, by sticking pins in it, or melting it in a flame, inflict pain and even death upon the person whom the doll represents. The Welsh have been no freer from the superstitions of witchcraft than their neighbours; and, though there may be no direct evidence of the fact, the analogy of the beliefs of other countries will suggest that among those superstitions must have been one which looked with dread on the injurious uses that might be made of one's name by an enemy. If this be so, the fairy of Corwrion might naturally fear for a man of another race, albeit her husband, to become possessed of her real name. Some other stories in Professor Rhys' collection show that this is the stage of thought to which the prohibition to know her name is to be referred. It is related at Waenfawr, near Carnarvon, that a youth broke into a dance of the Fairies on the banks of the Gwyrfai, near Cwellyn Lake, one moonlight night, and carried off a maiden. She refused to wed him, but consented to remain his servant. One evening, however, he overheard two of her kindred speaking of her, and caught her name, Penelope. When she found that he had learnt her name she gave way to grief; evidently she now knew that her fate was sealed. On his importunity being renewed she at length consented to marry him, but on the other condition, to be discussed presently, that he should not strike her with iron.[8] A similar tale was related in the vale of Beddgelert, wherein the stolen lady would only consent to union with her ravisher if he could find out her name. When he had discovered it, she asked in astonishment, "O mortal, who has betrayed my name to thee?" Then, lifting up her tiny folded hands, she exclaimed: "Alas! my fate, my fate!"[9] In a variant the maiden, pressed by her human lover, promises to marry, provided he can find out her name. When he succeeds in doing this, she faints away, but has to submit to her doom.[10] It is clear from these narratives that the knowledge of the fairy's name conferred power over her which she was unable to resist. This is surely the interpretation also of the Danish tale of a man from whom a Hill-troll had stolen no fewer than three wives. Riding home late one night afterwards he saw a great crowd of Hill-folk dancing and making merry, and among them he recognised his three wives. One of these was Kirsten, his best beloved, and he called *out* to her *and named her name.* The troll, whose

[8] Ibid, 189. [9] Ibid. v., 59. [10] Ibid, 66.

name was Skynd, or hurry, came up to him and asked him why he presumed to call Kirsten. The man explained that she had been his favourite wife, and begged him with tears to give her back to him. The troll at last consented, but with the proviso that he should never hurry (skynde) her. For a long time the condition was observed; but one day, as she was delayed in fetching something for her husband from the loft, he cried out to her: "Make haste, Kirsten!" (Skynde dig, Kirsten); and he had hardly spoken the words when the woman was gone, compelled to return to the troll's abode.[11] Here we have the phenomenon in a double form; for not only does the husband regain his wife from the troll, by pronouncing her name, but he loses her once more by inadvertently summoning her captor.

[1] Keightley, *The Fairy Mythology*, 121.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

(To be continued.)

INDEX NOTES.

3.—ROMAN REMAINS (*ante* p. 40)—ii. GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

[The *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society*, vols. i-x., and Witts' *Archæological Handbook of Gloucester* are completely indexed for Roman Remains in the following list:—]

ALMONDSBURY, entrenchment. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ii. 18.

BENGEWORTH, coins, pottery, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ix. 22.

BIBURY, villa, *with* pottery, coins, &c. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.* 55.

BICKNOR, coins, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 305.

BISLEY, villa, *with* pottery, glass, bronze implements, knives, coins, &c. *Arch. Assoc.*, i. 44, ii. 324; *Arch. Journ.*, ii. 42; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, v. 11, 14, 38-39.

BITTON, square camp, villas. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ii. 28, 88, iii. 88; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 231.

BLACKMINSTER, coins, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ix. 22-23.

BOURTON-IN-THE-WATER (Salmonsbury camp), villa, gold signet ring, coins, iron sword blades, glass, pottery, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vii. 16, 71-72; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 209; Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.* 44, 56.

BRISTOL, coins, inscribed pigs of lead. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 320-321; vi. 36.

BROCKWORTH, roadways, pottery. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vii. 131-132.

CERNEY (North) some few remains. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 33.

CHEDWORTH, villa, *with* bath, pottery, bronze, silver, lead, pig iron, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ii. 19; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, iv. 201, 233; *Gent. Mag.*, 1865, ii. 302-303.

CHIPPING CAMPDEN, coins. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ix. 135.

CHIPPING SODBURY, camp. *Arch.*, xix. 165; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, viii. 74-78; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, iii. 54, vi. 219.

CIRENCESTER, extensive remains of station (Corinium) *with* walls, pavements, villas, sculpture, inscriptions, pottery, coins, &c. *Arch.*, xviii. 124-125; *Arch. Journ.*, vi. 321; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ii. 14-15, iii. 256, viii. 183, 185, 309-313; *Wilts' Arch. Soc.*, xiv. 186-192; *Gent. Mag.*,

1835, ii. 302; 1836, i. 296; 1837, i. 586-588; 1838, ii. 180; 1849, ii. 357-360; 1850, i. 25-26.
CLEEVE (Nottingham Hill, Camp), coins, lance heads, &c. *Arch.*, xix. 171; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 205; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 209
COLD ASTON, entrenchment. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 207.
COLEFORD, coins. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vi. 109.
COLESBOURN (Combend Farm), villa, *with* pavements, iron fragments, coins, human skeleton, &c. *Arch.*, ix. 319-322, xviii. 112-113.
CRAB-TREE HILL, coins. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vi. 108.
CROMHALL, villa *with* coins, pottery, &c. *Arch. Journ.*, xvii. 332.

DAGLINGWORTH, villa. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 61.
DEAN (forest of), iron-cinders, coins. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, ii. 216-234, vi. 35, 107-122, ix. 72.
DODINGTON, villa, pottery. Leland's *Itin.*, vi. 75; Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 62.
DOWDESWELL, camp. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 203.
DRYHILL, villa *with* coins, pottery, glass, stylus, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 208; Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.* 60.

GLOUCESTER, wall, foundations, interments, urns, pavements, coins, inscriptions, &c. *Arch.*, x. 132, xviii. 121; *Bristol and Glouc Arch. Soc.*, i. 153-166, ii. 210-215; vi. 345-352; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 154; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1884, 149; *Gent. Mag.*, 1806, ii. 869-870; 1843, ii. 420; 1846, ii. 517; 1854, i. 486-487; 1855, ii. 42.

HARESFIELD, camp, villa, 3000 coins, horse shoe, &c. *Arch.*, xix. 169; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 211; Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 62.
HEMPSTEAD, camp, interments, coins, pottery. *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 227.
HENBURY, camp (Blaizecastle), coins. *Arch.*, xix. 162; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 15, 83; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 231.
HORSEFIELD, slave chain, &c. *Gent. Mag.*, 1817, ii. 272.

KINETON QUARRY, interments, buildings, pottery, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vii. 76-77.
KINGSCOTE, villa, *with* coins, statue, &c. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 63.
KINGSHOLM (near Gloucester), interments, urns, pottery, coins, &c. *Arch.* vii. 376-381, x. 132, xviii. 121-124; *Gent. Mag.*, 1815, ii. 271-272; 1853, ii. 39-40.
KING'S WESTON, camp. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 83.

LARK'S BUSH, coins. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 21; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 214.
LECKHAMPTON HILL, camp, bronze helmet, spear head, coins, pottery, &c. *Arch.*, xix. 171; *Arch. Journ.*, xii. 9; *Arch. Assoc.*, i. 43; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 206; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 209.
LYDBROOK, coins. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vi. 108.
LYDNEY, entrenchments, villa, temple, pottery, coins from Augustus to Arcadius, lead-inscribed tablet. *Arch.*, v. 207-208; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., v. 96; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vi. 30, 40, 75-79, 210-221; *Antiq. Repert*, i. 134, ii. 389.

MORETON-IN-THE-MARSH (near) camp, coins, &c. Witts' *Arch. Handbook of Glouc.*, 4.

NEWLAND (near) coins, cinders. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vi. 107.

OLDBURY ON SEVERN, coins. *Arch.*, xix. 163; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 229.

PAINSWICK, Kimsbury Camp, tank, coins, sword, spear heads, pottery, &c., villa. *Arch.*, xix. 169; *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 205, v. p. 54; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 211.
PENPARK HOLE, lead mine. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch Soc.*, iv. 320-328.

RODMARTON, villa, pavement, coins, pottery, fibulæ. *Arch.*, xviii. 113-116.

ST. BRIAVELS (near), coin of Vespasian. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vi. 107.
SPOONLEY WOOD, villa, pottery, columns, coins, spoons, &c. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 70.
STAUNTON, coins, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, v. 69; vi. 19; vii. 227.
STINCHCOMBE, villa, hairpins, trinkets, &c. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 65.
STOW-IN-THE-WOLD, interments, masonry, coins, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vii. 72.
STROUD (Brown's Hill), villa, tiles, coins, pottery, &c. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.* 56.
SUDELEY, villa, rings, beads, statue, fibulæ, &c. Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 66.
SWELL (Upper and Nether), villa, pottery, coins, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 209; vii. 72-74, 76; Witts' *Handbook of Glouc.*, 66.

TETBURY, coins. Rudder's *Glouc.*, 727; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 219.

ULEY, coins. *Arch.*, xix. 167-169; *Arch. Journ.*, xi. 328; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, vi. 213.
UPPER SLAUGHTER, interments. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, vii. 77-80; *Gent. Mag.*, 1864, i. 365.

WHITTINGTON (Wycomb), villa, *with* coins, pottery, fibulæ, stylus, knives, keys, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 209; v. 188; *Gent. Mag.*, 1863. ii. 627; 1864, i. 86-88; ii. 85-87, 432.
WITCOMB, villa, *with* small steelyard, ivory comb, stone mortar, iron ploughshare, fibulæ, buckles, &c. *Arch.*, xix. 178-183; *Bristol and Glouc.*, iv. 34; *Cott. Nat. Field Club*, v. 247.
WITHINGTON, villa, pavements, pottery. *Arch.*, xviii. 118-121; *Gent. Mag.*, 1811, ii. 80.
WOODCHESTER, villa, frescoes, statuary, pottery, glass, coins, human bones, &c. *Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc.*, v. 14, 142-147.
WOTTON, inscriptions, urns, coins, &c. *Gent. Mag.*, 1824, ii. 165; 1838, i. 302.

4.—FOREIGN PERIODICALS (ARCHÆOLOGICAL PAPERS).

REVUE CELTIQUE, Vol. IX., No. I.—La Légende de la conception de Cuchulainn (Translation from L.N.H. and Eg., 1782), *L. Duvau.*—The Voyage of Snegdus and Mac Rialga (Text, from Yellow Book of Lecan, and Translation), *Whitley Stokes.*—Légendes des Monnaies Gauloises, *A. de Barthélemy.*—Recherches sur l'origine de la propriété foncière et des noms de lieu en France, No. 3, *H. D'Arbois de Jubainville.*—Notes on Welsh Consonants, *M. Nettlau.*—Quelques inscriptions de Saintes contenant des noms gaulois, *R. Cagnat.*—Un monument inédit de la liturgie celtique, *F. E. Warren.* Melanges.—Bibliographie.

MÉLUSINE, Vol. IV., Nos. 1, 2.—Les trois clercs et le chat, légende chrétienne de l'Irlande, *H. Gaidoz.* Le Suicide, *H. Gaidoz.* Les rites de la construction, *H. Gaidoz.* Deux jeux Strasbourgeois, *A. Barth.* Les contes Brétons et les publications populaires, *E. Ernault.* Les Esprits-Forts de l'antiquité classique, *H. Gaidoz.* Les facéties de la Mer, *H. Gaidoz.* Bibliographie—La fascination (suite), *M. J. Tuchmann.* La flèche de Nemrod, *E. Lefébure.* L'enfant juif, version Irlandaise, *H. Gaidoz.* La procédure du Jeun, *H. Gaidoz.* Le monde fantastique en Haute Brétagne, *A. Orain.* Les chansons populaires en Haute Bretagne (avec musique notée), *A. Orain.* Oblations à la mer et présages (suite)—Bibliographie.

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(Continued from page 44.)

[Journal of British Archæological Association, vol. xliii.; Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xvii. (archæological papers relating to Britain); Archæologia Cambrensis, 5th series, vol. iv.;

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——— Interesting Discovery at Llantwit Major. *Arch. Camb.* 5th ser. iv. 151-155.
——— Llandaff Cathedral: Church Goods. *Arch. Camb.* 5th ser. iv., 225-235.

Babcock (W. H.), American song-games and wonder-tales. *Folk-Lore Journ.* v. 134-139.
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Beddoe (J., M.D.), The stature of the old races of England as estimated from the Long Bones. *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* xvii., 202-209.
Birch (W. de Gray), Notes on the will of King John. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii., 335-339.
——— Present Condition of the Roman Remains at Bath. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii., 145-148.
Black (W. G.), Folk-tales of North Friesland. *Folk-Lore Journ.* v., 335-338.
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Clouston (W. A.), Two South Pacific Folk-Tales. *Folk-Lore Journ.* v., 254-257.
Colles (Dr. A.), A witches' ladder. *Folk-Lore Journ.* v., 1-5.
Courtney (Miss M. A.), Cornish Folk-Lore. *Folk-Lore Journ.* v., 14-61, 85-112, 117-220.
Cuming (H. Syer), Traders' signs on old London Bridge. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii., 162-173.

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Egan (F. W.), Irish Folk-Lore. *Folk-Lore Journ.* v., 11-13.

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Frazer (J. G.), A Witch's Ladder. *Folk-Lore Journ.* v., 81-83.

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Harker (J., M.D.), The Consecrated Well of Lancaster Castle Hill. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii., 348-352.
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I'anson (J.), St. Wilfred. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xliii., 275-290.

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(To be continued.)

REVIEWS.

THE HALLSTATT PERIOD IN UPPER BAVARIA. (DIE HÜGELGRÄBER ZWISCHEN AMMER-UND STAFFELSEE, geöffnet, untersucht und beschrieben von Dr. Julius Naue. Stuttgart [Enke] 1887.)

SINCE the publication of Von Sackens' work on the Cemetery of Hallstatt, no more valuable contribution to our knowledge of the important period in Central European Culture which takes its name from that prehistoric station has been published than the present volume of Dr. Julius Naue on the barrows of the hilly Upper-Bavarian region that lies between the Ammer and Staffelsee. It is a part of the country already well-known in the annals of Prehistoric Archæology from the discovery in the neighbouring Wurmsee of the pile settlement described by Von Schab, and the surprising occurrence, in association with the early indigenous remains both there and on the neighbouring Roseninsel, of Greek pottery, including specimens of the earliest ware imported by the Greek colonists into Italy, fragments of a Corinthian *Kylix*, and of the late florid work that characterises the decadence of Tarentum and the imitative taste of the Apulians. The district itself stands in immediate relation to two main lines of ancient thoroughfare across the Alps that brought the Bavarian uplands into communication with Northern Italy and the head of the Adriatic,—the central passes of Tyrol, once followed by the *Via Claudia Augusta*, and that more easterly line through the Tauerns, which skirts the salt-bearing ranges where Hallstatt itself is situate. These researches into the prehistoric burial-places of this region derive, therefore, a special interest from their bearing on ancient lines of commercial intercourse between the North and South.

Dr. Naue's work shows, in many respects, a marked scientific advance on that of his predecessors in the same field. He has not been content with giving a general summary of the contents of the barrows—more than three hundred in number—that he has so conscientiously explored, but he has also given a short account of the contents of each individual grave—a point of primary importance too often neglected by explorers whose relic-hunting zeal outruns their patience in keeping a scientific record of their observations. How well one knows the result!—the inevitable "Atlas," and *édition de luxe*—a museum successfully "stuffed"—and a whole chapter in the remote history of an European race irrevocably mutilated! Dr. Naue knows his business, and we feel confident that the painstaking report of the results of his excavations here presented, together with the sixty plates embodying the principal objects discovered, will nowhere meet with a warmer appreciation than in this country.

The graves excavated and described by Dr. Naue are all in barrows, and in this respect present a marked contrast to those of Hallstatt, which are all in the flat earth. Though the bulk of them belong to the earlier and later Hallstatt Periods, some reach back to the Bronze Age, while others extend to the period that succeeded that of Hallstatt, in which iron was exclusively in use for implements and weapons. In the pure Bronze Age we find stone-barrows, sometimes covering small vaulted chambers, and containing mostly skeleton interments during the earlier part of the period and cremation deposits in the later part. In the succeeding Hallstatt period, both forms of burial co-exist, though towards the close cremation again predominates. The stone-barrows now give place by transitional stages to mounds of earth, which in the later Hallstatt period greatly preponderate. In the succeeding Iron Age, the earth-mound is universal, and the dead are in all cases burnt.

A strange phenomenon in the burial forms observed is the partial interment of the skeleton—a practice the existence of which was noticed by Von Sacken in the Hallstatt Cemetery. In the Bavarian barrows it appears to have been proportionally even more frequent, and Dr. Naue has been able to authenticate sixteen cases as against ten amongst the three times more numerous Hallstatt graves. Another remarkable feature of these barrows is the frequent deposition of a young boar as a food-offering beside the human remains—an usage of great interest in its relation to the religious notions of the Celts and other European peoples.

The inventory of the tombs, like their construction, presents some marked contrasts when compared with those of Hallstatt. The indigenous population of this Upper Bavarian region was not so rich in imported articles as their contemporaries of the Salzberg. Only a few examples were discovered of the bronze *situlas*, the "cordoned" buckets and vases in which the graves of the Hallstatt salt-miners were so rich. Some, again, of the most characteristic indigenous products of the Hallstatt graves are conspicuous here by their absence—the swords, with the horse-shoe and antennæ-like handles, a type diffused from Tarquinii to Assyria and the Caucasus in one direction, and in the North and West to Scandinavia and Britain, the elegant bracelets with their shell-like bosses, the double-spiralled fibulæ which call up comparisons with those of Southern Italy, of Greece and intervening Illyrian tracts. The clapper-like pendants suspended by

small chains from various ornaments only occur here in the case of a single crescent-shaped fibula. On the other hand, the "barrel-shaped" bronze arm-bands or bracelets which are characteristic of these finds are wholly wanting at Hallstatt itself, though their distribution may be traced westwards through Würtemburg, Alsace and Switzerland to Eastern France. In other cases again, there are strong evidences of local manufacture, as, for instance, in the peculiar bronze nails employed in rivetting the hilts to the iron blades of the swords. These have cup-shaped ends, with a small spike in the middle, a form which has not been hitherto discovered in other Hallstatt districts, being unknown even upon swords of the same period from other parts of Bavaria.

Among the most important objects brought to light in these excavations were the remains of three chariots, a wooden shield of oblong form with two horn-like bronze bosses in the middle and other smaller bosses round, but the most remarkable of all was a wooden cup found inside a bronze vase which itself had been enclosed in a basket. This cup, made of the wood of the wild pear-tree, was of elegant form, like a *Kylix* without handles, and ornamented with a series of fine raised ribs, one of which, round the lower part of the foot, is actually cut free from the body of the cup, and forms a moveable ring. This wooden *Kylix* which, when first discovered, was in an almost perfect condition, is a masterpiece of the ancient turner's skill and stands quite alone amongst relics of the kind. It seems to have contained a food-offering for the dead in the shape of honey and mead or whey-cheese. The bronze vase or *Situla* in which this truly marvellous relic was found, though answering in its general aspect to those found at Hallstatt and elsewhere, shows, in place of the angular and truncated cone-like outline usual in these vessels, a rounded and more elegant contour. It seems to me that in this modification of form we have a certain indication that this "Late Hallstatt" grave reaches down to a considerably later date than is usually assigned to the close of this period in Central Europe. It presents striking points of resemblance in contour to a Situla with a "North Etruscan" inscription found in the Val di Cembra near Trent, as well as to others of the third and still more of the fourth period of the Cemetery of Este. It belongs, in fact, to a date nearer 300 than 400 B.C.

One of the most interesting graves discovered, belonging to the transitional age between the Bronze and early Hallstatt periods, was that containing the skeleton of a woman with her diadem, the amber beads of her necklace, her breast-pins, bracelets, and ankle-rings still in their places. The diadem consisted of a semi-circular bronze ring with a hook at one end and an eye at the other for fastening it to a band behind, and with remains of threads at intervals round its girth showing that it had been sewn on besides to the front of a kind of veil. There were traces besides on the body of a mantle and a tunic of finer material beneath it. The diadem, of which another example was found, is, however, especially interesting as, taken in connexion with the traces of the veil, it shows that the women of the district had adopted a style of coiffure prevalent amongst the ancient Greeks, Etruscans, and their neighbours, and of which Helbig in his *Homerische Epos* has given some interesting illustrations. It is probable that the *Ampyx* or diadem, the cap and the twisted strings (*plektè anadesmè*) that bound it, which, with the veil or *Krêdemnon*, Golden

Aphroditè gave to Andromachè, had all their counterparts in the headgear of these barbaric wives.

It is in the personal ornaments indeed that the influence of Southern fashions on this site are peculiarly visible. Among the fibulæ we notice, with local variations, the influence of the types of Villanova and of the Certosa of Bologna, and the "kettledrum" variety that may be traced southwards as far as Campania. But even here we do not find the evidence of direct importation that might have been expected. There is nothing to set beside the products of Mediterranean industry found in the great Hallstatt Cemetery. The painted vases exhumed from the graves are of that indigenous geometrical style the diffusion of which seems to be conterminous with the region in which the so-called "Hallstatt" culture may be regarded as at home. But we do not trace any direct influence of the Greek designs and fabrics, which, as we know from the discoveries made in the neighbouring Wurmsee, found their way to this Bavarian region in prehistoric times. Neither have these painted vases any immediate relation to those discovered in contemporary cemeteries of the old Venetian and Euganean districts of Northern Italy. For anyone, however, who wishes to study these interesting types of painted vases, characteristic of a large Central European tract extending from Upper Austria to Alsace, Dr. Naue's book affords a rich material,—no less than ten coloured plates being devoted to the illustration of this, in some respects, the most important part of his discoveries. The prevailing colours are red, white, brown, and a lustrous black due to the employment of graphite or black lead, and one of the most characteristic ornaments is a kind of festoon pattern which one would willingly compare with the still more pronounced festoons on one of the Wurmsee vases.

An iron sword with a bronze handle found in one of the graves belonging to the Later Hallstatt period, together with a "cordoned" bucket (*cista a cordoni*) of the more recent type and a bronze vase, stands out in striking contrast to the other swords discovered, and suggests some interesting enquiries. The hilt of this sword is fixed to the iron blade by two tong-like processes and the centre of the handle swells into a knot. The sword itself is decidedly shorter than the other Hallstatt blades. Dr. Naue has justly laid stress on the great resemblance that these characteristics present to the typical "Late Celtic" sword, or, as it is known on the Continent, the sword of La Tène. He compares it with a sword of the same kind found at Anet in the Canton of Bern and a few other analogous examples from Late Hallstatt deposits, and goes so far as to regard it as the prototype of the swords used by the historic Gauls and Britons. The far-reaching importance of this conclusion, if substantiated, will be patent to Archæologists. It would go far to show that the ancient culture of the Gaulish tribes stands, in fact, in a filial relation to that which is revealed to us in these "Hallstatt" cemeteries. But this is a conclusion which on a broad view of the evidence before us it seems impossible to accept. That there are certain features which are common to the Later Hallstatt group and the earliest finds of Late Celtic character such as we know them from Moravia to Champagne is undeniable. There is no reason to reject the view advanced by Dr. Naue and supported by the high authority of Undset, that the sword in question represents a type which had been partially, at least, adopted by the Hallstatt peoples at a comparatively late date. But it

seems preferable to see in such an adoption the operation of an external influence common to both the Later Hallstatt and the Tène groups. The Gaulish swords found at the station of La Tène and elsewhere betray in certain cases in the ornaments of their hilts and sheathes rudimentary traces of an antecedent stage of development, not to be found in those of Hallstatt, but which find at least their partial explanation in some known Oriental forms. The sheathes again of the "Late Celtic" swords with their terminal animals show an independent link of connexion with Assyrian and Persian forms, which is wanting in their Hallstatt counterparts. A comparison of date, moreover, is fatal to the hypothesis that the earliest of the "Late Celtic" swords represent a development of one of the latest Hallstatt types, itself of very exceptional occurrence. The tomb, for instance, in which the sword in question was discovered contained a bronze bucket of the many-ribbed kind, which in all probability brings down its date to the latter half of the fifth century, B.C. The *Situla* of another of these Late Hallstatt graves belongs, as already pointed out, to a still more recent date. On the other hand, judging from the archaic character of the beaked *Œnochoës* associated with some of the earliest "Late Celtic" finds, the culture they represent must be carried back at least to the early part of the fifth century, before our era. It was even at the moment that it first rises to our view a culture with a very distinctive character of its own, and a fully formed ornamental style, in its essential features wholly independent of Hallstatt traditions. It is before all things a parallel and intrusive culture, in some districts superseding the earlier Central European arts, which in other parts seem to have prolonged awhile their separate existence. If, as there seems good reason for believing, the appearance of this new form of culture represents the advance of invading Gallic swarms, we may find in its rapid diffusion an explanation of the ruin that seems to have befallen the Hallstatt peoples, and of which we have a striking evidence in the later remains of this Bavarian region. In these later barrows, which represent what Dr. Naue calls "the transitional age of pure iron," we find indeed the same general form of interment and funeral usages that show the continuous presence of the same race, but the graves themselves are sparse, weapons are no longer found, and ornaments are poor and rare, the pottery, though in part reserving the same shapes, degenerates in fabric and loses its gay colouring. These are the memorials of a subject and down-trodden race, thinned in numbers, impoverished and disarmed.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

LE MOYEN-AGE: BULLETIN MENSUEL D'HISTOIRE ET DE PHILOLOGIE; direction: A. Marignan, G. Platon, M. Wilmotte (Paris, A. Picard.)—This excellent periodical is doing for France one of the things the *Archæological Review* hopes to do for England. No. 3 begins a complete title index to the publications of the provincial learned societies of France. The importance of this index to the student of French history cannot be easily over-estimated.

History.

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THE BAKERS OF YORK AND THEIR ANCIENT ORDINARY.

THE supplies and sale of food were in early ages a subject of strict regulation by law in England, care being taken that regular inquiries should be made in the Sheriffs' Tourns, and in the Leet Courts, whether the rules and articles were kept and enforced. In corporate towns it was the duty of the municipality to oversee the matters relating to food; and the companies, into which the members of each trade have always had a tendency to combine, naturally fell under their supervision. Among these, the craft of the bakers must have been one of the most important, some form of bread—" the staff of life "—being a necessity. The statutes for the " Assize of Bread and Ale," the " Judgment of the Pillory," and " Concerning Bakers," are usually dated in the 51 Henry III., A.D. 1266, but these no doubt supplemented earlier laws then existing.[1] The " Black Book " of the Coventry bakers (temp. Henry VIII.) refers to their Ordinances established from the 6th year of John downwards.[2] An " Assisa Panis " with some curious orders exists in London of the 21st of Edward I. (1293); and, no doubt, among the records of other English towns there may be relics which would show the antiquity of the recognised craft. There are two shapes in which these may be found, in the books belonging to the companies themselves,—consisting variously of an Ordinary or Ordinall, an Account book, and a book or books containing the entry of members and apprentices, &c.—and in the records of the governing municipality, which registered the ordinances imposed or confirmed in the Court of the Mayor, and the arbitrations which were made there of disputes in the companies. This last class represents the outer government of the company as a unit, the first gives details of their internal management. The records of cities and towns are fairly

[1] The Bakers of Paris—(*Talemeliers, i.e.*, boulangers)—were a very ancient company, their ordinances are given in " Le Livre de Métiers " of Etienne Boileau, who was appointed Provost of Paris in 1254. Comparison between the English and the French articles is interesting and instructive, and may help, in spite of difference in dates, to clear up some obscurities; in many points they are alike or analogous. See the splendid edition brought out by MM. R. Lespinasse et Fr. Bonnardot for the City of Paris, 1879, pp. xix.-xxv., 1-15. French bread was known and made in London as early as 16 Edward I. (1288).

[2] W. G. Fretton in *Mid-England*, March, 1880, p. 122.

He that giueth measure,
God blesse the with treasure.

It makes a poore man,
To sell flower for bran.

Looke well to thy season,
with counninge and reason.

Be iust with thy weightes
God plague false sleightes.

Who so followeth these preceptes well,

God blesseth trewe labour,
With plentye and fauour.

Be still quicke and kinde
Reward thou shalt finde

Pricke not at thy pleasure,
But in trewe honest measure

Be watchfull and wise
In godlinesse to rise:

In heauen shall haue a place to dwell:

preserved, and their value is becoming more and more recognised; but it is probable that, owing to the decay and obliteration of the companies or craft gilds in nearly every town except London,[3] the private books of the companies for the greater number have been lost, destroyed, or suffered other vicissitudes. The notices and orders relating to the bakers' crafts that are printed in various local histories or other works are more frequently taken from the municipal records; Coventry (as above-named), and Bristol, which possesses a book of the Bakers' Company from 1499 to the time of Queen Anne,[4] are exceptions. From the mode in which the ordinances were framed, however, the one record would be, generally, but a repetition of the other,—the "Ordinary" being a fair copy of the old and succeeding ordinances made for the use of the craft's officers. The Black Book of Coventry was such a one, made in the reign of Henry VIII., the Ordinary of the York Bakers is another example, written out in the years 1595 and 1596.[5]

This York Ordinary gives the complete working rules of the craft in that city for a period of more than 300 years; they are now printed entire (a few formal headings and lists of names only being omitted), with a few additions taken from the Accounts of the same body, and from one of the books of the City. They are, it will be seen, considerably fuller than, though in the main resembling, the ordinances of the bakers of Exeter, printed in "English Gilds" (p. 334) from a Roll of the Mayor's Court of 1483; indeed, so far as I am aware, they are more extensive than any set of bakers' ordinances yet printed.[6]

[3] The present Bakers' Company in London was incorporated in 1509, and does not claim an older date, but it is scarcely to be doubted that it existed long before the incorporation; the book *De Assisa Panis* still existing at the Guildhall is a proof of it. See extracts printed in the Appendix to Riley's *Munimenta Gild. Lond.* (Rolls Series), Vol. III.

[4] The contents of this MS. were described by Mr. Francis J. Fox in a paper read at Bristol in 1878.

[5] For the use of the two books of the Bakers' Company of York, which came to an end about 1836, I am indebted to Joseph Wilkinson, Esq., of that city, who rescued them from destruction. Both are folios; one, the *Ordinary*, is dated 1595 to 1832, the other, a thick volume of *Accounts*, from 1584 to 1835.

[6] A few indications (by no means complete) as to Bakers in a few other towns may be useful for comparison, with the earliest date given of each:—Newcastle, 1342 (Brand's History, II., p. 316), Ordinary lost; Norwich, 1533 (Blomfield, III., p. 206), two books of ordinances and accounts exist in private hands; Canterbury, 1393 (W. Welfitt's Minutes of Records, Nos. i., xxv.); Southampton (History, by J. Silvester Davies, pp. 264, 265); Nottingham, 1395 (Records, I., pp. 270, 316, III., 88, 358, 364); Winchester, 14th cent. (English Gilds, p. 355); Worcester, 1467 (Eng. Gilds, 381); Bristol, cir. 1479 (Ricart's Kalendar, Camd. Soc., p. 82, Nicholl's and Taylor's Bristol Past and Present, p. 277). As to London, besides extracts from the Assisa Panis (21 Ed. I. to 16 Hen. VI.),

Adam Kettlewell, clerk to the bakers of York, as he himself informs us, seems to have set himself to work in 1595 to copy on several quires of parchment the old laws of his company.[7] Beginning with three clauses, of which he omits the dates (the first two are older than the third, as they speak of "keeper" of the craft), he gives from 1480 down to his own year the minutes of the Lord Mayor's Court, including usually the names of the city officers and others present, so far as relate to the bakers. We thus get, with little repetition, an historic view of how their rules were made and altered, and why they were altered, from time to time. Evidently in 1595 the time had come for a complete overhauling and reform; a fresh body of ordinances, embodying some old and new, was drawn up by the company, submitted to two aldermen and two gentlemen to be "considered upon," and then, after further consideration, was confirmed in the Lord Mayor's Court.[8] It must have been this important occasion that gave rise to Kettlewell's labours; after his time there is but one further entry, for 1687, which, however, is characteristic of the change in apprenticeship gradually taking place.

On the blank leaves at the beginning of his quires, Kettlewell, who took a pride in his work, and ornamented every leaf with scrolls and fine initial letters, with here and there his monogram A.K., in 1599 wrote out the Assise—or fixed prices of bread—according to the Statute 51 Hen. III., but amplified for local use, in plain large signs, red and black, that all might understand. (Many of the bakers, even their auditors of accounts, could not write at this period, witness their marks in lieu of signatures in the Book of Accounts. Query then, could they read?) The following are the first few lines:—

"The trewe Assies of the weight of white Breade from xij[d] a Quarter of wheate vnto xxs. a Quarter, to be weyed by the Farthinge Loofe, and so after the rate, viz.:—

Riley's *Munimenta Gild. Lond.* contains many articles, &c.—*e.g.*, *Lib. Albus*, rules for the Assay, pp. 349-354; Bakers' Hali-mote Ordinances, pp. 356-358, continued in *Lib. Custumarum* I., p. 104; other ordinances, pp. 264, 266, 361, 702-706; *Lib. Cust.* I., pp. 86, 105, 284, 292. See also Strype's ed. of Stow's Survey, Bk. V., pp. 336-343, for much valuable information.

[7] See note to the prologue.

[8] In the Account book under date 11 Aug. 1595, is the company's order to their searchers "to proceed with their ordenarye to be amended and newlie made," and an item for the 2 March following, paid "when the ordenarye was confirmed and established to be made in a Booke and enrolled." This is the the origin of the present volume; the new ordinances begin with §. 55.

The Quarter at [shillings, pence]	The farthinge Loof shall weay [pounds, ounces, pennywts.][9]
i	ooo ooo xvj
i : : :	ooo ooo x : : : :
ii	ooo viij
ii : : :	oo xiiij : : s q "

The table is continued (as usual in Stow and elsewhere) down to wheat at 20s., with the farthing loaf weighing only 6 oz. 2 dwt.; the date and names of the then four searchers being appended. It may be well to remark that the *prices* of bread were thus fixed by law, the size and weight of the loaves therefore varied, and had to be adjusted according to the price of wheat, after a fixed allowance had been made to the baker—so much per quarter for his expenses and profit. What the actual price was to be in each town was left to the mayors and bailiffs, &c., of towns to set at periodical times, according to certain given calculations, and this was called setting the Assize. This system lasted till recent times; in London till 1822, in the country a few years later; in the Account book of the York bakers such items as "spent at putting of a price," "spent when sent for to Lord Mayors at putting of a price," "when we got our price," frequently occur among the searchers' disbursements during the 18th century; and even so late as 1834 we get a charge for "working Assise paper out," surely one of the last.[10]

On the two leaves following the Table of Assise are drawn the eight pictures of processes in baking, of which the photo-types, reduced about two-fifths, accompany this paper. They are sketched with a firm hand, and shaded with tints washed in of grey, green, and a little red. They appear to be contemporary with the Eliza-

[9] The original weights were called *pounds*, *shillings*, and *pence*, see many of the following ordinances (*e.g.*, § 1, 8), but their modern equivalents, here indicated by a hand of the last century, are pounds, ounces, and pennyweights. See the Act 31 Edw. I., "Assise of Weights and Measures." The word ounce was in use by Elizabeth's time, "peny wytt lofe" at Northleach wrongfully weighed "nomor but nyteene unsis" in 1578 (N. & Q., Ser. VI. v., p. 69), and in 1557 at Chester the assize of the halfpenny white loaf was set at "syxe ounces and halfe" (M.S. Harl. 2105, fo. 306). The s q in the fourth line above seem to mean half and quarter.

[10] The Act 3 George IV. c. 106 (1822) directed that bread should be sold by weight only, in London; 6 & 7 Will. IV. c. 37 (1836) abolished the old Assise entirely.

bethan ordinances, the handwriting of the distichs resembling that of Kettlewell. The subjects of these interesting sketches are:

> 1. "He that giueth measure
> God blessethe with treasure."

Two men measuring meal from a sack into a strike or bushel measure, the one to the left is stroking the meal off the top, slanting-wise.

> 2. "It makes a poore man
> To sell flower for bran."

The meal is being "boulted" or sifted in a "bulte" or bolt cloth; this was a special cloth for the purpose of separating the fine flour from the bran, which last seems to fall on the floor at one side of the heap of flour, a brush being ready to sweep it together.

> 3. "Looke well to thy season
> With counninge and reason."

Here the dough is being prepared in a trough.

> 4. "Be just with thy weightes,
> God plagus false sleights."

The dough is being weighed on a table into pieces of the right size for loaves.

> 5. "God blesseth trewe labour
> With plentye and favour.'

The baker appears to be working the dough pieces into shape on a moulding-board or table. (On such a board as this the London bakers committed the ingenious frauds, by cutting holes and abstracting morsels of dough after the weighing, narrated in *Lib. Cust.* III. p. 416.)

> 6. "Be still, quicke, and kinde,
> Reward thou shalt finde."

These words seem to be addressed to the loaves, which, after being marked or cut across with a knife, are being set to "prove" or partially rise.

> 7. "Pricke not at thy pleasure,
> But in trewe honest measure."

Presumably these are the same loaves being pricked before they go into the oven, to prevent their rising too high (i.e., to let out the gas of the leaven used). If this were done too much it might affect the weight of the bread.

> 8. "Be watchfull and wise,
> In goodnesse to rise."

The bread, ready pricked, is being transferred from the moulding-board to the oven, where it should earn the benediction—

> "Whoso followethe theis preceptes well,
> In heauen shall haue a place to dwell."

In the frontispiece to *Lib. Cust.* of London, vol. iii., is given a facsimile of four small illustrations from the early *Assisa Panis*, one of which represents the London punishment of a fraudulent baker being drawn on a hurdle, another shows bread being put into the oven. They are not so good as the York drawings.

Which of these processes represents that which was insisted upon in the earlier ordinances, that it should be "well sodden," it is not easy to say. (See § 1.) At the date of these pictures, the ordinance (76) of 1595 deals with "sodden cakes" and "sodden bread" as a special make. It may then have gone out of use, like *main* bread, and both being old-fashioned were specialized. (See § 53.) Possibly it refers to bread made without yeast, the dough of which would require long standing before it was baked. *Sodden*, the past participle of *seethe*, or boil, does not seem to apply here, unless it mean "soaked," *i.e.*, baked slowly and long, a term still used. "Levayn breed," which was used at the feasts of the Gild of the Lord's Prayer in 1399, and at those of Corpus Christi in 1519 ("pane voc. Levand' brede"), perhaps similar to the "panis levatus" or simnel of the London *Assisa panis* of 1293, had probably by the end of the sixteenth century pushed the old sodden bread out of the field.

On another leaf are the arms of the Company. Then, bound up with the parchment quires are several of paper, both before and after, thus leaving many blank leaves, at the very beginning of which Kettlewell in large hand informs us that "This Booke was made in the eighte and thirty yeare of y[e] reigne of our soueragne Ladye Quene Elizabeth, &c., 1596," at the "costes and chardges" of the "misterye, science, and occupacion of the Bakers" of York, whose names he gives, to the number of fifty-four, besides the four searchers and himself.

The blank leaves have been filled at later times, with indices to the ordinances, an inventory of plate, books, &c., belonging to the company in 1774, and various memoranda useful in the history of the trade, the most interesting of which gives some correspondence between the company and Mr. Charles Turner, the member for York, as to a Bill introduced into Parliament in 1779, proposing to enable persons to set up as butchers and bakers without having

served an apprenticeship. The bakers of London and York opposed this, and it was thrown out. At the end of the volume are numerous signatures of adhesion to the ordinances, since 1695, and memoranda of admissions to the company down to 1832.

In the *Liber Memorandum* A/Y of York, the chief of the old books of the city, the *Assisa panis* and other memoranda or enrolments relating to the bakers are found. Among these are several slightly differing from the earliest copied by Kettlewell, and perhaps rather older; they are undated. The following extracts present points of interest. The French are probably of the early years of Richard II., that in English is rather later, of the beginning of Edward IV.

PISTORES. BAKERS.

[On a leaf tacked to fo. liij.]

A leur treshonore et tresreverent Sr. Mair de la citee Deuerwyk.

Supplie humblement voz poueres conciteins et veisyns, les gentz del artifice de Pestours Deuerwyk, pur ceo qils ount ordeignez entre eaux certaines ordinances et constitucions quelles serrount profitables a la commune poeple de la citee auauntdite, et en amendement du dit artifice et auxi encrecement de la profit del Chaumbre du dit Mair, Que plaise a vostre tres reuerente Srie. par lavis de vostre sage counseille qe les poyntz desoubz escriptz purrount estre regestrez en la dite chaumbre en la manere et fourme qensuyte.

Enprimes, ordeigne est et assentuz par touz les mestres del artifice avaunt dit qe nully de mesme lartifice porta ne face porter a ascune hukester ascun payne a lour measons, sur peyne de xld., appaier lune moite au dit chaumbre de counseille et lautre moite al oeps de mesme lartifice.

[There are six other ordinances, of which the last is:—]

Item qe null pestour vende aucune roundell ne Iscu ne chime [11] dę payne delmayne a null regratier de payn pur metter a vent, sur payne de dymy markes a payer, ont xld. a la chaumbre et xld. a la pagyn de ditz pestors de Corpus xpi; et de ceste ordinance tenir devant le Meir and auters bonez gentz feurent les Meisters du dite artifice seremeutez.

[Fo. liij. vo.] Md. yat ye bastard wastell and symnelles, ye whilk sall have allowance [sall weghe], ijs. in ye ferthyng, iiijs. in ye halpeny, lesse yen ye cokett; and touchant payne demayne, wastelles, and symnelles, yat yai sall weghe lesse yen ye basterd symnelles vjs in ye halpeny and xijs in ye peny.

[11] These two words are obscure; possibly I may have mis-read them.

THE YORK BAKERS' ORDINARY, 1595-6.

(? temp Ric. II.)

OFF Assise of bread in the Cittye of York beinge not well kepte, to the Complaynte of the people of the same, greatlye compleaninge, the Maio: and Baliffes beinge bente to haue a remedye in this behalfe, to ther power, did assigne and vpon oathe made did constitute Symon Gower and Nicholas Foukes kepers and Surveyours of the Bakers of the sayd Cyttye. To whom it was enjoyned by the sayd Maior and Baliffes That the Assise of Breade in all theis Articles be firmelye obserued in forme which hereafter followethe :—[12]

baker's marke.

1. Firste,—That the Assise of Breade be maintayned and obserued accordinge to the sellinge of Corne, And that euerye Baker haue his owne proper marke wherwith his Breade shalbe marked, vpon payne of xld. And that he have a good bulte clothe accordinge as becomethe for Wastell, Simnell, Payndemayn and Cocket. And that no Baker put to his Bread lesse or more of levayn, or of whote water or anye other thinge by the which his Breade shall weighe more than it ought to weighe, if it were well sodden and baked. And that no Baker sell bread after that he haue kept it more than six dayes from the tyme that he haue made it. The bread shalbe weighed of euery maner every weeke ones, accordinge to the assise of our Soueraigne Lord the King. And if it be founde that that bread be well sodden and well baked, and weigh lesse than ye assise requireth, euerye tyme that the bread weigheth of the Farthinge lesse than it ought to do, and that within the weight of ijs. vjd., the Baker shall be grevouslye amercied. And if the lacke of weight exceed ijs. vjd., the baker shall haue judgement of the Pillarye without redemption, And his bread from thensforth to be marked twise with his marke. And if he offende the secounde tyme he shall haue agayne like judgement and his bread marked likewise. And if he offend the third tyme, his oven if it be his owne oven shalbe pulled downe, and all his bread shalbe forefait, and he shall forswear the office of a Baker for euer. And this is to be knowne, whan his bread is of good corne, and good bulting, and well sodden, and well baked and weighe lesse than the assise of ijs. vjd. But if the bread be of evill corne, evill sodden or baked, that it ought to weighe according to the assise, althoughe that bread weighe to full weight it shall be forefait neuerthelesse. And if the bread be of Farthinge, two loaves shalbe sold for a farthinge, And if the bread be of halfepenny, two loaves shalbe solde for a halfepenny. And in the same manner shall forefaite ye breades which are holden and kept more than six dayes from the tyme that they be sodden. And all the sayd things faithfullye to be obserued and mayntayned it was enjoyned to the sayd kepars of the kynges behalfe by Indenture, &c.

not to be solde after vj dayes.
to be weyed wekelie.
well bakd and sodden wanting weight.
1. amercied.
2. pillorie, and to be twice marked.
3. to forsweare.
bread of evill corne or not well baked, or kept six daies vnsold forfeite.

2. And to this Ordinance is added that the Searchers of Bakers for the tyme beinge haue power freely to searche and exercise ther office, And if anye baker of the Cittye be convicte, that at euerye tyme that he be disobedient or rebellinge against his searchers, or shall troble them in exercisynge and executinge of ther office, than he shall lose and paye euery time vjs. viijd., to be applied to the uses aforesayd.

[Searchers] to serche. Disobedient to the sercher or withstande ther serche.

3. *Memorandum.* The seconde daye of Julye in the ninetenthe yere of the reigne of Kinge Edward the Fourth were assembled in the Counsell Chamber of Ousebrige the right worshipfull Sr Willm. Wellis, Maior, Miles Metcalf, Recorder, John Gilliot, John Marshall, Willm. Snawsehill, Richard Yorke, Christofer Marshall, Willm. Lambe, Thomas Wrangwishe, John Tonge, John Fereby, Robt. Amyas, Aldermen, Robt. Gyll and Willm. Tayte, Sheriffes of the same Cittye, Thomas Cator, Thomas Allan, John Lightlope, Willm. Todd, Nicholas Person, and Willm. Spence of the xxiiij^or^;

A.D. 1480.
Contre breade to be sold openly in thursday market and not to hucksters.

[12] An ornament occurs here, which, as well as the initial letters of this and the next leaves, O and F, written with flourish, bear the date 1595.

And ther and then, forsomuche as dyuerse and mikell breades baked in the contrye, and to this Cittye brought for to sell dyuerse tymes of the yeare, the whiche breade often tymes bene chawsed, vnhelefull and evill seisyned, and also not of weight accordinge to the Assise therof; And moreover the sayd breades in covert wise brought to the howses of the hucksters of this Cittye to be solde, and vnder colour of that, dyuerse and mykell breades be baked within the same Cittye and called Contrye breade; the which breade by coloure of that same are not searched, ne maye not be searched, as right would:—For that cause and other it is fully ordeyned and establyshed firmelye to be kept from this daye forwarde, That no Baxter of the Contry, his wife nor servante, ne none other in his name, beare ne cause to beare anye manner breades vnto the howses, wyndowes or habitacions of any huckster within this Cittye, suburbs and precincte of the same; but that bread and all breades by them to this Cittye brought to sell, they beare it vnto the kynges Market called Thursdaye Market, ther to be sould and in none other place: ne that they open ne sell none no daye before seaven of the clocke be full striken at Ousebrige in the morninge, to thentent that dewe and lawfull search maye be made of all the sayd breades by the searchers therof ordeyned and made by commaundement of the Maior of this sayd worshipfull Cittye for the tyme beinge, vpon payne of forefaiture of iijs. iijd. without pardon to the Chamber.

[" mykeil bredes baket in the countrie and to this Cite broght for to sell" are the original words in Liber memorandum fo. liiij.]

Contre bread not to be sold before vij of the clock, and to be serched.

4. Item, the same daye and place it is ordeyned, enacted, and stablished firmelye to be kept from this daye forward, That no huckster of this Cittye, suburbs, and procincts of the same, presume ne take vpon him to enter the sayd Market to buy anye manner of contrye bread as is above sayd, no daye before the howre of nyne be fullye stricken of the said Clocke of Ousebrige, ne that they buy none, but in the said playne Market, upon payne of forefature of iijs. iiijd. as is abouesayd, as well to the sellar as the buyer w[th]oute pardon, that lawfully proved, by suche persons, as shall thereto be limytt by the Maior for tymebeinge to searche all the said breades, and the defaults therof all and euery of them to bring before the Maior, Chamberlaynes or common Clerke for tyme beinge. And he or she that is rebell or disobediant to the sayd Searchers in ther search lawfully done, forefayte and pay without pardon vjs. viijd, as above sayd, *tocies quoties*, &c.

Hucksters not to buy out of open market, and not before ix. of the clock.

5. Item the same daye and place it fully is enacted and established by the sayd Maior and all aboue sayd, firmelye to be kept from this daye forwarde, That no baker of the cittye ne of the contrye, his wife ne his servant, ne none other in his name presume, ne take upon them to entre the Common Market of this Cittye called the Pavement no Market daye in the yeare, to buye anye manner corne before xij be fully strikne of the clocke of Alhallowes of the Pavement, upon payne of forfaiture of vjs viijd *tociens quotiens*, that to be payd withoute pardone to the Chambre of this Cittye of every person that shall offende in that behalfe.

bakers not to buy corne upon the Pavement before xij of the clock.

A.D. 1482.

6. *Memorandum*, that the fiftenthe daye of November in the two and twentye yeare of the reigne of Kinge Edward the Fourthe, were assembled in the Counsell Chamber of Ouse Brige the right worshipfull S[r] Richard Yorke, Maiore, Miles Metcalfe, Recorder, John Marshall, William Snawsell, Thomas Wrangwishe, John Ferreby, Willm. Welles, Robt. Amyas, and John Newton, Aldermen, Thomas Cator, Thomas Allayn, Willm. Chymney, Thomas Skotton, Willm. Spence, Robert Gyll, Willm. Tayte, John Hagge, and Michaell White of the xxiiij[or],—And than and there, it was ordeyned by them, by the whole consent and assent of all the bakers of this Cittye, and enacted, that as longe as the price of beanes bene at iiijs. or above, that everye baxter of this Cittye shall sell three horse loaves for jd. And that every horse loaf shall weighe three poundes. And if the price of beanes be under iiijs. that than every baxter of this Cittye shall sell three horse loaves for jd. And every horse loafe shall weighe foure poundes weight. The sayd ordynance to endure, as long as it shall

weight of horsebread

please the Maior and his bretheren, and the counsell of this Cittye for the tyme beinge.

[The following arbitration and group of ordinances as to the tiplers and hucksters is headed by the date 16 Feb. 31 Henry VIII., and a list of the mayor, recorder, eleven aldermen, two sheriffs, and ten of the "twenty-four" who were present in the council chamber on the occasion.]

A.D. 1540.

[Strife between t[...] lers and bakers.

[Bakers complain [...] the king's councell [...] London.

[Council of the Nor[...] directed to take ord[...] thereto.

7. Wher as strife, variance, and debate, ever synce that Maister Robt. Whitfeld Alderman was Maior of the sayd Cittie, (that is to saye) tenn years by paste or ther aboutes, for that that dyuerse franchised mens wifes of this Cittye called Tipplers ever since that tyme have used to bake white bread to sell, against the auncient statutes and ordinances of the Common bakers of the sayd Cittie, and to the vtter distruccion of that Occupacion; Wher-vpon the whole Occupacion of the sayd Bakers by a full consent of late haue compleaned them to the king our most dread soueraigne Lord, and to his most honorable Counsell at London, And ther-vpon it pleased his grace by thadvise of his sayd Counsell to directe his most gracyouse letters to his Counsell established in the Northe partyes; to make full ordre and direccion for the maintenance of the sayd Occupacion, Neuerthelesse the sayd Bakers consideringe that they are franchised men of the sayd Cittye and bounden by their franchised oathes to obeye the ordre of the Lord Maior and his bretheren of the sayd Citty, and for the good preseruacon of the liberties of the same; therefore, all they did personallye come before the right worshipfull William Dogeson, Maior of the sayd Citty, and after a gentle and lovinge sorte, haue submitt them to be ordered in the premisses as he and his bretheren shall devise and advise for the weale and profitt of the occupiers of the said Occupacion. And ther vpon the sayd Maior by good deliberacion hath examined the premisses at dyuerse tymes, And by thaduise of Wm. Tankerd, Recorder of the sayd Cittye and his bretheren, Aldermen of the same, for quietnes hereafter to be had betwixt the sayd Occupacion and other the inhabitantes of the sayd Citty, called Tiplars and Hucksters, do awarde iudge and decree, as hereafter followethe, and firmelye hereafter to be obserued and kepte for euer, and ther vpon it is concluded, condiscended, decreed and fully determyned by the sayd presens, That the sayd Bakers shall from nowe-forthe exercise, vse, and occupie ther occupacion in all thinges accordinge to ther auncient ordinaunces in the sayd Citty used;—sauinge that they and ther successors shall permitt and suffer the sayd Tiplars for the common weale of the kinges subjectes to bake whyte bread, to sell to the kinges subjectes as hereafter is plainlye specified and declared in certayne Articles vnder written:

[Award of the May[...] and Recorder, &c.

[That the Tiplers [...] allowed to bake whi[...] bread.]

Tiplers baking, whe[...] ther bread shall wey[...] more than the bake[...] bread.

8. First it is ordeyned and decreed by the sayd Maior, his bretheren, and Recorder, by the consent of all the sayde Occupacon of Bakers, that it shalbe lawfull to the sayd Tiplars from nowe forthe to bake white bread to sell to the kinges subjects within the sayd Cittye, and the penny loafe of euery of the sayd tiplars to holde more in weight by vjs. than the penny loaf of the sayd common bakers. The halfe penny loaf iijs. and the Farthen loaf xviijd., upon payne of euery of the sayd tiplers or anye of them offendinge the sayd weight in their sale breade to forfaite therfore iijs. iiijd. as often tymes as the sayd tiplers or any of them shall happen to offende therin, to be payd to the common Chamber of the sayd Cittye and the sayd Occupacon of bakers by euen porcions.

Tiplers to sell the[...] bread onlie in Thur[...] day market.

9. Item, It is ordeyned and decreed by the sayd Maior his brethren and Recorder, by consent of all the sayd Occupacion, that the sayd Tiplers and euery of them, ther servantes and factors, shall putt to sale the sayd whit bread onelye in a certaine market place of the sayd Cittye called Thursdaye Markett, and in no other place or places within the sayd Cittye, and but onelye on thre market days, that is to say Tewsdaye, Thursday, and Saturdaye, vpon payne of euery one that hereafter dothe contrarye to

forefait iijs. iiijd. for euery suche default, to be payd to the sayd common Chambre, and the sayde Occupacion of bakers by euen porcions.

Searchers of bakers to serche the tiplers breade.

10. Item, it is ordeyned decreed and fullye determined by the said Maior, his Brethren, and Recorder, that the sayde tiplers, and euery of them and ther successors from nowe forthe, shall peaceablye suffer the Searchers of the sayd Occupacon of bakers for the tyme beinge and their successors to searche their saile bread, and that the searche thereof shalbe made by the sayd searchers onely on the sayd thre markett dayes, and within the sayd markett called Thursdaye Markett, ther as the sayd tiplars are accustomed to stand. And which of the sayd tiplers hearafter shall happen to disobeye the searche to forfaite for everye suche default iijs. iiijd., to be payde as is aboue sayd by even porcions.

Hucksters to buy onlie of the bakers.

11. Item, it is ordered and decreed by the sayd Maior, his bretheren, and Recorder, that the hucksters of the said cittye and suburbs of the same from nowe forthe shall not buye nor take into ther howses or shoppes any bread of the sayd tiplars to sell againe to anye of the kinges subjects; but that the sayd hucksters and their successors shall buye all such breade as they intend and purpose to sell againe onely of the sayde common bakers upon payne of every huckster that hereafter shall doo the contrarye to forfaite vjs. viijd. for every suche default, to be payd to the sayd common chamber and occupacion by even porcions.

Serchers of the bakers to gife weigh(t) of bread to the tiplers to bake bye.

12. Item, it is ordered, decred and fully determined by the sayd presence, withe the consent of the sayd Occupacion, and to thentent that the said tiplers shall not hereafter excuse them by ignorance nor otherwise for lacke of knowledg howe that they ought to weighe ther sayd bread, therfore it is agreed by the said presens with the consent of the sayd Occupacion, That the searchers of the sayd bakers for the tyme beinge, imediatlye after that they haue taken their price of the sayd Maior and his successors, shall deliver to the sayd tiplers, or to some of them openlye in the sayd marketplace ther as they have vsed and bene accustomed to sell their sayd bread, a trewe weight of lead or stone, wherby the sayd tiplers shall have perfitte knowledge what weighte the sayd bread shall conteyne. And every tipler to make other previe to the sayd weight. And over and besyds that the Searchers of the sayd bakers for the tyme beinge shall deliver the trewe counterpace of the sayd weight into the Common Chambre of the sayd cittye, ther to remaue in the custodye of the Chamberlaynes of the sayd citty for the tyme beinge, to thentent that the sayd tiplars of the same citty shall not be deceyved hereafter of ther sayd weight, by no manner of meanes.

Common bakers not stande to sell ther bread (where) the tiplers vse to stand.

13. Item, it is ordered and decreed by the sayd presens, for amitye and quietnes hereafter to be hadd and to continewe, betwene the sayd occupacion and the said tiplers, that none of the sayd common bakers from hence forth shall make any sale of ther bread in that place of Thursday Markett, ther as the sayd common tiplers have vsed and appoynted to stand with ther sayd bread.

Tiplers bakinge to have (no) other libertie then as is above specified.

14. Moreover, it is concluded, ordered, agreed and fully determined by the said Maior, his brethren, and Recorder, that the said tiplers and hucksters and ther successors from nowe forth shall have no more libertye nor freedome in anye thing concerninge or belonginge the occupacion of the said bakers, but onelye as is above expressed and declared; anye Acte, ordinance or vsage heretofore had, made, or vsed, to the contrarye not withstandinge.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

(*To be continued.*)

RICHARD THE FIRST'S CHANGE OF SEAL.

"With the superficial student and the empiric politician, it is too common to relegate the investigation of such changes to the domain of archæology. I shall not attempt to rebut the imputation; only, if such things are archæology, then archæology is history."—STUBBS. Preface to *R. Hoveden*, IV., lxxx.

HISTORICAL research is about to pass, if indeed it is not already passing, into a new sphere—the sphere of Archæology. The central idea of that great advance which the present generation has witnessed in the domain of history has been the rebuilding of the historical fabric on the relatively sure foundation of original and contemporary authorities, studied in the purest texts. Chronicles, however, are not inexhaustible; for many periods they are all too few. The reaper has almost done his work the turn of the gleaner has come. The smaller *quellen* of history have now to be diligently examined and made to yield those fragments of information which will supplement, often where most needed, our existing stock of knowledge.

But this is not our only gain as we leave the broad highways trodden by so many before us. Those precious fragments which are to form our spoils will enable us to do more than supplement the statements of our standard chroniclers: they will afford the means of checking, of testing, by independent evidence, these statements, of submitting our witnesses to a cross-examination which may shake their testimony and their credit in a most unexpected manner.

As an instance of the results to be attained by archæological research, I have selected Richard the First's celebrated change of seal. Interesting as being the occasion on which the three lions first appear as the Royal arms of England—arms unchanged to the present day—it possesses exceptional historical importance from the circumstances by which it was accompanied, and which led, admittedly, to its adoption.

Historians have agreed, without the least hesitation, to refer this event to the year 1194, and to place it subsequent to the truce of Tillières or about the beginning of August. "That Richard I.," writes a veteran student,[1] "adopted a new seal upon his return from the Holy Land is a matter of notoriety." Speed, in fact, had shown the way. We are told by him that "the king caused [1194] a new broad seale to be made, requiring that all charters granted

[1] Canon Raine, *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Soc.), p. 379.

under his former seale should be confirmed under this, whereby he drew a great masse of money to his treasurie."[2] The Bishop of Chester, with his wonted accuracy, faithfully reproduces the statement of Howden (the original and sole authority we shall find for the story), telling us that "Amongst other oppressive acts he [Richard] took the seal from his unscrupulous but faithful chancellor, and, having ordered a new one to be made, proclaimed the nullity of all charters which had been sealed with the old one."[3] Mr. Freeman similarly places the episode just before "the licenses for the tournaments" (20 August, 1194), and consistently refers to Dr. Stubbs's history.[4] Miss Norgate, in her valuable work, our latest authority on the period, assigns the event to the same date, and tells us that "Rog. Howden's very confused account of the seals is made clear by Bishop Stubbs."[5] Mr. Maitland, in his noble edition of "Bracton's Note-book," gives a case (II., 69) in which a charter sealed "secundo sigillo Regis Ricardi" was actually produced in court (1219), and explains that "Richard had a new seal made in 1194," referring to Howden for his authority.[6]

It should be observed that all these writers rely merely on Howden, none of them throwing any light on the process of confirmation, or telling us how it was effected, and whether any traces of it remain. An independent writer, Mr. Boivin-Champeaux, in his monograph on William Longchamp, discusses the episode at some length, and asserts that the repudiated documents were "assujettis, pour leur revalidation, à une nouvelle et coûteuse scellure." Like the others, however, he relies on the authority of Howden, and consequently repeats the same date.

In the course of examining some ancient charters, I recognised one of them as nothing less than an actual instance of a confirmation consequent on this change of seal. But its incomprehensible feature was that the charter was confirmed on the 22nd August, 1198, having originally been granted, "sub primo sigillo," so recently as the 7th January preceding. How could this be possible if the great seal had been changed so early as August, 1194, and if the first seal, as stated by Dr. Stubbs, was "broken" on that occa-

[2] Speed's History (1611).

[3] *Const. Hist.*, I., 506.

[4] *Norman Conquest*, V., 693. Compare *The Office of the Historical Professor*, pp. 16-17 :—"In a long and careful study of the Bishop of Chester's writings . . . . I have never found a flaw in the statement of his evidence. If I have now and then lighted on something that looked like oversight, I have always found in the end that the oversight was mine and not his."

[5] *England under the Angevin Kings*, II., 343.

[6] I have been able to identify this very charter.

sion? Careful and prolonged research among the charters of the period (both in the original and in transcripts) has enabled me to answer the question, and to prove that (as, of course, the above charter implies) the change of seal did not take place in 1194, but in 1198, and between January and May of that year.

Original charters under the second seal, confirming grants under the first, are distinctly rare. I have found, as yet, but one in the Public Record Office, and only two at the British Museum. But of originals and transcripts together I have noted twenty-four. The dates of the original grants range from 10th October, 1189, to 7th January, 1198 (1197-8), and of the confirmations from 27th May, 1198, to 5th April, 1199.[7]

In a single instance there is fortunately preserved not only the text of the confirmation charter, but also that of the original grant.[8] From this we learn that the charter of confirmation did not necessarily give the wording, but only the gist ("tenor") of the original grant. We are thus brought to the instructive formula invariably used in these charters:

"Is erat tenor Carte nostre in primo sigillo nostro. Quod quia aliquando perditum fuit, et, dum capti essemus in alem[anniâ], in aliena potestate constitutum, mutatum est, Huius autem innovationis testes sunt Hii," etc., etc.

We may here turn to the passage in Howden [Ed. Stubbs, III., 267] on which historians have relied, and see how far the reasons for the change given in the charters themselves correspond with those alleged by the chronicler.

"Fecit sibi novum sigillum fieri, et mandavit per singulas terras suas, quod nihil ratum foret quod fuerat per vetus sigillum suum; tum quia cancellarius ille operatus fuerat inde minus discrete quam esset necesse, tum quia sigillum illud perditum erat, quando Rogerus Malus Catulus, vicecancellarius suus, submersus erat in mari ante insulam de Cipro et præcepit rex quod omnes qui cartas habebant venirent ad novum sigillum ad cartas suas renovandas."

In both cases we find there are two reasons given; but while one of these is the same in both, namely the temporary loss of the seal when Roger Mauchien was drowned, the other is wholly and essentially different. The whole aspect of the transaction is thus altered. To illustrate this I shall now place side by side the in-

[7] This is the only confirmation I have found later than 3rd March. If the date can be relied on, it is of special interest as being the day before the king died.

[8] Charters to W. Briwerre, 22 June, 1190, and 11 March, 1199 (1198-9), transcribed in the Great Coucher (Duchy of Lancaster).

dependent glosses of the Bishop of Chester and of M. Boivin-Champeaux:

Richard's first seal was lost when the vice-chancellor was drowned between Rhodes and Cyprus in 1190; but it was recovered with his dead body. The seal that was now broken must have been the one which the chancellor had used during the king's absence. Richard, however, when he was at Messina, had allowed his seal to be set to various grants for which he took money, but which he never intended to confirm. Therefore probably he found it convenient now to have a new seal in lieu of both the former ones, although he threw the blame of the transactions annulled upon the chancellor. The importance of the seal is already very great. (Const. Hist., I., 506, note.)

Sur deux exemplaires usuels du grand sceau, le premier, que portait le vice-chancelier Mauchien, avait été perdu lors de l'ouragan qui, en vue de Chypre avait assailli la flotte Anglo-Normande, le second était resté en Angleterre; mais il avait subi, par suite de la revolution du 10 octobre, de nombreuses vicissitudes. Richard se prévalut de ces circonstances jointes au désaveu de la trève de Tillières pour publier un édit aux termes duquels tous les actes publics passés sous son règne, qui, avaient été légalises avec les anciens sceaux etaient frappés de nullité et assujettis, pour leur revalidation à une nouvelle et couteuse scellure. Cette ordonnance aurait pu, à la rigueur, se colorer, si elle n'avait concerné que les actes accomplis pendant l'expédition et la captivité du roi; mais la comble de l'impudence et de l'iniquité était de l'appliquer même a ceux qui avaient précède son départ ou suivi son retour (p. 223).

Thus both writers assume that there were two seals, one which remained in England with the chancellor, and one which accompanied the king to the east. They further (though Dr. Stubbs is somewhat obscure) hold that the two excuses given refer respectively to the two seals, thus discrediting both. But when we turn to the charters themselves, we find but one seal mentioned, and to that one seal alone both the excuses refer. The king explains that on two occasions it was, so to speak, "out on the loose"—(1) when his vice-chancellor was drowned; (2) when he himself was captured in Germany. This was, of course, the seal which accompanied him to the east.[9] The king makes no allusion to any other or to the chancellor. Such charters and grants as are known to us all proceed from the king himself, either before he left Messina or after he had reached Germany on his return. No charter or grant of Longchamp, as representing him, is known. In short, the whole of our

[9] Dr. Stubbs, indeed, writes, as we have seen, that "the seal that was now broken must have been the one which the chancellor had used during the king's absence." But Longchamp had been ejected from the chancellorship in October, 1191, whereas Richard limits the period of abuse to the duration of his captivity, which did not begin till 20 December, 1192.

record evidence points one way: the charters which the king proclaimed must be confirmed, and which we find brought to him for that purpose were those which he had himself granted, and no other. Lastly, even had we nothing before us but the passage in Howden which all have followed, I contend that it may, and indeed ought to be, read as referring to a single seal. But it is, as Miss Norgate justly observes, "very confused," from its allusion to the chancellor's use of the seal. That allusion, however, would most naturally refer to the truce of Tillières, and not to the use of a separate seal in England. Therefore even if we accepted, which I do not, Howden's statement, it would not warrant the inference that has been drawn.

Again, when Miss Norgate writes of the "withdrawal of the seal from William," and when Dr. Stubbs tells us that the king "took the seal from" him, these statements may have two meanings. But M. Boivin-Champeaux is more precise: "L'emploi de ces procédés emportait le mépris et la violation non seulement de tous les actes étrangers au chancelier, mais encore de tois ceux ou il avait mis la main. Il ne pouvait décemment conserver les sceaux. Le roi les luis enleva." This is a distinct assertion that Longchamp was deprived of his office. Yet all our evidence points to the conclusion that he remained chancellor to the day of his death.

Dismissing Howden for the time, and returning to the testimony of the charters, we have seen that they point to the event we are discussing having taken place in 1198, between the 7th of January, at which date the first seal was still in use, and the 27th of May, when charters were already being brought for confirmation under the second seal. Passing now from the charters to the seals still in existence, we learn from Mr. Wyon's magnificent work [10] (which has appeared since I completed my own investigation) that the first seal was still in use on the 1st of April, 1198,[11] while an impression of the second is found as early as the 22nd of May, 1198.[12] Thus our limit of time for the change is narrowed to 1 April—22 May, 1198.[13] The evidence of the charters and of the

[10] *The Great Seals of England* (Stock), p. 149.

[11] Its impression is attached to a charter tested at Tours, now at Lambeth Palace. If the date of this charter is correctly given, it is an important contribution to the itinerary of Richard.

[12] Ibid., p. 19.

[13] It is singular that Mr. Wyon, while giving these *data*, should himself assign the change to "*circ*, 1197," and still more singular that he should elsewhere (p. 20) accept the usual passage from Howden (III., 267).

seals being thus in perfect harmony, let us see whether this limit of date corresponds with a time of financial difficulty. For so desperate a device as that of the king's repudiation of his charters would only have been resorted to at a time of extreme pressure. What do we find? We find that the time of this change of seal corresponds with the great financial crisis of Richard's reign. The Church had at length lost patience, and had actually in the Council at Oxford (December, 1197) refused supplies. The "want of money," in Miss Norgate's words, was "a difficulty which .... must have seemed well-nigh insurmountable." Preparations were being made for a huge levy at five shillings on every ploughland. It was at this moment that the desperate king repudiated all the charters he had granted throughout his reign, and proclaimed that they must be "brought to him for confirmation ; in other words .... paid for a second time."[14]

Let us now look at the other chroniclers. R. Coggeshall is independent and precise:

"Accessit autem ad totius mali cumulum, juxta vitæ ejus terminum, prioris sigilli sui renovatio, quo exiit edictum per totum ejus regnum ut omnes cartæ, confirmationes, ac privilegiatæ libertates quæ prioris sigilli impressione roboraverat, irrita forent nec alicujus libertatis vigorem obtinerent, nisi posteriori sigillo roborarentur. In quibus renovandis et iterum comparandis innumerabilis pecunia congesta est" (p. 73).

This is in complete accordance with the now ascertained fact that Richard changed his seal, and regranted the old charters, within the last year of his life. Similarly independent and precise evidence is afforded by the Annals of Waverley:

"MCXCVIII. Anno x. regis Ricardi præcepit idem rex omnes cartas in regno suo emptas freormari, et novo sigilli sui impressione roborari, vel omnes cassari, cujuscunque dignitatis aut ordinis essent, qui vellent sua protectione defensari, vel universa bona sua confiscari."[15]

Further, we read in the Annals of Worcester[16] and in the *Historia Major* of M. Paris (II., 450-451)[17] that in 1198, "circaque festum

[14] Miss Norgate (1194). II., 343.

[15] Annales Monastici, II., 251.

[16] Ibid., IV., 389 (Vespasian E, iv.)

[17] Faust. A. 8. fo., 136. It is a striking instance of the confusion and blundering to be met with even in our best chronicles that M. Paris (*Chron. Maj.* ii., 356) has an independent allusion to the king's change of seal (as a "factum Ricardi regis enorme") in which he gives us a circumstantial account of the event and of the Prior of St. Alban's going over to France to secure the con-

sancti Michaelis, mutatæ sunt cartæ quas prius fecerat rex Ricardus, novo sigillo suo." Now this Michaelmas fell just in the heart of the period within which the process of confirmation is proved to have been going on.

We see, then, that the evidence (1) of the seals, (2) of the charters, (3) of the circumstances of the time, (4) of other chroniclers, all concur in pointing to the spring of 1198. And now we will lastly appeal to Howden against himself. After telling us of the king's proclamation on the refusal of the religious to contribute to the carucage in the spring of 1198, he adds:

"Præterea præcepit idem rex ut omnes, tam clerici quam laici, qui cartas sive confirmationes habebant de sigillo suo veteri deferrent eas ad sigillum suum novum renovandas, et nisi fecerint, nihil quod actum fuerat per sigillum suum vetus ratum haberetur" (IV., 66).

This passage, which ought to be compared with Coggeshall, is merely ignored by Dr. Stubbs. Miss Norgate, however, boldly explains it as "a renewal of the decree requiring all charters granted under the king's old seal to be brought up for confirmation under the new one" (II., 356). But the passage stands by itself, as describing a new measure.[18]

The only conclusion to be drawn from this cumulative evidence is that the earlier passage in Howden (1194), which has been so universally accepted, must be rejected altogether. Against the facts I have adduced it cannot stand.

Incredible though it may seem that a court official, a chronicler so able and well informed, indeed, in the words of his editor, "our primary authority for the period,"[19] should have mis-stated so grossly an event, as it were, under his own eyes, we must remember that "Howden's personality is to a certain degree vindicated by a sort of carelessness about exact dates."[20] Yet even so, "few are the points," our supreme authority assures us, "in which a very close examination and collation with contemporary authors can detect chronological error in Howden."[21] Nor, of the eight anachronisms laboriously established by Dr. Stubbs, does any one approach in

firmation, "cum effusione multæ pecuniæ et laboris," but assigns it to the year 1189. Howden's error pales before such a blunder as this, which has been accepted without question by the learned editor, Dr. Luard.

[18] Howden, by placing it wrongly (p. 66) *after* Hubert's resignation (p. 48), to which it was some two months previous, has misled Miss Norgate into the belief that it was the work of his successor, Geoffrey.

[19] Stubbs's *Howden*, IV., xxxii.

[20] Ibid., p. xxv.

[21] Ibid,, p. xxxi.

magnitude the error I have here exposed. The importance of every anachronism in its bearing on the authorship of the chronicle is by him clearly explained.

How far does the rejection of this statement on the change of seal affect the statement which precedes it as to the truce of Tillières? Howden places the latter and the former in the relation of cause and effect:

"Deinde veniens in Normanniam moleste tulit quicquid factum fuerat de supradictis treugis, et imputans cancellario suo hoc per eum fuisse factum, abstulit ab eo sigillum suum, et fecit etc." (III., 267).

This is rendered by Dr. Stubbs in the margin: "He annuls the truce and all the acts of the chancellor passed under the old seal." The passage has also been so read by M. Boivin-Champeaux (p. 221); but if that is the meaning, which I think is by no means certain, Howden contradicts himself. For he speaks five months later of the truce ("Treuga quæ inter eos statuta fuerat duratura usque ad festum omnium sanctorum") as not having stopped private raids on either side.[22] R. de Diceto, mentioning the truce (II., 120), says nothing of it being annulled, nor does R. Newburgh in his careful account. On the contrary, he implies that it held good, though the terms were thought dishonourable to Richard (II., 420). I should, therefore, read Howden as stating simply that Richard was much annoyed at ("moleste tulit") its terms, and was wroth with the chancellor for accepting them.

In addition to correcting the received date for Richard the First's change of seal, the evidence I have collected enables us, for the first time, to learn how and to what extent the confirmation of the charters was effected. We find that it was no sweeping process, carried out on a single occasion, but that it was gradually and slowly proceeding during the last eleven months of the king's life. Here, then, is the explanation of another fact (also hitherto overlooked), namely that only a minority of the charters were ever confirmed under the second seal.[23] For the king's death abruptly stopped the operation of that oppressive decree, which was being so reluctantly obeyed.

[22] iii., 276. This distinctly implies that the truce had been nominally in full force. Note that it is here spoken of as "*till* All Saints," while in the document itself (iii., 259) it is made for a year *from* All Saints. Here is some confusion.

[23] I have not found a single charter of municipal liberties, though the reign was so rich in them, among these confirmations.

It should be superfluous for me to add that, in thus correcting previous statements, I have not impeached the accuracy of our greatest living historian, who could only form his judgment from the evidence before him. The result of my researches has been to show that the evidence itself breaks down when submitted to the test of fact.

J. H. ROUND.

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GLASIERS LOGGE—Quodam shade voc' Glasiers Logge, in occid' infra Pal' nostrum Westm', 60 by 20 ped. *Close Roll*, 23 Hen. VI.

GREEN CHAMBER—Great Seal delivered to the King in his Green Chamber, June 9th, 1318; delivered to new Chancellor (Bishop Hothum of Ely) in the White Chamber, Whit Sunday. *Close Roll*, 11 Edw. II.

KING'S CHAMBER—Make in the King's chamber at Westminster the four Evangelists upon lions, and colour them well, and decently paint them: St. John the Evangelist in the eastern part of the chamber, St. Matthew in the west, St. Luke in the south, St. Mark in the north. The same to be done in the Queen's room and those adjoining, and in that of Edward the King's son. Make two seats, one for Edward, and one for the King's daughters, 1243. *Close Roll*. 27 Hen. III., Part 1.

For the King's chamber in Westminster Palace, the night before he was knighted, viz.:—Jan. 31st, 1327. Red carpets with shields of the King's arms in the corner, five; samitelle cushions, six; bankers, four red with green border, one green, four murrey and blue, three to match the carpets. *Roll of Great Wardrobe*, for Coronation and Palace, 1327. 33/5.

KING'S INNER CHAMBER—Great Seal delivered in the King's inner chamber, Jan. 28th, 1327. *Close Roll*, 1 Edw. III,

KING'S PRIVATE CHAMBER—Great Seal delivered in the King's private chamber, newly made between the Council Chamber and the Chapel annexed thereto, June 16, 1349. *Close Roll*, 23 Edw. III., Part 1.

NEW CHAMBER—Great Seal delivered in the Newe Chaumbre, Oct. 14, 1347. *Close Roll*, 21 Edw. III., Part 2.

The New Chamber, next to the inner Chapel of the Palace. *Close Roll*, 24 Edw. III.

ORIOL CHAMBER—Great Seal delivered in chamber called La Oriole, next to the new chapel, Feb. 13, 1344. *Close Roll*, 18 Edw. III., Part 1.

OULE CHAMBER—The King's chamber in the private Palace, called the Oule Chamber, Jan. 26th, 1372. *Close Roll*, 46 Edw. III.

PARLIAMENT CHAMBER—The chambre of the grete counsail called the p'lement chambre, within the Kynges palois at Westminster, 1469. *Patent Roll*, 9 Edw. IV.

QUEEN'S CHAMBER--For colours and pictures made in the Queen's chamber at Westminster, from Easter to Pentecost, 1239, £11 0s 6d. *Liberate Roll*, 23 Hen. III.

Order to provide marble columns for the Queen's chamber, 1259. *Close Roll*, 43 Hen. III.

QUEEN'S COUNCIL HOUSE—House in Westminster Hall called the Queen's Council House, 1470, *Fines Roll*, 9 Edw. IV.

STAR CHAMBER—Camera Stellata, 1355. *Close Roll*, 29 Edw. III.
The Sternechamere, Sept. 30, 1422. *Close Roll*, 1 Hen. VI.
The Sterred Chamber, 1443. *Patent Roll*, 32 Hen. VI.

TOWER—John, Duke of Bedford, is granted leave to occupy the new tower at the entrance of our hall at Westminster, near the Receipt Office, Nov. 25, 1410. *Patent Roll*, 12 Hen. IV.

WHITE CHAMBER—Great Seal delivered in the King's chamber called the White Chamber, on the water of Thames, in his Palace of Westminster, Apr. 28, 1340 ; delivered to new Chancellor (Bishop of Chichester) in the Painted Chamber, July 12th. *Close Roll*, 14 Edw. III., Part 1.

WHITE (NEW) CHAMBER—The chapel next to the New White Chamber towards the water ; Nov. 27, 1356. *Close Roll*, 30 Edw. III.

A. HOLT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DESTRUCTION OF OLD COINS.

In the Virgin Islands the local currency of "cut money" is a curious feature. It consists of old Spanish dollars cut into halves, quarters, and eighths roughly stamped with the word Tortola, and a number of ancient and much-worn Spanish coins the distinguishing marks on which are difficult to decipher. There are also in circulation about £10 worth of copper coins which go by the name of "Dogs." These coins are French struck in the reign of Louis XVI, for the colony of Cayenne. The above information is quoted from *Reports on Blue Books for 1886* (c—s 249 of 1888) and it will, I think, be of use to numismatists.

G.

REVIEW.

HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES. AN ATTEMPT TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF THEIR SUPPRESSION. By F. AIDAN GASQUET, Monk of the order of S. Benedict. Vol. I. (second edition), 1888, pp. xxxii., 478.

THE truer method of the modern school of historians and students of institutions, which at once fosters and justifies the increased bent for archæ-

ological study, namely, the writing of history "from the records," receives a new and prominent illustration in the work undertaken by the Rev. F. A. Gasquet. Has "bare justice hitherto been done to the memory of the monastic order in England?" is the question he sets himself to answer from original documents. The story of the spoliation of the monasteries in the sixteenth century, of the greed of king and courtiers, of the rapacious stretching after wealth robbed from religious houses by shifts the most dishonourable, baseness and cruelty almost incredible, has been known to very few. Glimpses afforded to thoughtful students, however, made them more than suspect the real facts; "no page so black in English history" was the verdict of one under whose eye fell the dealings which led to the extinction of the gilds and fraternities. The labours of the late Mr. Brewer and of Mr. Jas. Gairdner have done much to open men's eyes on the subject. The English spirit of fair play is in the present day ready to recognise the value of the abbeys and monasteries, and the important part they played in the development of our social life and character; and we trust that Father Gasquet will find this remark borne out by the welcome accorded to his book, already gone to a second edition, notwithstanding his belief in general that "a wholesome horror of monk and monastery has been imparted with early knowledge at a mother's knee," and that the truth has been so long warped that it is hard to set it right. There is no doubt that this treatise is an important contribution to our knowledge of one side of the Reformation hitherto little worked out.

The book, though based rigidly upon facts drawn from public documents and authorities, is written in an attractive style. In the Introduction is given a sketch—which might surely have been much fuller—of the daily life in a monastery of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries, and of the benefits to the people generally which the existence of the religious houses in their midst brought in art, literature, agriculture, and social life. In the two first chapters the author endeavours to estimate the causes which led to the admitted abuses and the decay of teaching and disinterested service which had crept into the Church; foremost among them he places the terrible depopulation caused by the Black Death in 1349. That is to say, he goes back two hundred years for the origin of deterioration from which the country never fully recovered until its effects led up to great social and religious revolution. The important results from this great sickness have been often pointed out; the monastic orders naturally shared in them with their countrymen. But even under disadvantages the institutions of the country went on working, among the rest the bishops kept up their visitations to the monasteries, by an examination of the records of which Father Gasquet finds how carefully the duty of supervision was exercised. The details in these show that "the moral reputation of the monastic and conventual establishments was considered of the first importance." In his examination of the "Charges against the Monks," the author in several cases points out how the findings at these bishops' visitations confute the accusations made by the interested commissioners of the king and Cromwell.

Tracing the precedents for suppressing monasteries through the treatment of "alien priories" by the earlier kings, the author brings out the story through a series of monographs or episodes, clustering his facts

round the principal persons engaged. We thus begin with Wolsey and his preliminary dissolutions, move on to the Holy Maid of Kent, the resistance of the Friars Observant, and the cruel dealings with the Carthusians. The execution of Bishop Fisher and Sir T. More, in 1535, left the field open for the scheme of dissolving the monastic bodies; and the reports of the royal "visitors" sent through the land, the character of these men, Layton, Ap Rice, and Legh, and the means employed to get up the case in order to influence Parliament, receive here new investigation and proof. In justice to the fair fame of large bodies of our past countrymen and women, it is time that these facts and the false stories hitherto believed against them should be set straight. For, though out of evil good was brought forth by the great reformers, the lesson set by truth about the matter now must be fearlessly read. Great and noble movements cannot be the better for evil beginnings.

A masterly account of Thomas Cromwell, to the suddenness of whose fall we owe it that his private papers and accounts, undestroyed by him, now help to tell the tale against him and his royal master, and of the base instruments he employed, fill the concluding chapters of this first instalment of Father Gasquet's work. In a second volume he promises the history of the suppression itself.

A useful map and list showing the houses of the Carthusians and of the four orders of friars at the time of the suppression is appended.

The Annales Cambriæ and the old Welsh Genealogies from Harl. 3859 are printed for the first time with diplomatic fidelity, line for line, letter for letter, contraction for contraction, by Mr. E. G. B. Phillimore in Vol. IX., pt. i., of Y Cymmrodor, just issued. The genealogies in question have never been printed in their entirety, save in an utterly untrustworthy form in the Cambrian Quarterly Magazine for 1832.—A. N.

Literature.

—:o:—

TUAR FERGE FOIGHIDE DHE.

AN IRISH RELIGIOUS BALLAD.

THIS "Godly Ballat" will, I think, be valued by all who take an interest in the old Irish tongue, and in the religious history of the Irish people. It is, I believe, the first thing ever printed in Irish; and no copy of it is known to exist save that from a photograph of which this transliteration has been made. The ballad was printed in 1571 by "maïghisdir Seon uiser in baileathacliath, over against the bridge." It was printed in the same year, and from the same type, as John a Kearnagh's *Irish Catechism*, one of the very rarest treasures that can bless the eyes of the book-hunter. The font of Irish type used in printing this catechism, and intended also for an Irish version of the Bible and Prayer Book, was sent over to Ireland by Queen Elizabeth. The ballad before us was the first fruits of that historic press. It is in the form of a broadsheet, printed on both sides, and embellished with a beautiful border. In this form the ballad was sent over to England, apparently as a compliment to Queen Elizabeth's ecclesiastical adviser Archbishop Parker, among whose papers in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, it was discovered a few years ago by the late learned and much beloved Henry Bradshaw. My attention was first turned to it by Mr. Talbot Reed; and to the courtesy of the reverend S. S. Lewis, M.A,, F.S.A., the learned and obliging librarian of Corpus Christi, I am beholden for the photograph from which I have worked. The transliteration has been carefully done; but in the work of translation I have now and again had cause to fear that either I, or Mr. Seon Uiser's typography, may have been guilty of an occasional slip. And it is right to add that my translation is purely tentative. Now and then the English words fall into a sort of broken rhythm. But this is quite accidental. To catch the meaning of the original is all that I have attempted; and in one or two places it is, I fear, more than has been accomplished. But in the endeavour to get at the meaning of the original I have done my best; and I have, moreover, though in vain, carried my difficulties into "the larger hope" of such lights of

Celtic learning as are within my reach. The transliteration, as has been said, was made from a photograph ; but by the kind favour of Mr. Lewis, I had an opportunity of having my transcript compared with the original broadsheet, which, though in good preservation, is not, however, always distinct in such vital details as points of aspiration and the differentiation of " f," " s," and " r." The punctuation of the Irish text, although mechanical, is not misleading.

Duan añ so o Philip mhac cuinn chrosaigh ann a dtaisbentar tuarusgbhail uathmhas laithe anbhraich agus an modh ara dtiocfa criosd do chum an bhretheamhnais, agus na briathra adernand.

Tuar ferge foighide dhe,
biodh anoirchill anfhinne :
Adhiomga ag fas re gach fear,
gras nach dionghna fa dhereadh.
Is hi anfhearg mhall is measa,
achiall is cuis fhaitcheasa :
Tiocfa riu gan tochd fa athoil,
olc nocha du gandioghoil.

An cheandsachd chaitheas rinde,
is grian angar dhilinde :
Leanfaidh se fos na folta,
a thos ni he is ionmholta.
Anegcoir les da locadh,
do bhregnaid se an seanfhocal :
Ge ta neart de ar gach duine,
a cheart is he is eagluidhe.

Fogus da fherg ahadhaint,
dhuinn ni cuirthe agcunntabhairt :
La na togharma dho theachd,
achomarrdha ata ag toigheachd.
Dereadh do naimser mas fhior,
dob fhaide o fherg anairdriogh :
An domhan a ne ina an iudh,
robhadh don te do thuicfuidh.

Tiocfaidh na siona saobha,
nach aimseara iontaobha :
Bheth dhfholtaibh de nar ndeaghaidh,
nochdair he le a airrgheanaibh :
Sneachda nach edir dhfhulang,
gaoth is gairbhe urughall :
Cioth teneadh na dhiaigh dha dhail,
biaigh an dereadh an domhnain.

Bed na criond agus an chre,
ar lasadh allo an fhinne :
Gebha cumha na clacha,
nach balugha alasracha.
Achd ge mor ngabhadh do ghebh,
o fhuachd thall is o thenedh :
Go buain a gabhal on ngren,
an talamh ni fhuair oilbem.

A lay here from Philip, son of Conn Cross, in which is set forth a tale of the fearfulness of the dread day, and the way in which Christ shall come to the judgment, and the words in Irish.

Let the wrath-omen of God's patience
lie in wait for the race ;
His displeasure gathering for each man
whom grace saves not at the last.
It is the slow wrath that is worst,
cause it is truly of terror :
Will come, of his will, to confound them,
ill that befits their avenging.

The long-suffering on us bestowed
a sun (?) is of long indignation :
Shall follow it surely the wages—
its commencement not most commended.
Most vile holds he thy sin (?)
it hath belied the old saying.
Though on each man be God's power,
his justice is most to be feared.

Near to his wrath is his law,
to us unassigned was not sent
The day that heralds his advent :
his sign is a-coming.
If 'tis truly the end of the time,
farthest from wrath of the high king
Then yester-world e'en as to-day's
were to whom understandeth. (?)

Will come the mad tempests,
the times untoward :
From retributions of God on our track
he shall be shewn with his spoilings(?)
Snows that endured cannot be,
winds of fiercest blast,
Smoke, after him, of fire, close in pursuit,
shall be in the end of the world.

Shall be the globe and the glebe
aflame all over the world :
Be it the stones that bewail,
yet none the less is their flaming.
But great though the torment they get
from cold there and (here) from fire,
From the sun for ever departing,
the earth got no hurt.

Fearfaid luibhe gach lerge,
deora fola foirrdherge :
Fachan na fola duinne,
fola ar nather oruinne.
Is fhaide ina feadh radhairc,
rachas uainn fa bhfiormamaint :
An fhairge as afalaidhfen,
raghaidh anairde dhfhoilem.

Will mark you each path
blood-tears right red :
Revealing the blood to us,
blood of our father upon us.
Further than eye can see
will go up from us under the firmament
The sea and the void—
shall go up from us into the void-space.

A luchd thuillte na teneadh,
ar bhar gciond do cifedhear :
Sgeul is cruaidhe dhagcluinte,
beul gach uaighe osluigthe.
Gach anam is he abhunadh,
tiocfais trathd ha mothughadh :
La an tobhaighar ceand a chuirp
gearr o nfholaidh a hadhuint.

Ye people deserving the fire,
by your guilt shall be seen—
Tale the hardest to hear,
every grave open-mouthed.
Of each soul 'tis the trust
that will come to him time of reviving—
The day when set free (?) shall be also the corpse,
near to the void that is closed.

Ni fuicfe anam na deaghla,
michel maor an tighearna :
Asiol uile agus eubha,
duine dhiobh nach duiseubha :
Suidhfidh aneullaibh nimhe,
os ciond na nord nainglidhe :
Gairm shluaghaidh ar chachcuire,
fath uamhain a iondhsuighe.

Shall find not one soul awanting
Michael, the steward of God :
Of her seed all and Eve
shall none be un-wage-paid :
He shall ride the heaven-clouds
'bove the order of angels,
Calling peoples of every estate
in much dread before him.

NOTE.—The key-note of the ballad will, I think, be found in Revelation vi. 16 : Agus a dubhradar ris na sleibhtibh agus ris na cairrigibh, Tuitibh oruinn, agus folchuidh sinn o ghnuis an ti ata na shuidhe sa gchaoir, *agus o fheirg a Nuain.* "The wrath of the Lamb" was, forty years ago, a favourite topic of pulpit declamation in the great Gaelic gatherings of the North Highlands. It seems to me to be not uncongenial to the Celtic mind. It held a high place in what the late Dr. John Kennedy well named the "Religion of Ross-shire." Often and often did my hair stand on end, as preachers of weird power, like the late Mr. John Macrae of Knockbain, launched forth torrents of burning Gaelic eloquence on this awful topic of a true friend's love turned at last into an unconquerable thirst for inexorable, eternal avenging—the old blood-feud of the Celt baptized into the sanctities of his new religion.

In old Middle Irish *tuara* is used in the sense of *aliment* or *sustenance.* I once thought of so translating the first line of the poem, making "God's patience" an occasion, or source of nourishment, for his anger. But the thought was too dreadful to be seriously entertained; and I was thankful to find that no dictionary of modern Irish to which I had access gives the word in that sense.

The Irish text given above may be accepted as a correct transliteration of Usher's broadsheet, in which, following manuscripts of the period, the word *De* is printed without a capital letter.

DONALD MASSON.

THE WOOING OF EMER.

AN IRISH HERO-TALE OF THE 11TH CENTURY—Translated by Prof. K. MEYER.

(Continued from page 75.)

"NOT hard to tell, truly," answered the maiden. "I was brought up," said she, "in ancient virtues, in lawful behaviour in keeping chastity, in equal . . . . of a queen, in stately form, so that to me is attributed every noble stately form among the hosts of . . . women." "Good are those virtues, truly," said Cuchulaind. "Why then," said he, "should it not be fitting for us both to become one? For I have not hitherto found a maiden capable of holding converse with me at a meeting in this wise." "A question. Hast thou a wife?" said the maiden. "For under my protection . . . . after thee." "Not so," said Cuchulaind. "I may not marry," said the maiden, "before the sister who is older than I am, viz., Fial, daughter of Forgall, whom thou seest near me here. She is an excellent handworker." "It is not she, truly, with whom I have fallen in love," said Cuchulaind. "Nor have I ever accepted a woman that has known a man before me, and I have been told that yonder girl has slept with Carpre Niafer[1] once."

While they were thus conversing, Cuchulaind saw the breasts of the maiden over the bosom of her smock. Then he said: "Fair is this plain, the plain of the noble yoke." Then the maiden spoke these words: "No one comes to this plain," said Emer, "who does not slay as many as a hundred (*comainm n-aircid*) on each ford from the Ford of Scennmenn at Ollbine, to Banchuing Arcait[2] where swift Brea breaks the brow of Fedelm." "Fair is this plain, the plain of the noble yoke," said Cuchulaind. "No one comes to this plain," said she, "who has not achieved the feat of slaying three times nine men with one blow (*genid grainde*), oh calf of the cow . . . . , so as to preserve a man in the midst of each nine of them." "Fair is this plain, the plain of the noble yoke," said Cuchulaind. "No one comes to this plain," said she, "who does not meet Benn Suain, the son of Roscmelc, from summer's end to the beginning of spring, from the beginning of spring to May-day, from May-day to the beginning of winter." "It is said, it shall be done," said Cuchulaind. "It is offered, it is granted, it is taken, it is accepted," said Emer. "A question. What is the account of thee?" said she. "I am the nephew (*nia*) of the man that disappears in another in the wood of Badb," said he. "And what is thy name?" said she. "I am the hero (*níadu*) of the plague that befals dogs," said he.

[1] High King of Erin.

[2] A name for part of the Boyne.

After those noble words, Cuchulaind went from them, and they did not hold any further converse on that day. When Cuchulaind was driving across Bray, Loeg, his charioteer, asked him: "Now," said he, "the words which thou and the maiden Emer spoke, what did you mean by them?" "Dost thou not know," answered Cuchulaind, "that I am wooing Emer? And it is for this reason that we disguised our words, lest the girls should understand that I am wooing her. For, if Forgall knew it, we should not meet with his consent." Cuchulaind then repeated the conversation from the beginning to his charioteer, explaining it to him, to beguile the length of their way.

"By Intide Emna which I said when she asked me 'whence hast thou come?' I meant from Emain Macha. It is called Emain Macha from this. Macha, the daughter of Sainreth Mac in Botha, wife of Crundchu, son of Agnoman, ran a race against two steeds of the king, after she had been forced to it by a strong injunction. She beat them, and bare a boy and a girl at one birth. And from those twins (*emuin*) is called, and from that Macha is named the plain of Macha. Or again, it is from this that Emain Macha is, as it is in the following tale. Three kings were reigning together over Erinn. They were from Ulster, viz. Dithorba, son of Diman, from Uisnech of Meath, Aed the Red, son of Badurn, son of Aircet the Bald, in the land of Aed, Cimbaeth, son of Findairget, from Finnabair of Mag Inis. It is he who brought up Ugaine the Great, son of Eochu the Victorious. Then the men made an agreement, that each of them was to reign seven years. Three times seven sureties were pledged between them, seven druids to revile them for ever; or seven poets to lampoon, and satirise, and upbraid them; or seven chiefs to wound them and burn them; unless each man gave up his reign at the end of seven years, having preserved true government, viz. the produce of each year, without decay of . . . of any kind, and without the death of a woman from concubinage. Each of them reigned three times in his turn, during sixty-six years. Aed the Red was the first of them to die, or rather he was drowned in Ess Ruaid, and his body was taken into the sid there, whence Sid Aeda and Ess Ruaid. He left no children, except one daughter, whose name was Macha the Red-haired. She demanded the kingship in its due time. Cimbaeth and Dithorba said they would not give kingship to a woman. A battle was fought between them. Macha routed them. She was sovereign for seven years. Meanwhile Dithorba had fallen. He left five noble sons behind, Bæth and Brass and Betach, Uallach and Borbchass. These now demanded

the kingship. Macha said she would not give it to them, 'for not by favour did I obtain it,' said she, 'but by force in the battle-field.' A battle was fought between them. Macha routed the sons of Dithorba, who left a slaughter of heads before her, and went into exile in the wilds of Connaught. Macha then took Cimbaeth to her as her husband, and leader of her troops. When now Macha and Cimbaeth were united, Macha went to seek the sons of Dithorba in the shape of a leper, viz. she smeared herself with rye-dough and . . . She found them in Buirend Connacht, cooking a wild boar. The men asked tidings of her, and she gave them. And they let her have food by the fire. Said one of them: 'Lovely is the eye of the girl, let us lie with her.' He took her with him into the wood. She bound that man by dint of her strength, and left him in the wood. She came back to the fire. 'Where is the man who went with thee?' they asked. 'He is ashamed to come to you,' she replied, 'after having lain with a leper.' 'There is no shame,' said they, 'for we shall all do the same.' Each man took her into the wood. She bound every one of them, one after the other and brought them all in one chain to Ulster. The men of Ulster wanted to kill them. 'No,' said she, 'for that would be the ruin of my true government. But they shall be thralls, and shall dig a rath round me, and that shall be the eternal seat of Ulster for ever.' Then she marked out the dun for them with her brooch, viz., a golden pin on her neck, *i.e.*, a brooch on the neck of Macha (*eo imma muin Macha.*) Hence is Emain Macha in truth.

"The man, I said, in whose house we slept, he is the fisherman of Conchobor. Roncu is his name. It is he that catches the fish on his line under the sea; for the fish are the cattle of the sea, and the sea is the plain of Tethra, a king of the kings of the Fomori.

"The cooking-hearth, I said. A foal was cooked for us on it. A foal is the ruin of a chariot to the end of three weeks[1] . . . and there is a *gess* on a chariot to the end of three weeks for any man to enter it after having last eaten horse-flesh. For it is the horse that sustains the chariot.

"Between the Two Mountains of the Wood[2] I said. These are the two mountains between which we came, viz., Sliab Fuait[3] to the west of us, and Sliab Cuilinn[4] to the east of us. We were in Oircel[5] between them, *i.e.*, the wood which is between them, viz., on the road I meant between the two.

[1] *Nómad*, a period of nine nights.
[2] *Dá cotot feda*, now the Fews (*fiodh*) in Co. Armagh.
[3] Now Slieve Fuad, Co. Armagh.
[4] Now Slieve Gullion, Co. Armagh.
[5] Now Forkill, Co. Armagh?

"The road, I said, viz., from the Covering of the Sea, *i.e.*, from the Plain of Murthemne.[1] The sea was on it for thirty years after the deluge, whence is Teme Mara, *i.e.*, the shelter, or covering of the sea. Or again, it is from this that it is called the Plain of Murthemne, viz., a magic sea was on it with . . . in it, so that one could sit on it, so that a man with his armour might sit down on the ground of . . . until the Dagda came with his club of anger, and sang the following words at it, so that it ebbed away at once:

Silent thy hollow head,
Silent thy dirty body,
Silent thy . . . brow.

"Over the Great Secret of the men of Dea, *i.e.*, a wonderful secret and a wonderful whisper. It is called the Marsh of Dolluid[2] to-day. Dolluid, son of Carpre Niafer, was wounded by Matu. Before that, however, its name was Great Secret of the Men of Dea, because it was there that the gathering of the battle of Moytura was first planned by the Tuatha De Danann, for the purpose of throwing off the tribute which the Fomori exacted from them, viz., two-thirds of corn and milk and offspring.

"Over the Foam of the Two Steeds of Emain. There was a famous youth reigning over the Gaels. He had two horses reared for him in Sid Ercmon of the Tuatha Dea. Nemed, son of Nama, was the name of that king. Then those two horses were let loose from the Sid, and a splendid stream burst after them from the Sid, and there was great foam on that stream, and the foam spread over the land for a great length of time, and was thus to the end of a year, so that hence that water was called Uanub, *i.e.*, foam on the water, and it is Uanub to-day.

"The Garden of the Morrigan, I said, that is Ochtur Netmon. The Dagda gave that land to the Morrigan, and she lived there. After a year she killed Ibor Boiclid, son of Garb, in her garden. The . . . which her garden grew were . . . in that year, for the son of Garb was her relation.

"The Back of the Great Sow I said, that is Druimm n-Ebreg. For the shape of a sow appeared to the sons of Milid on every hill and on every height in Erinn, when they came over and wanted to land in it by force, after a spell had been cast on it by the Tuatha De Danann.

"The Glen of the Great Dam I said, *i.e.*, Glenn m-Breogain, viz. Glenn m-Breogain and Moy Bray were named after Breoga, son of Breogann Sendacht, son of Milid. It was called Glen of the Great

[1] Co. Louth, between Dundalk and the Boyne.

[2] Now Dolly's Green in Co. Meath? According to Hennessy, *Chron. Scot.* p. 388, it is now Girley, near Kells.

Dam, because Dam of Dile, son of Smirgoll, son of Tethra, who was king over Erinn, lived there. This Dam died in . . . a woman . . . of Moy Bray to the west to the mouth . . .

"The road, I said, between the God and his Seer, viz., between Mac Oc of the Sid of the Brug and his seer, viz., Bresal was a seer to the west of the Brug. Between them was the one woman, the wife of the Smith.[1] That is the way I went. Mairne, then, is between the hill of the Sid of the Brug in which Oengus is, and the Sid of Bresal, the druid.

"Over the Marrow of the Woman Fedelm I said, *i.e.*, the Boyne. It is called Boyne from Boand, the wife of Nechtan, son of Labraid. She went to guard the hidden well at the bottom of the dun with the three cupbearers of Nechtan, viz., Flex and Lesc and Luam. Nobody came without blemish from that well, unless the three cupbearers went with him. The queen went out of pride and overbearing to the well, and said nothing would ruin her shape, nor put a blemish on her. She passed left-hand-wise round the well to deride its power. Then three waves broke over her, and smashed her two thighs and her right hand and one of her eyes. She ran out of the Sid to escape from this injury; until she came to the sea. Wherever she ran, the well ran after her. Segais was its name in the Sid, the river Segsa from the Sid to the Pool of Mochua, the Arm of the Wife of Nuadu and the Thigh of the Wife of Nuadu after that, the Boyne in Meath, Manchuing Arcait it is called from the Finda to the Troma, the Marrow of the Woman Fedelm from the Troma to the sea.

"The Boar (*triath*) I said and his Dam, that is *Cleitech* and *Fessi.* For *triath* is the name for a boar, the leader of herds; but it is also a name for a king, the leader of the great hosts. *Cleitech* then is . . . . of battle. *Fessi,* again, is a name for a great sow of a farmer's house. A boar and his dam, and between a boar and his sow then we went.

"The King of Ana, I said, and his Servant (*gnia*), *i.e.*, Cerna through which we passed. Sid Cirine was its name of old. Cerna is its name since the . . . . viz., Enna Aignech, slew Cerna, the king of Ana on that hill, and he slew his steward in the east of that place. Gnia was his name, from which is Rath Gniad in Cerna ever. On Gese, the king of the sons of Emne, did Enna do it, for there was great friendship between Gese and Cerna.

"The Washing of the Horses of Dea I said, *i.e.* Ange. The Washing of the Horses of Dea was its name originally, because in it the Men of Dea washed their horses when they came from the

[1] *i.e.*, Goibniu, the smith of the Túatha Dé Danann.

battle of Moytura. It was called Ange after the king whose horses the Tuatha De Danann washed in it.

"The four-cornered Mannchuile I said, that is Muin Chille. It is there where Mann the farmer was. There was a great mortality of cattle in Erinn in the reign of Bresal Brecc, son of Fiachu Fobrecc of Leinster. Then Mann made large deep chambers underground in the place which is called Uachtar Mannchuile to-day. And . . were made to keep off the plague. Afterwards he gave an entertainment to the king with twenty-four couples to the end of seven years. Mannchuile, then, are the corners of Mann, *i.e.* Ochtar Muinchille.

"Great Crime again, I said, *i.e.* Ailbine.[1] There was a famous king here in Erinn, viz.: Ruad, son of Rigdond, of Munster. He had an appointment of meeting with foreigners.[2] He went to the meeting with the foreigners round the south of Alba[3] with three ships. Thirty were in each ship. The fleet was arrested from below in the midst of the sea. Throwing jewels and precious things into the sea did not get them off. Lots were cast among them for who should go into the sea and find out what it was that held them fast. The lot fell upon the king himself. Then the king Ruad, son of Rigdond, leapt into the sea. The sea at once closed over him. He lighted upon a large plain on which nine beautiful women met him. They confessed to him that it had been they that had arrested the ships, in order that he should come to them. And they gave him nine vessels of gold to sleep with them for nine nights, one night with each of them. He did so. Meanwhile his men were not able to proceed quickly through the power of the women. Said one woman of them it was her time of conceiving, and she would bear a son, and he should come to them to fetch his son on his return from the east. Then he joined his men, and they went on their voyage. They stayed with their friends to the end of seven years, and then went back a different way and did not go near the same spot. And they landed in the bay of Ailbine. There the women came up to them. The men heard their music in their brazen ship. While they were stowing their fleet, the women came ashore and put the boy out of their ship on the land where the men were. The harbour was stony and rocky. Then the boy . . . one of the stones, so that he died of it. The women saw it and cried all together: Ollbine, Ollbine! *i.e.* 'great crime.' Hence it is called Ailbine.

[1] Now the river Delvin, which forms the northern boundary of Co. Dublin.
[2] Gaill, *i.e.*, probably, Norsemen.
[3] Great Britain.

(*To be continued.*) KUNO MEYER.

INDEX NOTES.

3. OLD ENGLISH DRAMA (continued from page 77)—(ii.) *Udal (Nicholas) Ralph Roister Doister*, 1566.

Abye, abide the consequences, rue it, ii. 4.
Alderman, allusion to dignity of, iv. 5.

Backare quod Mortimer to his sowe, a proverb ["Backare probably means back there or go back," W. D. Cooper,] i. 2.
Beds, feather, use of referred to, i. 4.
Bees in the head, choleric [Nares], i. 4.
Bibbler, a term addressed to a man, iii. 5.
Blanchepouder lande, a place referred to, i. 4.
Borde, a jest or sport [Nares], i. 4, iv. 3.
Borow, protect or guard, iv. 7.
Breast, voice [Nares], i. 2, iii. 3.
Brymme, fierce, iv. 6.
Burbolt, a birdbolt ["a short thick arrow with a blunt head chiefly made use of to kill rooks : it appears to have been looked upon as an emblem of dullness," W. D. Cooper], iii. 2.
Buske, a copse or bush, [cf. busket in Nares], i. 4.
By-and-bye, immediately, [it is so used in the North of England, W. D. Cooper], iii. 4.

Calais, by the armes of Caleys, an oath, iii. 4, vi. 7.
Choploge, angry words, iii. 2.
Cock's precious, an oath, iv. 8.
Cocke, by cocke, an oath ["a corruption of the sacred name" W. D. Cooper,] i. 2, ii. 3, iii. 4.
Cocke's precious potsticke, an oath, iii. 4.
Costarde, head [Nares], iii. 5.
Cotssold lyon, a sheep, iv. 6.
Cough me a mome, iii. 2.
Coyle-cuff [cf. Tim Bobbins "Glossary of Lancashire Dialect"; Brockett's "Glossary of Northcountry words"], iv. 3, 7.
Cracking, boasting [Nares], i. 1.
Curtsie, formerly applied to any kind of obeisance of man or woman, iii. 3.

Devil's name, Tom Titivile, i. 1.
Dialect, sentence spoken in, "chad not so much, i chotte not whan ; nere since chwas born, chwine," meaning "I had not so much, I wot not when ; never since I was born I ween," i. 3.
Dice playing, i. 1.
Dress, articles of alluded to, ii. 3.

Facing and cracking, vaunting and boasting, i. 1.
Facts, feats or deeds, i. 2.
Fitte, a song, ii. 3, iii. 3.
Flocke, iii. 3.
Force, no force, no doubt, iv. 3.

Geare, business, i. 3, ii. 2.
Gitterne, a lute or guitar, ii. 1.
Gog, by gog, an oath, iv. 8.
Gog's armes, an oath, i. 4.
Gog's dear mother, an oath, iv. 7.
Good, a good, in earnest, heartily, iii. 4.
Gosse, by gosse, an oath, iii. 4.
Graffe, a lout, i. 1.
Guy of Warwicke, referred to, i. 2.

Hoball, iii. 3.

Jetting up and down, walking with an air or swing, iii. 3.

Jutte, a jostle, iii. 3.

Kock's nownes, god's wounds, an oath, i. 4.

Launcelot du Lake, referred to, i. 2.
Letter-writing, iii. 5.
Lilburne, iii. 3.
Lobcocke, anything clumsy [Nares], iii. 3.
London, St. Paul's, ii. 4.
London government, iv. 3.
Louted, mocked or despised for a lout, iii. 3.
Lozelle, a pitiful worthless fellow [Nares s.v. *losel*] iv. 3.
Lubbe, i. 2.
Lumbarde's touche, a Lombard's touchstone to try gold and silver, ii. 2.
Lute, ii. 1.

Mankine, masculine, iv. 8.
Minion, iii. 3.
Mome, a fool or blockhead [Nares] iii. 2, v. 2, 5.
More and lesse, rich and poor, *prol.*
Mumfision, a character referred to, i. 4.
Musical instruments, ii. 1.

Noise, music, i. 4.

Oaths, see "Calais" "cock" "gog" "gosse" "kock."

Passing-bell, allusion to, iii. 3.
Pastance, passe-temps, pastime, sport, ii. 1. iii. 3. iv. 6. v. 2.
Polling, plundering [Nares] iii. 5.
Potgunne, a small gun, iv. 7.
Prankie cote, iii. 3.
Proverbs: in docke, out nettle, ii. 3; tide tarrieth for no man, i. 2; Backare quod Mortimer to his sowe, i. 2; whip and whurre never make good furre i. 3; soft fire maketh sweet malt, i. 3; play the devil in the horologe, iii. 2; let the worlde pass, iii. 3; no grass hath growne on my hele, iii. 3, iv. 5; all things that shineth is not by-and-bye pure gold, v. 1.
Pygs nie, pigsny, a burlesque term of endearment, [Nares], i. 4, iii. 4

Raker (Jacke) a song-maker alluded to, ii. 1.
Rather, earlier, iii, 5.
Recorder, a flageolet, ii. 1.
Ring, gift of from a lover, ii, 1.
Roundyng, whispering, [more properly "roun," Nares] i. 4.
Route, assemble, iv. 7.

Sadly, seriously, [Nares] i. 4, iv. 3.
Sectour, executor, iii. 3.
Sens, already, iii. 5.
Shent, scolded, sometimes ruined or destroyed [Nares] i. 2, 3, 4, ii. 2, iii. 2.
Sirrha, applied to a woman, i. 3, iv. 8.
Songs sung by the characters, i. 3, 4, ii. 3, iii. 3, v., 6.
Spill, destroy, iii. 5, iv. 3.
Spindle, i. 3.
Spouse, betrothed lover, ii. 1.
Stomaked, disliked or resented, iv. 3.
Stounde, a tumult or bustle [time, moment, occasion, exigence, Nares] iii. 5.
Sword hilt, a cross, oath taken by, iv. 3.

Thumb, each finger is a thumb, clumsy, i. 3.
Titivile (Tom), a name for the devil, i. 1.
Tom boy, epithet applied to a girl, ii. 4.
Trey ace, iii. 3.

Uneth, with difficulty, scarcely, [Nares] iii. 5.

Wealth, welfare, iv. 1.

Whirle, whorle, i. 3.
White sonne, an expression of endearment, [to this day white-headed boy is an expression of fondness in Ireland though the locks of the individual to whom it is applied may be black as the raven's plume, W. D. Cooper] i. 1.
Whurre, scolding, i. 3.

4. Glossaries appended to Books (*continued* from p. 78)

1.—Words, Phrases, and Customs.

Williams (Rev. J.), A Glossary of terms used for articles of British dress and armour. *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv., pp. 9-12, 94-100, 160-167, 291-294; second series, vol. i., pp. 111-180 [afterwards published separately, 8vo., 1851, pp. vii. 68.] "The Glossary classifies alphabetically the several names which our British forefathers applied to the different portions of their garments and military weapons, supplies the reader with their English synonyms, and in the case of the majority cites corroborative passages from documents in which the original terms occur." Pref., p. iv.

Wilbraham (Roger), An attempt at a Glossary of some words used in Cheshire. *Archæologia*, vol. xix., pp. 13-42.

———Parochial Account of Llanidloes: chapter xi. Local words and phrases. *Powys Land Club*, vol. x., pp. 277-311.

2.—Legal and Record Terms.

Sims (Richard), a manual for the Genealogist, Topographer, Antiquary, and Legal Professor. London, 1888, 4to. "A brief glossary of dates and terms most commonly met with in ancient records," pp. 498-503. "A glossary of Latin words, phrases, terms, &c., which occur in the public records and other ancient MSS. not included in any modern dictionary compiled from various sources," pp. 527-542.

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Having noticed the very useful beginning of a list of books containing a "Glossary," might I suggest the advisability of adding the Elizabethan and Jacobean, &c., books containing the same. I ought to be able to give more, but can only send you at present these three:

St. Batman *uppon Bartholome* [Glanvyle], 1582, fol. "A necessarie catalogue of the most hardest olde English words, &c." Sig. qq. 6, the leaf before the Text.

Jos. Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas, 1611. "A briefe Index of the hardest words," p. 653 (before the History of Judith). Also "A Table of the Signification, &c.," following the same history, p. 757. [The same are in the edd. of 1621, 1641, and probably in all.]

Regd. Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, *Treatise proving Scripture to be the Rule of Faith writ by* [*the same*] *before the Reformation*. About the year M.C.D.L. Printed in 4to, 1688. At the end is "An Alphabetical Table of the more obsolete English words, &c."

Br. Nicholson.

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EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Organization of Local Archæological Research.

To the Editor of the Archæological Review

Sir,—Last summer, in conversation with one or two friends who were, like myself, much interested in provincial archæology, and much vexed at

the desultory unsystematic and overlapping character of much that is attempted both in investigation and publication by our county societies, I proposed that the Society of Antiquaries should be invited to call us together in conference. The idea was favourably received. From several county archæologists, of far greater repute and experience than myself, to whom I ventured to make a like proposition in writing, an equally sympathetic response was obtained. It was proposed to address a respectful joint request to the President and Council of the parent Society, that it would please them to summon such a gathering. For reasons that need not here be specified it was decided to defer prosecuting this plan till the current year.

It was, therefore, with peculiar pleasure that I read in the first issue of the *Archæological Review*, a like idea elaborated and excellently expressed in the opening "Editorial Note." We all want more direction and system in our archæological researches. I cannot conceive that aught but good could accrue from a general conference under the auspices and authority of the Society of Antiquaries. I should not propose, in any joint petition, to dictate to the Society in any way the details of such a conference, or how representatives of the different societies, or individuals unconnected with any special organisation, should be invited, but if the idea commended itself to the President and Council, I am sure they are to be fully trusted to carry it to a wise conclusion.

Your own way of arguing the necessity for the joint and systematic action of antiquaries leaves hardly anything more to be said, but I may point out how in the department of ecclesiology, in which I am primarily interested, such united and methodical action on matters like bells, and church plate, if adopted but a few years ago, would have saved us from some poorly done work and improved materially all that has been accomplished. Specialists, too, like Professor Browne and Mr. Romilly Allen in early sculptured stones, or Baron de Cosson and Mr. Hartshorne in effigies, would find their work rendered so much easier of satisfactory accomplishment, by the compilation of careful catalogues throughout our English shires.

Fired many years ago by the first edition of Canon Isaac Taylor's inimitable "Words and Places," I endeavoured to collect all the field names of my own comparatively small county of Derby, but was fairly baffled and beaten by expense and difficulties after a little more than half the work was accomplished. I then, however, learnt enough to tell me that if this branch of local etymology was thoroughly and consistently followed out throughout England—each county society collecting its own and having them entered on the large ordnance survey maps, with duplicates of the whole deposited in the Society of Antiquaries—that a wonderful flood of light would be cast for intelligent eyes on the early colonisation of our land, on its development, progressive trade and successive resources, as well as on general folklore, and many kindred subjects, such as could never be gleaned by the closest study of the mere names of towns or hamlets.

For these reasons, and for many yet more important, so well marshalled by yourself in the March issue of the *Archæological Review*, it is earnestly to be hoped that common action in the cause of historic, as well as of pre-historic archæology will soon be taken, and, as the best preliminary to such a course, allow me to strongly urge a general call upon the Society

of Antiquaries in the direction indicated. I think such a request should be made before the close of the summer session (June), so that a conference might be summoned, if deemed advisable, in the ensuing autumn or winter.

As I have already some names, perhaps you will allow me to say that I shall be glad to receive others, and I hope that you, Sir, will do the same; or I shall be equally pleased to send my name, with those I have obtained, to any one else or to any committee that may be formed for a like object.

J. CHARLES COX. LL.D., F.S.A.

Barton-le-Street Rectory, Malton.

[We shall be pleased to receive the names of those who wish to support Dr. Cox's admirable proposal, and we feel quite sure that the Society of Antiquaries will support the movement.—ED.]

EDITORIAL NOTE.

We are arranging for a system of inter-communication between ourselves and the Archæological Societies of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, India, America, &c., with a view of keeping up a complete record of Archæological work. Secretaries of societies are invited to communicate with us.

Many correspondents have questioned the propriety of indexing the contributions to Archæological Societies under the authors' names. The plan of indexing under subjects was tried and given up, and the present plan was recommended to the compiler by Mr. A. W. Franks and Mr. H. B. Wheatley. When the full index of subjects is given upon the completion of the work, we think all will agree that the present is the best and only plan. All we ask of them is to suspend their judgment until then.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All communications should be directed to "The Editor, Archæological Review," 270 Strand W.C.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected MSS. unless a stamped directed envelope is sent for that purpose.

J. H. Round—letter on the Rapes of Sussex unavoidably postponed.

H. H. Howorth—letter on the Rapes of Sussex, next month.

THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW.

Vol. I. *MAY*, 1888. No. 3.

Anthropology.

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THE LANGUAGE OF ANIMALS.

(*Continued from page* 91.)

IN most stories, a knowledge of the beast-language stands its possessor in good stead. In a Kalmuck tale two dragon-frogs dam up the source of a river and only allow it to flow on condition of receiving annually a human victim. The fatal lot having fallen on the Khan, his son takes his place and goes with his devoted friend as a sacrifice to the frogs. But the prince understands the language of all creatures and hears the frogs saying to each other "If they were only to knock our heads off with a stick, and if the prince were to eat me, the golden-yellow frog, and his friend were to eat you, the emerald-green frog, they would spit nothing but gold and gems, and there would be no need of victims to the frogs hereafter." The prince takes the hint, and the result answers to the prediction.[49] This story of the release of the water seems to be another form of that myth of the slaying of the frog who had swallowed the waters which Mr. Andrew Lang has traced in North America, Australia, and the Andaman Islands.[50] Again in an

[49] B. Jülg, *Kalmükische Mährchen, die Siddhi-kür*, no. ii. (p. 10 *sq.*) ; *Sagas from the Far East* (London, 1873), p. 18 *sqq.* In the latter version *serpents* take the place of *frogs*. Jülg translates *Drachenfrösche* in the first instance and then *Frosch* and *Frösche* always.

[50] A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i., p. 39 *sqq.* A tribe of Indians on the Orinoco is said to have kept frogs under vessels for the purpose of obtaining from them rain or fine weather, as occasion required ; if their prayers were not answered, they beat the frogs. See *Colombia, being a geographical, &c., account of that country*, (London, 1822), vol. i. p 642 *sq.*

Indian story a knowledge of the language of animals, which he has learned from the goddess Kali, saves a prince from a great crime which he was about unconsciously to commit.[51] In other Indian stories heroes woo princesses on the strength of their knowledge of the animal-language.[52] A Zulu who understood the language of birds was able to predict the nature of the seasons through information received from a wagtail.[53] In an old English version of the *Gesta Romanorum* three knights are sent by the Emperor Ancelmus to take a castle. One of the knights, "a grete gever of counseille," understands the "passing swete sonet-song" of a nightingale, which warns him that thieves are lying in wait in the wood.[54] In a Tibetan story, "Oxen as Witnesses," a ploughman is done a very good turn by the oxen with which he ploughs; but it is not quite clear whether the language in which they address him is human or bovine.[55]

Sometimes, however, this gift of tongues proves dangerous or even fatal to its possessor. A friend of Porphyry's had a slave-boy who knew the language of all birds; but his mother, fearing lest the youthful prodigy should be sent as a present to the emperor, fouled his ears, and he never understood the bird-speech again.[56] In an Esthonian story, a youth, craving after knowledge, learns the bird-speech and other strange lore; but all his knowledge proves unsatisfying, and he pines away.[57] In a folk-tale of Bengal, a woman enjoys "the rare faculty of understanding the language of beasts," whereby she finds great treasure; but neither her husband nor anyone else knows of her accomplishment, so she incurs the suspicion of being a Rakshasi, or vampyre, and

[51] *The Dravidian Nights Entertainments: being a translation of Madanakamarajankadai*; by Pandit *S. M. Natesi Sastri* (Madras, 1886), p. 50 *sq.*

[52] *The Katha Sarit Sâgara*, translated from the original Sanskrit by C. H. Tawney, i., p. 499; ii., p. 276.

[53] Callaway, *Nursery Tales of the Zulus*, p. 130 *sqq.*

[54] *Gesta Romanorum, Old English Versions*, edited by Sir Frederic Madden (London, 1838) p. 47 (p. 55 of Herrtage's edition, London, 1879). The corresponding story in the continental Latin version of the *Gesta Romanorum* is no. 130 (p. 484 ed. Oesterley), but it does not contain the incident of the nightingale.

[55] *Tibetan Tales*, Schiefner and Ralston, no. xxx. On p. 317 it is said that not long after the creation of the world "even brute beasts could speak," which makes for human language; but on p. 318 it is said that the oxen could not speak the language of men.

[56] Porphyry, *De abst.* iii. 3 καθεύδοντος εἰς τὰ ὦτα ἐνουρησάσης. Cp. the way in which swallows are thought to cause blindness, Basile's *Petamerone* (Liebrecht) i. p. 403, ii. p. 59.

[57] Fr. Kreutzwald, *Ehstnische Mährchen, aus dem Ehstnischen übersetzt* von F. Löwe (Halle, 1869), p. 25 *sqq.*

is knocked on the head.[58] In a Mongolian story a king sends his son to the Diamond Kingdom of Central India to be educated. He is accompanied by the minister's son. On their return from the Diamond Kingdom they pass through a thirsty desert, where the prince, understanding the voice of a crow, finds water. The minister's son, jealous of the prince's superior wisdom, kills him.[59]

Thus far we have had examples of the possession of the animal language. We have now to see the ways in which a knowledge of that language is acquired. Of course when a person has animal blood in him, as often happens in folk-lore, it is natural enough that he should understand the language of his kindred. Thus a child found in a wolfs den and said to be a wolf-child, understands the wolves when they howl;[60] and a Russian epic hero, whose father was a serpent, understands the language of birds, beasts and fishes.[61] But the usual means of acquiring the animal language are (a) magic rings, (b) magic plants, and (c) serpents.

(a). In "the story of Cambuscan bold," besides the present of "the wondrous horse of brass" for Cambuscan, the king of Araby and Inde sends to Canace a magic mirror and ring.

> "The vertu of this ryng, if ye wol heere,
> Is this, that who so lust it for to were
> Upon hir thomb, or in hir purs to bere,
> There is no foul that fleeth under the heven,
> That sche ne schal understonden his steven,
> And know his menying openly and pleyn,
> And answer him in his langage ageyn :
> And every gras that groweth upon roote
> Sche schal eek know, to whom it wol do boote,
> All be his woundes never so deep and wyde." [62]

In a German story[63] a prince comes to a castle where all the people are fast asleep. In a hall of the castle he finds a table, and on the table a golden ring. A silver inscription on the table declares that whoever puts the ring in his mouth will understand the language of birds. Afterwards the prince puts the ring in his mouth and thus, by understanding what three crows are saying, he is saved from death and recovers his eyesight.

[58] Lal Behari Day, *Folk-tales of Bengal*, no. x.

[59] Jülg, *Siddhi Kür*, (Innsbruck 1868), no. xv. ; *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 157 *sqq*; X. Marmier, *Contes populaires de différentes pays*, 2me Sériè, p. 252 *sqq*.

[60] *Sagas from the Far East*, (London, 1873), p. 277 *sq*.

[61] A. Rambaud, *La Russie épique*, p. 31.

[62] Chaucer, *Squier's Tale*, vv. 10460—10459.

[63] J. W. Wolf, *Deutsche Hausmährchen* (Göttingen and Leipzig, 1851), p. 148 *sqq*.

(b). A Swabian legend says that three witches of Heiligenthal culled simples in the woods and fields, and one of these simples imparted a knowledge of the language of animals.[64] In an Italian story a man plucking some grass at random, suddenly finds that he understands what the birds are saying. He hears one of them tell where a treasure is to be found. He then drops the grass and immediately ceases to understand the birds; he looks for the grass but never finds it again. However, he finds the treasure in the place described by the bird.[65] In an Esthonian story a girl has learned in her youth the language of birds from an old woman, and her eldest sister imparts a knowledge of the bird-language to a prince by giving him to eat a cake composed of meal, pork, and certain herbs, the magic virtue residing in the herbs.[66] In Brittany there is a plant called the golden herb (*herbe d' or*) because it shines from afar like gold. If any one happens to tread on it, he at once falls asleep and understands the language of birds, dogs, wolves, &c. The plant is seldom found, and never but at the peep of dawn; it can be gathered only by holy people and with certain mystic rites.[67]

But the plant which is most commonly supposed to impart a knowledge of the language of animals is the fern. In a German story[68] a cowherd loses his cows, and as he trudged through the grass in search of them, his great shoes (such as people wore long ago) got filled with fern seed.[69] Suddenly he heard the calf saying that a certain ale-house would sink into the ground. The dog asked, "How long will it last?" and the cock answered, "Till the end of the week." But the cowherd shook the fern seed out of his shoes and heard no more. And in a week's time down sank the

[64] Birlinger, *Völksthümliches aus Schwaben*, i. p. 1.

[65] Morlini, *Novellae*, no. 60.

[66] Fr. Kreutzwald, *Ehstnische Mährchen*, (Halle 1869), pp. i. 7, 14 *sq.* Gubernatis (*Zoological Mythology*, i. p. 152) wrongly attributes the magic influence to the pork. The words are plain: "*Mein Schweinefleischkuchen von Gestern . . . . war mit Zauberkräutern gefüllt, welche euch in den Stand setzen. Alles zu verstehen, was die klugen Vögel unter einander reden.*"

[67] Laisnel de la Salle, *Croyances et légendes du centre de la France*, i. p. 233, quoting Villemarqué, *Barzaz-Breiz*, i. pp. 102, 187.

[68] Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Mährchen*, p. 61.

[69] *Reenefare* which (the story being given in the original dialect) Kuhn explains to be *Rainfarren*, which again Lucas in his German dictionary explains to be "common tansy." But Kuhn and Schwartz (*Norddeutsche Sagen, Mährchen und Gebräuche*, p. 487) referring to this same story, speak of the plant in question as *Farnsame*, *i.e.* fern seed. I therefore take it so in the text. The word *Peer* which I translate "cow" seems to=*fersa* "cow." See Curtius, *Griech. Etymol*[5], p. 282. For in the dialect in which the story is written, p repeatedly takes the place of f; *e.g. eloopen*=*gelaufen*, *deepe*=*tiefe*.

ale-house into an abyss. Similar stories are told by the South Slavonians and the Wends. In the South Slavonian version[70] a cowherd lost two of his oxen on the Eve of St. John (Midsummer Eve), which is the only time when fern seed possesses this magic power. At last he espied his oxen lying on a bed of fern. Approaching them softly he was surprised to hear the older ox telling the younger ox that he (the elder ox) would be killed in the autumn, and that in the spring their master would be attacked by a snake, and could only be saved by the cowherd. All came to pass as the ox had foretold, but the cowherd never knew how just at that moment he had understood the ox language. The reason was that fern seed had fallen into his shoe without his noticing it; for if he had seen it, he certainly would not have understood what the oxen said. In the Wend story[71] a man was herding horses, and the bloom of the fern, which blooms only at midnight, fell into his shoe. Next morning when he came home he told his friends what the geese had been talking about. This was noised abroad, and the squire sent for him. To smarten himself up he took off his shoes and put on better ones, and from that moment he knew nothing of the goose language.

Of the many other mystic properties of the fern,[72] there is only one which it is desirable to mention in connexion with the language of animals. Fern seed or fern bloom is supposed to render the person who carries it invisible; but it is found only on Midsummer Eve, when it shines like burnished gold, but quickly fades and falls, not to be found again.[73] The stories told of the invisibility conferred by fern-seed resemble those told of its power of revealing the language of animals. A man was looking for a strayed foal on Midsummer Eve; and as he went through a meadow, fern-seed fell

[70] Krauss, *Sagen und Mährchen der Südslaven*, ii. no. 159.

[71] W. von Schulenburg, *Wendische Volkssagen und Gebräuche*, (Leipzig 1880), p. 82, cp. p. 269.

[72] Cp. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,[4] p. 1012; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,[2] secs. 123-125; Grohmann, *Aberglauben u. Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, secs. 673-676; H. Friend, *Flowers and Flower Lore*,[3] pp. 60, 78, 279-283, 360-362; Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes*, i. p. 188 *sq.*, ii. 143 *sqq*; Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche &c.*, pp. 2,74, 87, 144; Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*,[2] pp. 192-197; Zingerle, *Sitten, Gebräuche, und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*,[2] secs. 882, 1573; Von Alpenburg, *Mythen und Sagen Tirols*, p. 407 *sq.*; Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, i. pp. 333 *sq.* 340, ii. p. 103; Meier, *Deutsche Sagen aus Schwaben*, p. 243 *sq.*; Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 98, *sq.*; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 311 *sq.*

[73] Wuttke sec. 123; Vonbun, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, p. 133 *sq.*; Friend, p. 362; Gubernatis, *Myth. d. Plantes*, ii. 144 *sq.*; Kuhn, *Herabkunft*, 196, ; Grohmann, *Aberglauben*, sec. 675.

into his shoes. In the morning he came home and sat down in the parlour. But it seemed strange that neither his wife nor anybody else paid any heed to him. Then he said, "I did not find the foal after all." Every one in the room shuddered visibly, for they heard the man's voice but did not see him. His wife shouted his name. He stood up in the middle of the room and said, "What are you shouting for? Here I am close beside you." This only added to the general alarm. But now he felt something like sand in his shoes. Scarcely had he taken them off and shaken them, when he stood visible before the eyes of all.[74]

(c) But most commonly it is a serpent which conveys a knowledge of the language of animals. The ways in which it does so are various. The application of the magic influence may be external or internal, and the external application may be made either to the ears or to the mouth. Applied to the *ears*, the charm seems meant to impart the power of *understanding* the speech of animals; applied to the *mouth*, it may give the additional power of *speaking* the animal language. But this distinction is not perhaps to be pressed.

We begin with the application of serpents to the ears. The way in which the Greek soothsayer Melampus became master of his art was, according to Apollodorus,[75] as follows. He was staying in the country, and in front of the house was an oak-tree, in which serpents had made their lair. The servants killed the old serpents and Melampus gathered sticks and burned their carcasses. But the young serpents he reared. And when they were grown, one day as he slept, they crept on his shoulders and cleansed his ears with their tongue. He started up in a fright, and lo! he understood the voices of the birds as they flew overhead, and from

[74] Grimm, *D.M.* p. 1012; Kuhn, *Sagen, Gebräuche und Mährchen aus Westfalen*, i. p. 276; L. Bechstein, *Thüringer Sagenbuch*,[2] no 67. For a different story to the same effect, see Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Mährchen* p. 206 *sq.* (a peasant, driving with his wife, gets down; fern-seed falls into his shoes, he becomes invisible, and sits invisible beside his wife in the waggon; on taking off his shoes he reappears). Again similar stories are told of how fern-seed gives a knowledge of hidden treasure. In an Austrian story a man is looking for his lost cow on Midsummer Eve; fern-seed falls into his shoes; the existence of an underground treasure is revealed to him; he hurries home to get tools with which to dig it up; takes off his shoes, and forgets where the treasure is (Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Völkes in Oesterreich*, p. 310). There are similar Russian stories. In one of them it is the man's wife, who, seeing that his feet are wet, tells him to change his stockings; he does so, with the result as before. In another, it is the devil who persuades the man to change shoes with him. Gubernatis, *Mythologie des Plantes*, i. p. 189. Cp. Töppen, *Aberglaube aus Masuren* [2], p. 72 *sq.*

[75] Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, i. 9, 11; Pliny, N. H. x. 137.

what he learned from them he was able to foretell events. But it was not the birds only that he understood. For once being caught cattle-lifting he was laid by the heels by Bias, the owner of the cattle; and as he lay in durance vile he heard the worms in the roof talking to one another. One worm said, "How much of the beam have we eaten through?" and the other said, "Oh! there is only a little bit left." So he warned Bias that the house was coming down, and scarcely had they cleared out, when sure enough down it came.[76]

The account given by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 118.) of the way in which Melampus learned the language of animals is fuller than that of Apollodorus; and from it we learn that when the serpents were killed, Melampus was not in his own house but was staying with a friend, and that the killing of the serpents (or serpent) was the doing of his friend and not of Melampus, who, on the other hand, piously burned the serpent's body and reared its young. Thus the burning of the serpents in Apollodorus must have been, not a mark of contempt, but a solemn funeral rite; and so the benefit which the young snakes afterwards conferred on Melampus may have been meant as a return quite as much for the respect he had shown to their parents as for the lives they themselves owed to him. Helenus and Cassandra acquired their prophetic power in like manner. As children they were left overnight in the temple of Apollo, and in the morning serpents were found licking their ears.[77] Porphyry says that perhaps we and all men might understand the language of all the animals if a serpent had washed our ears.[78] Tiresias received a knowledge of the language of birds from Athene who cleansed his ears;[79] and when we remember how closely Athene was associated with the serpent,[80] we can hardly be rash in including Tiresias among the serpent-taught seers, or rather hearers. The sacred snakes in the temple of Athene[81] may very well have done for Tiresias what the snakes did for Helenus and Cassandra in the

[76] Apollodorus, i. 9, 12.

[77] Schol. on Euripides, *Hecuba*, v. 86; Schol. on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 44; Tzetzes, *Schol. in Lycophr.* i. p. 266 *sq.*, ed. Müller. It is implied in these passages that there were serpents in the temple of Apollo. For another example of sacred snakes in a sanctuary of Apollo, see Aelian, *Natura Animalium*, xi. 2. The soothsayer Iamus was a son of Apollo and in his youth two snakes fed him with honey. Pindar, *Olymp.* vi. 45.

[78] Porphyry, *De abst.* iii. 4.

[79] Apollodorus, iii. 6, 7.

[80] See Bähr on Herodotus viii. 41.

[81] Besides Bähr *l.c.* see K. Bötticher, *Die Tektontik dèr Hellenen*,[2] p. 389.

temple of Apollo. This application of serpents to the ears seems to be exclusively classical; at least I have found no example of it outside of Greek and Latin literature.[82] The reason why soothsayers are supposed to be specially acquainted with the language of birds is that omens are very commonly taken from birds. In Greek, Arabic, and Dyak the words for "bird" are used in the sense of "omen."[83]

The *mouth* as the point of application of the serpent-charm appears in a Slavonian story,[84] which runs thus. A shepherd tending his flock heard a hissing, and perceived a serpent in the midst of flames. He saved the serpent from the fire, and the grateful snake led him to the abode of his[85] father, who was king of the serpents. On the way the rescued snake said to the shepherd, "My father will offer you silver, gold, and gems. But don't take them. Ask only to understand the language of animals. He will make a pother about giving it, but in the end you will get it." But when the shepherd asked the king of the serpents for the animal-language, the king said, "That is not for you; if I give you it and you tell any one, you will die on the spot." But the shepherd persisted, so the king spat thrice into the shepherd's mouth[86] and the shepherd spat thrice into the king's mouth. Thus the shepherd received the language of animals,[87] and as he went back

[82] At Woburn Abbey there is a Greek marble relief representing two ears with a serpent at each, the head of each serpent resting just above the top of each ear. The inscription is mutilated, the only word to be made out with certainty being ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ. The tablet is probably a thank-offering for the cure of some defect of the ears. See *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1864, plate facing p. 211.

[83] Aristophanes, *Birds*, 720; Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentumes*, p. 148; *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 10, p. 229.

[84] W. S. Karadschitsch, *Völksmährchen der Serben* (Berlin 1854); *Serbian Folk-tales*, selected and translated by Madam Csedomille Mijatovies, edited by the Rev. W. Denton (London, 1874); Leger, *Contes Populaires Slaves*, (Paris, 1882), no. xi; Krauss, *Sagen und Mährchen der Südslaven*, (Leipzig, 1883), i. no. 97.

[85] Or *her*; the rescued snake is male in the versions of Krauss and Leger, female in that of Karadschitsch.

[86] In the Banks' Islands (Melanesia) serpents are said to put their tongues into the mouths of men who are their familiars. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. p. 277. To spit upon the idol's tongue is a mode of salutation in West Africa. A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. p. 90.

[87] With the opening of this Slavonian story compare the following. In a Swahili tale, a woman befriends a snake, who in return takes her to its parents, with whom she lives many days. When she is coming away, the snake whom she befriended warns her to accept no present from the snake-parents save the father's ring and the mother's casket. The snake-parents offer her wealth, but she persists in asking for the ring and casket. The snake-parents are very sorry and give her the ring and casket unwillingly. The ring has the magic virtue of supplying clothes, food, and a house at discretion; the virtues of

he understood the voices of the birds, the grasses, and indeed, of everything in the world. Hearing two ravens describing a buried treasure he dug it up, became a rich man, and married a wife. Once on a time he went on a journey with his wife. He rode a horse and she rode a mare, and the mare fell behind the horse. The horse called out to the mare, "Step out faster. How you lag behind!" But the mare answered, "It is easy for you, since you only carry one; but I carry three, for my mistress is pregnant and so am I." The man understanding this conversation laughed. His wife asked him why he laughed, but he refused to tell her, saying that it would cost him his life to do so. But she persisted. So when they were come home, wearied with her importunity, he ordered his coffin and lay down in it, ready, as soon as the fatal words had passed his lips, to give up the ghost. Seeing his dog sitting beside the coffin he called to his wife to throw the dog a bit of bread. The faithful dog would not look at it, but the cock came and picked at it. "Oh you brute!" said the dog to the cock, "to be guzzling like that when your master is dying." "Let him die," said the cock, "the fool! *I* have a hundred wives and yet by a judicious system of punishment I keep them all in the most exact order; *he* has but one and he can't make her hold her tongue." At these words the man stepped out of his coffin, took a stick, and beating his wife black and blue prevailed on her to stop.

This tale may be traced, with variations of detail, right across the old world from Italy and Finland on the one side to Annam on the other.

An Indian version of it is quoted by Bastian[88] from the Nonthu kpakaranam—a collection about which, unfortunately, I have been able to obtain no information. A king saves the daughter of a Naga prince from marrying beneath her rank; and in gratitude the Naga prince teaches the king the language of animals. His

the casket are not specified. (E. Steere, *Swahili Tales*, London, 1870, p. 403 *sqq*). In a Tarantschi-Tartar story, a young man saves a serpent from death. The serpent takes his benefactor to his father, the serpent-king, and advises the young man to ask for the serpent-king's ring. The serpent-king in gratitude for the kindness done to his son offers the man gold and silver, but he refuses and asks for the serpent-king's ring. The king is very sorry and tries to persuade the young man to take anything but the ring; at last, however, he gives it. The ring is a wishing-ring; whatever the owner of it desires, he gets. (W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der nördlichen Türkischen Stämme* vi. p. 172 *sqq*.) In an Indian story, a young man treats a serpent kindly; the rest follows as before, the serpent-king remarking as he gives the ring, "This ring I would not have given even to Indra if he had requested this of me." (*The Dravidian Nights Entertainments*, by Pandit S. M. Natesi Sastri, pp. 23-27.)

[88] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, i., p. 152.

wife asks him why he laughed, and he gives himself up for lost, till he learns a lesson from the billy-goat and his treatment of his goat-wives. In this version the Naga prince answers to the king of serpents in the Slavonian version, for the Nagas were mythical beings, half human, half serpentine in form; indeed Naga often stands for a common serpent.[89]

We next (if indeed next, and not first) meet the story in the Arabian Nights.[90] There was a certain merchant, whom God endowed with a knowledge of the language of beasts and birds. He dwelt in the country, and in his house were an ass and a bull. Now the ass had little to do and fared sumptuously, but the bull toiled at ploughing. So when the bull bewailed his hard fate, the ass told him to feign sickness and then he would be allowed to stay at home in peace. But the merchant hearkened to these words and laid them up in his heart. And next day when the bull flopped down under the weight of the plough as though he were weak and ill, the merchant commanded and they took the ass and put him to the plough, and he drew it up and down all day long till the evening. And the next day he did likewise, and his neck was galled and raw, and he himself was reduced to an extreme state of weakness. When he came back in the evening, the bull thanked and praised him for his noble conduct. But the ass said, "Know that I am one who would give thee good advice. I heard our master say, 'If the bull rise not from his place, take him to the butcher that he may kill him.' I am therefore in fear for thee, and so I have given thee good advice, and peace be on thee." So next day when his driver came, the bull pranced and shook his tail and bounded about; and the merchant beheld him and laughed till he fell backward. Then his wife asked him why he laughed. But he said, "Ask me not, for if I tell thee I must surely die." But she urged him. So he sent for the kadi that he might make his will. And he went into the stable that he might perform his ablution before he died. There he heard the dog reviling the cock and saying, "Art thou happy when our master is going to die?" But the cock replied, "By Allah! our master has little sense. *I* have fifty wives; and I please this one and provoke that; while *he* has but one wife and cannot manage her; why does he not take some twigs of the

[89] Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thoughts in India*, p. 321 *sq*. Of course the mythical Nagas are to be distinguished from the tribes of the same name in Assam.

[90] Lane's translation, vol. i., p. 10 *sqq*. (ed. 1859).

mulberry-tree and beat her till she dies or repents?" And the merchant did so and beat her till she repented, and they lived together in the happiest manner till death.

In Europe the story seems to appear first in the Latin *Novellae* of Morlini, published at Naples in 1520, and reprinted by Jannet at Paris in 1855. In this Neopolitan version[91] a man is leading his wife on a she-ass, and the ass's foal follows lagging behind. The foal remonstrates with its mother for going so fast, and the mother answers much as the mare answers in the Slavonian tale. The husband who understands the speech of reptiles and quadrupeds (it is not said how he learned it) laughs on hearing this conversation, and the rest follows as in the Arabian and Slavonian stories. A few touches of local colour are put in "to give artistic verisimilitude to a bald and unconvincing narrative;" thus a confessor is substituted for the kadi, and the cock's speech is embellished with a quotation from the Politics of Aristotle.

The story, translated from Morlini, next appears in the second part of the Italian tales (*Piacevoli Notti*) of Straparola, published at Venice in 1554.[92]

The Slavonian version, first published in the original by Karadschitsch in 1852, has been already given.

The Annamite version, differing considerably from all the foregoing, was published in 1885.[93] A man once saw two serpents in their hole. The female was casting her slough, and the male waited on her. Another time it was the male that was casting his slough; but instead of looking after him the female went gadding about. Indignant at her misconduct the man shot her. The male serpent discovered her slayer by the arrow, and lay in wait to kill him. But the man happened to tell his wife what he had seen; the serpent, listening in the background, recognised the justice of the man's conduct, and out of gratitude brought him his precious stone. All serpents have such a stone in their mouths, and whoever possesses it understands the language of animals. But the man durst not tell his wife of the new gift he had acquired, for if he did so, the stone would vanish. One day his wife went into a corner of the house where there were some ants. The ants scrambled out of her way, and the man heard them say to each other, "Come, let us climb up to a place of safety." He laughed. His wife wished to

[91] No. lxxi., *De Puteolano qui animalium loquelam intelligebat.*

[92] The French translation of Straparola by Louveau and Larivey has been often reprinted. I have used the edition of 1857 (Jannet, Paris).

[93] No. lxix. of Landes' *Contes et legendes Annamites*, in *Cochinchine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances*, x., no. 23, Saigon, 1885.

know why he laughed, but he steadily refused to tell her, and she died of vexation.

The Tarantschi-Tartar version was published in 1886.[94] A man learns the animal speech from a man who knows the languages of all animals, and who warns his pupil that if he divulges the secret he must die. Thus warned, the man hears the dog and cat talking, and laughs, and when his wife plagues him with asking why he laughed, he beats her and she stops asking. But one day he hears the ass and the oxen talking, as in the Arabian Nights' version; the ass advises the oxen, who have been ploughing, to feign sickness; one of the oxen does so; the ass is put to the plough in his stead, and after ploughing tells the ox that their master will kill him if he continues to feign illness. Hearing this the man laughs; his wife asks him why. In vain he tells her the fatal consequences of answering her question. She persists; so he tells her and dies.

Lastly, the Finish version appeared, in a German translation, in 1887.[95] A hunter saves a serpent from being burned in a stove, and the serpent out of gratitude teaches the hunter the language of birds, animals, plants, and trees; but warns him that if he reveals the secret he must die. From hearing the fir-trees talk he finds a great treasure, becomes rich, and marries. One day he hears a mother sparrow telling her young ones to pick the seeds from the plants and not from the ground. At this he laughs; his wife pesters him to tell her why; he lies down to die, but hearing the cock making the usual speech (in this case not addressed to a dog but delivered as a soliloquy) about his fifty wives, he jumps up and makes a grab at his wife's head. She escapes, but troubles him no more with questions.

In a Russian story,[96] a hunter saves a serpent from burning and receives from him the animal language on condition of revealing it to no one under pain of death. In a French story a shepherd carries a strayed serpent, who is the king of animals, back to the "wood of the animals," and receives the language of animals on the usual condition.[97]

So far the animal-language has been the free gift of a living serpent. But oftener it is acquired by eating of a serpent. Democritus, as reported by Pliny, said that whoever ate a

[94] W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der nördlichen Türkischen Stämme*, vi., p. 250 *sqq.* (St. Petersburg, 1886).

[95] *Finnische Mährchen*, übersetzt von Emmy Schreck, Weimar, 1887.

[96] Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii., p. 405.

[97] E. Rolland, *Faune Populaire de la France*, iii., p. 40 *sq.*

serpent would understand the language of birds.[98] Philostratus thought that the Arabs gained a knowledge of the bird-language by eating the heart or liver of a serpent,[99] and he says that in the same way the people of Paraka in India understood the language of animals in general.[100] Miss Gordon Cumming has been informed that "to this day both Arabs and Hindoos eat the heart and liver of serpents, hoping thereby to acquire a knowledge of the language of animals."[101] But perhaps her informant had Philostratus in his mind. So far as the Arabs are concerned, Prof. Wellhausen[102] seems to know no later authority than Philostratus. It is a German and Bohemian superstition that whoever eats serpent's flesh understands the language of animals.[103] The Lithuanians say that whoever boils a white serpent and eats it with the soup, becomes omniscient.[104] The Wends tell of a man who through eating a white serpent understood what the birds said.[105] In a Syrian story a dervish has drunk serpent-water; hence serpents cannot bite him, and he talks with both serpents and birds in their respective languages.[106] In the Edda, Sigurd kills the dragon Fafnir and roasts his heart on a spit. Putting his finger to it to see if it is roasted enough he burns his finger and sticks it in his mouth. But the moment that Fafnir's heart's blood touches his tongue he understands the language of birds and knows what the eagles on the branches are saying.[107] The same story occurs in the Volsung Saga, except that nuthatches take the place of eagles.[108] Saxo Grammaticus[109] tells how Rollo, peeping through a crevice, saw his mother Craca preparing a peculiar dish. Three snakes hung on a rope and the juices flowing from their mouths furnished the sauce. Two

[98] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x., sec. 137. cp. *id.* xxix., sec. 72. See below, note on p. 180.

[99] Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, i., 20.

[100] *ib.*, iii., 9.

[101] Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (London, 1883), p. 54.

[102] J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentumes* (Berlin, 1887), p. 147. Bochart (*Hierozoicon*, p. 22, ed. 1682) quotes an Arabic writer to the same effect, but the writer seems to have copied Philostratus.

[103] Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,[2] sec. 153 ; Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, no. 1658.

[104] Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Sagen, und Legenden der Zamaiten*, (Heidelberg, 1883), ii., p. 166.

[105] W. von Schulenburg, *Wendische Volkssagen und Gebräuche aus dem Spreewald* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 96.

[106] Prym und Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Mährchen*, p. 150 *sq.*

[107] *Die Edda*, übersetzt von K. Simrock, pp. 180, 309.

[108] *Volsunga- und Ragnars-Saga*, übersetzt von F. H. von der Hagen[2] (Stuttgart, 1880), p. 63 *sq.*

[109] *Historia Danica*, bk. v., p. 193 *sq.*, ed. Müller.

of the snakes were black; the third was white. The white one hung a little higher than the other two and was fastened by a knot in its tail, whereas the black ones had a string running through them. When his father Regnar and his step-brother (Craca's son) Eric came, they all sat down to table. Craca put before Eric and Rollo a single dish containing the flesh of the black and white snakes. The end of the platter containing the black snakes was put next her own son Eric; but Rollo happening to taste the black snake, turned round the dish and ate the black snake, leaving the white for his brother. From eating the black snake, Rollo acquired universal knowledge, including an understanding of the speech of animals both wild and tame, much to the disappointment of his step-mother Craca, who had intended the black snake for her own son Eric. The virtue here attributed by Saxo to a black snake is unique; in all other cases, where the colour of the serpent is mentioned, it is a *white* snake whose flesh has this magic virtue.[110] In Norway, Sweden, and Jutland down to the present century the flesh of a *white* snake was supposed to confer supernatural wisdom.[111] We are almost led to conjecture that Saxo has interchanged the rolls of the black and white serpent;[112] this conjecture is borne out by the precedence apparently given by Craca to the white serpent in the process of cooking, as described by Saxo.

There are a number of stories in which, as in Saxo, the magic serpent is eaten by a person for whom it was not intended. In a Breton story [113] a workman, lodging with an old dame who passed for a witch, one day brought her a snake which he had killed. She cooked it ready for eating, and when she was out of the house, the man ate a bit of it. Going out of the house he was surprised to find that he understood the language of the birds. He told the dame what had happened, she breathed into his mouth, and after that he ceased to understand the bird-language. The way in which Michael Scott was supposed to have become a wizard is somewhat similar. Being attacked by a white serpent he killed it by dividing it into three pieces at a blow. The landlady of the house at which he stopped for the night, hearing of this, offered a reward for the

110 Except in X. Marmier's *Contes populaires de différentes pays*, 2me sériè, p. 56, where the serpent is blue with a green head. But in Waldau's version (of which Marmier's version appears to be an amplification) there is no mention of the snake's colour (*Böhmisches Märchenbuch*, p. 13).

111 Müller on Saxo Grammaticus, vol. ii., p. 146.

112 The only example I know of virtue attributed to a *black* snake is in the Panchatantra (ii., p. 359, Benfey), where the steam from a black snake boiling in a pot restores the sight of a blind man.

113 Sebillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, ii., p. 224.

middle piece of the white serpent. It was brought to her. In the night the landlady, thinking every one was asleep, cooked the serpent and from time to time she dipped her finger in the saucepan, upon which the cock crew. But Michael Scott was watching her and out of curiosity he too dipped his finger in the sauce and applied it to the tip of his tongue. Immediately the cock crew and Michael Scott's mind "received a new light to which he was formerly a stranger," including a "knowledge of 'good and evil' and all the 'second-sights' that can be acquired."[114]

In a German story[115] a wise king eats of a white serpent every day after dinner. His servant, out of curiosity, one day tastes the white serpent and immediately understands the language of animals. In a Bohemian tale[116] an old woman brings a serpent to a king, telling him that if he ate it he would understand the language of all animals. He does so, but his servant, who has strict orders not to taste the serpent, disobeys his orders, tastes, and at once his ears are opened and he understands the language of animals. He betrays his knowledge by laughing at a remark made by a horse; but the king promises to spare his life if he will bring him the maiden with the golden hair. In a German legend of the origin of the Seeburger lake near Göttingen it is said that long ago there was a wicked lord whose servant once brought to the castle a silver-white serpent instead of a fish. The lord, who knew a little of the beast-language, was pleased for he was aware that whoever ate of such a serpent would attain to a complete mastery of that language. He ate his fill of the white serpent, and his servant, against orders, tasted the little that was left. Soon the wicked lord heard the birds saying that the castle was doomed to immediate destruction. He asks his servant what the cock is saying; the servant in his alarm betrays his knowledge of the bird-language; his master cleaves his skull, and rides away. At sunset the castle sinks into the ground, and where it stood there stretches a broad water.[117] In another German story a girl who had eaten of a serpent foretells, from hearing what a cock says, that an ale-house will sink into the ground that very day and be replaced by a deep water.[118]

114 W. Grant Stewart, *The popular superstitions and festive amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland* (New ed., London, 1851), pp. 53, 56.

115 Grimm, *Kinder-und Hausmährchen*, no. 17.

116 A. Waldau, *Böhmisches Mährchenbuch*, p. 13 *sqq.*; X. Marmier, *Contes populaires de différentes pays*, 2me série, p. 55 *sqq.*

117 Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*,[2] no. 132.

118 Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Mährchen und Gebräuche*, p. 154. Cp. the German story above, p. 164 *sq.*

In the Tyrol there are stories[119] of a Doctor Theophrastus, a marvellous physician and a master of the black art who with great difficulty caught a *Haselwurm, i.e.* a white serpent, the taste of which imparts a knowledge of the language of all creatures and so sharpens the eyes that they can see through rocks into the veins of gold and gems deep down in the earth. When at last Dr. Theophrastus has caught the white snake, he orders his servant to boil it and to be sure not to taste it. The servant tastes it and betrays his knowledge (as in the case of the husband and wife) by laughing at the talk of two magpies, whereupon his master kills him.[120] There is a very similar story in Bohemia.[121] In a Bavarian story the servant, who is charged with cooking the wonder-working serpent, changes it, eats it himself and gives his master something else; the servant understands the language of animals and plants, and is killed by his master.[122] In an Austrian story the servant who has tasted of the white serpent betrays himself by his knowledge of the goose-language, but the story has not the usual tragic end.[123] In a Highland story a drover goes to England to sell cattle with a hazel staff in his hand. He meets a doctor who asks him to go and bring him a wand from the same hazel tree from which the drover got his staff. Also he was to watch at the foot of the hazel tree till seven serpents came out; he was to let the six pass but the seventh he was to put in a bottle and bring to the doctor. The drover went and cut some boughs from the hazel tree. Then he watched at the hole; six brown and barred serpents came out; he

119 Von Alpenburg, *Mythen und Sagen Tirols*, p. 302 *sqq.* Doctor Theophrastus is probably Paracelsus, whose real name was Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim. A Swabian legend tells how *Theophrastus Paracelsus* got fern-seed, E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 244.

120 In another version (von Alpenburg *l.c.*) the servant betrays himself by his supernatural sight; in another by his knowledge of the language of plants. In this last version the doctor and his servant come to a meadow, and as soon as the flowers and plants see the doctor they all begin to shout out the medical properties which they respectively possess. The servant laughs at a remark of a little red flower and is killed, as before. On this plant language, acquired by tasting of the *Haselwurm*, cp. Alpenburg, *op. cit.*, p. 378. In a Swahili tale a man becomes a great physician by drinking the second skimming of the cooked body of the King of the Snakes. The nature of the knowledge which he thus acquired may be inferred from the medical knowledge possessed by the King of Snakes in his life-time; on a certain island when the trees saw the Snake-king they each declared what they were good for; one said: "I am medicine for the head," another "I am medicine for the feet," &c. E. Steere, *Swahili Tales*, pp. 345, 361. Thus the Swahili doctor has an exact parallel in Dr. Theophrastus, so far as a knowledge of simples goes.

121 Grohmann, sec. 1658.

122 Sepp, *Altbayerischer Sagenschatz* (Munich, 1876), p. 615 *sq.*

123 A. Peter, *Volksthümliches aus Oesterreichisch-Schlesien*, ii., p. 33 *sq.*

let them pass; last came a white snake, which he bottled up and carried to the doctor. The two make a fire with the hazel sticks and put the snake in a pot to boil. The drover is ordered not to let the steam escape, so he wraps paper round the pot lid. But steam begins to come out at one place, so the drover, thinking to push the paper down, puts his finger to the place, and then his finger to his mouth, for it was wet with the bree; and "lo! he knew everything, and the eyes of his mind were opened." Presently the doctor came back, lifted the lid, put his finger in the steam and sucked it. But the virtue had gone out of it, and he saw that the drover had tasted it. "Since you have taken the bree of it, take the flesh too," said he in a rage, and flung the pot at him. So the drover was allwise and became a great doctor.[124]

The idea that the magic serpent, whose flesh imparts a knowledge of the language of animals and plants, is to be found under a hazel tree, occurs also in Germany,[125] where indeed, as we have seen, the serpent is often called the "hazel-worm" (*Haselwurm*). The coincidence is not merely a verbal one, for in Gaelic (from which the Highland story is translated) the hazel is *caltuinn*. With regard to the white serpent, Miss Gordon Cumming says that "it is believed by some of the old Highlanders still to exist in the land—a faith which is occasionally confirmed by the appearance of a silvery grey specimen."[126]

Occasionally the animal language is acquired by a combination of serpent and plant, as indeed is, to some extent, the case when the serpent is to be found under the hazel. A Bohemian receipt

[124] J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, ii., p. 361 *sqq.* In Chambers' *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, p. 77 *sqq.*, a similar story (but without the hazel) is told of Sir James Ramsay of Banff, how by sucking his fingers, which he had burned in cooking a white serpent for his master, he found that his eyes were opened and he could see through everything; so he became a great doctor because "he could clearly see what was wrang in folk's insides." Again Gilleadha became a famous doctor in much the same way (Campbell, *op. cit.* ii., p. 366). Again some giants bade Fingal roast a fish for them, threatening to kill him if he burned it. Seeing that one small spot was burning he put his finger on it and then put his burned finger in his mouth; a gift of omniscience was the result (*ib.* p. 362 *sq.*) From such cases of wisdom acquired by sucking the fingers, Liebrecht (*Gervasius von Tilbury*, p. 156) ingeniously proposes to explain the Egyptian Harpocrates, who was represented sitting on a lotus flower with his finger in his mouth. Cp. Callaway, *Religious system of the Amazulu*, pp. 290 note, 381.

[125] Sepp, *Altbayerischer Sagenschatz*, p. 615; cp. Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*,[2] p. 201 *sq.* In the Tyrol, on the contrary, it is said that snakes do not lurk under hazel bushes, Zingerle, *Sitten Bräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*,[2] no. 886. In Sweden it is thought that snakes lose their poison by contact with a hazel, Kuhn, *op. cit.* p. 202.

[126] C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides*, p. 54.

for learning the language of geese is to cut off a serpent's head, split it, and put a pea in the split, then bury the head in the garden; eat the first pod of the pea-plant which grows from the pea in the serpent's head, and you will understand the language of geese.[127] In a poem of the Lebed-Tartars a young man receives from a serpent's mouth a bit of a plant which he puts in his mouth, and immediately understands the language of serpents, and he and the serpent talk to each other.[128]

The last mode of learning the animal language which we shall notice is peculiar, though the plot of the story is closely similar to the "husband and wife" story which we have traced across the old world. The story is a Tartar one, from the village of Säit.[129] An old beggar who takes no thought for the morrow throws daily into the sea the remains of his food, and upon the bread thus cast on the waters the fish grow fat. The thing comes to the ears of the lord of the fishes who sends for the free-handed beggar to reward him. As the fish are conducting him through the sea to their lord, they say to him, "the king of fishes will offer you gold and silver; do not take them, but say 'Let me kiss your tongue.'" The fish-king did as the fish had foretold. The beggar refuses the proffered wealth and asks only to kiss the king's tongue. The king, after expostulating, allows the beggar to do so, but warns him that by this means he will receive a knowledge of the language of all creatures, which he must reveal to no one under pain of death. By overhearing the talk of two birds, the beggar discovers a treasure which makes him a rich man. His sudden wealth excites the suspicions of his wife who threatens to inform the police. The old man is in a strait. His friend, the king of the fish, discerns his embarrassment and sends two birds to give him a hint. The beggar hears the cock saying to the hen: "Eat your meat and put on your clothes, and never mind where the food and clothes come from; that's my business, not yours." The lesson is not lost on the beggar; he takes a whip and soon brings his wife to a better frame of mind.

In reviewing the chief means of attaining the animal language, namely, rings, fern-seed, and serpents, we may notice some points of contact between them. First, as to *rings*. We have seen (p. 168, note) that serpents confer wishing-rings upon their benefactors just as they confer the gift of tongues. Now it is a common

[127] Grohmann, sec. 1414.
[128] W. Radloff, *Proben* i., p. 322.
[129] *Id.* iv., p. 492 *sqq.*

idea that serpents have precious stones in their heads,[130] and in the Annamite story we have seen that the gift of the animal language is a special property of these stones. We may conjecture, therefore, first, that rings bestowed by serpents contain these serpent-gems; and second, that rings which confer the gift of animal speech are serpent-rings, that is, contain serpent-gems. This conjecture is confirmed by a second parallelism which holds between magic rings and serpent-heads (or the gems in the serpents' heads); both alike are capable of rendering their possessor invisible. This was the property of the magic ring of Gyges,[131] and it was equally a property of the gems found in the heads of the serpents near Paraka by the Indians, who also acquired the speech of animals by eating the heart and liver of these same serpents,[132] and it is still supposed to be a property of serpents' heads in Bohemia.[133] It is said to be a common opinion in Wales, Scotland, and Cornwall that about Midsummer Eve the snakes meet in companies and by joining heads and hissing produce a glass ring, which whoever finds shall prosper in all his undertakings; and these rings are called snake-stones.[134] If this idea could be proved to be wide spread, we might perhaps suppose that this ring is the wishing-ring bestowed by serpents on their benefactors; but in the absence of such proof it is better to suppose that these wishing-rings contain the gems from the serpents' heads.[135] However, the time when these glass rings are formed (namely, Midsummer Eve) is remarkable, because, as we have seen, this is precisely the time when the animal language is supposed to be acquired through fern-seed.

The connection of the *fern* with serpents in folklore is undoubted. In Germany the fern is sometimes called the adder-plant (*Otterkraut*) and any one who carries it is thought to be pursued by adders till he throws it away.[136] The Lithuanians also call the fern the serpent-plant, because the king of the serpents is supposed to fetch the bloom of the fern on Midsummer Eve to be his crown.[137]

[130] See Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, i., p. 214 note.

[131] See Stallbaum on Plato, *Republic*, 359 d. It is a curious coincidence that both in Plato and in Chaucer the magic ring is associated with a horse of brass.

[132] Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, iii. 8.

[133] Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,² sec. 153.

[134] Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, I., p. 322 (Bohn's edition).

[135] We might unite the two hypotheses by supposing that the glass ring formed by the serpents on Midsummer Eve is composed by the fusion of the gems in their heads. But this would be going too far from the facts.

[136] Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 1013; in Bohemia snakes are thought to lurk under ferns, Kuhn, *Herabkunft des Feuers*,² p. 196 n.

[137] Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Sagen, und Legenden der Zamaiten (Litauer)*, II., p. 180.

In a Lithuanian legend, a queen finds by night the serpents fighting with the other animals for the fern; she plucks the fern, wounds herself in the thigh with her sword, puts the fern into the wound the wound closes on it, and immediately the queen becomes omniscient.[138] This probably took place on Midsummer Eve, the time when the fern possesses its magic properties. Similarly in Russia the person who catches the golden bloom of the fern on Midsummer Eve should cut his hand with his knife and insert the fern into the wound; then all secret things become visible to him.[139] Again, the same parallelism which exists between rings and serpents, exists between fern-seed and serpents; for fern-seed as we have seen (p. 165) like serpents' heads renders the wearer invisible.

The reason why the serpent is especially supposed to impart a knowledge of the language of birds appears from a folk-lore conception of the origin of serpents. According to Democritus as reported by Pliny,[140] serpents are generated from the mixed blood

[138] *Id.* i., p. 116 *sq.*

[139] Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 98 *sq.* For rubbing the magic substance into a wound, cp. Callaway, *Religious system of the Amazulu*, pp. 313, 380; E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd- Afrika*, vol. ii., p. 361; Rochefort, *Hist. nat. et mor. des Iles Antilles*, p. 556; Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles*, vol. ii., p. 377.

[140] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x. 137. The reader may well be startled at finding folk-lore biology attributed to Democritus, one of the most enlightened men of antiquity, and who in his conception of physical causation stands nearer the most modern physicists than any other of the ancients. Some of the ancients themselves were staggered by the portentous absurdities fathered on the philosopher, and justly suspected that some of the works which passed for his were spurious. See Aulus Gellius x. 12; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 10. Grounds, I believe, could be shown for holding that some of the worst of these absurdities are taken from the works of Bolus the Mendesian, a nominal adherent of the school of Democritus, especially from his work, *On Sympathies and Antipathies.* It is directly stated by Columella (vii. 5, 17) that a work of this writer was falsely attributed to Democritus. The *Sympathies and Antipathies* of Bolus are probably the source of the nonsense put down to Democritus in the *Geoponica*; and as one of the charms there ascribed to the philosopher (xiv. 5) consists in the use of the name *Adam*, we may suspect that Bolus the Mendesian was acquainted with the Jewish writings, to which as an Egyptian he might easily have access. He would thus belong to the Alexandrian age. Obviously the idea that, serpents being formed from the blood of birds, any one who eats a serpent will understand the bird-language, would be perfectly in place in a folk-lore work on "sympathy and antipathy." The passage in Columella would seem to show that Suidas is wrong in distinguishing between Bolus the Democritean and Bolus the Mendesian; for a work of Bolus the Mendesian could hardly have been ascribed to Democritus, if the writer had not belonged to Democritus' school. Unless, indeed, we suppose that Bolus the Mendesian was confounded with Bolus the Democritean and the latter with Democritus. This is perhaps the preferable hypothesis; for Bolus the Mendesian was (according to Suidas) a Pythagorean philosopher, and the Pythagorean school gave more scope for folk-lore than the Democritean.

of diverse birds. This explains why serpents should understand the language of birds; they do so, because they are blood relations of birds, having the blood of birds in their veins. If we ask why serpents are thought to be formed of the blood of birds, we may conjecture that the idea originated in the observation that serpents eat birds and birds' eggs. Hence on the folk-lore principle that in eating of an animal's flesh one absorbs the animal's mental qualities, (1) the serpent acquires the bird language, (2) any one who eats a serpent also acquires the language of birds. From the language of birds to the language of animals in general is not perhaps a long step in folk-lore. The idea that birds are pre-eminently talkers appears in the practice, observed by some Turkish tribes in Asia, of giving to children who are long of learning to speak the tongues of certain birds to eat.[141]

It is much less easy to say why fern-seed is supposed to impart a knowledge of the language of animals. In a Thüringen story, a hunter procures fern-seed by shooting at the sun at noon on Midsummer day; three drops of blood fall down, which he catches on a white cloth, and these drops of blood are the fern-seed.[142] If we could suppose that the blood thus falling from the sky was the blood of birds, all would be plain. But still this would not explain the special association of fern-seed with Midsummer day. From this association, coupled with the fact that the hunter shoots at the *sun* at noon on this day of all days in the year, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that fern-seed has a solar connexion. It would seem to be the blood of the sun rather than of birds.[143] But if this is so, why should it convey a knowledge of the language of animals?

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141 Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 218.

142 L. Bechstein, *Thüringer Sagenbuch*² (Leipzig 1885) no. 161; Id. *Deutsches Sagenbuch*, no. 500. For drawing blood by shooting at the sun, cp. K. Müllenhoff, *Sagen Mährchen und Lieder der Herzogthümer Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburg*, no. 492.

143 Kuhn supposes that the fern is an embodiment of the lightning (*Herabkunft des Feuers*² p. 194 *sqq*). But this would leave its connection with Midsummer day as mysterious as ever.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

No. 2.—Races of Formosa.

THE population of Formosa is peculiar and somewhat interesting, being composed of four distinct elements:—1. The independent savages; 2. The Pepohuans, or reclaimed savages; 3. The Hakka immigrants from the mainland; 4. The non-Hakka Chinese, also immigrants from the mainland.

The independent savages, perhaps of Malay race, and divided into a large number of clans, inhabit the whole region of forest-covered mountains of central and eastern Formosa. Their time is passed in hunting, but they do not lead a wandering life, and do not depend entirely on the proceeds of the chase for subsistence. Those of the men who, through age or infirmity, are unable to hunt, till the ground with the women, raising crops of millet and other food for the rest of the tribe. The women also weave cloth of two kinds, known as "savage cloth" and "pine-apple cloth," the first a sort of grass cloth, the latter a fabric made from pine-apple leaf fibre. These people live together in villages, and in spite of the extreme hostility which they not unnaturally bear to the encroaching Chinese, are by nature civil and polite. In the constant skirmishes between the Chinese borderers and the aborigines, the day is by no means always to the former; indeed, the savages appear sometimes to regain lost ground.

Scattered throughout nearly the whole length of the island, and generally inhabiting the sterile and hilly lands at the foot of the great mountain ranges, where they are neither free from the covetousness of the Chinese settlers, nor always secure from attack by the untamed aborigines, are the Pepohuans, or reclaimed aborigines of the plain. They are the ancient pre-Chinese inhabitants of the flat lands, from which they have been gradually driven by the Hakka and other Chinese settlers, until they now are being pushed on to the very verge of the savage territory. Large and well-built physically, they are mild and inoffensive in disposition, and seem to have received Christianity and teaching from the Dutch in the seventeenth century. They have been ousted from their lands and pressed further and further east by the Chinese, principally by means of foreclosed mortgages. The Chinese are always ready to lend on the security of land, and the Pepohuans, a careless race, are

equally ready to borrow, but not to pay, and in this way most of the land has changed hands. On the east coast, commencing about 25 miles south of Kelung, and extending some 14 miles further to Suao Bay, lies a fertile and beautiful plain or valley. Its popular name is Kapsulan. Bounded inland by a semi-circle of mountains, the valley is one vast rice field, studded with Pepohuan villages, and recent reports mention that Christianity is spreading rapidly amongst this population. The Hakkas, or Chinese immigrants, not being the agricultural Fuhkien men, form a strongly marked and important feature of the Formosan population. They have many thriving villages on these border marches, where they live independent of the Chinese administration. Up to 1874 many of the large Hakka villages would not even allow an official to enter their fortified precincts. The rule of the Chinese magistrate reduced itself to the industrious and orderly population (mostly people from Fuhkien) of the western plains, official aid being sought for at times only in serious cases of lawsuits (not criminal cases which were settled according to lynch law), by one or the other of the parties in the numerous self-governed villages.

These independent village communities carried on the barter trade with the savages, in which no outsiders could participate. Even official communication with the savages in most instances was only carried on through the independent savages and Pepohuans. Some change has taken place since that time, however, and aborigines in small numbers may now be met with at the capital of the island and at other large places.

It appears the savages have always had in their mountain fastnesses regular lines of communication from north to south, for in 1874 central points of converging paths, evidently much frequented, were found, and information then obtained confirmed the great extent of country these paths traversed. [Report c—4248 of 1885. Mr. G. Taylor has collected some important notes on "the Folk-lore of Aboriginal Formosa," see *Folk-lore Journal*, v. 139-153.]

INDEX NOTES.

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Büttikofer (I.), Einiges über die Eingebornen von Siberia. *Inter. Arch. für Ethnog.* ii., 33-48, pl. 3, 4.

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Schmeltz (J. D. E.), III. Nachträge zu: J. D. E. Schmeltz und Dr. med. R. Krause: Die ethnographisch-anthropologische Abtheilung des Museum Godefroy. *Inter. Arch. für Ethnog.* ii. 60-67.

REVIEW.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE RACES OF MANKIND. SECOND DIVISION. OCEANO-MELANESIANS. BY A. FEATHERMAN. LONDON (TRÜBNER) 1888. 8vo. pp. xxxii. 420.

THIS is the third of Mr. Featherman's valuable series of books dealing with the social history of mankind. It treats of the Tahitans, Marquesans, Nukahivahs, Pomotoos, Waïhus, Tongas, Rotumas, Samoans, Maoris, Hawaiians, Malagassees, Ipalaoos, Palos, Chamorres, Tarawas, and Radak-raliks. No one who knows how great is the labour of collecting facts on the history and practices of savage races can be otherwise than grateful for this brave attempt to place within easy access the best information at hand. Mr. Featherman comes equipped for his task with untiring industry, considerable skill in the condensation of large masses of materials, and a critical faculty for detecting flaws in the sources of the evidence. These qualities were indeed indispensable for anything like success in such a gigantic task, and on the whole success has been achieved. But we cannot help wishing that Mr. Featherman had been more careful in his use of terms and had adopted a uniform method in the description of each race, such, for instance, as Sir William Hunter adopts in his statistical account of the districts of India. The anthropologist certainly requires to know of each race (1) geographical distribution, (2) flora and fauna of the district, (3) physical details of the people, (4) history if any, (5) legends of previous conditions, (6) habitations and domestic economy, (7) implements of war and of domestic use, (8) religious ideas, (9) mythology, (10) superstitions, (11) manners and customs, (12) laws, (13) government, (14) tribal organisation, (15) terms of relationship, (16) language. Of course, there are other points in the life-history of a race which are of great importance, but the above are recognised standard requirements, and it would have been well if Mr. Featherman had devoted sections distinctly to each subject. Again in the use of terms we question whether Mr. Featherman is always correct. For instance the father among the Tahitans is said (p. 51) to exercise "patriarchal authority" in his family. Does Mr. Featherman mean to convey by this all that Sir Henry Maine included under this

term? if not we think that the term should have been modified. On p. 119 it is stated that "the intellectual knowledge of the Tongas was of a low order. They believed that the earth was flat and was bounded on all sides by the horizon; that the sun, the moon and stars passed in their own course across the sky, and returned by an unknown route to the point whence they started; that the spots on the moon represented a woman in a sitting posture occupied in beating bark cloth," &c., &c. Mr. Featherman surely does not mean to imply that these beliefs necessarily connote a low order of intellectual knowledge. Similarly on p. 137, the word "chapel" is used in a very curious passage and is explained away in a note; "this expression is simply conventional from want of a better word; but the ancient Tongas had really no houses of worship and consequently no chapels." Exactly: but then what word is the proper one to be used in the text which is a description of the sacrifice of a child for the recovery of a great chief from sickness?

Possibly it may be considered that these blemishes are not of sufficient importance to bring prominently to the front. But we hold that exact terminology is more needed in this branch of science than in almost any other. Mr. Featherman so frequently and pertinently points out where mission reports are not to be trusted for critical details, especially where religious matters are being discussed, that we should have liked him to have translated the mission language into its proper scientific equivalents, where he could do so with safety after the comparison of the various texts of different authorities. This is really what we expect of him. His book practically represents a kind of harmony of savage history and life, and so well do we consider that his work is done on these exact lines that we all the more think it proper to point out where we think he has fallen short of a high standard. Probably no one knows better than Mr. Featherman himself the pit-falls into which most students may be led by the loose language of mere travellers, and it is to books like his that we look for guidance and assistance.

Of the races here described all are interesting and important to the student of anthropology. Their almost universal habit of occasional licentiousness point to a period represented by Mr. M'Lennan's theory of promiscuous intercourse, and though the subject is perhaps too unpleasant to dwell upon at length in a special way, it is brought very conspicuously before the student when its prevalence among different races is brought out in constant juxtaposition as one peruses the various facts connected with these oceanic races. In truth the true value of Mr. Featherman's labours can only be measured when they are brought to bear upon the elucidation of a subject which any one is desirous of discussing for the first time. In a compendious form the student is presented with carefully sifted facts about a group of people who belong to one type, and it is his own fault if in the future he conducts his researches without the aid which the survey provided by Mr. Featherman must supply.

In every case Mr. Featherman appends a bibliographical list of the works from which he has compiled his information, and we do not find that he has missed any book of importance from his list, nor do we find where we have been able to test his work that he in any way steps outside the boundaries of his authorities.

Archæology.

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OUR NATIONAL MONUMENTS.

IT requires no demonstration that the preservation of our National Monuments, historic and pre-historic, is an object of national interest and importance. We have long spent the public money freely in the acquisition of the ancient monumental relics of alien peoples—in Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, Greece, Asia Minor, and other places. By thus rescuing them from the barbarous hands of the existing occupants of the soil, we have induced the Governments of such countries as Egypt, Turkey, and Greece to protect their monuments by legislation. But although we have thus enforced the lesson that the people that fails to preserve the antiquities of the soil which it possesses is deemed to be deficient in civilisation and culture, we have been among the last of European nations to have recourse to legislation for the protection of our own antiquities. While we have been acquiring and preserving the monumental remains of many foreign countries, those of our own land have been left uncared for. Our pre-historic monuments have been most inconsiderately and remorselessly dealt with. Those that stood in good land have been rooted out as encumbrances. Those situated on, or near to lands in process of improvement have been utilised as building materials for farms or fences, or used in the construction of drains or roads. As this has been going on since land began to be improved, the numbers that now exist bear but a small proportion to the numbers that are on record, as having been in good preservation within the last 150 years. And it is not only the minor monuments that have thus suffered. Many of the larger and more important constructions of pre-historic origin have been hopelessly mutilated or totally destroyed in quite recent times

The necessity for some kind of protection of our ancient monuments being thus apparent, and the propriety of giving practical effect to the national interest in them, by legislation, having been conceded by the passing of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882, it now becomes a question of some importance whether that Act is in any measure accomplishing its purpose.

To this question it might have been answered, as matter of fact, that during the five years in which the Act has been in operation, so many monuments had been brought under its protection, so many more had been visited and reported upon by the Inspector of Ancient Monuments appointed under the Act, and negotiations with the owners of so many were in progress. But no Report from which such information might be obtained has yet been issued by the Board of Works, to which the administration of the Act has been committed.

But if we have no means of knowing how the monuments have been dealt with by the Board of Works in Great Britain, there are some indications as regards Ireland, which may assist us in forming conclusions as to the action of the Board of Works there. A large number of monuments, similar in structural character to many of those that come under the Ancient Monuments Act in Great Britain, were made "National Monuments" by the Disestablishing Acts in Ireland, and these were placed under the guardianship of the Irish Board of Works, which also has been entrusted with the administration of the Act of 1882 in Ireland. It is instructive to notice what has been the effect of committing the care of such monuments to a Board of Works.

On the island of Innis Muiredach, off the coast of Sligo, there is a very remarkable group of remains, of special interest and value in an archæological point of view in connection with the transition from the Pagan to the Christian style of architecture in Ireland. This group of remains includes three small churches; three circular bee-hive *cloghauns*, or dwellings, built of stones put together without cement; several altars or "praying stations," and a large number of inscribed and sculptured monuments of the early Christian period—all enclosed within an oval cashel wall of massive construction. The characteristic features of this class of constructions are well known to archæologists; and if it were necessary to deal with any example in the way of conservation, the direction of an experienced archæologist would have prevented these characteristic features from being misinterpreted, obscured, or obliterated. Even an archæologist may err from want of definite knowledge, but he could hardly err so far as to suppose it to be his duty to pull down part of the height of one side of a structure, in order to carry out a "restoration" of the other side. Let the following statement show how the Board of Works has conserved the remains on Innismurray:

"It is greatly to be deplored that when rebuilding, or repairing, a considerable portion of the cashel wall, the Board of Works' conservers appear to have mistaken certain spaces between the inclines [which are a well-known and most characteristic feature of these structures] for the bases of niches. The wall should not have been meddled with. It would have been enough just to clear its base of fallen stones and rubbish. As it is in the restoration, certain niche-like recesses for which there is no precedent or authority, extending from the ground to the summit of the wall, have been constructed. To add, if possible, to the absurdity of this modern design, within each recess has been deposited a cross-inscribed memorial stone, which should never have been removed from the grave over which it had stood, or lain, for perhaps a thousand years. . . . . The cashel has been neither restored, nor conserved; it has been transformed. The wall all round is now nearly of a uniform height. There has been much building up, and there has been no little throwing down of original work, so that at present, the structure, with its newly designed and erected Cyclopean gateway and other incongruities must be looked upon at least as misleading to future antiquarian students."—W. F. Wakeman in the *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland*, Vol. vii., p. 199.

The indications of the manner in which the unique remains in the Aran Islands have been dealt with are similar; but in this case, the writer, who supplies the information, is so far from disapproving of the Board's system of "restorations," that he gives them the commendation of being "carried out with judgment and skill." Dun Aengus, the most remarkable Pagan fortification in the kingdom, has been "restored." Dun Eochla, with its encircling outer wall, is "completely restored." Dun Eoganacht has been "restored." Dubh Cathair, the most interesting fort on the islands, has been "very successfully restored." A "cyclopean wall," 20 feet high and 15 feet in width, encloses a number of bee-hive houses, which have been "skilfully restored." Teglach Enda has been cleared of sand and "restored as far as practicable." So the statement goes, round the whole group of remains in the Aran Islands. Fortunately for the interests of science, we have the detailed descriptions of Petrie and Miss Stokes, and the splendid photographs of Lord Dunraven's work on "Ancient Irish Architecture," to show what the structures were before their "restoration" by the Board of Works. But even this cannot compensate for the mischief that may be done by zealous "restoration" of these primitive structures by the labourers of the Board of Works, uncontrolled by any pretence of archæological supervision or restraint. Misapplied zeal in "restoration" is fatal to the interest of such structures, either as national monuments or materials of science.

But if the monuments in Ireland are suffering through mis

directed zeal, the case as regards Great Britain is, that the Act of 1882 is ineffective in its nature, and defective in its provisions. Its inefficiency is due to its permissive character. It remains inoperative until the owner of a monument takes the initiative Even the particular monuments enumerated in the schedules appended to the Act are not thereby placed under its protection. There is a provision by which any monument "of like character to those scheduled" may be declared, by an order in Council, "to be deemed to be an ancient monument to which this Act applies," but when this is done, it only brings the monument into the position of one which has been scheduled, and those scheduled are not brought under the operation of the Act unless by the voluntary offer of the owner. To be scheduled, or named in an order of Council, would probably be a kind of guarantee to the owner that his offer to give over his monument would be accepted; but it is not clear that any monument which may be offered to the Board of Works will be accepted. They are not bound to accept a particular monument, simply because it may be offered to them. Probably they would request the Inspector to report upon it, and would be guided by his judgment. And there may be cases in which it might be deemed unadvisable for the Board to adopt monuments of no special scientific interest, which may yet be of great public interest. In the case of many such monuments, it is probable that the mere reputation of the Act having been applied to them would suffice to prolong their existence, while the reputation of being rejected would almost certainly hasten their destruction. This applies specially to rude stone monuments standing in cultivated lands.

Even in the case of those monuments for whose preservation it is desirable on all grounds to provide effectual security, the Act provides none. It does not pretend to protect such monuments because they are worthy of preservation and stand in need of protection. The principle on which it proceeds is not the adoption of monuments whose preservation it is desirable in the public interest to secure, but the adoption of those whose preservation the owners may desire to secure at the public expense. It does not propose in any way to affect or diminish the owner's property, interest, or estate in the monument, but simply upon his own request to relieve him of any responsibility, or expense, in respect of its preservation. And yet, though the monument is thus to be maintained at the public expense, it neither becomes public property, nor is it made accessible to the public. The owner simply shifts the burden on to the shoulders of the public and retains his

exclusive rights of possession and use. While the Board of Works might set up a notice-board announcing that "this monument is maintained at the national expense, and protected by law," the owner might put up another, announcing that "this monument is private property; trespassers will be prosecuted."

If it be right to legislate for the protection and preservation of ancient monuments, it cannot be wrong to do it effectively. And the experience of those countries in which such legislation has been longest in operation is, that it cannot be done effectively without making the monuments public property. If the land on which they stand were acquired, for the public, at its agricultural value, the owners would have no reasonable ground of complaint. The process of acquiring them would necessarily be gradual, and the whole amount required to pay for the land would not be great. Some owners would doubtless be patriotic enough to hand over their monuments; but it might expedite their general acquisition, if they were made exempt from sale or transfer; and, as in Denmark, the crown lands might set the example. But legislation of this kind could only proceed safely on well ascertained knowledge of the number, nature, position and condition of the monuments to be thus provided for. It would have been desirable, indeed, that a commission of inquiry into the number, character and circumstances of the monuments should have preceded the legislation which has taken place. If that had been done, it is probable that the enactment would have taken a form more effective for the protection of those which it was desirable in the public interest to preserve.

It is not impossible that a permissive Act, worked by a zealous administration, might produce something like the desired result, in time; but it is contrary to experience that it should do so. The Inspector might in a few years visit all the sites of ancient monuments in Great Britain, and issue a report enumerating and describing them, and recommending those which it is most desirable to bring under the operation of the Act. But this does not seem to be any part of his duty under the Act as it stands. So far as appears, he is not bound to inspect any monument not placed, or proposed to be placed, by the owner, under the care of the Board of Works.

What is really wanted is an accurate knowledge of what is necessary to effect the object aimed at by legislation—how many monuments there are in the country which it is desirable in the public interest to preserve, and what are the special circumstances which have to be considered in relation to the manner of their preservation. This knowledge can only be obtained by some-

thing equivalent to an archæological survey of the country. A survey which is to become the basis of legislation must necessarily be such as to command the confidence of the Government and of the public. It may be said that the cost of such a survey by qualified experts, would be out of all proportion to its public utility. But one result of it might be to save the nation the cost of such "restorations" as have been already referred to, and to reduce the number of monuments that might otherwise be taken over from the owners, by ensuring that no monument would be recommended for protection, which had not been ascertained to possess an archæological character entitling it to be regarded by the nation as worthy of preservation.

France is proceeding with a statistical enumeration, classification, and description of its ancient monuments, as well as with their acquisition for the public by voluntary sale, and that failing, by expropriation. Denmark has long set the example of a zealous and enlightened policy with respect to her national monuments. Even so poor a country as Norway possesses in the admirable work by Nicolaysen—Norske Fornlevninger—a complete enumeration and scientific description, parish by parish, not only of all the existing monuments, but of all the relics that have from time to time been found in association with them. Such a record as this is needed for each of the three kingdoms, as a scientific basis for the Archæology of Britain.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

A MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

THE management of our museums affects us very deeply, and I should like to ask the plain, straight-forward question, do we get our money's worth out of them? I maintain that the educational results of the collections in the British Museum, for instance, is infinitesimally small, compared with the sums spent on the purchase of objects and the salaries of the officials. There are no doubt many reasons why this is so. One is that the collection is looked upon by the curator[1] as a sort of happy hunting-ground, provided by a

[1] I am speaking generally, not of any individual curator.

generous public for his special gratification, and in the course of time the fact that it has been acquired by the nation at great expense entirely fades from his view, so that the real owners appear, to his distorted imagination, as meddlesome intruders, who come bothering him with futile questions. Great improvements might be made in our public museums by arranging the collections more intelligently, by labelling every object fully, by having complete catalogues, and, lastly, by giving lectures on the various subjects illustrated.

The chief object of the present article is to call attention to the systematic way in which the authorities who are responsible for the management of the British Museum and the one at South Kensington, neglect our national antiquities, more especially those belonging to the Christian period. What is the reason that neither of these institutions have set apart a gallery exclusively for the exhibition of objects illustrating Christian art in Great Britain and Ireland? The system of arrangement adopted at the British Museum of placing everything of the same material and age together although convenient in some ways for the curator, is very confusing to the student, and leads to such an absurdity as a bell shrine of the Celtic Church being classed with a candlestick of Arab workmanship, because both happen to be of bronze and both are of the mediæval period. The authorities of the South Kensington Museum deserve much credit for the admirable handbooks issued under their direction, but it is characteristic of the preference shown for foreign and classical art, over that of our own country, that Miss Margaret Stokes' work on "Early Christian Art in Ireland" should have been brought out as the last instead of the first of the series. At South Kensington a whole gallery is devoted to Persia, another to Japan, and a third to Ancient Greece, but casts of four pre-Norman crosses and a 12th century font, huddled together in one corner of a room containing a medley of miscellaneous objects, are considered quite sufficient to teach the progress of Christian art in Great Britain from the rude attempts of the Celts who erected the Ogham-inscribed monuments to the glorious masterpieces of the 13th century.

Believing that it would be quite hopeless to attempt to reform any of the museums now existing, I wrote to the *Times* (Jan. 24th 1888), suggesting the formation of an entirely new one devoted exclusively to the Christian Archæology of this country, and, from the encouragement I have received in various quarters, I am in hopes that the project may be eventually carried out. Mr. John P. Seddon sent a letter in reply to mine (*Times*, Jan. 25th 1888), as

follows:—"Such a museum as that suggested by Mr. J. Romilly Allen in your journal of this day is indeed a crying national want, but I would extend its scope by calling it 'The Museum of Christian Archæology and Art for Great Britain.' It should be on the type of that established at the Trocadero in Paris for French archæology and art by the late accomplished architect, M. Viollet-le-Duc. No expensive building would be needed, but a considerable space in a central position. One such space is now available south of and close to Victoria Street, Westminster. It might be surrounded by houses with four approaches through them at the cardinal points, built with plain brick wall and glass roofs, with a central hall and surrounding ring of galleries, each quadrant of which would be a complete gallery in itself. The contents of the Westminster Architectural Museum in Tufton Street would form a nucleus of such a collection of comparative British Christian antiquities and objects of art, than which finer or more interesting are not in the world. I long to see the foundation of such a museum, which would be the most practical step yet taken towards the true technical education of England." I need hardly say that I most heartily endorse Mr. Seddon's views, and think his practical suggestions of great value.

Prof. I. O. Westwood of Oxford, in a private communication, writes:—"I quite agree with you about a museum of Christian Archæology. Twenty-five or thirty years ago I had the same idea, and suggested at our own Ashmolean Society that the plan of the Vatican lapidarium, of having the pagan objects on one side of the museum or gallery, and the Christian ones on the other, should be adopted, but the idea was pooh-poohed."

It seems strange that in an educated community it should be necessary to point out the advantages to be gained by carrying out such a scheme, and to insist on the fact that, being Englishmen and Christians, the Christian antiquities of our native land should take precedence of works of foreign or pagan art, however beautiful. The great obstacle in the way of making the public understand the high value of our national Christian monuments, both from an historical and artistic point of view, is that they are spread over so large a geographical area, and often hidden away in remote country church-yards, where they are not seen from one year's end to another; but could the whole series be brought together into one room, by means of casts or photographs, I am sure that everyone would feel the utmost astonishment, not only at their great number, but at the extraordinary capacity shown by the designers of the ornamental features of the sculpture.

Those who have studied Christian art know that the sources from which our information is derived vary at different periods and in different geographical areas. Thus, in the first four centuries Christian art was confined almost exclusively to paintings on the walls and roofs of the Catacombs at Rome; in the fourth and fifth centuries the sculptured Sarcophagi of Italy and the South of France furnish us with most of our information on the subject; and in the sixth century Christian art is chiefly exhibited in the mosaic decorations of churches at Rome and Ravenna.

Far the most interesting period to us, however, is after the fall of the Roman Empire, when Britain ceased to be pagan; for from the seventh to the eleventh centuries the materials for the study of Christian art are not found abroad (except perhaps in the Carlovingian ivories), but in our own country on the pre-Norman sculptured stones and in the miniatures of the Hiberno-Saxon MSS. As the culture of a nation may to a certain extent be gauged by the care with which it collects and preserves its scientific materials, it may be well to enquire what steps have been taken to prevent the early crosses of Great Britain and Ireland from destruction, and to utilise them for purposes of archæological research by bringing together a series of photographs or casts in one place, where they can all be studied and compared.

First, as to the preservation of the pre-Norman sculptured stones, nothing has been done either to protect them from the weather or the hand of the spoiler. A bill dealing with ancient monuments has been passed through Parliament, and a Government Inspector appointed, but the bill aims at acquiring the monuments as public property; and whilst the Inspector is negotiating with the owners, the work of taking photographs and casts of the sculpture is being entirely forgotten. From a scientific point of view, an archæological survey is really more important than the acquisition of the monuments themselves. The loss to science is comparatively small when a monument has been destroyed if a good cast, photograph and measured drawing have been made previously. I do not, of course, in the least mean to set up an excuse for the destruction of ancient monuments, but I wish to show that there is more immediate necessity for collecting casts of them than preserving the originals. One of the chief objects of the proposed Museum of Christian archæology would be to make a representative series of casts and photographs of all the pre-Norman sculptured stones in Great Britain. Although there are something like five hundred such monuments in existence, the only

casts that I have seen are a few at the Crystal Palace, in the South Kensington Museum, the Edinburgh Museum, and the Architectural Museum at Westminster. The largest collections of the stones themselves are in the York Museum, in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and in the Cathedral library at Durham.

It is a curious piece of inconsistency on the part of the authorities who direct our public institutions that the early Irish and Saxon MSS. should be so highly esteemed in all libraries that are fortunate enough to possess any specimens, and yet the sculptured stones of the same period which are equally valuable should not be thought worth even getting photographs of. The sculptured stones are of the greatest use in supplementing the information obtained from the MSS. Some scripture subjects, for instance, like the Temptation of Adam and Eve and the Sacrifice of Isaac, do not occur at all in the Irish MSS., although they are common on the crosses. Our knowledge of Runes and the early Northumbrian dialect is derived chiefly from the pre-Norman crosses and not from the MSS. of the same period.

There are a large number of problems connected with these monuments awaiting solution, such as the explanation of the mysterious symbols found on the upright cross slabs of the West of Scotland; the origin and development of the characteristic forms of Celtic ornament, chiefly consisting of interlaced work, key patterns, and spirals; the relative place to be assigned to the Celtic, Scandinavian and Saxon element in the art of the sculpture; and the date of the introduction of the Ogham and Runic alphabets. These problems can only be attacked when a complete series of casts or photographs of the monuments has been gathered together in one gallery of a Museum of Christian Archæology where a comparison may be instituted between all the different specimens. Such a collection would be of value on other grounds for teaching history the progress of Christianity in Great Britain by its monuments. The palæographer would be able to study the lettering of the inscriptions; the philologist would find a wide field of research open before him in the early forms of the provincial dialects; the ornamental designer would learn much from the endless variety of patterns suggesting new combinations and developments; the architect and sculptor would have beautiful models of sepulchral monuments which might be adapted to modern requirements with advantage; and the symbolism of the figure sculpture would enable

the student of religion to trace the evolution of the various doctrines of which they are the outward manifestation.

If our national art in sculpture and metal work is ever to be revived it must be by developing what has previously existed in this country, and not by making bad copies of Pagan Classical models, for which we never can have any real sympathy except by ceasing to be Englishmen and Christians.

It is impossible at present to describe all the other branches of Christian art such as Norman sculpture, 13th and 14th century wall paintings, stained glass, and wood carving, but I think enough has been said to show that a Museum of Christian Archæology for Great Britain is most urgently needed.

J. ROMILLY ALLEN.

THE PHYSICIANS OF MYDDFAI.

(*Continued from ante, p.* 115.)

WE have examined the personality of the heroine, the Lady of Little Van Pool, and found reason to believe that she was one of a numerous and interesting class of fairy heroines known as Swan-maidens. For, although her swan-plumage is nowhere referred to, it is not always expressly mentioned in cognate stories. Other tests of swan-maidenhood are present: and in some Welsh variants we have even found expressions which clearly point to the heroine's true bird-character.

We have enquired into the taboo and its breach,—the "three causeless blows." The taboo in stories of this group is not always in the same terms; and sometimes it is merely implied. In any case the husband's breach of it is inevitable: it is his doom. In the kindred tale of the bride of Corwrion, in Carnarvonshire, the taboo was a double one: the hero was forbidden, first, to know his wife's name, and, secondly, to strike her with iron. In reference to the first part of the prohibition I quoted examples to show that the objection on the fairy's part to the knowledge of her name was founded on the archaic superstition that that knowledge would confer undue power over her, a dread common to many races in a low stage of culture and connected with the belief in sorcery.

We next turn to the other horn of the taboo—the condition against striking with iron. Mr. Andrew Lang has remarked, following Dr. Tylor, that here the fairy mistress is "the representative of the stone age." This is so; and the reason is because she belongs to the realm of the supernatural. When the use of metals was discovered, stone implements were discarded in ordinary life; but for ages afterwards knives of stone were used for religious purposes. We know, for instance, that the Hebrews, to seek no further, employed them in their sacred rites; and when King Solomon built the temple "there was neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building." The retention of stone instruments in religious worship was doubtless due to the intense conservatism of religious feeling. The gods, having been served with stone for so long, naturally objected to change; and the implements whose use had continued through so many revolutions in ordinary human utensils had acquired a divine character. Changes of religion, however, brought in time changes even in these usages. Christianity was bound to no special reverence for knives and arrowheads of flint. But they seem to have been still vaguely associated with the discarded deities, or their allies, the Nymphs and Oreads and Fairies of stream or wood or dell, and with the supernatural generally. A familiar example of this is the name Thunderbolts, or Elfbolts, given by the country people in this and other lands to these old world objects, whenever turned up by the harrow or the spade. Now the traditional preference on the part of supernatural beings for stone instruments is only one side of the thought which would, as its reverse side, show a distinct abhorrence by the same mythical personages for metals, and chiefly (since we have long passed out of the bronze age) for iron. Not only do witches and spirits object to the horseshoe; axes and iron wedges are equally distasteful to them—at all events in Denmark. So in Brittany when men go to gather the *herbe d'or*, a medicinal plant of extraordinary virtue, they go barefooted, in a white robe and fasting, and no iron may be employed; and though all the necessary ceremonies be performed only holy men will be able to find it. The magical properties of this plant, as well as the rites requisite to obtain it, disclose its sacredness to the old divinities. It shines at a distance like gold, and if one tread on it he will all asleep, and will come to understand the languages of birds, dogs and wolves.[12]

[12] Thorpe: *Northern Mythology*, ii., 275, 277. Stephens: *The Literature of the Kymry*, 248, citing the Barzaz Breiz.

The lady of Corwrion pool was not alone, as we have already seen, among the elvish heroines of Carnarvonshire in her objection to being struck with iron. One of the stories from Beddgelert cited above relates that the manner in which the hero secured his lovely prize was by running off with her to his house, hotly pursued by the Fairy Family; but when the pursuers reached the house "the door had been bolted with iron, wherefore they could not get near her or touch her in any way," and the damsel had to remain. And in the other story the condition of marriage was, not only that the bride was not to be touched with iron, but also that there was to be neither bolt of iron nor lock on the door. In like manner (though illustration can hardly be needed) a Scandinavian legend given by Grimm, tells of an elf-girl captured by a man by throwing steel between her and the hill wherein she dwelt; and another relates that a lucky youth rescued his bride from a troll, who had stolen and was about to wed her, by shooting with steel over her head, whereupon the whole wedding party of trolls vanished, leaving the maiden and a splendid silver bridal crown which the troll had already placed upon her head.[13] Iron or steel, being not only the newest but also the most powerful weapon of mankind for the purpose of material progress, is obnoxious beyond all other metals to those mysterious powers whose kingdom reaches from the depths of a darksome Past, and whose authority is becoming daily more and more curtailed through the conquests man is enabled to make by means of this weapon.

The legend of Corwrion has preserved in the form of the taboo a note of antiquity which fails us in The Physicians of Myddfai. In the more backward races the taboo appears generally simpler in form, or, as we have seen, is absent altogether. The Malagasy heroine cannot stay on earth after the mortal injury inflicted upon her by her husband's relatives. The New Zealand lady is offended because Tawhaki complains of the evil odour of her child. In this latter case perhaps we have the germs of a taboo, since the child may be supposed to have partaken of her mother's celestial nature, for she no doubt belonged exclusively to her mother's kin.[14] The wife in the story from Loo Choo flies off when her fate is fulfilled.

[13] Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. by Stallybrass, ii., 466, n. Thorpe, op. cit. ii. 9. The maiden, in a story cited earlier, lays down the condition that she is not to be struck with steel or clay. I can only attribute the prohibition of clay to her watery origin; but it is perhaps worth further enquiry. *Cymmrodor*, v. 94.

[14] Taylor, op. cit., 337. Compare the Shropshire fairy's prohibition against being reproached on account of her sisters.

So, in a Bornoese tradition quoted by Mr. Farrer, the heroine is taken up to the sky because her husband has struck her, there having been no previous prohibition; and in an American tale she goes simply because she wishes to return home.[15] Among most, if not all, of the races who tell these stories, the marriage bonds are of the loosest description; and there is, therefore, nothing very remarkable in the supernatural bride's conduct. We might expect to find that, as peoples advance in civilisation, and marriage becomes more regarded, the reason for separation would become more and more complex and cogent. Am I going too far in suggesting that the resumption by the bride of her bird or beast shape marks a stage in the development of the myth beyond those just cited, and the formal taboo, where the human figure is not abandoned, a later stage still? It is clear that the fairy of Corwrion's taboo could never have been invented until the Welsh had passed into the iron age; and if the prohibition in the legends of the Van Pool and Llyn Nelferch ever contained the mention of iron, this could not have been dropped before the abhorrence of mythical personages for that metal had itself been forgotten. Whether or not this was the actual history of these two legends, the Carnarvonshire story seems to retain in the form of its prohibition a more antique form than theirs; and its indications above noticed of the heroine's bird-character confirm this surmise.

On the other hand I must not omit to refer to one curious relic of an earlier state of culture which appears in Mr. Rees' version of The Physicians. The maiden's father gives her as a dowry as many sheep, cattle, goats and horses as she can count of each without drawing breath; and she in reckoning them counts by fives, thus: One, two, three, four, five—One, two, three, four, five—as many times as possible in rapid succession until her breath is exhausted. In the Cambro-Briton version her dowry is seven cows, two oxen and a bull—in all, ten animals; and here again we may not be wrong in seeing a reference to the same archaic mode of enumeration.

Though the lady of Llyn y Fan might never return to her husband she was drawn back to earth by the care of her children. In the same way also the Carnarvonshire fairies of various tales are compelled by maternal love to revisit the scenes of their wedded life; and the hapless father hears his wife's voice outside the window chanting pathetically:

[15] Farrer, *Primitive Manners and Customs*, 256.

"If my son should feel it cold,
Let him wear his father's coat;
If the fair one feel the cold,
Let her wear my petticoat!"

Whatever he may have thought of these valuable directions, they hardly seem to us sufficient to have brought the lady up from "the bottomless pool of Corwrion" to utter. The mother's visits to her children are, however, a frequent termination to stories of this type; and occasionally the tie which compels her to return is taken advantage of by the forsaken husband to obtain possession of her again;[16] but I think not in any case where an express taboo has been broken. In a legend of Llyn y Dywarchen, or Lake of the Sod, not very far from Beddgelert, the water-nymph subsequently appears to her husband, conversing with him from a floating turf, while he stands on the shore.[17] Here the motive of the reappearance is the unusual one of conjugal, rather than parental, affection.

The story of The Physicians of Myddfai is so called from the heroine's sons, who, by means of her instructions, became celebrated in medicine. These instructions were, as we have already seen, conveyed during her visits to earth after she had deserted her husband. On one occasion she accompanied them to a place still called Pant-y-Meddygon (the hollow, or dingle, of the physicians), and there pointed out to them the various plants and herbs which grew around, and revealed to them their medicinal virtues. And the legend tells us that in order that their knowledge should not be lost, the physicians wisely committed the same to writing for the benefit of mankind throughout all ages. A collection of medical recipes purporting to be this very work still exists in a mediæval manuscript preserved at Jesus College, Oxford, which is now in course of publication by Professor Rhys and Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans, and is known as the Red Book of Hergest. An edition of the "Meddygon Myddfai," as this collection is called, was published by the Welsh MSS. Society seven-and-twenty years ago, with an English translation.[18] It professes to be written under the direction of Rhiwallon the Physician and his sons Kadwgan, Griffith, and Einion; and they are called "the ablest and most eminent of the physicians of their time and of the time of Rhys Gryg, their lord, and the lord of Dinevor, the nobleman who maintained their rights

[16] Poestion, *Lappländische Märchen*, 55.
[17] Cymru Fu, 474
[18] The Physicians of Myddvai—Meddygon Myddfai—translated by John Pughe, Esq., F.R.C.S., and edited by Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1861.

and privileges, in all integrity and honour, as was meet." This nobleman was Prince of South Wales in the early part of the thirteenth century; and his monumental effigy is in the Cathedral of St. David's. I have been unable to ascertain the real age of the manuscript;[10] but whether or not it dates from the thirteenth century, the thing to be noticed for our present purpose is that it contains no reference to the legend of the Van Pool. The published volume contains also another and longer recension of the work, which is ascribed in the colophon to Howel the Physician, who, writing in the first person, claims to be "regularly descended in the male line from the said Einion, the son of Rhiwallon the Physician of Myddvai, being resident in Gilgwryd, in Gower." This recension, therefore, is presumably later in date than the former; and the manuscript from which it was printed is said to have been a transcript made in 1743 "from the book of John Jones, Physician of Myddfai, the last lineal descendant of the family." The remedies it contains, though many of them are antique enough, and superstitious enough, are of various dates and sources; and, so far from being attributed to a supernatural origin, they are distinctly said to "have been proved to be the best and most suitable for the human body through the research and diligent study of Rhiwallon" and his three sons. This negative evidence tends to show that the connection of the Van Pool story with the Physicians is of comparatively recent date.

And yet it is but natural that the offspring of a mythical creature like the Lady of the Lake should be men of extraordinary powers. The children of the gods of Greece were demi-gods. Mélusine gave birth to monsters of ugliness and of wickedness. So the heroine of the Llanberis legend had two sons and two daughters, all of whom were remarkable. The elder son became a great physician, and all his descendants were celebrated for their proficiency in medicine. The second son was a Welsh Tubalcain. One of the daughters invented the small ten-stringed harp, and the other the spinning-wheel. "Thus," we are told, "were introduced the arts of medicine, manufactures, music, and woollen work!" If, then, there were a family at Myddfai renowned for their leechcraft, and possessed of lands and influence, as we know was the fact, their hereditary skill would seem to an ignorant peasantry to demand a supernatural origin; and their wealth and material

[10] Since the above was written, Mr. J. Gwenogfryn Evans has kindly examined the MS. for me, and informs me that its date is between 1380 and 1400.

power would not refuse the additional consideration which a connection with the legend of the neighbouring pool would bring them. At all events, such a conclusion to the legend would be in harmony with that of similar stories, and would satisfy the minds of men who are in a state of culture to accept a tissue of marvels as a narrative of facts.

Here we might terminate our review, already too prolix, of this interesting saga. But it would be incomplete without the mention of a sequel hitherto unrecorded. One day last summer, a collier of Tavern y Banwen, near Capel Coelbren, a station in a wild district on the Swansea and Brecon Railway, related to Mr. Llywarch Reynolds, Mr. David Lewis (both well-known Welsh antiquaries), and myself several folk-tales, and, among others, The Physicians of Myddfai. His version contained only one remarkable variation, namely, that after narrating the lady's retirement to the pool, he added :—"They determined to drain the lake with the object of finding her; and they began, when up started out of the lake a man hairy and ugly to behold, who cried out:

> 'Os na chai lonydd yn y lle,
> Fi fodda, dre 'Berhonddu !'
> ('If I do not get quiet in the place,
> I will drown the town of Brecon.')

Frightened by this, they gave up the search."

The foregoing couplet presented the obvious difficulty that the town of Brecon was many miles away on the other side of the mountains. I therefore made inquiries at Ystradgynlais, on the Brecknockshire side of the Vans, and was informed by a friend there that he had discussed the couplet in question with an old man who died the year before last, aged 94, and who was a perfect mine of folklore. This old man stated to my friend that the second line of the couplet should run :—"Mi fodda, i Blaensawdde" (I will drown Blaensawdde). Blaensawdde is the village where the bereaved husband lived; and its mention would accordingly make the couplet clear. Further research, however, leads me to suspect that we have in this tag to the story a modern transfer to the Van Pool of a legend more properly belonging to Llyn Cwmllwch, a small tarn lying under the Brecon Beacons. It is told of that piece of water that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood formed a plan to drain it; and, indeed, had gone so far that they had all but completed their work, when a sudden tempest broke over them, and a gigantic figure, whose hair

and beard were three yards long, emerged from the midst of the pool, and ordered them to desist from their purpose, or else he would drown the town of Brecon and all the vale of Usk.[20] If my conjecture be right, this transfer is an example of the ease with which stories already located migrate to a fresh site, and adapt themselves to new scenes. The process is before our eyes. The practical spirit of the nineteenth century, slowly finding its way into remote districts, would easily suggest the determination to solve the mystery and win back the lady by one stroke, and with a legend of another lake in the same mountainous district ready made, the dove-tailing would be speedily—nay, unconsciously—accomplished. Such cases of transfer have occurred over and over in the past, and must be occurring daily even yet. When we meet with an instance in which it can be traced with tolerable certainty, that instance is valuable.

To sum up the results of our enquiry: we have found the saga of The Physicians of Myddfai to be a Swan-maiden myth in a late stage of development. It is connected with a family which rose to power and influence early in the thirteenth century, and professes to account for the medical skill and knowledge displayed by the members of that family. But inasmuch as the writings of the family, of various dates, but originating at a period when men did not hesitate to ascribe every extraordinary ability and attainment to supernatural aid, contain no reference to the story, it is probable that its connection with the family is comparatively recent. Moreover, the story is still living as a folk-tale, and is apparently even yet possessed of sufficient vitality for growth.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

CHIPPENHAM AS A VILLAGE COMMUNITY.

(Continued from ante, p. 108.)

3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY.

We may now safely turn to the evidence which shows us the structure of the community and the survivals of its archaic origin still obtaining. And we will consider first the basis of membership.

[20] Croker, *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, iii., 253.

The homestead is clustered together in a village, and not distributed into tribal households, scattered over the country side. The plan of Chippenham shows us that through the centre of a tongue of land formed by the windings of the River Avon, a roadway from Bristol to Calne was cut, and along the sides of this roadway, in English fashion, the village community of Chippenham constructed their homesteads.[16] These formed the initial points of all rights, and this archaic rule left its imprint on municipal custom, when in 1835, it was reported that the freemen are "those who occupy what are now called burgage tenements,"[17] and "if a burgess ceases to reside in the town, it is usual for him to resign."[18]

What kind of tenements these were, and how nearly they answered to the description of the homesteads of the archaic community can fortunately be ascertained from the document already quoted, dating from James I.'s reign. It is there stated that "no inhabitant or householder within the said borough taking or who is to take any benefit of the said borough lands by virtue of these presents, shall at any time hereafter divide his tenement, house or habitation into divers parts or habitations, or into more habitations than one."[19] Clearly therefore we have here as the homestead of King James's time, something far larger than the ordinary village or town house;[20] and it is not too much to suggest a comparison with the enclosed homestead and its "gerstun," "stôdfald," "oxena gehæg," "sceap-hammas," "flax-hammas," which Dr. Nasse has collected from the charters,[21] and which are within recent times typical of Kentish farm houses.[22] It appears, then, that Chippenham was, so recently as the early seventeenth century, a collection of farm homesteads rather than a town in the ordinary sense of the term.

In order to obtain some idea as to how this cluster of homesteads in a village held together before the days of chartered privileges, we must turn to the name of a portion of the land still held by the corporation. This land is called "Englands" and is situated very near to the town and close to the site or reputed site of the King's Villa, which tradition assigns to the spot now occupied by the pre-

[16] Compare the description given by Davis in his *Agriculture of Wilts* of the situation of Wiltshire villages in general, p. 9.

[17] *Municipal Corporation Commission.*

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] This may be compared with the burgage tenements of other municipalities. At Westbury there were "61 burgage tenements covered by 140 houses," and other examples occur of a like nature.

[21] Nasse's *Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages*, 16-17.

[22] *Arch. Cant.* iv., 217.

mises adjoining the new county court, including perhaps the Angel Inn.[23] In a survey of Chippenham, dated 1275 (i. Edw. I.), this land is called "Hinlond," and Canon Jackson very appropriately identifies it with the *inland* or home ground of the Anglo-Saxons. Dr. Leo says of this word, "an Anglo-Saxon estate was usually divided into two parts; one of which was occupied by the proprietor or usufructuary himself with his establishment, and the other was ceded to the greater part of the servants in return for rent and service, as a reward for their assistance or as the means of support to those who were not freed men. The portion so surrendered was called *útland* and that occupied by the owner himself *inland*, or *hláfordes inland*."[24] This is of course in accordance with Mr. Seebohm's reading of the evidence, when he points out that "the lord's demesne land was called in the Exon Domesday for Cornwall, the thane's *inland*; so, too, in a law of King Edgar's the tithes are ordered to be paid 'as were on the thane's *inland* as on geneat land,' showing that the distinction between the two was exhaustive."[25] But our evidence proves that in modern times, that is certainly since the reign of Queen Mary, this inland, translated so freely by the authorities just quoted as lord's demesne land, belonged at Chippenham to the village community itself without the interposition of any manorial lord. The only question is then, did it belong to the village community at any earlier period, and especially at a period which enables us by strong historic probability to suggest that it had so descended age after age from the date when the market village first carved out its clearing in the forest? Such a period is represented by the Domesday survey. What is recorded there Mr. Seebohm proves is true of the early Anglo-Saxon period.[26] In Domesday, then, Chippenham is termed a "manerium."[27] The king held it, and it provided one night's entertainment with all its customs. Here is the community acting in its corporate capacity. It was, moreover, absolutely free—non geldavit, nec hidata fuit. Its land consisted of 100 carucates; in demesne were 16 carucates and 28 serfs, the villani (48), bordarii (45), cotarii (20), and swineherds (23), holding, inter omnes, 66 carucates. There were also 12 mills and 100 acres of meadow, wood 4 miles square, and pasture 2 miles long and 1 mile broad. We have here a description of the

[23] Jackson's *History of Chippenham*, p. 16.

[24] *Local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 54.

[25] Seebohm's *English Village Community*, p 135 and cf. p. 150.

[26] See cap. iii. of the *English Village Community*.

[27] This term is an important distinction from the other term used in Domesday for a community, villa. See Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday*.

"inland," the "outland," and the surrounding meadows, pasture, and wood. The survey goes on to say that Bishop Osbern held 2 hides, Ulviet 1 hide, Edric half a virgate, and in other folios it is recorded that Roger de Berchelai held 1 hide, ½ virgate of the demesne, and Rainald Canut held 1 hide of the king. Now, these special holdings were certainly taken from the demesne lands: in one case it is expressly said so, and they therefore represent the earliest transfer of lands held in common to a tenure in severalty. But however early this tendency to break up the old system was, these grants did not exhaust the 16 carucates of the demesne or inland; and the holder of the remaining lands must therefore have been the manerium in its corporate capacity. One expression in the Domesday account of Chippenham indicates the existence of group holding, as distinct from individual holding, namely, inter omnes, by which term the holding of the 66 carucates of the villani, &c., is recorded. I am inclined to think that this and other similar expressions in Domesday meant a holding in common, not a quantity of land held by many individual tenants; and therefore if we translate this method of holding into its proper historic equivalent, we get the individual group [of kinsmen] holding their possessions in lineal descent from those times when to divide a family holding was almost the last, not the first, resort of the co-heirs of an estate. And hence the suggestion that the manerium of Chippenham held the demesne lands as a group-holding is borne out by Domesday evidence itself.

Our next point in this survey of the community is to ascertain whether the same continuity of custom which marks the method of holding lands and of cultivation, and which thereby tends to show that the charter of Queen Mary did not create the institutions it legislates upon, marks also the system of self-government existing at Chippenham. Before the reign of Mary there is evidence that within the manor and under the jurisdiction of the bailiff there was not only a pillory and a prison, but also a gallows.[23] And when we come to the byelaws enacted after the granting of the charter, there is exactly the same species of jurisdiction, though nothing in the charter but general clauses grants or suggests the powers assumed to exist. The system of self-government of Chippenham alike before and after incorporation was practically the same, and it bears further witness to the archaic origin of the community. In the 39th of Elizabeth a set of byelaws was framed by the bailiff and burgesses, "with the consent of the chief commons," a consent

[23] Jackson's *History of Chippenham*, p. 20.

which certainly takes us back for its origin to a time prior to the charter. These byelaws provided, *inter alia*, under penalty of fine and disfranchisement, for the attendance of all the inhabitant householders on the bailiff and burgesses when summoned for the composition and maintenance of good order within the borough. Offenders were interdicted for transgressing against the regulations from buying or selling within the borough on pain of fine and imprisonment. Bakers offending against the assize were to be set in the pillory; every tippler setting up a tippling shop to be bound by recognizances; and there were other similar regulations for butchers, brewers, chandlers, and others. Every burgess was required to have in his house a staff and a club, and every other inhabitant householder a club, to come forth whenever need should require. No inhabitant within the borough was allowed to "seek for reformation or justice to be ministered in any matter touching good order in the borough" at any court other than at the bailiff and burgesses "upon pain every offender to lose his and their whole freedom."[29]

These enactments are curious, and as evidence of archaic continuity of self-government are of great value. But the true force of their evidence as to archaic origin lies in the sanctions enforcing the law. These were not dependent upon the national executive, but were strictly communal in their character, and one of them, "that the offender should also be debarred of all benefit out of the borough lands until he submit himself," has its counterpart all over India and among other peoples who live in village communities.

4. THE SYSTEM OF CULTIVATION.

Thus far, then, the community of Chippenham presents an interesting example of the archaic village community, free, and independent from any lord's influence other than that of the king, the national representative. The period which witnessed its probable spoliation of lands kept alive the archaic customs of holding and cultivating lands, and with this kept alive its right to the lands themselves. And hence without any real break in the continuity of its history as a land-owning and land-cultivating community, we can now pass on to consider the exact nature of the customs which regulated its internal economy.

[29] *Municipal Corporation Commission*, ii., 1247.

The lands set out in Queen Mary's charter are as follows:—

A messuage, the moiety of a yard-land and four parcels of land called Poxes in Rowder Down	120 acres
Arable land in the common field of Chippenham ...	21 acres
A mead called West Mead	30 acres
Close of pasture called *Englands*	17 acres
A close in Chippenham called *Burleaze*	4 acres
A coppice called *Rowder Down Coppice*	21 acres
	213 acres

Pasture in Chippenham called *Boltscroft*, admeasurement not set out.

These lands, however small in extent, represent the full requirements in kind of a village community of the most perfect type, and it is suggestive that the community of Chippenham should thus have obtained in the reign of Queen Mary so archaic a provision.

Turning first to the arable land, it is surely significant that the old bundle of acre-strips known as a yard-land should appear among the lands. If the yard-land here was the same as it was in other manors nearly all over the country, the villagers of Chippenham possessed one relic, at all events, of the most ancient form of cultivating land.[30] They evidently carried out the archaic practice most fully in their 21 acres in the "common field of Chippenham." It must be remembered that the limited body created by the charter, and not the general body of freemen known by prescription only, enjoyed this arable land; and when they cultivated their own scattered strips they were mixing with others who were likewise engaged, but who represented the descendants of the once undivided ownership of the common field of Chippenham. In later times this partial survival of archaic custom had passed away, for in 1835 there was no mention of the arable land in the common field, but in its place appears "about six acres of land which the corporation have of their own property" and from which they received rent.[31]

The meadow land was used even so late as 1835 in a very archaic fashion. From the Commissioner's report it appears that the land called "West Mead," was laid down in meadow, and the grass divided annually among the bailiff and burgesses and the ninety-seven first freemen on the anciatry. An acre was first set out for the bailiff and twelve burgesses, and the remainder was then

[30] See *ante* p. 39 for the meaning of the term yard-land in Wiltshire and its archaic provisions.

[31] *Mun. Corp. Com.* ii. 1248.

divided into quarter-acres called "farthingdoles," and each of the ninety-seven freemen was entitled to one. No one was allowed to enter the mead until the bailiff had cut his acre; but after the bailiff had carried away, any one was at liberty to cut his farthingdole when it suited himself, and application was made to the sub-bailiff who, if necessary, trod down a path to the specified farthingdole. The freemen were said to be much attached to this mode of occupying their property.[32]

Now observing from what has already been said that the bailiff was the "headman" of the Chippenham community, the archaic significance of his cutting the first acre is best shown by some Hindu customs. At the chief Hindu festival connected with agriculture the Raja goes through the form of ploughing and sowing before any one else commenced these operations, and this was considered to take away the sin which tilling the land is supposed to convey.[33]

After the grass is cut in the West Mead the whole is stocked in common by the freemen and freeholders, the freeman paying 4d to the corporate fund for every beast which they put in, and the freeholders putting in three beasts for every acre free of any charge.

Besides this pasture the land known as "England's" was stocked by the freemen, each putting in 2 horses or 6 beasts; and, probably, this took the place of the older pasture ground called *Boltscroft* which is now lost to the corporation though by what means is not now ascertainable. Then there is the forest or woodland, which is represented by the coppice called *Rowder Down coppice* and the *Burleaze* close. Further evidence of common pasture is to be obtained from the Hundred Rolls (ii. p. 506), where we have the following entry, "communa de Chippenham habet in bruariis viii quarant in longitudine et in latitudine iiii quarant; eadem villa habet in morisco," etc., etc.

Thus then the arable land with its relics of archaic allotment into yard-lands, the meadow land with its still surviving custom of tribute by the headman, the pastures and the forest held in common, make up together the exact requirements in kind of the ancient village community. That in extent they were far short of

[32] *Municipal Corp. Com.* ii. 1248.

[33] Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 106. Such a ceremony by the headman is by no means confined to the agricultural community of the Aryans, as may be proved by the feast of the Zulus, where the king sacrifices a bullock, and so renders it lawful to cut the new-ripe mealies (*South African Folk-lore Journal*, i. 134; *Antiquary*, v. 138).

the requirements of the ancient village community is due to the conflict between archaic rights and more modern necessities.

We have noted that the evidence points to Chippenham as an example of the free village community, and Professor Nasse quotes the Hundred Rolls as being one proof out of many that "it is not to be seen who could have been lord of the manor on this pastura communis, and we must assume that the common pasture must have belonged actually to the villata, *i.e.* either to the possessors of the different feoda or to all the libere tenentes,"[34] a conclusion remarkably coinciding with all the other evidence here drawn together that in Chippenham we have an example of a village community not under the dominion of a lord, but free and independent.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

[34] *Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages*, p. 60.

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REVIEW.

THE COUNTING-OUT RHYMES OF CHILDREN: their Antiquity, Origin, and Wide Distribution. A Study in Folk-Lore, by HENRY CARRINGTON BOLTON. London (E. Stock). 1888. Small 4to., pp. xii. 121 (3).

THIS is a welcome and valuable addition to the working folk-lorist's library, though its value might easily have been greatly increased by a little extra research on the author's part. Just half the book is occupied by the rhymes themselves, arranged according to countries, and, within the country group, under fairly convenient headings. Speaking under correction, it is the fullest collection we know of. But whilst the author has ranged the world from China to Peru, he has neglected some easily accessible sources. The rich folk-lore literature of Italy is represented by five examples, and this, although Pitrè has devoted a whole volume (published in 1879) to children's games. France again has but twenty examples, M. Rolland's works, notably his *Rimes et Jeux de l'enfance* (1883) being entirely ignored. But as far as Germany and England are concerned, the collection is fairly full, and there are a number of American examples taken down from the children themselves. The author's acquaintance with his subject is of a rather "got-up" nature, or he could never quote a familiar rhyme in such a vile shape as

> Tinker, Tailor,
> Soldier, Sailor,
> *Gentleman, Apothecary,*
> Ploughboy, Thief,

where his ear should have told him that the underlined words could not possibly be right.

The introductory chapters are interesting and pleasantly written, but like much else that comes from the States the author's theories are at times as critical as could be wished, at times curiously naive and unsophisticated. On the whole, Mr. Bolton inclines to the "borrowing theory;" he thinks the modern counting-out rhymes are descended from the original formulæ used in divination ceremonies in Pagan times through the intermediary of mediæval charm-literature. It never seems to have occurred to him that the boys and girls of the past played at games as children do now, and in probably much the same way, and that it is much more likely the contemporary rhymes come down from the children than from the elders of antiquity. Not that the connection he points out between divi-

nation-practices and counting-out games is illusory, but the games instead of being the detritus of the former, are far more likely representatives of the earlier stages of culture out of which the practices in question proceeded. Of course, as in the analogous case of Märchen, the *mass* of children's rhymes is a complex and an ever changing one ; in it are to be found, side by side, echoes of the most archaic savagedom and of yesterday's newspaper. Each race shapes this material differently, and special historical circumstances, the German immigration into the States for instance, the effects of which are well brought out by the author, may cause the rhyme-complex of one race to modify that of the other. But in this even more than in other departments of folk-literature resemblances between different groups should not be held to imply a direct influence of the one on the other, nor should the quest after definite *origines* be pushed too far.

Mr. Bolton's work will make it easier to compile *the* book on the subject, and until that is compiled will usefully fill its place.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PHYSICIANS OF MYDFFAI AND THE "THREE CAUSELESS BLOWS."

(*Ante* p. 109.)

Mr. Hartland has pointed out the significance of the incident of the three causeless blows in the Welsh legend, and has given some curious parallels from savage folk-lore. I think it is worth noting that the Dyaks of Borneo had such a legend, particularly as it clearly indicates totemism. The Bishop of Labuan says "there is a fish which is taken in their rivers called a *puttin*, which they would on no account touch under the idea that if they did they would be eating their relations. The tradition respecting it is that a solitary old man went out fishing and caught a *puttin*, which he dragged out of the water and laid down in his boat. On turning round he found it had changed into a very pretty little girl. Conceiving the idea that she would make, what he had long wished for, a charming wife for his son, he took her home and educated her until she was fit to be married. She consented to be the son's wife, cautioning her husband to use her well. Sometime after her marriage, however, being out of temper, he struck her, when she screamed and rushed away into the water, not without leaving behind her a beautiful daughter, who became afterwards the mother of the race."—*Journ. Ethnological Society*, new series, ii. 26-27.

G. L. GOMME.

History.

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THE BAKERS OF YORK AND THEIR ANCIENT ORDINARY.

(Continued from page 134.)

"Gentyll bakers, make good breade! for good breade doth comforte, confyrme, and doth stablysshe a mannes herte."—*A. Borde's Dyetary, chap, 12.*

[10 March 5, Edw. VI.; seventeen persons]

A.D. 1551.

Assembled in the Counsell Chamber upon Ousebrige of the sayd Cittye the daye and yeare above sayd, when and wher it was agreed and confirmed by the sayd presens emongs other thinges as followethe.

Not to bake for the hucksters after xiijd. or xiiijd. the dozen

15. Item, that from hensforth suche as be free of bakers crafte within this Citty, shall not bake after xiijd. or xiiijd. to the dowzen for the hucksters to sell againe, but shall put such advantage in ther bread to sell after xijd. the dowzen, vpon pain to everye suche as bake or sell to the contrarye, hereof to forefayte vjs. viijd., *totiens quotiens*, thone halfe to the vse of the Chambre, and thother halfe to the sayd Occupacion.

[23 May, 5 Edw. VI.]

A.D. 1552.

No baker to sell to any huckster bread to sell againe. Hucksters put downe

16. Item. It is further agreed That from henceforthe no baker of this cittye, shall sell any bread to any huckster within the same to sell agayne, upon payne to euery bakester vjs. viijd. And euery huckester sellinge it agayne xijd., *toties quoties.*, &c.

[5 Feb. 6 Edw. VI.]

A.D. 1552.

Main-bread to be baked.

17. Item. It is further agreed, that accordinge to the auncient custome the bakers of this Cittye shall make weekly Maynbread, sufficient to serue the Cittye withe, upon payne the whole Occupacion to forefaite iijs. iiijd. to the vse of the common Chambre, *totiens quotiens.*

[19 August 6 Edw. VI.]

A.D. 1553.

18. Item. It is further ordeyned and agreed by the sayd presens with the consent and assent of the whole crafte of the bakers, that whosoeuer of them doo frome henceforthe offende against any statute or ordynaunce concerninge ther occupacion, he shalbe fyned and punished for euery suche offence accordinge to the sayd statutes and ordenaunces, withoute any manner of ease or redemption.

to be punished without pardon.

19. Item, That none of them from henceforthe shall sell any bread to any huckster to sell againe, vnto a further ordre be taken herein, vpon payne of forefayture of iijs. iiijd. *toties quoties*, And that they put their advantage to ther bread accordinge to the late agrement therof.

[See ordinance of May, 1552.]

20. Item. It is agreed that the Bow[l]e bakers shall haue warninge by the Searchers of the sayd occupacion and one of the Maior's officers to keepe ther Assise to them gyven, and to be gyven, as hath bene accustomed; vpon payne of forefaitinge for euery tyme iijs. iiijd. or els neuer after to bake to sell, withoute anye manner of ease or redemption.

bowle bakers.

21. Item, That no maner of baker or other from henceforthe, bake anye boulted bread to sell, upon payne of iijs. iiijd. to be forefaited as is abovesayd.

None to bake boulted bread.

[12 Feb. 1 Mary; thirteen persons,]

A.D. 1553

Assembled in the Counsell Chamber vpon Ousebrige, the daye and yeare aboue sayd. When and wher for the amendment of the occupacion

of common bakers of this city, and to avoyde occasion of daylye complaynte and varians betwene them and the Tiplers or Bolbakers of the same, —

It was ordeyned and agreed by the sayd presens with consent of the Maisters of the sayd Occupacion hereafter named, that is to saye [twenty-three names]:—

None to buy bread of the tiplers or boulbakers but in Thursday market.

22. That from henceforthe, it shall not be lawfull for anye inhabitant within this Cittye or suburbs of the same, by them selues, ther servants or others by their comaundement, to buy any bread of the tiplers or bollbakers aforsayd, in any other place but onelye in Thursdaye Market, at the dayes therfore lymytted, vpon payne that aswell euery such inhabitant soo buyinge against this ordinaunce, as the tipler selling the same, upon dewe presentment or profe, shall forfaite iijs. iiijd. a peece, *totiens quotiens*; thone halfe of whiche forfayture shall be to the Chamber, and thother half to the Crafte.

Serchers to seise &c.

23. Item, that the searchers of bakers maye lawfully take suche bread as they perceyue so bought, from anye that hathe bought, or do carye the same, to thentent they maye make dewe presentment therof. And if any of the sayd inhabitantes, ther servants or others caryinge or conveyinge anye of the same bread in ther skirt or otherwise, will not suffer the sayd Searchers peaceablye to take the same to be presented as is aforsayd, but it dothe withstand and denye, than euerye the sayd inhabitants, for whom the sayde bread is so bought, shall vpon presentment or other dewe profe, forefait for euery suche withstanding or denyer iijs. iiijd. *toties quoties*, &c., to be equally imployed in forme aforesayd.

Bakers to sell in thursday market, keping tiplers and bolbakers assise.

24. Item, it is further agreed by the sayd presens with consent aforesayd, that the sayd common bakers of this Cittye maye frelye come to Thursdaye Markett Crosse and ther sell ther bread, as other the sayd tiplars or bolbakers maye do, makine good bread and kepinge like Assise therof, as the sayd tiplars are bound to doo, anye ordenaunce or decree heretofore made to the contrarye hereof notwithstandinge.

With what houres tiplers and boulbakers must sell.

25. Item it is also ordeyned and agreed by the sayd presens, That the sayd tiplers or bolbakers shall not sell anye bread at the sayd Thursdaye Markett in any of the dayes to them lymited, but onely frome seaven of the clocke in the morninge vnto twelve of the clocke at noone; vpon payne of forefayture of all suche bread as shalbe founde vnsolde or vndelyvered at the sayd Markett Crosse after the sayd howre of twelve of the Minster clocke striken; and to be taken so forefaited by the Searchers or others, good men of the sayd Occupacion and brought to the Chambre vpon Ousebrige, ther to be devided, thone halfe therof to thuse of the Chambre, and thother halfe [to thuse of] of the sayde crafte,—anye ordre or decre heretofore made to the contrarye notwithstandinge.

[18 May, 1 Mary]

A.D. 1554. None to buy spiced cakes.

26. Item, That no maner person of this cittye shall buy any spiced cakes in St. Marigate or elswher, upon payne of forefayture xxd., as often as they so doo, thone halfe to the Chambre, and thother halfe to thoccupacion.

[30 July, 8 Eliz.; sixteen persons assembled]

A.D. 1566.

27. Moreouer the day and yere aboue sayd at the humble request of Laucelot Williamson, Nicholas Clerke, and Willm. Willson, searchers of the misterie of free Bakers of this cittie and good men of the same crafte,. It was ordeyned and aggreed by the sayd worshipfull presens, with consent of the sayd occupacion, that for the better quyetnes, honestye and profitt of the sayd crafte, the searchers of the sayd misterye for the tyme beinge, with advise of the moste discreet of thoccupacion, shall haue frome tyme to tyme thordre, punyshment, and fynes, of thoffenders againste certayne articles of ther ordinaunces, here vnder written and specified, yeildinge and payinge yerely to the Chambrelaynes of this Cittye to the common

Bakers to have certeyne fines, payinge 2s. per annum.

vse xs. at Martinmas and Penthecoste equally. Provided alwais that if any negligence, dissention, misordre or doubt shall at any tyme arise or happen by reason of the premisses emonges the sayd occupacion, then the Lorde Maior for the tyme beinge, to haue the correction, ordre, and redresse therof, accordinge to his good discretion,—this sayd agreament in anye wise notwithstandinge.

28. Firste if anye of thoccupacion beinge lawfully warned by ther Searchers to come to ther assembles in ther common place accustomed, for good ordre of thoccupacion, do make default, he to forfayte xxd., *toties quoties*; excepte onlye, he haue a cause reasonable of his absens.

not comyng to assemblies.

29. Item if anye of the sayd crafte be disobedient, or of misbehavore againste ther Searchers for the tyme beinge at ther assembles, or els wher, making ther searche, or executinge ther office,—to forefaite for euerye such offence xxd.

Of misbehaviour or disobedience to the serchers.

30. Item, if anye of the sayde crafte shall happen to brawle or revile one an other at anie ther assembles in the common place, or els whear,—to forfaite for euerye such offenc xijd., *toties quoties*.

brawlinge with or reviling one an other.

31. Item, if any person of the sayde occupacion shall chause not to vse himself quyetly at the Crosse, withoute any misordre,—to forfaite for everye such offence xxd.

vnquiet at ye Crosse.

32. Item if any of the sayd crafte of free Bakers shall go hawking with ther Bread, either in the citty or suburbs,—to forefaite therefore xxd.

Hawkinge.

33. Item, if anye of the sayde occupacion of free Bakers shall entise the apprintice of anye other free baker frome him, or sett anye other apprintice a worke, without lycens of the searchers and agrement of the Maister of the sayd apprentice, vpon dewe profe,—to forefaite iijs. iiijd., *toties quoties*.

entising or setting another's apprentise on worke.

34. Item, if anye of the sayd crafte shall take or keepe in his house anye suche apprentice of the sayd occupacion, as his maister haith putt awaye, and cannot tell good cause why,—to forfaite six shillings, eightpence.

Kepinge apprentize put away.

35. And it is now agreed and ordeyned by the sayd worshipfull presens with consent of all the good men Maisters of the sayd free Bakers, that no manner of person shall be frome henceforthe admitted or allowed a free baker within this cittye, onelesse he haith b en seaven yeres apprentice within the sayd Cittye at the same crafte, upon payne conteyned in the statute therfore latelye provided, thexecucion hereof reserued to the Lorde Maior for the tyme beinge, and his bretheren thaldermen.

Not to be fre before vij. yeres apprentize.

[31 Dec., 10 Elizabeth; thirteen persons,]

36. Assembled in the Counsell Chambre upon Ousebridge, the daye and yeare aboue sayd, when and wher for the better ordre emonges the bakers to be from henceforthe kept, it is agreed, that no bakers wife of this cittie come into the Corne Markett vpon the markett daye, to buye any manner of corne as wheat, rye, or beanes, onelesse her husband be seike, or furthe of the cittye, so that at no tyme ther be aboue one of a house of anye of the sayde bakers in the markett to buye any corne; upon payne to forefaite xxd., *toties quoties*.

A.D. 1567.

No bakers wife to buy in the market without her husbande be sicke.

37. Item, that none of the sayd occupacion shall resort to any Taverne, Inne, Ailehouse, or Tiplinghouse, vpon anye Sondays or other holye dayes in tyme of divine service or sermons, vpon payne of every one offendinge, to forfaite for every offence xijd., the one halfe to the common Chambre, and thother halfe to the presenter.

A.D. 1580.

Not to vse any tavernes or ale houses [on Sundays or holidays].

[26 July, 23 Elizabeth; thirteen persons,]

Assembled in the Counsell Chamber vpon Ousbrige the daye and yere aboue sayd, when and wher vpon humble suite mayde by the Searchers and good men of the occupacion of bakers of this cittye, that is to saye, Christofer Dixon, Willm. Peter, Willm. Kinge, and Richarde Wilson, Searchers of the sayd Occupacion, it was nowe agreed by theis presente,

A.D. 1581.

with the consent of the sayd Searchers and other good men of the sayd Occupacion, that the articles ensewing should be added to this ther Ordinall, and to be observed and kept for ever, vidlt:

None to be set on worke which hath not served apprentishipe in this cittie.

38. First, it is ordeyned, that no maister of the sayd occupacion shall sett on worke at the sayd occupacion anye stranger, or other that hath not bene an apprentice thereat and served his apprentishippe within this cittye with some brother of the sayd occupacion, vpon payne of xxs.; the one halfe to the common Chamber of this cittye, and the other halfe to the sayd occupacion.

Disappointinge one and working with an other.

39. Item, that if anye jurneyman of the sayd occupacion, which haith his lyuinge amonges the maisters of the sayd crafte, in helpinge them to bake when ther need is, dothe promise anie maister to come, and helpe him to bake at tyme appointed, and the sayd jorneyman go to an other to worke, and disapoint the maister he promised before to helpe,—shall forfaite for every offence iijs. iiijd. to be payd and deuided as is aforesayd.

Disobeyinge commaundement of the bedle.

40. Item, it is ordeyned, that if anye free bakers of this citty disobaye anye lawfull or reasonable commaundement given to them by the bedell of the sayd fellowshippe of free Bakers on the behalf of the Searchers of the sayd fellowshippe for the welth of the sayd crafte,—shall forfaite for every offence iijs. iiijd., to be payd as affore sayd.

Bakinge on the Sondayes.

41. Item, it is ordeyned that no person of the misterye or crafte of bakers from henesforthe shall bake anie manner of bread vpon the Sondaye to be sould, excepte a speciall comaundement be geuen in tyme of great necessitye,—upon paine of every person so offending to forfaite xxs. for everye offens to be payd as affore sayd.

No baker to bake or boult in an inholders house.

42. Item, that no baker within this cittye shall neither baike nor boult in anie Inkepers house within this Cittye of Yorke or suburbs of the same, vpon payne to forfaite vjs. viijd., so ofte as he or they shall offend, to be payd and devided as affore sayd.

Inholders not to bake bread for ther gestes nor gest horses

43. Item, it is ordeyned, that no inkeper, harborer nor hostler within this cittye or suburbs of the same make or bake anye manner of bread in ther howses (rye breade for ther families excepted), but that they buy ther bread for to sell to ther gwests, and for ther geste horses, of the common bakers of this cittye, so that every loofe of bread be marked with the marke of the baker of whom the saym bread was bought, to thend and intent that everye person maye knowe that the bread is of the right assise, of such value as it ought to be, wherby the inkepers, harborers and ostelers maye advouche the sale of their bread by the marke of the baker. And if anye inkeper, harborers or hosteler have anie bread found in ther howses in anye other manner then the manner aforesayd, that they and everye of them shall forfait for everye offens xls. to be payd and deuided as is aforesayd.

Bread takne hawlynge forfeite.

44. Item, it is ordeyned, that all suche bread as hereafter shall be found borne about hawkinge within this Cittye or suburbs to be sould, shalbe forfeited to the Chamber of this Cittye and disposed at the discretion of my Lord Maior and Chamberlayns for the tyme beinge according to the vsages and old customes of this Cittye.

Sercher to finde sureties for ther accomptes.

45. Item, it is ordeyned, that what soeuer person or persons of the sayd fellowshippe being chosen Searchers, at the entringe of ther office shall fynd sufficiente sewertye for to aunswere the treasure belonginge to the sayd fellowshippe of bakers, and to make a trewe and juste accompt at the goinge furthe of searchershippe of all their receptes and paymentes by them made, vpon payne of euery one offendinge herein to forfaite xls., to be payd in forme affore sayd.

None to take apprenuse before [he] have occupied foure yeres after his firste settynge vp.

46. Item, it is ordeyned, that no brother of the said occupacion, after his first settinge up as maister, shall take any apprintice vnto suche tyme as the sayd brother hathe bene foure yeares maister of the sayd crafte of bakers, upon payne of xxs. to be deuided and payd as aforesade. And at

thend of the sayd fower yeares it shall be lawfull for the sayd brother to take one apprentice and no mo, vnto such tyme as the said apprentice have served six yeares and a halfe of his apprentishipe, upon payne of fortye shillinges, to be payd as afore sayd.

None to bake spiced cakes but a fre baker. [See S. 26, 45, 53, 54]

47. Item, it is ordeyned that no inhabitantes in this cittye or suburbs of the same not beinge a fre baker bake any spiced caikes to sell, but onelye the fre bakers of the same Cittye, vpon payne of xls., to be payde and deuided as afforesayd.

[14 June, 25 Elizabeth; sixteen persons,]

A.D. 1583.

48. Assembled in the Counsell Chamber upon Owsebrige the daye and yeare abouesayd, when and wher it did appeare to theis presentes, that ther is one article in the bakers ordinall, that no inhabitantes within this cittye and suburbs of the same not being a free Baker, shall bake anye spiced caikes to sell, but onely the free Bakers of this Cittye, vpon payne of xls., thone halfe to the common chamber of this Cittye, and the other halfe to the sayd occupacion, in which Article it appeared to theise presentes, that ther was some inconvenience :—

None to bake spiced cakes but bakers and suche as shall compound.

It is nowe therfore agred by theis presentes that no manner of person or persons shall from henceforth bake anye suche spiced cakes within this Citty or suburbs of the same, but onelye the free Bakers of this Citty, oneles suche person or persons do compound and paye suche fine to the sayd occupacion of Bakers, as the Lord Maior of the sayd Cittye of Yorke for the tyme beinge, and his Bretheren Aldermen, shall set downe,—upon payne of xls, thone halfe to the common Chamber and thother halfe to the sayd occupacion.

[26 Feb., 31 Elizabeth]

A.D. 1588.
None to take apprentise before he haue bene a brother 4 yeres except it be a freman's childe.

49. It is agreed by the Lord Maior and Aldermen then in the counsell Chamber assembled, that none of the sayd occupacion of bakers shall within foure yeares next after suche tyme as he shall sett up as maister in the sayd crafte, take any apprentice into his service, to exercise any parte of his trayd, except he be the child of a free cittizen of this cittye; which it shalbe lawfull for them to take at anye tyme, so that the sayd apprentice be bound for no less terme then eleaven or twelve yeares as his age shall require, at the discrecion of the Lorde Maior for the tyme beinge, because and reason the powre children of this Cittye are to be placed in service, vpon payne of euerye one offending herein to forfaite xls for euerye offence, to be payd and deuided, thone halfe to the common Chamber, and thother halfe to the sayd occupacion.

[5 Dec., 32 Elizabeth]

A.D. 1589.

Disceitfull meale.

50. And nowe wheras my Lord Maior and this Courte are informed that dyuers bakers of this cittye, viz. Raulfe Hardye, John Garthe, and Richard Clerke haue of late vsed to sell course meale to the powre of this Cittye, and that they haue mingled and made up the same with branne, chesell, [chesell, sand or gravell] and suche like stuffe, And further that they do commonlye vse to buye evill corne and to mingle Rye, Barley, Beanes and Oates together and to grind the same into meale, and so to sell the same to the poore, which appeareth to this Court to be a mere deceipt to the buyer and verye hardlye to them to be knowen; for the avoydinge wherof It is this daye agreed that frome henceforthe, no maner of baker or bakers what soever within this Cittye, shall grind any maner of corne or grayne what soeuer into meale, to the intent to sell the same in meale, nor that the sayd bakers or anye of them shall from henceforthe, sell or cause to be sould anye maner of meale whatsoever, (wheat-meale and beane-meale being fyne and good onelye excepted) upon paine of euerye baker doinge the contrarye, to forfaite for euerye offence xls, to be payd and deuyded, the one halfe to the common Chamber, and thother halfe to the presenter.

None to sell meale excepte wheat mele and bene meale.

No myller to sell moulter corne meale but in open market.

51. And further it is agreed that from henceforthe no maner of milner or milners within this cittie or suburbs thereof shall from henceforth sell

any maner of multer corne meale, but onelye in open markett and by weight, upon payne of euery person to forfaite, for euerye bushell solde in anye other maner xs, to be payd and deuided as is aforesayd.

[19 June, 37 Elizabeth]

A.D. 1595.

52. Wheras the bakinge of maine bread in this Cittye is of late almost left of, or cleane given ouer, which is thought to be by reason that spyced cakes are of late growne into greater vse then heretofore haith bene, which Mayne Breade (as it is reported) is not in use, nor baked in anye other Cittie or place forthe of this cittye in England, and haith bene vsed in this Cittye tyme out of mynde of man, and is one of the auncientest matters of noveltye to present men of honor and others reparinge to this cittye withall that cann be hadd heare, it is therfore thought meet and convenient, that the same shalbe still continewed and kept in vse and not to be suffered to decaye nor to be layde downe. Whervpon it is nowe agreed by theis presentes, that the mayne bakers of this Cittye shall emongest them bake euerye Frydaye morninge from henceforthe tenn shillings worthe of Mayne Bread at the least, good and fyne stuffe suche as hathe bene accustomed, to be sould to suche as will buye the same, vpon payne of vj^s viij^d for euerye default. And it is further ordred that if it do not sell before fyve of the clocke in the after none of the same day, that then the same mayne bakers shall send to the Lord Maior, Aldermen, Sheriffes and xxiiij, at fyve of the clocke in the after none of the same daye, (viz) to the Lord Maior and Aldermen euery of them foure pennye worthe, and to the Sheriffes and xxiiij euerye of them two pennye worthe, of suche parte therof as shall at that houre be vnsould, who shall take and paye for the same. And that the searchers of the bakers shall be chardged to se this order performed on the behalfe of the sayd bakers, to make presentment of the defaultes of the sayd Bakers therin, thone halfe of all which fynes shalbe to the common Chamber and thother to the Company of Bakers.

Mayne Breade.

53. Also it is agreed that none shall from henceforthe bake anie spiced cakes to be sould within this Cittye but suche onelie as shalbe allowed theirunto by this Court, and bound to performe suche condicons and orders as shall be sett downe by this Court in that behalfe, upon payne of vjs. viijd. to be forefated for euery tyme doinge contrarye this order, to be payed and deuided to the Common Chambre and Companye of Bakers equallye.

None to bake spiced cakes but suche as shalbe allowed, &c.

54. Item, it is agreed, that no spiced cakes shall be solde vnto nor vsed at or in anye funeralles, christenings, drinkings with the Lord Maior, Sheriffes, Aldermen, or Chamberlaynes after ther eleccions, nor in anye tavernes or innes; and that taverners shall vse Maynbred, newe white bread or suche like in ther howses, and no cakes, vpon payne of euery person offendinge or doinge contrarye to lose and forefaite for euerye offence or tyme so offendinge or doinge vjs. viijd., to be payd and deuided as afforesayd. And that the Searchers of the sayd companye of bakers shall haue auctoritye to searche and present the offenders and defaultes in this behalfe.

No spiced cakes at any funeralls nor drynkyngs nor in any taverne.

[12 March, 38 Eliz.; eighteen persons, the two "gentlemen" named below not being among them,]

A.D. 1595.

Assembled in the counsell Chamber upon Owse Bridge, when and wher it is agreed, That the Articles hereafter followinge heretofore preferred by Willm. Kinge, John Hargill, John Brownleese, and John Harrison, Searchers of the bakers and other good men of the same to this Courte, to be added to ther Ordenary; whiche were then referred to the worshipfull Maister Robt. Askwith, Maister Thomas Mosley, aldermen, Percevall Brookes, James Mudd, gentlemen, to be by them perused and consydered vpon, beinge nowe by them perused and considered vpon, and delivered againe into this Court, and here openlye redd, and considered vpon by this Court, shalbe added vnto the Bakers' Ordenarye as hereafter followethe, viz.:—

[New articles framed, perused and agreed on.]

Election of serchers.

55. First, it is ordeyned, that the whole Companie of the sayd occupacion shall on the Mondaye next after the feast of St. James thappostle assemble themselves in ther best or most decent apperrell in St. Anthonies Hall, and ther by their most voices chose foure Searchers to continewe for a yeare then next followinge. And so from yeare to yeare shall yearlye vpon the sayd Mondaye euerye yeare make the like choise, to continewe for a yeare in forme aforesayd. And he that is warned to the sayd election and makethe default of his appearance (except a lawfull lett), or cometh not decentlye in his best or most decente apperrell, shall forfaite for euery default xijd. And if anye so chosen searcher shall refuse, he shall forefaite xxs.

Not commynge to the eleccion.

Sercher electe refusinge to stande.

56. Also at every such assemble the old and newe searchers and suche as have bene searchers, shall before ther departure by ther most voyces chose two Pagiant Maisters of the sayd companye, and if any chosen Pagiant Maister shall refuse to stand, he shall forefait xs., and an other shalbe chosen in his place, which forfaitures shall be, thone halfe to the comon Chamber, and thother halfe to the sayd occupacion.

Eleccion of padgian maisters.

57. Item, that euery brother of the sayd occupacion shall upon convenient and sufficiente warning geuen to him by the bedell of the sayd fellowshippe, come to the mariage and offeringe of a brother or younge man of the sayd fellowshippe, or to the buriall of a brother or suster of the same companie, vpon payne to forfaite to the vse of the same fellowshippe at every tyme iiijd. (a lawfull and convenyente excuse, or word left with some of the searchers, allwayes reserved and excepted).

Comynge to offringe or buryall of a brother.

58. Item, it is ordeyned, That no baker or other persons do make, bake, vtter or sell anie kindes or sortes of bread in the comon wealthe but suche which the statutes and auncient ordinaunces of this Realme do allowe them to bake and sell; that is to saye, they maye bake and sell Mayne Bread, Simnell bread, Wastell, whit, wheaten, boulted, houshold and horse breades (leuen cakes in Lent except), and none other kindes of bread to put to sale vnto her Maiesties subiectes, vpon payne to forefeit the same, and to be fined therfore at the discretion of my Lord Maior.

What breades allowed to be baked.

59. Item, it is ordeyned, that the sayd bakers shall make and bake farthinge whit bread, halfepennye whit, penny whit, halfe penny wheaton, penny wheaton bread, penny houshould, and two penny houshould loves, and none of greater sise (sodden bread and ryebread onelye excepted) vpon payne of forefeiture vnto the poore all suche greate bread which they or anye of them shall make to sell of greater sise (the tyme of Christenmas allwayes excepted).

Assise of prices.

60. Item, it is ordeyned, that euery of the sayd bakers shall sell and deliuer vnto inholders, hostelers, and victulers in horsebread but three loves for a pennye, and xiij. penny worthe for xijd., upon payne of vjs. viijd. to be equally payd and devided as aforesayd.

Horse bread to inholders.

61. Item that no person of the sayd misterye or crafte from henchforthe bake anye manner of bread or Manchett Caikes on the Sondaye to be sould (except a speciall commaundement be giuen to them for tyme of great necessitye for some Christeninge, funerall, banquitt or such like, and crave licence of the Searchers of the sayd baikers or two of them at the leaste for the tyme beinge), vpon payne to euerye person offendinge or doinge contrarye this ordinance to forefaite at everye tyme xxs., to be deuided in manner and forme aforesayd.

No bakinge on Sondaies excepte by licence.

62. Item, that no person of the said occupacon from henceforthe sell to the inholders, harborers, hostlers, or to anye other manner of customer but thirtene pennye worthe of breade for xijd. And to give none other gifte nor reward prevelye nor openlye or more weight then the iust assise, for the oppressinge of the bretheren of the same fellowshippe, upon payne of imprisonment, and to make fyne at euerye tyme he offendethe this ordenance iijs. iiijd., equallye to be deuided as is aforesayd.

None to sell more than xiij. for xijd.

No hawkynge.

63. Item be it ordeyned, That all suche bread as hereafter shall be found carryed about in hawking or otherwise (except to the market cross on the dayes mentioned to be sould, or to a customer which haith it by tayle and spoken for), and also that all suche bread so caryed towardes the Market, or to anye customer as shalbe sould by the waye, or as shalbe caryed to anye Inholder, Tipler, Huxter or Victallers house to be sould (except before excepted) shalbe forefaited and disposed at the discrecion of the Lord Maior; and the partye offendinge shall also forefaite and paye for the same defalt or offence iijs. iiijd. at euerye tyme so offendinge, to be deuided as afforesayd.

Making a fre brother;

64. Item, It is ordeyned, that when soeuer it shall happen anye person which shall haue serued in the sayd occupacion seauen yeares apprintice at the leaste in this citty, or which is the sonn of a fre baker, and that haith bene brought vp and sufficientlye instructed in the sayd occupacion, shalbe desyerous to be made free of the sayd occupacion, that the same person shall give knowledge therof vnto the Searchers, to thentent that they maye examine him, learne, and try whether he haue trewlye serued his terme, or haue bene brought vp therin as afforesaid and be sufficientlye instructed, and an hable, good, and cunninge workeman therin or no, and of good name and fame. And if he be found so to haue done, and be an hable, good, and cunninge workeman therein, then to be admitt, and not otherwise; which person before his admittance shall paye and do all such ductyes as by law is admitted. And shall at his first settinge vp bake a batche of bread, and entreat the Searchers to come and se the same, whether it be well, lawfullye, and workmanlie wrought and done or no, vpon paine of vjs. viijd., to be deuided as afforesayd.

to be examyned and tryed by the serchers.

none to receyve an other mans sarvantes.

65. Item be it ordeyned, that none of the sayd occupacion shall receyue an other man's servant of the same occupacion reteyned within the tyme of his retendre in service, without the licence and agreament of his maister, upon payne of forefaiture of xxs., to be payd and deuided as afforesayd unto the sayd comon Chambre and companye towardes the maintenance of the sayd occupacion, without mittigacion.

Not any to set on worke, but, &c.

66. Item, that no maister of the sayd occupacion shall set on worke, teache, or instructe, anie person in the said occupacion which haith not served seaven yeares therin at the least as an apprintice (except he become bounden Apprintice to him that so settethe him on worke); nor shall take or receyue anye jorneyman into the sayd occupacion to serue with him, except the same haue serued seaven yeares at the least as an apprintice in the sayd occupation of bakers, or be a fre baker's sonn, seruinge in the sayd occupacion, vpon payne of every maister doinge the contrarye to forefaite and paye xxs., equallye to be deuided as afforesaid.

No woman to be set on worke, but, &c.

67. Item, it is ordeyned that none of the sayd occupacion shall set any woman on worke of the sayd occupacion of bakers to learne the same (except she be his wife or doughter) vpon payne to forefait for every tyme so doinge vjs. viijd. to be payd and deuided as afforesayd.

puttinge over apprintise whose maister is deade.

68. Item, it is orde[y]ned, That if anye maister of the sayd occupacion, havinge one apprintice or moe happen to dye, that no maister of the same occupacion shall hyer anie suche apprintice or apprintices as hiered servant or otherwise at his owne will, but that the whole occupacion or most of them with the Searchers shall meet and conferr together and appointe vnto such apprintice or apprintices suche Mr or Maistres as shall be moste fitt and meet to serue furth ther yeares withall; and if anye Mr do take or hyer anye suche apprentice or apprintices other then suche Mr or Maistres as the same apprintice or apprintices shall be so appointed unto, euerye suche Mr shall haue the same apprentice or apprentices taken from him by the sayd searchers and placed agane as is afforesayd, and shall forefaite and paye for euery tyme so doinge iijs. iiijd. to be deuided as aforesayd. Provided alwayes, that it shall and maye be lawfull to and for anie wedowe which

Widowes duringe ther widow heade.

was the wife of anie Mr or fre Brother of the said occupacion to keepe a jorneyman or workeman havinge serued his apprintishippe in this Cittye, or thapprintice of her husbandes, to serue forthe his yeares duringe her widowehead, so it be by the consent of the Lord Maior and searchers of the same occupacion; anye thinge to the contrarye in this article not withstandinge.

69. Also it is ordeyned, That whosoever of the sayd occupacion is disobedient against the searchers in ther searche, or at anie other tyme, or doth missuse his searchers or anie of them vnreuerentlie or vndecentlye either in word or in deede, or doth disclose anie lawfull secretes, and the same proved; or if anie of the sayd occupacion shall vse him selfe disorderlye in talke at the common place or at anie other ther assembles, and shalbe once warned by the searchers to hould his peace, and dothe not; or shall revile, rebuke, miscall, or giue vndecent or vnseamelie words, or abuse any other brother of the same occupacion by facinge, imbracinge, or makinge of assaltes or affrayes in the presentes of the searchers, or shall departe from ther common place or assembles in anger, without license of the searchers, and will not be governed by the sayd searchers in all causes which are lawfull belonging to ther occupacion; shall paye euerye tyme so offendinge vjs. viijd., to be devided in maner and forme afforesayd.

disobedient to the serchers, or misvsinge any.

70. Item. It is also ordeyned that if ther happen anie contrauersie to fall or be betwene anie of the said occupacion, they nor none of them shall attempt any suite of lawe one against another without licence of the searchers, before they haue compleyned themselves therof to ther searchers and companye, nor before the searchers and companye and other whom they shall call to them have hadd the hearinge of the same controuersies; to thintent to ende the same without expenses in lawe, if they cann; vpon payne of euery one doinge contraye to this order to forefeit and paye vjs. viijd, thone halfe to the common Chamber and thother halfe to the sayd occupacion (complayntes to my Lord Maior excepted).

No sutes without licence.

71. Also it is ordeyned that if any of the searchers of the sayd occupacion be found perciall, remisse, or necligent, or not indifferent in his office, or shall fauor or beare withe anye person or persones in ther offences, or will not execute the sayd ordeuaunces indifferently and with effecte, that then upon proof ther of hadd before the other searchers and suche other as haue bene searchers, every suche searcher so in defalt shall lose and forefeite at euery tyme so doinge to the said companye xxd. or lesse, at the discrecion of the afforenamed persons.

Serchers not doyng ther dutyes.

72. Item, that no maister of the sayd occupacion shall keepe anye person as apprintice vnbounden the space of two monethes next after his first cominge, upon payne of vjs. viijd., to be payde and deuided as aforesayd.

None to be kept vnbound.

73. Item, when any Mr of the sayd occupacion shall take apprintice bound by indenture, the same Mr shall bringe and shewe the same indentures vnto the searchers, or to two of them, within xiiij. dayes next after the sealinge of the same, and ther to regester the same; and the same Indentures shalbe made onelye by the Clerke vnto the sayd Bakers, and by none other, painge therefore xijd, upon payne of xiijs. iiijd. to be payed and deuided equallie as is afforesayd.

showyng indentur to the serchers.

74. Also it is agreed, That euery Mr which shall take apprentice shall within two monethes next after the sealing of his indentures enroll the same in the common Regester of this Cittye, and shall paye for the same enrolment viijd. to the common Clerk and common Chamber, equallye to be deuided, vpon payne of vjs. viijd.

Inrolling indentur

75. Also it is is agreed that it shalbe lawfull for any baker of this cittye to bake sodden cakes or sodden bread at suche assize as shal be appointed by my Lorde Maior for the tyme beinge for the same, without incurringe anye penaltye in that behalfe. theis Oordenaunces, or any thinge

Sodden breade.

in the same or in anye of them conteyned to the contrarye in anyewise not withstandinge.

[19 Dec.; 3 James II: twenty-seven persons,]

A.D. 1687.

Assembled in the Councell Chamber upon Owse Bridg the day and year as above said, when and where vpon the humble petition of Robert Jeeb, Edmund Rogers, George Robinson, and John Austin, Searchers, and other good men of the occupacion of bakers in this citty, for yᵉ avoyding of divers inconveniences and differences that of late have arisen amongst the brethren of the said company concerning ye right vnderstanding of the words of a certaine article in the 27 folio in this ordinary about their takeing apprentices, and for yᵉ avoyding of such differences that for yᵉ future may hapen amongst them this ensueing order was made, vizt.

[See sec. 49.]

None to take apprentice untill he has been four years set up or have had a former apprentice six year and a half.

76. Ordered, that no maister or other person of the said Company shall take any apprentice vntill such maisters or other person haue sett up and exercised his trade as a maister by the space of foure yeares, and that then it shall be lawful for such maister to take one apprentice and no more untill such apprentice haue serued six yeares and a halfe of his apprenticeship, whether yᵉ boy so to be taken apprentice be the sonne of a freeman of this Citty or the sonne of a foreiner; upon paine to forfeit and pay for every offence against this article three pound six shillings and eight pence, wherof one halfe is to be paid to the common Chamber, and the other halfe to the companye aforesaid. Prouided allwayes that it shall and may be lawfull for the Lord Mayor and aldermen of this Citty to putt any poore freeman's sonne at the only charge and charity of the Citty to be an apprentice to any person of the said Company at their discretions, according to the Act of Parliament in this case provided, anything in this or any other article contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Varied as are the subject matters of these ordinances, they fall for the most part into a few broad groups. Based to begin with upon the statutes ascribed to Hen. III., they follow the lines there laid down pretty closely, in spite of the variations brought about by time and new customs. The principal object was that there should be settled prices, weights, and sorts of bread, so that the people might always be well supplied, and be protected against fraud. Within the company, the behaviour of the members, their relations to one another and their officers, were the object of regulations strictly enforced, while the enrolment of new members and the whole question of apprentices received much attention in the ordinances of the 16th century (sec. 32-35, 38, 46, 49, 64, 68, 72-74, 76). A few concern the employment of servants or journeymen (sec. 39, 65, 66, 68), and of women (sec. 67).

GOVERNMENT OF THE CRAFT.—We do not find the exact constitution of the company laid down by ordinance, but it may be gathered that it consisted of master-bakers and apprentices and journeymen; that in the early part of the 15th century (before A.D. 1480, see sec. 1-3) the city appointed two "keepers" or surveyors to overlook them, on account of the complaints made, but that their regular

officers appointed annually among themselves were four Searchers, whose authority was enforced by penalties (sec. 2, 10, 29, 55, 69). They had to examine the quality and weight of the bread for sale weekly (sec. 1, 3, 10), take the price from the Mayor and, it is to be presumed, make it known to the rest of the company;[1] when the tipplers were admitted to some share of bakers' privileges, they had to receive the price and weight from the Searchers (sec. 12). These officers had also the care of "the treasure" of the company, and had to give sureties (sec. 45); their accounts were carefully kept and yearly audited. The "treasure" consisted of "stock" or money in hand, "brother head money," "benevolences," and of fines incurred for bad behaviour at meetings or elsewhere, for bad bread, baking at forbidden hours, or otherwise breaking the ordinances. In early times the fines were divided between the company and the city, but in 1566 the company compounded for the greater part by agreeing to pay 10s. a year to the city (sec. 27). Their payments included offerings at burials and marriages of brethren, to which all were invited (sec. 57), assistance to poor brethren, searching inns, quarterly dinners (always accompanied by minstrels), the "pageant" or play, rents, legal and other expenses. In the sixteenth century they also had the duty of examining apprentices who had served their time, whether they were fit and capable to be admitted as masters (sec. 64), and in other ways exercised important authority over apprentices (sec. 33, 68, 73). It was the Searchers who acted for their fellows—being instructed at their "common place" or general meeting of the company (sec. 28) held in St. Anthony's Hall[2]—when new ordinances had to be drawn up, of which we get an interesting picture in the prologues of 1581 and 1595. Or when disputes arose (as happened in 1540, sec. 7), the Searchers were to do their best to arbitrate,[3] and not allow the disputants to go to law (sec. 70). On the other hand these officers themselves were punishable for neglect of duty (sec. 55, 71).

Besides these, the company had a beadle (sec. 40) and a clerk (sec. 73); also two pageant masters, who were chosen by the votes of the old and new Searchers (sec. 56). The duty of these latter was to collect contributions from the members towards the play of *The Last Supper*, the twenty-seventh in the great cycle of religious plays performed at York, which it fell to the province of the Bakers

[1] In the accounts of 1629, John Wilson was fined "for taking his price himself."

[2] Rented from the city for the purpose.

[3] Cf. Ordinances of York Marshalls, printed in the *Antiquary*, March, 1885, p. 108.

to set forth.[4] They also had the care of the pageant or movable stage; for the house in which it was kept the Searchers received rent from another company, who shared it for the like purpose.

SALE OF BREAD.—The bakers in towns everywhere found their privileges continually encroached on by two classes of persons—the tipplers or innholders (innkeepers) and the country bakers or "foreigners," those who made bread without the city boundaries. The country bakers, perhaps being freer from oversight,[5] seem to have made their bread cheaper, sometimes better (see Axbridge ordinances of 1599, Hist. MSS. Report iii., 302 *b*). The cities, to protect their bakers, imposed restrictive laws; these, in times of difficulty, when the company proved restive against the mayor's authority, and bread in consequence ran short, they were glad to relax, and, as at Bristol in 1613 and Chester in 1557,[6] invited the country bakers to bring in their bread to sell. In York the country bakers were permitted to sell openly at a fixed place on certain days and hours (sec. 3, 4, 5), so that the Searchers might examine the bread, and thus ensure its due quality. The huckster or middleman, buying from the producer to sell by retail, was the trouble in this as in other trades, from his (or her) tendency to forestall, and to buy unfairly from countryman or tippler; so that we here find huckstering of bread entirely put down for a time, though the later ordinances show that the attempt was not permanently successful (sec. 11, 15, 16 19, 44, 63).

The quarrel with the tipplers or bowl-bakers became serious; evidently if they might make white bread or horse bread for serving their guests and guests' horses as they liked, without supervision, there might be great frauds practised. The bakers struggled for some time, even appealed to the king's council in London, but at length, after arbitration, had to admit the tipplers to part of their privileges; the same kind of restrictive rules, but greater, were

[4] See further, York Plays (ed. by the present writer), 1885, pp. xxiii., xxxv., xxxvi., xxxviii.-xlii., 233.

[5] At Canterbury in 1488 the brewers and bakers "inhabite themselves oute of the same cite libertye and fraunchise thereof for that the mayre of the foreseid cite shuld haue none oversight ne correccion of theym for their defautes and mysbehaviours in their seid occupacions and mystyres." Welfitt, No. xxv.

[6] Nicholls & Taylor's Bristol Past and Present, I., p. 277; Harl. MS. 2105 fo. 326. The Chester bakers would not accept the assize price set by the mayor; they appealed to the king's council of the Welsh marches, he to the London measure and assize; and not until some had been imprisoned and others disfranchised did they give in.

laid upon them as on country bakers[7] (sec. 7-14, 20, 22, 24, 25, 43).

It was part of the provision against taking undue advantage that fixed the hours for sale, and that forbade the bakers to send their wives to sell or buy for them unless they were ill (sec. 36). The lawful advantages were the portion of meal given to the miller for grinding the corn, called moulture[8] or moulter (sec. 62), and the surplus which the baker gave to a purchaser in gross, viz., a thirteenth loaf to the dozen, occasionally a fourteenth (sec. 15, 19, 60, 62), as an inducement to buy. This is the "baker's dozen," which has been such a puzzle to the learned! (See Notes and Qu., Ser. I., iii. 153, 520, xi. 154; Ser. IV., ii. 464.)

SORTS OF BREAD.—The taste for different kinds of bread or cakes changed in course of time, and we find here signs of attempts —which were probably useless—to compel restoration of the old makes, as with main bread (sec. 17, 53) and sodden bread (sec. 76). Three chief sorts are dealt with by the statute of 1266, *cocket*, *wastel*, and *simnel*, the one better than the other, with some varieties, besides bread of *trete* or *treet*.[9] In our ordinances we find not only these (except trete bread), but "bastard" wastels and simnels, evidently from their greater weight of not such good or rich quality as their originals (extract from *Lib. Memorandum*). *Payne demayne* or *delmayne*, otherwise *maine* or *mayne* bread (Lib. Mem., and sec. 17, 52, 58), in Latin *panis dominicus* (*i.e.*, lord's bread)[10] was a bread or, as we should now say, cake of fine or rich quality, used in gifts for kings and nobles, at feasts, and for the well-to-do classes. Edward IV. and his attendants were treated with "pane dominico et levanij" when they came to York (R. Davies' Extracts from York Records, 1843, pp. 68, 261), and it was used at the feasts of Corpus Christi. As our ordinances show, it was (though mistakenly[11]) considered a dainty special to York. But the taste for

[7] "Tipplers" were those who kept ale-houses, "typlers that sell ayll," Davies, York Records, 188; at Lydd (Kent) they were called "taverne kepers" (Hist. MSS. Rep. v., p. 530; see also Axbridge, ib. iii., 302).

[8] At York "moulter" seems also to have signified the grist or meal in general. See Drake's Eboracum, p. 190.

[9] The meaning of "cocket" applied to bread is somewhat obscure. It seems to have been plain bread, perhaps unleavened. Wastel is the French *gastel* or gâteau ("gastel a presenter" occurs in Etienne Boileau, p. 9, Art. xxxii.). Simnel, *siminiau* Fr., *siminellus* (cf. *similaginem*), Lat., seems to have been a kind of cake; it was "twice baked" (bis coctus) in 1266, and there were several varieties. See Way's Prompt. Parvulorum, note to *symnel*.

[10] See Ducanage, s.v. *dominicus*, where he also gives demaine, [or as the old law books say demesne].

[11] In 1288 the Aldermen and bakers of London ordered "quod panis Franceis,

"spiced cakes," which apparently pushed out the maine bread, had its way, and finally the trade was forced to admit them and to permit a 5s. licence to be taken out to bake them (sec. 26, 47, 48, 53, 54). *Leaven* bread and *horne* cakes, before spoken of, seem to have been in use during Lent (see sec. 59). *Manchet* cakes are named once (sec. 61); *household*, rye, and sodden bread were perhaps for family use (sec. 58, 59, 75. See before, p. 129; also an instructive chapter on bread in A. Borde's *Dyetary*, 1542. Early Eng. Text Soc., 1870, p. 258. "Soden bread" is mentioned p. 261). The *tourte* and *treet* breads of London[12] do not seem to have been used here, nor the "black bread," called "home-baked bread," of Canterbury (Welfitt, Minutes of Records, No. I.)

Horse-bread was made of bean meal for horses (sec. 6, 43, 58, 60. See Eng. Gilds, p. 366). A writer in *Notes and Queries* states that recipes were given for horse-bread as late as 1785 in the third edition of the "Sportsman's Dictionary," and that, made of oats, it is still used in Sweden and Switzerland (N. & Q. Ser. VII., ii. 240, 386). We now use dog-cake, if not horse-bread.

qui dicitur *pouf*, quod sit de eodem bultello quo wastellus est, et tantum ponderabit sicut wastellus amodo; et quod panis dominicus, qui dicitur *demeine*, ponderabit wastellum quadrantis, salvo pondere iiij denariorum pro coctione." *Lib. Albus*, 353.

[12] The London Liber de *Assisa Panis*, before referred to, which I have seen since the first part of this paper was in print, is not a book of ordinances, but is really a record of the work done by the regular *assayers* of bread ("assaiatores") from 1293-1438. Bread of the various sorts was bought by them or their servants at four places in the city and tested, prices were fixed and fines made if the bread was found in default. The "formal columns of figures" referred to by Riley (Mun. Gild. III., Introd. p. x.) are thus of considerable interest; they are arranged under the classes of bread. A separate head is always given to *panis albus*, under which are ranged *wastel*, *panis leratus*, and *panis bissus*; the second head is given to *turta* or *panis mixtillonis*. Did this London bread of mixed meal resemble that which a century and a half later was forbidden in York? See sec. 50. In Edward III.'s time the Londoners had "a white bread called 'bunne,'" as well as French puff. *Mun. Gild.* iii., p. 423.

Several varieties occur in other places, at Lydd in Kent temp. Hen. viii., the "common kyndes of brede be whyte, ravell [whitey-brown], and browne" (Hist. MSS. Com. Rep. v., 531). At Bridport we find a bread called "rangatus" (*Ib.* vi., 494 *b*), and at Southampton in 1596 "raunged bread," that is ranged or sifted (Davies' Hist. of Southampton, p. 265); this was a white bread, possibly the same as the "boulted bread" of York. Cf., sec. 1, 21.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SUSSEX RAPES.

[*ante* pp. 54-59.]

The problem discussed by Mr. Sawyer is as interesting as it is obscure. I would venture to advance some criticisms on the theory he propounds.

(1) Mr. Sawyer holds that this division "was doubtless introduced by the latter [the Normans] into the country soon after the Conquest" (*ante* p. 55), and "shortly before the compilation of Domesday" (p. 56). This is against all analogy. We do not find the Normans introducing these divisions, or indeed any new divisions, elsewhere in England. Again, if this division was a "relic of the Scandinavian ancestors of the Normans" (p. 55), why did they forget all about it in Normandy and only remember it when they conquered England long afterwards?

(2) The Rapes were not coterminous with the Norman fiefs, but very much the reverse. The great Sussex feudatories are found holding manors in one another's Rapes. Why then should the Normans introduce a division conflicting with their own feudal division? Further, we read of Steyning, in Domesday (I., 17):—"Insuper adhuc xviii hidæ et vii acræ foris rapum quæ nunquam geldaverunt;" so also of a non-hidated estate at Goring:—"Foris rapum est et extra numerum hidarum. Nunquam geldavit" (I., 28). Now "nunquam" unquestionably carries us back beyond the Conquest. Does not this involve the carrying back of the Rape itself also?

(3) One of Mr. Sawyer's arguments is that "the sea-coast of Sussex was formerly marked by several important fiords or estuaries, ... but of these only one, the Ouse, from the coast to Barcomb, forms the boundary of a rape." But ought we to infer that "early and half-civilised settlers like the Saxons would certainly choose physical boundaries, such as rivers, if they had introduced the rape as a land division?" On the contrary, it appears to me that each settlement would sail up one of these "fiords or estuaries" and settle round its head. Thus it would become the starting point of the settlement.

(4) Mr. Sawyer argues from the names which the Rapes at present bear that the origin of the Rapes themselves cannot be older than the Conquest. But he will find that in Domesday the Rapes are indifferently referred to either by the names of their chief towns or by those of their lords, much as, *mutatis mutandis*, was the case with the wards of London. That, if of Saxon origin, the Rapes would probably have borne "the patronymic," *ing*: that "Bramber" *Bre'bre*(the of Domesday) may be derived from "Braiose's Burgh," and that "Chichester" was the "castle of *Cissa*," are suggestions on which, at the present day, no comment is needed.

It may fairly be urged that the above criticisms lead to a merely negative result. Nor do I claim to be able to solve this difficult problem. This much, however, may be pointed out. Sussex is allotted in Domesday on quite exceptional principles. Instead of a number of tenants *in capite*, forming a graduated series, we have (excluding the *Terra Regis* and the church lands,—neither of them of great extent) the whole county virtually owned by five Norman lords, four of whom gave their own names to four of the Rapes in Domesday. And yet, as I said, each held lands in the rape of the others. These lords, according to Domesday, succeeded not to similar magnates, but to a crowd of smaller holders. The only explanation that suggests itself is that the Normans found the county divided into Rapes and that the Conqueror gave to five of his leading followers, by Rapes, all such land in the county as did not belong to the Crown or to the Church. Difficulty would probably arise from the complicated Anglo-Saxon tenures, the *caput* of a manor in one Rape having dependencies in another. This would account for the exceptions to the rule.

As to the suggestion that "the Rapes were set out with a rope or by a surveyor" (p. 56), do those who advance such views realize the size of the districts with which thay have to deal? Mr. Freeman has tackled this question in his *William Rufus*, but his evidence consists, as I have elsewhere shown, of confusing "the Lowy of Tunbridge" with the "Rape of Lewes," and of evolving therefrom a "Lowy of Lewes," round which he plays with a "rope." It seems to me far more probable (though at present we are really in the dark) that the "Rapes" are of great antiquity, but that the polity with which they were connected disappeared at an early period with the development of the kingdom. The fact that, as Mr. Sawyer points out, they had no courts of their own, would account for their not possessing old Anglo Saxon names. In short they appear to me to have been mere survivals. But I hope that someone may be found to come forward and enlighten us on the subject.

J. H. ROUND.

SIR,—I do not wish to intrude into a controversy in which I have no claim to be heard, but I would venture to raise a small protest against the conclusion of Mr. Sawyer about the origin of the Sussex rapes. His paper has interested me much, but he has by no means convinced me that he is right in attributing that form of local division to the Normans, or rather to the Normans of the 11th century. No such division is known in Normandy. The Normans again had forgotten their northern language when they invaded England and spoke French, and it is very unlikely that they should have named the divisions of the County of Sussex by a Scandinavian name which they did not use beyond the channel and have applied this nomenclature nowhere else in England. Nor again does it seem probable that if they had originated the division they should have begun as the Domesday Survey shows they must by ignoring the Chichester rape altogether.

It seems to me very clear that the rapes of Sussex were divisions already existing there when the Normans landed.

On the other hand the name is so clearly of Scandinavian origin that I have always attributed the division to Scandinavian settlers.

It is becoming the fashion among certain students to minimize the enormous effects of the piratical descents of the northern rovers in the 9th century and of their colonization in the 10th.

It is overlooked that if we accept the proprietors' names in some parts of England at the date of the Conquest as a guide, we must postulate a very large Danish element among the great landowners at that time.

My object in writing is to plead for the theory that the rapes of Sussex are divisions first adopted by the Scandinavian Settlers in the end of the 9th or beginning of the 10th century, who, it seems extremely probable to me, largely colonized the maritime strip enclosed between the Weald and the Sea. Hastings, as Mr. Sawyer says, is probably so called from the pirate Hasting or Eystein. Arundel or Arundal is a most characteristic Scandinavian place name as the Dales of Cumberland and Westmoreland and Yorkshire show; Pevensey, like many other ey's in England, is also a most characteristic Norse form, *e.g.* Jersey, Guernsey, Mersey, Lindesey, etc. etc. etc. Lewes I would also make a Norse name and compare it with Lewis in the Hebrides, the well known Lewis of the Crofters. This disposes of four out of the six rape names in Sussex. I must not take up your space with enlarging on this tempting theme, but perhaps you may find room for this small protest which will not be fruitless if it leads to a closer examination of the topography of Sussex in order to ascertain how much of Norse blood there was in the county when the Conqueror landed there.

March 20th, 1888. HENRY H. HOWORTH.

Literature.

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THE WOOING OF EMER.

An Irish Hero-Tale of the 11th Century, Translated from the Original MS.

(Continued from page 155.)

"THE Remnants of the Great Feast I said, that is Taillne.[1] It is there that Lug Scimaig gave the great feast to Lug, son of Ethle, to comfort him after the battle of Moytura, for that was his wedding feast of kingship. For the Tuath Dea made this Lug king after Nuadu had been killed. As to the place in which their remnants were put, he made a large hill of them. The name was Knoll of the Great Feast, or Remnants of the Great Feast, *i.e.*, Taillne to-day.

"Of the daughters of Tethra's nephew, viz., Forgall the Wily is the nephew of Tethra, king of the Fomori, viz., the son of his sister, for *nia* and a sister's son is the same, and a champion is also called *nia*.

"As to the account of myself I gave her. There are two rivers in the land of Ross,[2] Conchobor is the name of one of them, and Dofolt (*i.e.*, without hair, bald) the name of the other. Now the Conchobor falls into the Dofolt, viz., it mixes with it, so that they are one river.

"I am the nephew (*nia*) of that man, viz. of Conchobor, *i.e.* I am the son of Dechtire, Conchobor's sister, or I am a champion of Conchobor's.

"In the Wood of Badb, *i.e.* of the Morrigu, for that is her wood, viz. the land of Ross, and she is the Battle-Crow and is called the Wife of Neit, *i.e.* the Goddess of Battle, for Neit is the same as God of Battle.

"The name I said I had: 'I am the hero (*níadu*) of the plague that befals dogs.'[3] I am *níadu*, *i.e.* I am a strong warrior of that plague, viz. I am wild and fierce in battles and fights.

[1] Now Teltown, co. Meath.

[2] A district in co. Meath, near Teltown. The two rivers are tributaries of the Blackwater.

[3] Gloss: that is true, for wild fierceness, that is the plague which befals dogs.

"When I said: 'Fair is this plain, the plain of the noble yoke,' it was not the plain of Bray that I praised then, but the shape of the maiden. For I beheld the yoke of her two breasts through the opening of her smock, and it is of that I said 'plain of the noble yoke,' of the breasts of the maiden.

"When she said: 'No one comes to this plain, who does not kill as many as *argat*, viz. *argat* in the language of the poets means 'a hundred'; that is the interpretation, and this is what it means, that it is not easy to carry off the maiden, unless I slay a hundred men at each ford from Ailbine to the Boyne, together with Scennmenn the Wily, the sister of her father, who will change herself into every shape there, to destroy my chariot and to bring about my death," said Cuchulaind.

"*Geni grainde* she said, *i.e.*, she would not come with me, unless I jumped the hero's salmon-leap across the three ramparts to reach her. For three brothers of her's will be guarding her, viz., Ibur and Scibur and Catt, and a company of nine each of them, and I must deal a blow on each nine, from which eight will die, but no stroke will reach any of her brothers among them; and I must carry her and her fostersister with their load of gold and silver out of the dun of Forgall.

"Bend Suain, son of Rosc Melc, which she said, this is the same thing, viz., that I shall fight without harm to myself from Samuin, *i.e.*, the end of summer. For two divisions were formerly on the year, viz., summer from Beltaine (the first of May), and winter from Samuin to Beltaine. Or *samfuin*, viz., *suain* (sounds), for it is then that gentle voices sound, viz., *sám-son* 'gentle sound.' To Oimolc, *i.e.*, the beginning of spring, viz., different (*imc*) is its wet (*folc*), viz., the wet of spring, and the wet of winter. Or, *oi-melc*, viz., *oi*, in the language of poetry, is a name for sheep, whence *oibá* (sheep's death) is named, ut dicitur *coinbá* (dog's death), *echbá* (horse's death), *duineba* (men's death), as *bath* is a name for 'death.' *Oi-melc*, then, is the time in which the sheep come out and are milked, whence *oisc* (a ewe), *i.e.*, *oi-sesc*, viz., a barren sheep. To *Beldine*, *i.e.* *Beltine*, viz., a favouring fire. For the druids used to make two fires with great incantations, and to drive the cattle between them against the plagues, every year. Or to *Beldin*, viz., Bel the name of an idol. At that time the young of every neat were placed in the possession of Bel. Beldine, then Beltine. To *Brón Trogain*, *i.e.* Lammas-day, viz., the beginning of autumn; for it is then the earth is afflicted, viz., the earth under fruit. *Trogan* is a name for 'earth.'"

Cuchulaind went driving on his way, and slept that night in Emain Macha. Then their daughters told the lords of land of the youth that had come in his splendid chariot, and of the conversation which he and Emer had held; that they did not know what they had said to one another, and that he had turned from them across the plain of Bray northward. Then the lords of land tell Forgall the Wily that, and that the girl had spoken to him. "It is true," said Forgall the Wily. "The madman from Emain Macha has been here to converse with Emer, and the girl has fallen in love with him, and that is why they talked to one another. But it shall avail them nothing. I shall hinder them from getting what they wish." Thereupon Forgall the Wily went towards Emain Macha in the garb of a foreigner, as if it were an embassy from the King of the Foreigners that came to confer with Conchobor, with an offering to him of golden treasures of the White Foreigners,[4] and all sorts of good things besides. Their number was three. Great welcome was made to him then. When he had sent away his men on the third day, Cuchulaind and Conall and other chariot-chiefs of the men of Ulster were praised before him. He said that it was true, and that the chariot-chiefs performed marvellously, but that were Cuchulaind to go to Domnall the Soldierly in Alba, his skill would be the more marvellous, and if he went to Scathach to learn soldierly feats, he would excel the warriors of all Europe. But it was for this that he proposed it to Cuchulaind, that he might not come back again. For he thought that if Cuchulaind was in her friendship, he would get death thereby, through the wildness and fierceness of the warrior yonder, and .... Cuchulaind consented to go, and Forgall bound himself that were he to go in that time, he would give to Cuchulaind whatever he wished.

Forgall went home, and the warriors arose in the morning and set themselves to do what they had vowed. They went, namely Cuchulaind and Loegaire the Victorious and Conchobor, and Conall Cernach, say some, went with them. Cuchulaind then went across Bray to visit the maiden. He spoke with Emer before he went in his ship. The maiden told him that it was Forgall who had desired him in Emain to go to learn soldierly feats, in order that Emer and he might not meet. And she told him to be on his guard wherever he went, lest he should destroy him. Each of them promised the other to keep their chastity until they met again, unless either of

[4] The Irish name for the Norwegians. The Danes were called Black Foreigners.

them should get death thereby. They bade farewell to each other, and he turned towards Alba.

When they had arrived at Domnall's, they were taught by him to blow a leathern bellows under the flagstone of the small hole. They would perform on it till their soles were black or livid. They were taught another thing on a spear, on which they would jump and perform on its point, viz., the champion's coiling round the points of spears, or dropping on its head. Then the daughter of Domnall, Dornolla by name, fell in love with Cuchulaind. Her form was very gruesome, her knees were large, her heels turned before her, her feet behind her, big dark-grey eyes in her head, her face as black as a bowl of jet. She had a very strong forehead, her rough bright-red hair in threads round her head. Cuchulaind refused to lie with her. Then she swore to be revenged on him for this.

Domnall said Cuchulaind would not have true knowledge of what was taught until he went to Scathach, who lived eastward of Alba. So the four went across Alba, viz., Cuchulaind, and Conchobor, the King of Ulster, and Conall Cernach, and Loegaire the Victorious. Then before their eyes appeared unto them Emain Macha. Now Conchobor and Conall and Loegaire were not able to go past it. The daughter of Domnall had raised that vision in order to sever Cuchulaind from his companions to his ruin. This is what other versions say, that it was Forgall the Wily who raised this vision before them to make them turn back, so that Cuchulaind through his returning should not fulfil what he had promised him in Emain, and thus would he be shamed thereby; or were he peradventure to go east to learn soldierly feats, both known and unknown, ... of Aife, he should all the more get death through being alone. Then, of his own will, Cuchulaind went away from them on an unknown road . . . For the powers of the girl were great, and she wrought evil against him, and severed him from his companions.

Now, when Cuchulaind went across Alba, he was sad and gloomy and weary for the loss of his comrades, nor knew he whither he should go to seek Scathach. For he had promised his comrades not to return again to Emain, unless he had reached Scathach, or found death. When he saw that he was astray and ignorant, he lingered. While he was there, he beheld a terrible great beast like a lion coming towards him, which kept regarding him, nor did him any harm. Whatever way he went, the beast went before him, and moreover it turned its side towards him. Then he took a leap and was on its neck. He did not guide it then, but went wherever the

beast liked. Four days they went in that wise, until they came to the bounds of dwellers, and to an island where lads were rowing on a small loch. They laughed at the unwonted sight of the hurtful beast yonder doing service to a man. Cuchulaind then leaped off, and the beast parted from him, and he blessed it.

KUNO MEYER.

(*To be continued.*)

REVIEW.

PERRAULT'S POPULAR TALES, EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITIONS, WITH INTRODUCTION, &c., BY ANDREW LANG, M.A. OXFORD (CLARENDON PRESS), 1888. Sm. 4to, pp. cxv. 153.

THIS is Folklore in her silver slippers. In this luxurious edition of Perrault's enchanting tales we have, in all the glories of type, paper, and binding, careful reprints of the stories as originally issued, with facsimiles of the frontispieces, and a bibliographical account such as is dear to the hearts of all booklovers. Nor is this all. The Editor has also given us a charmingly written sketch of Perrault's life and an elaborate dissertation on the several tales. To students of Folktales this dissertation is of course the chief value of the work; and we may say at once that it displays every grace of exposition and all the learning and acumen of which Mr. Lang is so great a master.

Among these important studies of stories it is difficult to select any for special reference. One of the most interesting, however, is Puss in Boots; and the totemistic origin of the tale at which Mr. Lang points is certainly startling. It is true he is too cautious to commit himself to a theory on the subject; but the facts he has brought together are eminently suggestive. After tracing the story through a variety of forms he sets before us an abstract of Sultan Darai, the Swahili Puss in Boots, the hero of which is not a cat, nor a fox, but a gazelle. Sultan Darai, whom the gazelle has by its supreme cleverness raised from a dustheap to a royal dais, treats his benefactor with ingratitude. When it falls sick he refuses to see it, orders coarse food to be offered it, and leaves it to die of sorrow. With its death, however, Sultan Darai is himself reduced again to his old dustheap, and all the world takes the side of the gazelle, which is honoured with a public funeral. Now the Swahili, who tell the tale in this form, are partly of Arab descent; and it appears that there is a certain tribe in Southern Arabia, a clan of which is named from the gazelle, and there was another tribe which solemnly buried a gazelle when found dead and mourned for it seven days. Totemistic interpretations are placed upon these facts: perhaps not without reason. And at all events it is desirable to examine

again with care all the Puss in Boots stories, if not every kind of Grateful Beast stories, in the light of this suggestion. The Buddhistic theory is wholly indequate; and, as Mr. Lang points out, the facts relating to the tale of Puss in Boots, so far as they have been ascertained, yield it no support whatever, if indeed they are not absolutely hostile.

Mr. Lang, however, dwells upon the moral of the story, and goes so far as to say that "out of France, or rather out of the region influenced by Perrault's version of the story, a moral usually does inform the legend." Here we must dissent. In the first place we plead that until a larger number of variants has been recorded and compared, such a generalisation is unwarranted. Secondly, we think that the recorded variants do not bear out this generalisation. Mr. Lang only refers to nine, of which five have a moral of some sort and four have none. But he has overlooked one of Afanasief's Russian stories which, if De Gubernatis' abstract be accurate, has no moral. Of two Tartar variants not mentioned by Mr. Lang, one given in the fourth volume of the *Folklore Journal*, p. 32, has a moral, and the other given by Radloff, Vol. i. p. 271, has none. A moral seems usual in the Italian variants (compare Pitré's *Novelle Popolari Toscane*, No. 12); but M. Sébillot found one in Upper Brittany without a moral; and it is by no means certain that this variant had been influenced by Perrault. The question of moral or no moral may have an important bearing on the origin of the story: hence we have thought it worth while to indicate the reasons why we cannot at present accept Mr. Lang's cautiously worded opinion on that point. This, however, in no way detracts from the value of his study of the story of Puss in Boots.

We cannot now examine at length the other essays in Mr. Lang's admirable introduction to this volume. Most of them are as worthy of careful consideration as the one we have now dealt with; and the whole introduction forms a valuable supplement to the Editor's larger works, and a contribution to the science of Folklore which no student can venture to overlook. It is true that Mr. Lang's conclusions are no further advanced by the discussion; he still declines to propound any definite comprehensive theory of origins. But we do not hesitate to lay great stress on his searching criticism, not only of previous theories, but also of the details of individual stories. He never lets us forget the advantage of looking at the latter in connection with other branches of Folklore, an example which we heartily commend to his fellow-workers.

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THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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Anthropology.

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THE ORIGIN OF THE ESKIMO.

THERE are perhaps no people on the face of the earth whose characteristics separate them more completely from the other races of mankind than the Eskimo. They are, in the first place, extremely homogeneous in physical features, in language, in social habits, in religion, and in modes of life. Their home is in the most inhospitable regions of the northern hemisphere. Nowhere do they keep far from the coast, and throughout their entire range they shun, or are compelled to shun, the wooded zone. Yet though divided into tribes, and grouped into broader sections, the Eskimo are everywhere the same people, from the eastern point of Siberia to the eastern shores of Greenland. As a rule they neither marry with nor give in marriage to the people on their southern limits, and wherever they maintain any relations with them, these relations are of the most unamiable order. But when we examine the range of this singular people more closely we discover that they do not extend throughout the entire Polar Basin. Wherever the seal is found, there the Eskimo finds food, light, warmth, clothing, and implements of the chase, not to speak of shelter, harness for their dog-sledges, and the materials for forming their admirably fashioned boats and canoes. But though within the circuit occupied by them the tribesmen have their range circumscribed only by the seal,—these northern limits in Smith's Sound being coterminous with the *Phoca hispida*—they are only inhabitants of a corner of

Asia, adjoining Behring Strait, and in no respect belong to Europe, though from the White Sea eastward, there are all the conditions which render life comfortable for these maritime hunters. On the contrary, the coast of Arctic Europe and Asia is occupied at intervals by Lapps, Samoyedes, Ostiaks, Tungus, Tchukchi, Koriaks, Kamtskadales, and to some extent by the Giliaks, whose most southern range is the Sea of Okhotsk. None of these tribes are wholly maritime. Most of them only frequent the coast at certain seasons, and, unlike the Eskimo, the majority are herdsmen as well as fishers, possessing, as they do, great herds of reindeer, animals which though abundant in the Eskimo country, that people have never tamed either for pastoral purposes or for dragging their sledges. Finally, not one of the races mentioned are in any way related to the Eskimo. They differ from them in faith, in habits, and wherever we can obtain any glimpse into their antecedents, have a history widely different from them. In short, they agree with them in one respect only—they all inhabit the Arctic bounds of the northern hemisphere. Hence where Schrenk and Seeland have grouped under the title of "Palæasiatics" (as having been pushed back by the later invading Mongols), the Yukahirs, the Ainos, the Kamtskadales, the Koriaks, the Tchukchi, the Eskimo, the Ostiaks, Omoks, Anaules, Kottes and other tribes which have disappeared—they jumble together a mass of European, Asiatic, and American races, who differ in everything except in the inhospitality of the country which they inhabit.

Over nearly the entire extent of the Asiatic shore and the whole of that of Northern Europe we find not a trace of this people; and so characteristic are the stone and bone implements of the Eskimo, their durable huts of earth and stone, the circles of stones marking the sites of their summer skin tents, and their graves, that it is impossible for them to live long in any quarter without leaving records of this character behind them. Any old village place in Greenland yields, within a few inches of the surface, scores of flint and chalcedony arrow heads and splinters, steatite pots and lamps, or their fragments, and bone and ivory tools of every description; and in old inhabited spots the Kökkenmöddings are many feet in thickness. It is only when we come to the region beginning at Cape Shelagskii and extending to the East Cape of Siberia that we find any traces of them. This tract is now held by the coast Tchukchi, but it was not always their home, for they expelled from this dreary stretch the Onkilon or Eskimo race who took refuge in or near less attractive quarters between the East Cape and Anadyrskii

Bay, just as the Yakuts by the shores of the Kolyma drove forth the Omoks, the Shelags, the Tungus and the Yukahirs who formerly inhabited it. The only true Asiatic Eskimo existing at the present day are those who dot the shore from the East Cape round by Plover Bay to Cape Olutorsk and probably to Kolyutschin Bay and beyond; though the ethnography of that region is very complicated; the Tchukchi and the Eskimo having evidently, for the first time in the history of the latter race, more or less amalgamated, so that in his earlier works Dr. Rink was led to class the Tchukchi among his western branch of the Eskimo, a mistake for the correction of which we are indebted to the researches of Dall, Nordenskjöld and others. This linguistic amalgam or alloy is seen in various of the neighbouring districts of Alaska and North Eastern Asia. In such localities a vocabulary collected at random may be purely Eskimo or purely not Eskimo, or a mixture containing words in different languages and dialects. For instance, Mr. Pilling notes that in the vocabularies collected by Nordenskjöld near Behring Strait, Sandwich Island words occur. These must have been imported by the sailors of whaling vessels which annually visit these regions, though by this time they have become incorporated in the Indian and Eskimo dialects.[1]

(2.) The moment, however, we cross Behring Strait, we are in a true Eskimo country, and with very little break—and then only when the nature of the shore and the ice are unfitted for the home of sea-hunting and fishing tribes—we do not lose sight of them until we reach the East Greenland coast. Wherever man has gone he has either come upon some of these ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν or the remains of their former habitations. We can trace their migration by the stone huts, the stone circles, the "house places," the graves, the abandoned sledge-runners often of bone, or of wood, which is almost undecayable in the Arctic air, or by other unquestionable proofs of the northern wanderers having passed that way or having occupied it when their numbers were greater than at present. Even yet, they

[1] Words have been introduced by the Russians who for so many years had possession of the territory now known as Alaska. One of them is the term applied to the double and treble seated kayak peculiar to certain tribes of the Alaska Eskimo. The *umiak*, or open skin boat, is also used by certain tribes on the north-east of Asia who apply to it the Kamschtskan term of *bidar*. This word has now got incorporated, Mr. Petroff tells us, into all the dialects of Alaska wherever Russian influence once extended, under its diminutive *bidarka* which was applied by the Muscovites to the kayak. The Eskimo have also adopted the word in the form of *bidali*, which is however used to designate only the two or three hatch kayaks, a variety peculiar to the Aleutian islands. From Bristol Bay westward and northward the single kayak and the umiak only are used.

are quite equal to the capabilities of their chosen land. The explorer is often amazed at the spots which they occupy. He will "hook on" to an ice-floe in a blinding storm of snow, and as the white landscape peers through the drift he is apt to imagine that he has arrived at a land "where no man comes or hath come since the making of the world." But by-and-bye the shower abates. Then he notices that what looked like black specks on the shore are in motion, and pop in and out of the snow banks. In a few minutes they gather in knots, and before he is well aware a dozen dog sledges, with men, women and children, are skimming over the ice to the vessel, or rowing in umiaks, or paddling in their kayaks, their joyous shouts of "timmoo! pilletay!" echoing through the rarified Arctic atmosphere. Instead of the ship having anchored in a desolate bay, it had come abreast of a comparatively populous, and extremely merry Eskimo hamlet. Over the entire Arctic Archipelago these Eskimo are scattered, and though, as we have mentioned, groups with certain broad characteristics can be noted, they are in all essential features the same people from Behring Strait to the Greenland shore of Denmark Strait. However, the tribes near the western limit of the race approximate in many of their characteristics and in their implements and habits to the neighbouring Indian tribes, while the further the tribes remove from Behring Strait the more highly finished are their hunting weapons; though their social organisation becomes ruder and ruder, or at least not so complex, the further they are separated from the last named sea.

The Eskimo are therefore an essentially American people, with a meridional range greater than that of any other race.[2] The Indians have wandered through an infinitely greater number of latitudes. But apart from the fact that they do not cross Behring Strait, the eastern limit of the other American aborigines is on the western side of Hudson Bay, Newfoundland, and part of Labrador, west of the Eskimo range.

It is also clear that this migration has always been from west to east, as also has been that of the Indian tribes; the aborigines of the New World have thus reversed the course of colonization so far as this applies to the white man's roamings. It is indeed by no means certain that the Eskimo had completely occupied the region they now dot until about the close of the 14th century. When Red Erik and his Icelanders discovered and settled in South Green-

[2] The English and Arabs may be excepted, their spread being due to other causes.

land, they do not appear to have found any Eskimo in prior possession. But in the year 1379, the "Skrellings," the "parings of mankind," made their appearance, and from that day gave the Norsemen so much trouble, that to them, it has been suggested, the desertion of the country until the beginning of last century was due. The legends of the Greenlanders are full of stories relating to their ancestors of the "Kablunak," or whites. Hence it appears that the tribe thus suddenly bursting in upon the South Greenland settlements, was one of an unusually large size, which had succeeded in passing the glaciers of Melville Bay, or had probably been for ages previously living further North. It is, however, erroneous to imagine, as is usually done, that this was the first appearance of the Eskimo in South Greenland. The evidence of Are Torgilsson who flourished from 1068, to 1148, and was therefore well acquainted with Erik's companions, is positive in proof of the earliest adventurers finding "fragments of canoes, and articles wrought of stone, showing that the same race of people who inhabited Vinland, and whom the Greenland settlers called Skrellings, must have roamed about here." Still later in 1266, Thorgil Orrabeinsfortre met with men on the East Coast, though, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, the probabilities are, that this shore was peopled by wanderers who after crossing the Northern continent by Smith's Sound, where traces of their possession are found, doubled, with the musk ox, the ermine and the lemming, the Northern coast of Greenland, a feat which is still to be accomplished by the more modern Arctic explorer.[3] These wanderings are still in progress. As one hunting or fishing ground gets too populous, a few families, or as many as will fill one umiak, or flat open skin boat, move to some other quarter, and there in time establish a tribelet. Their migrations could never have been in large bodies like those of the Kalmucks in 1616 and 1671. The difficulty of providing food for any great number, would forbid this. They also shift their quarters according to the facilities for summer and winter game, in this respect consulting the migrations of the seals, catacea, reindeer and birds. The people who at one time inhabited the Archipelago west of Davis Strait, have of late years removed to Ponds Inlet, and southward, for the sake of bartering with

[3] On this subject I may be allowed to refer the reader to the Arctic Papers of the Royal Geographical Society (1875), and my Editions of Rinks *Danish Greenland* (1877), and *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* (1875). The general characteristics of the people are given in my *Peoples of the World*, vol. i. pp. 14-32, and the article "Eskimo" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition.

the whalers, and for the same reason, a large settlement was formed in the vicinity of Cumberland Sound, though the Eskimo race is, in my opinion, a decaying one. On the shores of Behring Strait, and the border of Baffins Bay and Davis Strait, what has euphemistically been called "civilization," is rapidly decimating the people. In Smith's Sound, there is merely a remnant. In Danish Greenland a pure-blooded Eskimo is extremely rare, and even the mixed race is not increasing, while the East Coast is occupied by only one or two families. These facts enable us to understand how the Eskimo have strung themselves along the Arctic shore from one side of America to another. Hunger, the struggle for existence, and the physical law of the impossibility of "two bodies occupying the same space at the same time" have in their case, as in the case of all other nations, been the factors at work in promoting the dispersal of this widely spread race.

(3) These data are merely the necessary preface to an attempt towards the solution of the problem of the origin of the Eskimo. Did these hyperboreans come from Asia, or are they evolutions, differentiations, as it were, of some of the other American races? That all of the American peoples came originally from Asia, is I think an hypothesis for which a great deal might be said. Unless they originated there, or were auctothonic, an idea which may at once be dismissed, they could scarcely have come from anywhere else, since admitting Madoc and his mythical voyage, even the Welsh do not claim for their countrymen the distinction of being the progenitor of all the tribesmen from Cape Bismarck to Cape Flattery. But the central question is whether the Eskimo are of a later date than the Indians, or are really Indians compelled to live under less favourable conditions than the rest of their kinsfolk. The latter will, I think, be found to be the most reasonable view to adopt. Mr. A. F. Chamberlain has the courage to affirm that the Eskimo were the dolichocephalic people who formerly extended over a great portion of North and perhaps of South America, but who have been intruded upon, and pushed back by more warlike and aggressive races. This writer even endeavours to trace a resemblance between the Eskimo and the Botocudos and other South American tribes, and even between them and the so-called fossil men of Brazil. Regarding this hypothesis there is nothing more to be said, except that it is unsupported by anything approaching to proof, and might with equal force be made to apply to many of the other American tribes, to the Hydahs and Kaloshes for example, who adopt the hideous lip deformities of the Botocudos,

though in their case, only the women practise the insertion of labrets in the under lip, and even they are beginning to abandon this characteristic trait.

The Eskimo language belongs to the American group, though this fact by itself is not very conclusive of anything. Various efforts have been made to trace a relationship between it and some other American tongues, and only recently this has been vigorously attempted in the case of the Iroquois. The resemblance is, however, more fancied than real, the supposed likeness in certain words being simply some of those alluring phonetic similarities which so often lead amateur philologists astray, and give rise to ethno-genealogical theories of the most amazing character. The Eskimo and the Indian have always kept apart; when they meet there is generally a fight, and the Indian has usually the worst of the encounter. The Eskimo are, however, great traders, and their country supplies articles which are not found in some of the adjoining Indian territory. Hence, in the Iroquois tongue there may perchance be found some Eskimo expressions for which their own dialects afford no equivalent. One of these is *kangnusak*, copper in the Greenlandic dialect, (*kannooyak* in that of the Coppermine River), which as a substantive is in Iroquois, *kanatyca.* Again Dr. Brinton notes that the following passage occurs in the MSS. of Christopher Pyrlæus of date 1749. "*Tschiechrohne* heissen die Grönlander ["Greenlanders" being of course used as a generic term for "Eskimo"]; . . . . *Tschie*, ein Seehund. Die drei obgenannte Seneker wussten nicht nur von den Grönlandern, sondern auch ihrer Contry (sic), Landsart, Kleidung, Nahrung," etc. The Iroquois, we know, pushed their war parties as far south as the present State of Louisana; it is clear that they carried them as far north as the shores of the Frozen Ocean; indeed from what Hearne and Franklin tell us, there was guerilla warfare going on between the Indians and the Eskimo in or about the Hudson Bay region. We also know, apart from pure Eskimo words being found in various Indian languages, that the Eskimo must at one time have wandered far afield in their trading expeditions, for we read in the Icelandic Sagas of the Greenland vikings meeting with them to the south of Newfoundland.

It is therefore more than possible that without accepting any such wild hypothesis as that of the Eskimo having been settled on the Virginia coast when the Tuscaroras arrived early in the fourteenth century,[4] that in various of the Indian languages, of Canada

[4] Brinton : *Myths of the New World*, p. 24.

and Alaska, and even of British Columbia, Eskimo words—and *vice versa*—may be found. However, though it is impossible to accept the sweeping conclusions which Mr. Chamberlain has formulated, it is quite in accordance with facts to believe that the Eskimo are of American origin. They are, we know, settled on the eastern point of Asia, so that it is open to suggest that these people, or those who were expelled by the Tchukchi, were the ancestors of those who afterwards spread across the opposite American continent. This, however, is less likely than that the American Eskimo migrated across Behring Strait, and extended a little away along the Siberian shore. To this day the Americans cross to Asia, and on an island in Behring Strait there is a regular fair held for exchanging the products of the two quarters of the world. But the Asiatic Eskimo never cross to America. Why, if the Eskimo were originally Asiatics, they did not extend eastward, it is difficult to understand. They are a bold people, quite able to hold their own, and though the races mentioned now and then frequent the Siberian and European coasts, they are not maritime in the sense that the Eskimo are, and most likely only reached the polar sea in comparatively recent times. The land was therefore free for the Eskimo to take possession of, and is quite as attractive from their point of view as that on the American coast, which is their true home. The Eskimo, moreover, use the dog for dragging their sledges: if they had come from Asia it is in the highest degree probable that they would have brought the reindeer across the ice with them, or would have tamed the wild ones on the American coast.

On the other hand, the Eskimo bear a striking resemblance in their habits, in their utensils, in their dress, and in their domestic economy, to the neighbouring Indians of Alaska. This likeness we have seen grows less and less as they recede further and further from Alaska, until in Greenland the Eskimo assimilate to the Alaskan Indians least of any of their race. This remarkable physical resemblance I noticed when, for the first time, I saw the heavy-faced Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands and the North West American coast. Only two years before—namely, in 1861—I had passed the best part of a summer among the Eskimo of the Western shore of Baffins Bay and Davis Strait, so that the recollection of that people was still fresh in my memory. For the next four years I was very familiar with almost every tribe of Indians between California and Alaska. But it was only on the British Columbian and Vancouver coast that the Eskimo resemblance struck me markedly, and then mainly in the immediate vicinity of the Eskimo territory south of

Behring Strait, and on the outside or Pacific shores of Vancouver Island. There I saw to my amazement the inflated sealskin used as a drag in killing whales, and salmon spears identical in plan with those of the Eskimo in daily use among the fishing tribes. In 1867 I was in Greenland, and though the Eskimo of that region are now very mixed, another opportunity presented itself of comparing the two races. Still later I found that my friend Dr. Rink, who was for so many years Governor of South Greenland, and has only recently retired from the Presidency of the Royal Board of Trade, had been engaged in working out the idea of the Eskimo having sprung up in Alaska. This he has subsequently done with a wealth of detail which is at his disposal alone. His views have aroused much discussion in America. The theory he has advocated is no more than a theory. It has not been demonstrated, and will require the help of many other investigators before this can be done. However, though some of the facts which he adduces in favour of the Eskimo having been evolved from the Indians south of them admit of a different explanation than that which he supplies, there can be little doubt as to the merit of the investigations which he has made, and their superiority over any previous attempt of a similar character.[5]

At the time when the Eskimo arrived on the American Arctic coast, their practical identity in customs, language, and other traits prove that they were a homogeneous body of people,—members most likely of one tribe or sept. At that time their religious ideas and their implements were most probably the same as they are at present. They had the Kayak and the sledge. It is all but proved that they lived in large square houses, had domesticated the dog, which is practically the Arctic wolf, and it is more than possible that they had certain festivals which referred to the seasons or the sun. At that time they were fishermen, and were accustomed to the use of boats before they came to the frozen sea.[6] This much we can gather from the habits common to all of them, from the root words in their language, and from the legends which are so generally distributed amongst them. Where that country of origin

[5] "Om Eskimoernes Herkomst" (*Aarbog for nord. Old. og Hist.* 1871, pp. 269-302): "Dialectes de la langue esquimaude" (*Compte-rendu du Congrès international des Americanistes*, 1883, pp. 328-337) and other papers, but more particularly his "Eskimo Tribes," which forms vol. xi. of the "Meddelelser om Grönland" (1887). I may perhaps be permitted to speak with some authority on the latter volume as the learned author did me the honour of submitting the manuscript to me day by day as he wrote it.

[6] Boas, *Science*, vol. x., p. 271.

was, may yet be ascertained by means of a study of the folk-lore of the Alaska Indians, and the names of animals in the different dialects. Meantime Dr. Rink seems not far from the truth when he indicates the rivers of Central Arctic America as the region from whence the Eskimo spread northward. Those of Alaska were probably the courses down which they spread, though the Mackenzie is not to be left out of the reckoning when this question is considered. They still frequent the lower reaches of these rivers, and a canoe or boat-using people would naturally adopt water ways in new migrations, as indeed do most of the tribes in this densely wooded or pathless region.

However, from whatever quarter they came, it is all but certain that when they took to the dreary region which is now their home, they were one body and came down one river. This may have happened thousands of years ago, though it was not effected all at once. At Point Barrow they must have been settled for a long period, since at the depth of twenty-six feet the American Expedition, which wintered there in 1882, found a pair of wooden goggles. At the same time the suggestion that the Eskimo followed up the retreating ice cap at the close of the glacial period is quite unsupported by anything in the shape of evidence. It is not at all improbable that the original progenitors of the race may have been a few isolated families, members of some small Indian tribe, or the decaying remnants of a larger one. Little by little they were expelled from their hunting and fishing grounds on the original river bank, until, finding no place amid the stronger tribes, they settled in a region where they were left to themselves. This hypothetical history is paralleled by what is known of many other tribes. All Indian history is full of similar instances of small septs being driven from their hunting grounds by stronger invaders. Indeed, the chronicles of the Eskimo themselves bear witness to the likelihood of this process having been their lot in earlier life. The fact of the Eskimo language having no relations with that of any neighbouring tribes is not at all remarkable. In the course of many centuries a savage tongue—and especially an Indian one—is apt to change. But if the explanation of the Eskimo leaving their original home which I have ventured to offer is approximately correct, the chances are that they were members of some small tribe who spoke an entirely different language from their neighbours, and that this isolation, this foreign element, had much to do with the prejudice which led to their expulsion. At this very day there are plenty of such detached communities, and the languages spoken in North

West America are so diverse that it is easy to understand the existence at some remote period of one more.

(4.) I shall not follow Dr. Rink in his elaborate investigation of the changes which the leading implements, articles of dress, houses, &c., of the Eskimo have undergone since the time the people began their wanderings from the shores of Alaska, eastward and westward, as these are so fully given in the memoirs mentioned that I can add very little to what he has written. Suffice it to say that there are almost no characteristics of the Western Eskimo which cannot be more or less fully detected among those of the East. Dr. Boas, who passed some time among the Davis Strait Eskimo, affirms that the use of masks representing mythical beings which is so curious a feature among the North-Western American tribes, is not entirely wanting in the Eastern Eskimo country, and that the giving away of property at certain festivals—the well-known "potlatches" of the Western coast Indians—and the use of the singing-houses with a central fire and places for the people all round the walls, may also be traced as far as Davis Strait. "It is even possible that the plan of the stone or snow houses of the Central Eskimo with elevated platforms on three sides of a central floor must be traced back to a square house similar to those of the Western tribes." The "Kayak" Dr. Rink regards as an Arctic imitation of the birch bark canoe, covered with a skin deck to protect against the waves, and on some of the Alaska rivers the Eskimo still employ the birch bark canoe, though whether this is an evidence of their primitive culture or merely because birch bark is more easily obtained than seal skin is open to discussion. It is, however, not until we arrive in Greenland that the kayak can be regarded as perfect. North of the Yukon the "bidar" or double kayak is employed, though the single one is also in use, and, indeed, it is not until we pass the Mackenzie that the single kayak is exclusively used. One peculiarity of the Eskimo has only recently been noticed. That is the wearing of the brass and silver rings of which they are so fond on the middle finger. In Paul Egede's Eskimo Dictionary (1750) *Kiterdlek* is defined as "annulus, quia Groenlandi annulum in *medio* digito gestare." The same habit, Mr. Mardoch tells us, is in vogue at Point Barrow, the people there like the Greenlanders naming the ring from the finger, and the same fashion seems to prevail at the Mackenzie. Evidently, therefore, the Eskimo before their dispersal ornamented their hands with rings which they wore on the middle finger, and not on that which for ages the white race has considered as the ring finger.[7] I shall not touch on the

[7] Murdoch, *Science*, Vol. xi. p. 24.

folk-lore, beyond saying that the entire nation has much in common. This, however, is not disputed. It has also been found that many of the Alaskan stems, which are lost in the common language, still survive in the sacred dialect of the priests.

(5.) What Dr. Rink places most emphasis on is the similarity between the Eskimo implements in North-West America and those of the neighbouring tribes. Their houses, their sweating baths, their dialects, their masks, &c., are especially dwelt upon. The inflated seal skin or "drogue" employed as far south as the Aht people of Western Vancouver Island is even more remarkable, for this method of impeding the movements of the struck whale is everywhere found among the Eskimo. Nor are the spears less remarkable. They are used for spearing salmon, but in the arrangment for the point of "unshipping" as a sailor would say, they are identical with the Eskimo harpoon. They have a movable barb to which a line is always attached. When the fish is struck, the shaft is removed, and the salmon drawn in by the line to which the point is fastened. In deeper water, however, when the chance of missing the fish is greater owing to the refraction of the water they use a spear which has a double or additional head springing from the upper part of the shaft with its separate line attached. This is identical with the Eskimo spear with subsidiary points only, with this difference that the subsidiary point is a detachable harpoon head. The similarity of the Eskimo and the Indian spear is further shown by the fact that both use a few small bladders tied to the line in order to weary the fish by the effort of dragging them under water.[8] Curiously enough ancient spear heads found in the caves of Dordogne with their posterior terminations tapered like the bronze weapons, were not unlikely used in a similar manner, and both in Denmark and in England weapons not widely dissimilar have been unearthed. Something similar has indeed been found in India, and to this day the Hooghley fishermen harpoon tortoises with spears not widely different from those described.

(6.) The question, however, comes to be, whether these similarities between the weapons, &c., of the Western Eskimo and the Western Indians are to be ascribed, as Dr. Rink thinks, to the former people having taken with them to their Arctic asylum the knowledge and the memory of the peculiarities mentioned, or to the one race simply imitating the other owing to their living in such close prox-

[8] These spears are figured in *Proc. Scot. Soc. Antiquaries*, 1870, p. 295, and are more fully described in my friend Gilbert Sproat's *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (p. 221).

imity. Both these theories have much in their support, though the American ethnologists, so far as they have criticised Dr. Rink's views, seem inclined to the idea of the Eskimo having been influenced by the Indians. The reverse may, of course, have been the case—the Eskimo may have influenced them, and customs which MM. Boas and Murdoch regard as Indian may be in reality Eskimo,[9] for several of their habits, such as labrets, are so peculiar that they are not explicable on the hypothesis—applicable to implements, houses and dress—that two peoples placed in similar circumstances might adopt similar modes of life.[10]

Nevertheless, though we may admit the reciprocal influence of the Alaska Indians and Eskimo—and the influence, if influence there has been, was unquestionably reciprocal[11]—it is not so easy to see in what respect the Eskimo could have affected the Indians so far south of these limits as on those of Vancouver Island. I do not place much moment by the traditions which Dr. Rink quotes as evidence of Eskimo influence on that part of the coast. The Aht stories of men lost in venturing to brave the mysterious dangers of the unknown interior of a fjord, cliffs able to clasp men, female murderers who took the shape of birds, or the sun and the moon as nomads, have, indubitably, elements also found in the Eskimo mythology. The story of the dog, who was the ancestor of certain tribes; the stories of children, who were deserted by their parents, and by-and-bye became prosperous by the aid of spirits, or the idea that animals are men clothed in the skins of beasts, are also common to the mythology of the North West Indians and Eskimo. But some of these tales are so widespread that they may be common to the entire American races; some even are Asiatic—Aino, for example. It may, however, be added that in one of the Iroquois traditions, collected by the late Mrs. Erminie Smith, there is a tale of a monster who used to sit on a rock, watching people passing, and

[9] Mr. Turner (*American Naturalist*, August, 1887), in criticising a brief paper of Dr. Rink's which I communicated to the Anthropological Institute (*Journal*, August, 1867, p. 68), lays stress on the fact that the Eskimo are not so exclusively a coast people as is usually supposed. This circumstance does not, it seems to me, at all effect the main argument.

[10] The best accounts of the Alaska Eskimo are those of Mr. Dall, in *Contributions to American Ethnology*, Vol. i., and Mr. Petroff in his *Alaska, its Population, Industries, and Resources*, pp. 124-160 (*Tenth Census of the United States*, Vol. viii).

[11] The influence of the Indians upon the Eskimo is shown by the fact of the Oughalakhmute (north and south of the Copper River), having abandoned the manufacture of the kayak, and apparently forgotten its construction, owing to the mixture with the neighbouring Kalosh or Thlinket. This case, however, stands alone.

when he saw men, he would call out: "Kung-Ka, Kung-Kuin," *i.e.*, "I see thee, I see thee." Now the Greenlanders have a similar legend in which a girl, who fled to the fabulous inlanders, got one of them for her husband, and when, in the course of their wanderings, this individual sighted a settlement, he shouted: "Kung, Kung, Kujo," words unintelligible to the present Greenlanders. These may, however, be coincidences. Yet the existence of distinct references in the mythology of the British Columbia Indians, to a country in the west, where the sea is always covered with ice, where the nights are very long, and where the people use skin boats, combined with the identical character of their most remarkable implements, leads us to the conclusion that the relationship is of a closer description than might, at first sight, be imagined. That the Eskimo spread as far south as Vancouver Island is, I think, extremely improbable, but that the Ahts and others races came from a region in the north in close proximity to the country of the Eskimo, with whom they were previously acquainted, is more than possible. This, however, is mere speculation, and need not be further dwelt on in an article which does not claim much more than to restate other men's views. What is the relationship between the two great branches of the North American peoples still remains to be discovered. But as the New World is no longer dependent on the Old one for trained ethnologists, we may rest assured that something of importance will be brought to light before many years elapse.

(7.) It may, however, be taken as proved (*a*) that the Eskimo are in no respect and never were a European people; (*b*) that they are not and never were an Asiatic one, except to the small extent already described; (*c*) that the handful of people settled on the Siberian shore migrated from America, and (*d*) that it is very probable the Eskimo came from the interior of Arctic America, Alaska more likely than from any other part of the world. It is also clear that they migrated eastward until Greenland was reached, but that the migration was not of the nature of a sudden dispersal, if a dispersal at all, but simply the hiving off of a few families at a time as the necessity of finding fresh hunting and fishing grounds became pressing. Sometimes the migration might have been stimulated by tribal quarrels, or by the presence of other races in their rear, as happened when the Onkilon were expelled by the Tchukchi.

But whatever view may be held on the subject—and opinion is gradually growing in the direction just indicated—none can be held

which ascribes a European or even a wide Asiatic range to the Eskimo. Yet a doctrine was promulgated not long ago, and is still held in certain quarters, which would make the Eskimo essentially a European people. I refer to Professor Boyd Dawkin's well-known theory that the Palæolithic men who inhabited Europe towards the close of the Pleistocene Age were the people with whom the preceding pages treat, and that they were gradually exterminated or driven from Europe by the Neolithic folk, who about that period made their appearance.[12] This is a conclusion so sweeping that it is hard to accept it without the clearest proofs. And these proofs have never been forthcoming in sufficient cogency to permit us to accept it on the mere authority of the author, deservedly great though that unquestionably is. If the Neolithic man drove his Palæolithic brother before him, we must expect to find traces of him on the way north. But these traces have not been discovered though a people so fond of carving and who used weapons of flint and bone might be depended upon for leaving behind them manysuch aids to their future historian. They did not make their homes in Orkney or Shetland, in the Faroes or in Iceland, in Jan Mayen or Spitzbergen, and the Lapps and Samoyedes of the Arctic shore of Europe are not of the Eskimo family. It is also impossible to imagine that an inland people could cross the Atlantic to Greenland, as no savage has done so yet—even if the history of the Eskimo sketched in this paper did not prove that Greenland was peopled from the west, not from the east. This test, therefore, fails us at the very outset. Again, the Palæolithic man did not burn his dead any more than the Eskimo do. Are the skulls of these folk of the Eskimo type? We have the highest authority—that of MM. Hamy and Quatrefages—for saying that they are not. They belong to the same type as those of the Berbers of North Africa, who were also the original though now extinct inhabitants of the Canaries and Teneriffe, and were in former times, as they are still in North Africa, one of the most widely spread of peoples.[13] The evidence adduced by Mr. Dawkins—of whom I desire to speak with all the respect due to an admirable investigator and writer—is indeed by no means satisfactory, even if it were not refuted by facts so irresistible as those mentioned. The data on which he relies are mainly the similarity of the harpoons,

[12] *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xxiii., p. 183; and *Early Man in Britain*, pp. 233-245.

[13] This question is lucidly discussed from the geological point of view by Professor James Geikie in his *Prehistoric Europe*, p. 547. See also Quatrefages' *Human Species*, p. 311.

fowling spears, marrow spoons, and scrapers, "the habit of sculpturing animals on their implements, the absence of pottery, the same method of crushing the bones of the animals slain in hunting, and their accumulation in one spot, the carelessness about the remains of their dead relatives, the fact that the food consisted chiefly of reindeer, mixed with the flesh of other animals, such as musk-sheep, and especially the small stature, as proved in the people of the Dordogne caverns by the small handled dagger figured by MM. Lartet and Christy."

Some of these "characteristics" are by no means common to the Eskimo race; numbers of them, indeed all the most salient, are found among people in no way related to the Eskimo, and who live, and have alway lived, in widely different parts of the world. Many of the implements or drawings of them were submitted to me for my opinion before they were described in MM. Lartet and Christy's great *Reliquiæ Aquitanicæ*. Some of them looked like Eskimo tools: several were just as near others in use among the Western Indians, who inhabit a country not unlike Palæolithic Europe. People must, of course, live on what they can get. Hence the evidence deduced from the ancient Europeans devouring reindeer and musk oxen as some of the Eskimo do—though seal is the food of the majority, simply because there is nothing else to be had—may be left out of the reckoning. Again, the Eskimo are far more careful about their dead than hosts of other savages who could be named (the Tierra del Fuegians for example), while it is a traditional error to affirm that the Eskimo are a remarkably small race of men: this idea arises from their style of dress; while, as a detail, the Cro-Magnon bones show the Palæolithic folk to have been rather tall. As for the habit of sculpturing animals on their implements, that is not peculiar to them; indeed this taste declines as we pass from Alaska to the East, until in Western Greenland there is not much evidence of the people having at any time possessed great skill in carving. However, the recent Danish expedition to the east coast has met with a small isolated tribe who almost rival the Alaska and Northern British Columbia Indians in their deftness for carving on bone, and ornamenting their weapons and domestic utensils. But instead of illustrating the animals of the chase or their own life, this East Greenland sept excel in small reliefs representing for the most part animals and mythological beings after the style of those marvellous works executed by the Hydahs, Kaloshes and other North-West American tribes on the ear bones of whales, and on pieces of soft slate.

This leaves us where we were. Many other peoples, the Polynesians and Papuans, for example, are infinitely more adroit in carving than the Eskimo, who only use bone as the material for their rude art because they have no wood. What artistic skill is displayed by the Greenlanders is in the shape of rude drawings on the white tanned seal skin of their summer tents; but these are in no way superior to the paintings on the wigwams of the Plain Indians, or on the lodge boards or posts of the tribes to the west of the Rocky Mountains. I have had the honour of being limned on all three, and the caricatures were quite recognisable, as the artists were good enough to explain. ROBERT BROWN.

SONSHIP AND INHERITANCE.

THE purest form of the most archaic system of reckoning kinship, namely, through the female line, is best illustrated by an example from one of the hill tribes of India—the Kocch—Mr. Hodgson describing how the mother is the head of the family, how the daughters succeed to the mother's property and the sons have no part or right in the succession, but leave their maternal home and live with their wives.[1] Between this form of succession and its exact opposite—the system of reckoning kinship through males, familiar to all of us, both in the parallel to the above and in the several varying types—there must have been many transitional stages which, when examined, would serve to throw light upon the processes which marked the period of change from female to male kinship.

One of the earliest results of such an examination seems to direct attention to the fact that the first innovation upon pure female kinship could not have been the assertion of husband-rights, and in all probability was the recognition of sonship. If we consider two very general modes of succession: (1) by a wife's son by any husband among tribes practising polyandry, and (2) by sister's son among tribes practising polygamy, we are forced to look upon the husband as a temporary co-owner of the property with his wife or sister, and to conclude that the determining factor in the rule of succession

[1] Hodgson's *Essays on Indian Subjects*, i. 110. Mr. M'Lennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 116-118, quotes many tribes who adopt this form of succession, and the reader will know that it is found in varying degrees of form in many parts of the world.

was certainly not paternity. It was, on the other hand, not exactly maternity, because under the oldest system this would have led on to daughter succession. The new element is clearly therefore the recognition of sonship. That sonship preceded the full establishment of male kinship is a proposition which meets the theory of the case remarkably well, the only question is, can it be substantiated by evidence? In the first place, an essential argument in its favour is that it is a force which can certainly account for the downfall of female kinship, because the influences which its operation would generate would all tend towards the recognition of males. In the second place, it can be shown that the transition period from female to male kinship may be traced by customs yet surviving, and that these customs are best explained by a reference to the early importance of sonship.

Two such customs have been already touched upon by authorities. Bachofen was the first to point to the remarkable custom of the couvade as a ceremonial which marked the change to male kinship—the father taking upon himself the attributes of the mother in order to demonstrate his relationship to the child.[2] Mr. McLennan in his remarkable study of "sonship among the Hindoos,"[3] proves beyond a doubt that early sonship was by no means necessarily connected with paternity, but that a father having by contract or purchase obtained a wife, the children of that wife were *ipso facto* his children, though it did not follow that he was their father—that is, while the wife's right to her children was based upon blood-kinship, the husband's was based upon contract, and hence implies the non-recognition of blood-kinship. What I am anxious to note in these two phenomena of early history—the couvade and Hindoo sonship—is, that though kinship had nominally passed over to the male side, yet still the older rights of female kinship were in reality the determining force by which succession by a male, though through a female, was settled. In order to follow this out more narrowly we will set down the conditions by which early sonship was surrounded. These conditions are as follows:

i. female kinship absolute [accompanied by female succession.]
ii. modifications arising from, and marked by, recognition of sonship, viz.:

[2] Lang *Custom and Myth*, ii. 223; Frazer *Totemism*, 78, and other authorities follow Bachofen in this explanation. Cf. Pearson's *Ethics of Free Thought*, 407.

[3] *The Patriarchal Theory*, 266-312.

(*a*) male going to wife's home producing succession by

(1) wife's son by any husband,
(2) wife's son by a particular husband.

(*b*) male receiving wife at his own house producing succession by

(3) sister's son,
(4) wife's son.

In the three first of these conditions maternal sonship is the determining factor of succession; in the fourth, where it has passed from sister's son to wife's son, paternal sonship is recognised and true kinship through males is established. But in all four conditions it must be noted that the constant factor is not maternity or paternity, but sonship.

Now if we consider the custom of the couvade and its applicability to the above conditions, it must, I think, be seen that the man practising couvade represents not his wife but his sister—in other words, it marks the transition from succession by sister's son to succession by own and wife's son. The father is of the same blood as his sister, who has hitherto had the right of giving succession, and his wife is of alien blood. By this symbolic act he passes the blood of his sister to his own son, and thereby secures the succession to him.

Similarly if we consider the process of transition from the stage where a wife's son by any husband could succeed, to the stage where a wife's son by a particular husband took the succession, we shall find it marked by equally significant customs derived from the strong influence of female kinship. We may consider them in connection with the conditions set forth above, wherein the male taking up his abode in his wife's house and being of alien blood to her, would be out-valued by his children. Thus we have the idea among the New Zealanders, and in many parts of Polynesia, that as soon as a son was born he was recognised as superior to his progenitor.[4] Sir John Lubbock has collected many examples of the custom of parents being named after their eldest son, which indicates a similar origin.[5] Indeed, the rights of children, established in Aryan codes of legal custom so soon as they are born and extending to vested rights in the father's property,[6] seem all to be derived

[4] Polacks, *New Zealanders*, i. 27; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization*, 465.
[5] *Origin of Civilization*, 466-467.
[6] Ibid., 464; J. G. Frazer in *Academy*, March 6th, 1886.

from their kinship with their mother, the father and his acquired position being considered an encroachment upon the more ancient condition of things, and, therefore, hedged round by customs, all of which tend in the direction of limiting his powers in questions of succession.

The full force of this will appear in the custom whereby the son succeeds to property or title during the lifetime of his father. Among the Marquesas, and in Tahiti, the king abdicated as soon as a son was born to him, "while landowners under similar circumstances lost the fee simple of their land, and became mere trustees for the infant possessors."[7] I fancy the terminology here used by Sir John Lubbock is hardly applicable to the condition of savagery to which he is referring, but it properly indicates the scope of the custom because we meet with it among civilized nations. We will first notice the custom as it exists in India, because it will help to explain the significance of the survival in European custom. In the Kangra district of the Punjab, among the people of Spiti, the father retires from the headship of the family when his eldest son is of full age, and has taken unto himself a wife . . . on each estate there is a kind of dower-house with a plot of land attached, to which the father in these cases retires. When installed there he is called the Káng Chumpa (small-house man).[8] The same custom is observed in Ladak with scarcely any variation.[9] The Scandinavian parallel to this has been described by Mr. Du Chaillu, in a passage which I think contains portions of the old formula and rights attending the ceremony. "On a visit to Husum, an important event took place, when, according to immemorial custom, the farm was to come into the possession of the eldest son. The dinner being ready, all the members of the family came in and seated themselves around the board, the father taking, as is customary, the head of the table. All at once, Roar, who was not seated, came to his father and said: 'Father, you are getting old; let me take your place.' 'Oh no, my son,' was the answer, 'I am not too old to work; it is not yet time: wait awhile.' Then with an entreating look Roar said, 'Oh, father, all your children and myself are often sorry to see you look so tired when the day's labour is over: the work of the farm is too much for you; it is time for you to rest and do nothing. Rest in your old age. Oh, let me take your place at the head of the table.' All the faces were now extremely sober, and tears were seen in many eyes

[7] *Origin of Civilization*, 465.

[8] Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, ii. 188.

[9] [Moorcroft and Trebecks *Travels*. i. 320] M'Lennan *Studies in Anc. Hist.*, 108.

'Not yet, my son.' 'Oh yes, father.' Then said the whole family: 'Now it is time for you to rest.' He rose, and Roar took his place and was then the master. His father, henceforth, would have nothing to do, was to live in a comfortable house, and to receive yearly a stipulated amount of grain or flour, potatoes, milk, cheese, butter, meat, &c."[10]

In Wurtemburg and Bavaria similar customs are found. On larger peasant farms in Wurtemburg "the eldest son commonly succeeds to the whole property, often in the father's lifetime. When the parent is incapacitated by age from managing his farm, he retires to a small cottage, generally on the property, and receives from his son in possession contributions towards his support both in money and kind."[11] There can be no question that in these examples of life succession we have different types of the same original, and it is probable that the ceremonial in the Scandinavian custom, extraneous and unnecessary as it appears to be, is the survival of some old formula that is perhaps lost in the other examples.[12] But if the retention of the formula in the European type points to it as being more perfect in form, the Indian examples preserve a far more important link with the past. In the former the son succeeds because his father is too old to continue his labours; in the latter the son succeeds when he is of full age, and is married. This is very significant taken in conjunction with the fact that, both in Spiti and in the contiguous district of Ladak, the form of marriage is polyandry,[13] and that too in a state of decadence. If we may conclude that the decadence of polyandry, meaning therefore, the decadence of kinship through females, brings about the accentuation of the position of sonship, resulting in life succession, we may also conclude that the European examples take us back to the period when polyandry had only just fallen into decadence.

[10] Du Chaillu's *Land of the Midnight Sun*, i. 393.

[11] *Cobden Club Essays*, *Primogeniture*, 79-80.

[12] In *Archæologia*, L. 203. I explained this custom as a survival of the practice of getting rid of the aged and infirm, and though it now appears to me to be rather due to the influences of sonship, as I have noted them in this article, it may well be, taking all the circumstances into consideration, that both these primitive practices had a share in determining the origin and persistence of this custom. The curious part is that in no case is the mother mentioned. This may be by accident, but if she retained her place in the son's household, either actually or symbolically, the origin of the custom would be unquestionably settled. It is not unimportant to note that in South Africa the mother of the eldest son, after she has ceased bearing children to her husband, leaves her husband and lives with her son. See *Report on Native Laws and Customs* (Cape of Good Hope Parliament), appendix part ii. p. 72.

[13] M'Lennan's *Studies in Ancient History*, 97; compare Tupper's *Punjab Customary Law*, ii. 191.

It seems clear that the facts connected with early sonship want close examination. The rights of sons in savage and early barbaric society were very far from being insignificant, though there is nothing to bring about this state of things except the necessities of early society. Among many of the backward races we find an undue recognition of sonship and an undue degradation of daughtership, as for instance, in the Peshawar district of India, where the birth of a male child is an occasion of great rejoicing and feasting, and the birth of a female is considered as a misfortune,[14] and this forms an instructive commentary upon the world-wide practice of female infanticide. What the full causes of female infanticide were we may probably never be able to decide, but probably one of the most powerful was the accentuation of sonship.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

[14] *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, 1883-4, p. 87.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE RACES OF FORMOSA.

[*Ante* pp. 182-183.]

SIR,—With reference to the races of Formosa and their antiquities, about which you have published an extract from a Parliamentary paper in your last issue, I beg to remark that we know much more about them than the report seems to imply. Your readers may consult: *Formose et ses habitants*, by Mr. Girard de Rialle, in *Revue d'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1885, vol. viii., pp. 58-77, 247-281, and my later *Formosa Notes, in MSS., Languages and Races*, reprinted (London, D. Nutt, 8vo, 82 pp. and 3 plates) from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1887, vol. xix.

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

May 2, 1888.

Archæology.

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RECENT DISCOVERIES OF PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS IN SPAIN.

SPAIN has hitherto been almost a sealed book to English archæologists, partly because of the supineness of her rulers, who have offered no encouragement to the prosecution of research, and partly because books written in Spanish, are not readily mastered by English readers; therefore the noble work just published in French by two young Belgian engineers — MM. Henri et Louis Siret—will be doubly welcome. It is entitled "Les Premiers Ages du Métal dans le Sud-Est de l'Espagne," and consists of a spendid folio of seventy plates illustrative of all the objects discovered, with a short description of each plate, accompanied by a large volume of letterpress.

The brothers Siret having been employed in engineering operations in the provinces of Almeria and Murcia, undertook on their own account the exploration of many prehistoric sites in the south-east corner of Spain, between Carthagena and Almeria, extending for about 75 kilometres in length, by 35 in width, inland from the Mediterranean coast.

Referring to a map, we shall see that this part of the coast would be just that likely to be approached by vessels from the east, and as it is an undoubted fact that the Phœnicians had considerable intercourse with Spain in very early times, we should expect to find traces of them in many parts; but whether these finds are of Phœnician origin or ancient Iberian, remains to be proved.

Some of the discoveries of MM. Siret go back to a period antedating the arrival of the Phœnicians; they belong to the Neolithic age, all the implements found being of polished stone, and there being no trace of metal. Nevertheless, even in these early times, the inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula were not without a certain amount of civilisation, for in addition to flint implements of a form almost universal, we find traces of pottery roughly ornamented, and of shells bored for necklaces and pendants; there are also stones for grinding corn and traces of burial by inhumation. In other graves also of the Neolithic period, though perhaps of a rather later date, these things are supplemented by large vessels of pottery with

perforated handles; sharks' teeth; large cowrie shells perforated; round beads cut from shells, resembling those forming the wampum of the North American Indians, and still used in the South Sea Islands; also shell-bracelets made of rings cut from large shells, similar to those still in use in New Guinea, the Admiralty Islands, and many other groups of the Pacific. Some of these bracelets appear to have been cut in two, and holes bored at each end for suspension. There seems to be a total absence of anything denoting religion or superstition among these very early relics, unless the curious object resembling a rude cross, and which M. Siret has compared with some of the owl-headed divinities of Dr. Schliemann, may represent some sort of fetish. This object belongs to a very early period, but among the later relics are a few small animal forms in pottery, similar to those which may be seen in the British Museum among the Cypriote remains, and which have also been found in Swiss Lake dwellings, and among numerous other prehistoric finds, and which may either have been intended to represent animal fetishes or totems, or possibly may have served as children's toys.[1] The sepulchres of these very early prehistoric people of South-East Spain, seem to have resembled those common to Neolithic peoples in other parts of Europe—that is, the dead were buried in a crouching position, either in natural rock shelters or caves, or in rude stone cists consisting of slabs of stone, roughly placed together, perhaps sometimes covered with a mound of earth, and having vessels of half-burned clay, flint weapons, and ornaments of shell, or beads of stone or bone, buried with the body. At a later period the dead were sometimes cremated and sometimes inhumed, whilst the relics found with the human remains show an advance, not only in the shape and quality of the pottery, but also in the beads, shells, and flint implements in use, and there are traces of the beginning of a knowledge of metals in ornaments and implements of native copper, and a few articles of bronze, chiefly beads and bracelets, probably of foreign origin, perhaps showing the commencement of Phœnician intercourse. The copper articles are, however, undoubtedly of native manufacture, since scoriæ of copper have been found, and also the moulds into which the metal was run, but the teachers of this advance in the arts of civilisation were most likely foreigners.

From this transition stage, the progress in art of these prehistoric

[1] Bishop Callaway, whose experience among the Zulus is so well known, recently gave me a small clay model of an ox made by a native Zulu boy, and used essentially as a toy, not a totem.—Ed.

Spanish people as discovered by MM. Siret increases rapidly in interest, for they have found in this early age of metal, not only the sepulchres, but the villages of these ancient people situated on hills, with well-built walls of stone and mud, forming strong fortifications, within which were the houses, also enclosed in walls; and in these houses, in addition to various utensils in pottery, were found the remains of the food of the inhabitants, consisting of corn and vegetables, enclosed in vessels of baked earth, showing that they had become agriculturists as well as metallurgists. These vessels contained barley and wheat, and that which had probably been bread; also peas or beans, fruit, flowers, and leaves of trees, olives, a pod of carouba, fragments of linen and of mats and cords made of esparto grass. All these articles were calcined, showing that the habitations had been destroyed by fire, which seems to have been the common fate of so many prehistoric dwellings everywhere, either the result of accident or of invasion, but which, however caused, has had the good result of preserving these perishable articles for the benefit of prying archæologists.

Within the walls of these fortified villages the remains of the dead were inhumed, sometimes within the houses, in little chambers of hewn slabs of stone carefully joined, but enclosed in large urns of pottery, measuring sometimes a metre in length by 60 to 70 centimetres in diameter at the largest part, and 40 to fifty at the mouth. In this great urn the body was placed in a crouching position, the knees drawn up to the breast and the chin resting on the hands; occasionally two bodies were found in the same urn, a male and a female, and with them small urns, probably food vessels and arms of bronze or copper, such as swords or halberts of a peculiar form, whilst the bodies were profusely adorned, especially those of the women, with ornaments of various kinds, necklaces consisting of beads of serpentine, steatite, bone, ivory, shells, fish vertebræ, gold, copper and bronze; rings of silver on the fingers, bracelets of copper, silver or bronze in spirals on the arms, ear-rings of silver and bronze, and circlets or coronets of silver on the forehead. The latter are especially curious, and would seem to be unique, so that a more detailed description may interest our readers. They are found only on the skulls of females, and are formed of a band of silver, gradually increasing in size towards the front, and terminating not in a point but in a prolonged projection, ending in a round boss. These diadems or coronets are found sometimes standing up, and sometimes with the round part down over the nose.[2] Their use was evidently to confine the veil,

[2] These curious coronets recall to the mind forcibly the scripture phrase lifting

fragments of cloth adhering to the skull beneath them, whilst similar fragments, in various positions, show that the dead were enveloped in some sort of grave-clothes. The mouth of these urns, which were generally found lying on their side, was carefully closed by a large stone, or sometimes by another urn. Peculiar interest attaches to the discovery of so many articles of silver, because it has been generally supposed, that silver was unknown in the early ages of metal, and did not make its appearance much before the iron age,[3] but the MM. Siret have found in the course of their investigations seven of the coronets or diadems described above in silver, buried with the dead, 400 bracelets, rings and ear-rings in the same metal, and also several implements and rivets for weapons. The weapons are of bronze and copper, the latter predominating, proving that these interments must be referred to the early bronze age, although flint arrow heads and saws were still used. No particle of iron has been found, no coins, no inscriptions; and very little gold in comparison with the silver, the record being, only 8 bracelets, rings and ear-rings of gold, as against the 400 of the same ornaments in silver. The silver diadems seem to be something quite apart, but we must observe that diadems in gold, somewhat similar in design, although without the distinctive ball, have been found in other parts of Spain, and they all seem to bear an affinity to those curious *annulæ* of gold, found occasionally in Britain, Ireland, and in Etruria.

These discoveries are also remarkable for the number of articles in copper, which include 70 axes and 30 arrow-heads in addition to many knives, poignards, awls, beads and ear-rings in the same metal, which as antiquaries know is seldom found pure among the ancient implements and weapons of Europe, but much more frequently in America. Then again among the beads many are made of steatite and serpentine, which latter we believe to be an unusual material, and although abundant in Spain must be very difficult to work and to bore, especially with flint or even bronze tools. The borings were sometimes from one end only, and sometimes from both ends; meeting in the middle, and one bead is figured in the plates, in which the two borings do not coalesce. Probably some of the small finely pointed flint implements were used for this purpose.

It is a matter of great interest to ascertain whether these fortified

up the horn, and we wonder whether here also the upturned coronet denoted exaltation in rank.

[3] M. de Rougemont in *L'age du bronze en l'Occident* says it is a very remarkable fact that silver is entirely absent north of the Alps in the bronze age, whilst known very anciently in the East.

hill-villages on the sea coast, with their singular remains, are relics of the aborigines of the Spanish Peninsula, in a state of gradually developing civilisation, or whether they are the remains of a foreign settlement, established in the peninsula for the sake of the metals obtainable from the surrounding country, and fortified against the natives? The latter is of course the hypothesis which will be most readily accepted, the known connection of the Phœnicians with the Iberian Peninsula, their commerce along the shores of the Mediterranean, and their skill in metallurgy, would naturally lead to the conclusion that the MM. Siret have unearthed some early Phœnician settlements; another point in favour of which, is the evident honour bestowed upon women by these unknown people. Not only are they buried with care with all their jewels, but also sometimes in the same urn with the man who presumably was their husband. These ladies with their veils and diadems, bracelets and ear-rings were doubtless princesses, perhaps even, judging from the story of Dido, they may have been leaders of the various expeditions, and founders of colonies, as represented by the hill villages; a curious point in connection with which may be here noticed. Sculptures representing Phœnician galleys were discovered by Layard, and are figured in the "History of Art in Phœnicia and its Dependencies" by Perrot and Chipiez. In these galleys, two in number, the centre of the upper deck is occupied in both cases by women wearing veils, confined by a metal band or fillet, which might readily be taken to represent the diadem of the Spanish ladies, discovered by MM. Siret; the warriors sit behind these ladies bareheaded, their shields hanging on the side of the vessel, and the rowers are seated on a lower deck. This would seem to show that Dido was neither the first, nor the last of her race, to go forth like the queen bee from the parent hive to found new colonies in foreign lands, but that it was common for Phœnician warriors or merchants, to be accompanied on their expeditions by their wives. This, if proved, would be a very important factor in maintaining the purity of the race, and a comparison between the skulls of the dwellers—male and female—in these fortified hill-villages, with those in the older neolithic settlements in the same locality, should enable anthropologists to speak authoritatively as to the identity or dissimilarity between them, and to decide whether the later remains are those of foreigners, and if so, to what race they may be assigned.[4]

But whether aboriginal or foreign, it is clear that the brothers

[4] MM. Siret have been able to obtain 80 skulls in good preservation from the various settlements.

Siret have made some very important discoveries, marking the progress from a purely neolithic stage, to one in which bronze had become common, but iron was unknown, and where, contrary to that which has been usually observed elsewhere, silver was more common than gold. This is accounted for by the fact that at a place called Herrerias at the foot of the Sierra Almagrera, about three Kilometres from the Mediterranean coast, spongy masses of native silver have been found at a depth of only 40 metres. In all probability this deposit was known to the Phœnicians, who Sir John Lubbock believes were acquainted with the mineral fields of Spain and Britain between 1500 and 1200 B.C.,[5] and we are told in the article upon Phœnicia in the Encyclopædia Britannica (New Edition) that "The great centre of Phœnician colonisation was the Western half of the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic coasts to the right and left of the straits. In especial the trade with the Guadalquiver Tarshish (or Tartessus) made the commercial greatness of the Phœnicians, being rich in fisheries (tunny and murœna), but also in silver and other metals, and vessels returning from Spain had often silver anchors."[6]

Another point which would seem to connect the relics found with the Phœnicians, is the presence in some of the later graves, of beads apparently of glass, nevertheless the MM. Siret incline to the opinion that the relics they have discovered are those of an advancing indigenous civilisation, fostered and influenced by intercourse with Phœnicia, and this is also the opinion of Dr. John Evans, who looks upon these finds as some of the most important of modern times, in which opinion all who examine these splendid volumes will agree. But we cannot help expressing a belief that further investigations, and especially skull measurements, will show that although the earlier neolithic settlements were in all probability indigenous, the fortified hill-villages of the bronze age, represent foreign settlements, probably very early Phœnician, but possibly Greek, Egyptian or Etruscan. Pomponius Mela relates that Cadiz was founded by the Tyrians not long after the siege of Troy, and these relics would seem to belong to a period quite as remote, judging from the total absence of iron, coins and inscriptions. The changes in the mode of sepulture point to a long period of time and to foreign intercourse, for nothing is so persistent among races

[5] See *Prehistoric Times*, p. 69.

[6] Considering the number of shells found there is a curious absence of implements of fishing. We do not remember a single fish-hook represented in the plates.

as burial customs; and here we get, first, simple inhumation in caves; then cremation and inhumation apparently co-existing, in cists covered with rough stone slabs; and lastly, a return to inhumation, but in urns again enclosed in cists constructed with care, of slabs of hewn stone. Urn burial is very widely distributed, but in most cases the bones placed in the urns were cremated. Here, however, the bodies were buried entire, and sometimes two in one urn as before noticed, children were also buried in smaller urns. The Phœnicians are known to have had various forms of burial, that in urns being one, and in the British Museum may be seen two immense urns from the Necropolis in Rhodes, in which probably the body was buried entire, a custom which the Rhodians may have derived from Phœnicia, and which points to a similar origin for the Spanish examples. In Ireland also if we mistake not, large burial urns have been found containing unburnt bodies, and singularly enough there are many other striking analogies between the finds of MM. Siret and many Irish antiquities, giving a semblance of truth to the ancient Irish legends which bring the earliest inhabitants of the Emerald Isle from Spain, and many of the later colonists, Fomorians, Nemedians, Firbolgs, Tuatha de Dannans, etc., either from Spain or the *East*—by which term may be understood Greece or other Mediterranean countries. This is a subject which has never yet been properly investigated, but which is full of interest; we are too apt to ignore or ridicule ancient legends, which often contain buried grains of truth of infinite value in elucidating the mysteries of prehistoric archæology.

We must not omit to notice the finely made pottery which forms such an important part of the collection of the MM. Siret, the specimens numbering 1300. The earlier vases are of coarse clay, yellow or red in colour and roughly ornamented with dots and lines, but the later are elegant and varied in form, black or reddish brown in colour, and although showing no trace of the potter's wheel, are skilfully turned by hand, whilst the great urns used for burial must have required immense skill and care in the manufacture; spindle-whorls are also found.

A jury of archæologists at Barcelona, in awarding a prize to MM. Siret, thus sums up the scope of the work: "The prize work written in French and enriched by great volumes of plates, in which are drawn with great perfection, the protohistoric objects spoken of in the text, is of considerable scientific value and importance, and is worthy of being placed in the first rank of works of the kind. It passes in review

and examines the noteworthy discoveries recently made by the authors in many localities in the South East of the peninsula, describing in a wonderful way the art of building, the metallurgy, the arms and utensils used by the primitive inhabitants of Spain, making known to us an advanced civilisation at so remote a period, as to justify the eulogies of Strabo on the riches and intellectual culture of the Turdetans. The manner of life, religious and political, the worship of the dead, whose remains were retained close to the domestic hearth, the use of the precious metals, gold and silver, at the same time as stone, and of pure copper and bronze, have opened up new ideas in regard to the protohistory of man in ancient Iberia. If science, which is always based upon facts, can obtain in other parts of Spain discoveries as noteworthy as these, explored, discussed and explained in as masterly a manner as by the authors of this prize work, the jury does not doubt that the systematic theories which treat of the first inhabitants of the peninsula will soon become clear and evident certainties."

A. W. BUCKLAND.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES IN RUSSIA.

THE chief difficulty in treating the question of the origin and growth of village communities in Russia lies in the want of documentary information before the beginning of the sixteenth century, at which period the system of serfdom was already operative.[1] This coincidence of village communities and serfdom seems to give reason to those who, with Fustel de Coulanges and Seebohm, proclaim the servile character of the first. It is not to be marvelled at, therefore, if some Russian historians, Professor Chicherin amongst others, have taken the same view as to the origin of the "mir," and have tried to establish that it was a posterior invention, introduced by and in the interests of the landlords. If we ask ourselves, what advantage such a system of land-holding

[1] The recent researches of Professor Kluchevsky of Moscow, have established this valuable fact, that long before the time of Boris Godunov, the chief creator of serfdom in Russia, personal dependence was established and maintained not so much by law as custom.

could serve, we are unable to answer this question otherwise than by referring to the principle of mutual responsibility in the fulfilment of the agricultural work and the payment of natural rents, which united all the serfs of one manor in a sort of corporate society. But what reason have we to affirm that this principle could not have been established without any reference to periodical redistribution of shares among the villagers? Have we no instances of it in the Roman municipal corporations, in the fiscal arrangements of ancient France, or modern Mussulman countries, not to speak of India, where it has been maintained without interruption from the time of the great Mogul?

But we have no reason to think that mutual responsibility and the system of village communities were introduced in Russia at the same time, the former being the necessary result of the latter. The interest of the landlord, as well as of the state, required only the establishment of the first, and had nothing to do with the mode of allotment of ground among the villagers. And if a proof of what seems to be a self-evident proposition is wanted, we may mention the fact, that mutual responsibility in matters of taxation, as well as in the fulfilment of servile obligations, was maintained for centuries even in those parts of Russia where the village community system was inoperative; as, for instance, in New Russia, comprising the southern governments lying on the shores of the Black Sea.

Although the theory I have just criticised is, on the whole, a failure, we must acknowledge to its chief propounders the merit of having brought forward a considerable number of facts, leaving no doubt as to the non-existence in mediæval Russia of the system of run-rig allotments, which chiefly characterises the now prevailing form of communal property. On the whole, we have no right to say that the village community was unknown to our remote forefathers, but we may assert, without fear of being contradicted, that they completely ignored the present mode of allotment of shares, all the information that the old Cadasters (the so-called piscovii knigi) give us on this subject pointing to the contrary.

Now, if we ask ourselves, what was the prevailing system of landholding in the centuries previous to the period of documentary information, we shall not be far from truth in saying that it was the same which characterises every patriarchal society: I mean the undivided ownership of the house-community, something like the one that under the name of "Zadruga or Bratstvo," is still operative among the southern Slavonians, and is recorded in Latin documents of the thirteenth century in Poland, under the name of "communio

fratrum et parentum." Family communities of this description are to be found as survivals in some interior governments of Russia, as those of Koursk, Ore and Saratov, and, what is of much greater importance, they are mentioned in the Prawda of Jaroslav (a sort of Mirror of Justice, very like the Leges Barbarorum of the continental Germans) and constituting the oldest Russian code (twelfth century). This sort of community is known to the Prawda under the same name as South Slavonian documents, especially those of Dalmatia, employ in speaking of the family community, the name of Verv.[2] As this word is far from being the only one the legislator has borrowed from the south Slavonic dialect, the supposition of Professor Kluchevsky as to the nationality of the person entrusted with the work of codification seems to be very plausible. The newly converted Russians, being ignorant of the art of writing, a foreigner, acquainted with the use of the Slavonic alphabet, was charged with the difficult task of codifying the legal customs and princely orders, thus presenting us with the first very unsystematical summary of our law. Not sufficiently versed in the tongue of the people for whom he had to write, the compiler sometimes used expressions that were familiar to him in the country from which he came. Among them we find the one that renders the idea of family-community. The text, where it is to be found, speaks of persons leaving the community (the "verv"), in which they have lived before. It establishes the rule, that in such a case their previous associates have nothing to pay for them in future, all their pecuniary responsibilities have to be supported from thence entirely by themselves. A prescription of the same kind may be found in the Lex Salica. [*tit.* de chrenecruda.] Not a single word is said in the Prawda about the rights of individuals on the undivided property of the family or "verv." The legislator had not to interfere with questions of every-day life, too well known to those who had the benefit of his work. His task was limited to the establishment of rules for cases of litigation; and the family property, not being subjected to partition, was therefore not brought within the sphere of his observations.

Not much more is to be found about the mode of family ownership in the cadasters, or better to say rolls of the hearth-tax of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries; besides the fact of mentioning the house community as the direct subject of taxation, those documents do not say a single word on the subject we are anxious to ascertain. The

[2] The same name is to be found in the statute of Politza, a mediæval Dalmatian Republic.

term they employ to design the house community is the same as that we find in the old French cadasters, the so-called "dénombrements de feux," it is the word "ognische," corresponding to the French "feu" (fire), and implying the idea of persons living together and preparing their food in common.

Newly discovered documents of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, coming from the northern parts of Russia, where serfdom has always been very little known, often employ a similar term, the term of "pechische" or "hearth," to designate persons of the same blood, living under the same roof, and possessing property in common. As to this property in special, it is said to belong to the whole community, but to be ruled by its chief alone, the father or eldest brother. No alienation of it can be made, unless with the consent of all the full-aged members of the family, and only in case of necessity, common to all the members of the brotherhood. Division is not to be allowed as long as the father is alive, unless he is the first to promote it. As soon as the father is dead, the brothers may go to division. In such a case each married couple sets up a separate home, and is admitted to an equal part in the fields belonging to the dissolved community, pasture and wood still remaining the object of common use. The result of division is, therefore, not the creation of private property in land, but the establishment of equal shares in the undivided family land. As the quality of the ground is sometimes unequal, the principle of the equality of shares means, that every married member of the brotherhood has the right to have his share in every field belonging to the community, and that this share is to be of the same amount as that of any other married couple of the brotherhood. Periodical redistribution is not required, and the right to sub-divide the individual shares being admitted, inequality of possession becomes soon the general characteristic of the dissolved family. To obviate the evil afforded by the system of successive sub-divisions, the necessary result of which is the partition of property in shares too small to be cultivated with advantage separately by each household, the following measure is applied. Newly established households, instead of making a demand for partition, leave their abodes and occupy the still uncultivated land in the forest or the waste, which belongs in common to all the families descending from the same root.

After the lapse of several generations, inequality of shares becomes an established fact, and the ground capable of cultivation being totally occupied, a feeling favourable to redivision of the once common property in equal shares, begins to

grow day by day. As soon as the majority, composed of the youngest members of the dissolved brotherhood, accepts the idea of a new redistribution, any further opposition becomes fruitless, and the redistribution follows, opposed by few, favoured by many. After several years, the same causes leading to the same results, a new redistribution of shares takes place, and by periodical redistributions of land become a general rule.

Anyone acquainted with the system of land-holding in the North-Western Provinces of India and in the Punjab finds no difficulty in ascertaining the perfect similitude, which exists between the process of dissolution that family property undergoes in India, and the one it follows in Russia.

The quarrels which, according to the testimony of English settlement officers, regularly occur between the present holders of land shares and those who require a redistribution—quarrels which in India have even a special name, the name of "kum o beshee"—illustrate in a plausible way the state of feeling contemporaneous with the first establishment of the run-rig system in Russia.

Up to this point we have followed the growth of the village community system only in the northern provinces of Russia, where it could not have been obstructed in any way by the establishment of personal servitude. It is time to ask ourselves if the process of evolution we have described is limited to this region alone, or if it exists also in the middle and southern provinces of the immense Empire of the Czars.

The statistical accounts, composed by order of our provincial assemblies (zemstva) have furnished us recently with a large amount of materials, illustrating the successive growth of the now existing system of village communities in the most remote parts of Russia. Under other names, the same stages of development are to be ascertained in little Russia, where the "mir-system" (whose existence at the time of Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, is established by the survey made by the order of Rasoumovsky) was preceded by family ownership, which, according to the statutes of Lithuania of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was in a state of progressive dissolution. The name those documents give to the members of a dissolved brotherhood is "siabri;" they are considered to be holders of unequal shares in a property that began by being a common stock to all of them.

In those parts of Russia, where military colonies have been established during the last centuries for purposes of defence, survivals of the previous stages of the common ownership in land are

still in existence. Such is the case in the southern districts of the governments of Koursk and Voronej, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were still the southern limit of the Russian power; such is also the case among the Cosaques of the Don, of the Terek, and of the Black Sea, among whom periodical redistributions of land are either unknown or of recent origin, the prevailing system allowing each household to appropriate such an amount of land as will correspond to its wants, the land so taken in possession being free of any previous occupation or abandoned and left uncultivated.

The origin of the village communities and its consecutive growth being now briefly explained, we may turn our attention to the description of the now prevailing system, the system of the "mir."

It supposes the existence in the village area of at least four fields, one used as waste, one for winter, one for summer corn, and one for fallow. The scarcity of land, and the prodigious increase of population, have recently become in several parts of Russia the origin of a new system of land holding, very unfavourable to rural economy; it consists in eliminating one of the four fields—the waste, and dividing it in equal shares among the existing households. The consequence of this is the diminution in the number of breeding cattle, and an increasing difficulty in cultivating the soil with the few oxen or horses still kept by each household.

Where the ground is of unequal fertility, the number of the fields very often surpasses by many the four ordinary ones; each household receiving in that case equal shares in each. Sometimes an agreement takes place, the result of which is that certain households receive their shares in one field, and others in another.

Pastures and wood remain, as a rule, undivided, the villagers having the right to use them exclusively for their own need. As a consequence of this rule, foreign cattle cannot be allowed, on any account, to mix with the village stock. Where such regulations—very similar to those followed in Switzerland as to the "Allmends" and "Alps"—are unknown, the rich soon turn to their own profit the right of communal pasture and exhaust the waste ground by sending on it a larger number of sheep or cattle than it can afford to sustain.

Periodical distributions of shares in the common forest happen here and there in the few communes that have received allotments of wood at the time of emancipation, or succeeded in keeping them

untouched. Saying this, I have specially in view the middle and southern part of Russia, where fuel is, as a rule, very rare. As to the northern provinces, forest-ground is in such abundance that a system very like the wild culture of the days of Tacitus, including the burning up of whole miles of wood, is still in existence. Its name is podsechnoie chosiaistvo.

As in mediæval England and old France, the corn and meadow-lands, when harvest is at an end, become common waste, and are used as such by all the members of the same community from the end of August to the end of April.

Before finishing this paper, I wish to say a word or two as to the way in which redistributions of ground are made. These redistributions are of two kinds. Some ought to be called local readjustments; others present a character of generality. The first occur in single cases, when a new household is admitted to a share of a yet unoccupied ground, or exchanges its allotment for one belonging to a neighbour; the other happens at fixed periods, the shortest of which is three years, the term of a complete rotation of crops under the existing three fields' system, and the longest nineteen or more years, the number of years that separate the old census of the population from a new one. In the last case, the number of shares corresponds, as a rule, not to the number of actually living souls, but to the one that was counted in the last made census.

Local arrangements procure, nevertheless, to some communities the possibility of adjusting the shares of their members according to their well-understood interests. The remark has been made that in provinces where the ground is rich, which is the case of the middle and southern governments, where the black ground (chernosem) is to be found, the distribution of shares is made according to the number of actually living souls; the revenue afforded by agriculture surpassing the amount of expenses produced by taxation. The reverse is the rule in those parts of Russia where the ground is poor, the taxes absorbing more of the revenue of the household than it can get from the ground it occupies, and nobody wishing to take the lot left free by the death of some one of the members of a surtaxed family.

Not every spot of village-ground is subject to redistribution: the homesteads constitute the inalienable property of the households. Orchards, gardens, and, in a few places, some of the meadows cannot pass into the hands of new owners in case of a general redistribution.

As a rule, the meadows follow a different course of rotation to the agricultural ground; and, at all events, constitute separate fields in the village area, in which every householder has a right to have his share, equal to that of his neighbour.

In a paper, whose destiny is to be read by archæologists, I will not indulge in the description of the vices and advantages of the existing system of peasant-ownership in Russia. But I will ask for a moment the attention of the reader to a peculiar communistic feature in the manners of the country-people, intimately allied with the prevailing mode of land-holding, and having its parallel in mediæval England—I mean the moral obligation which compels every peasant to help his neighbours in the accomplishment of agricultural work, especially in harvest time. This sort of "communal help" (obschtinnia pomochi, such is the name under which this work done in common is known in Russia), reminds us of the "love-boons," or "angariæ autumni," so often mentioned in rentals and court-rolls of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The same feeling of mutual reponsibility, the origin of which is to be looked for in the system of owning land in common, is the source from which springs another very curious institution—namely, that of lands belonging in undivided ownership to the whole mir. Such lands are cultivated by all the households of the same village, and their yearly produce is regularly brought to the "common storage" (obschestvenni magasini), and equally distributed among all the householders in case of dearth.

No special poor or "school-lands" ("armen und schulgüter"), similar to those "biens des pauvres" and "biens des écoles" of Switzerland or France, are known to exist in Russia; but a certain number of acres, not subject to redistribution, is assigned to the clergy in each separate village, where a regular ministry has been appointed. This is not at all the case of every village, but only of those which have a sufficient number of householders to keep the priest in a condition not very remote from that of an ordinary peasant. The number of householders that constitutes a village into a parish is fixed by law at different standards in the different parts of the Empire. This law has been strictly maintained until the Government experienced that the want of regular clergy was the surest ally of schism, dissenters rapidly augmenting in numbers in the parishes left without spiritual aid.

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY.

INDEX NOTES.

8. Roman Remains in London.—i. North Side of Thames.

THIS index forms a complete topographical record of discoveries in London. The authorities used are—C. Roach Smith's *Catalogue of London Antiquities*, *Collectanea Antiqua*, and *Illustrations of Roman London*; Tite's *Catalogue of Antiquities found on the site of the Royal Exchange*; Price's *Roman Antiquities Mansion House*, *Historical Description of Guildhall*, *Bastion of London Wall*, and *Roman Tessellated Pavement, Bucklersbury*; Transactions and Proceedings of evening meetings of London and Middlesex Archæological Society; *Archæologia*; Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries; Archæological Journal; Journal of British Archæological Association; *Gentleman's Magazine*; *Numismatic Chronicle*; British Museum; Guildhall Museum; Museum of Practical Geology; Camden's *Britannia*; Horsley's *Romana Britannia*; Leland's *Collectanea*; Wren's *Parentalia*; and the local histories.

Abchurch Lane, Lamps and pottery (undescribed). *Brit. Mus.*; *Guild. Mus.*
Addle Street, Bronze key. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xii. 120.
Aldermanbury, City wall, Postern, remains of blind arches, tiles, etc. *Rom. Lond.*, 17.
Aldersgate Street, Glass bottle perfect. *Guild. Mus.*
Aldgate, Traces of the city wall; Samian ware (undescribed). *Brit. Mus.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1861, i. 646.
America Square, City wall, exposed at depth of 6 feet 6 inches, identical in form with the fragments discovered in the Tower precincts. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxvi. 464.

Barge Yard, Ornamented silver hair pin, figure of Venus (undescribed), and other personal ornaments, pincers, and Samian ware. *Brit. Mus.*: *Guild. Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxvi. 237.
Bartholomew Close, bronze handle of chest. *Brit. Mus.*
Bartholomew Lane, Mosaic pavements. *Cat. Ant. Royal Exch.*, 31.
Basing Lane, Pottery, tiles, walls. *Ms. Diary*, by E. B. Price.
Basinghall Street, Bronze sheep or horse bells, crucibles. *Guild. Mus.*
Bath Street (In rear of New Post Office), depth 15 feet, light and brown Mortaria, Samian, and Upchurch pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxiii. 265.
Bethnal Green, Leaden coffin, ornamented, containing human remains, jet hair pins, etc. *Coll. Antiq.*, iii. 45, 62; *Proc. E. M. L. & M. Arch. Soc.*, 1861; *Gent. Mag.*, 1862, ii. 614-15; *Brit. Mus.*
Bevis Marks, Figure in Oolitic stone attired in Phrygian cap with pallium or cloak, sculptures from a bastion of the city wall, inscribed stones, statuary, architectural fragments. *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 47; *Arch. Inst.*, xlii. 154; Price's *Guildhall*; *Antiquary*, 1885, ii. 33.
Billiter Square, bronze fibulæ. *Baily MSS.*; *Guild. Mus.*
Billiter Street [Roman level, 12 to 16 feet], lamp and stand, tiles, mortar, pottery. *Arch.*, xxix. 153; *Guild. Mus.*
Birchin Lane, Mosaic pavements, figure of a sea horse found in 1857, portion only uncovered, Samian and other pottery, with other pavements. *Arch.* xxix.; *Proc. E. M. Lon. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1861, 33; Price's *Tess. Pav.*, 1869, 17.
Bishopsgate Street, Coins, church vaults arched with equilateral Roman bricks,

depth 14 feet, contained human remains, iron horse shoes. Allen's *Lon.*, i. 25 ; *Guild. Mus.*

BLACKFRIARS (Excavations between the Deanery and Blackfriars), bronze statuette of Diana. Malcolm's *Lond. Red.*, iii. 509.

BLOMFIELD STREET (MOORFIELDS), Amphoræ and pottery, interment by cremation, large glass bottles and wooden cist containing bones, also a wooden keg or *cupa*, vase,[1] iron horse shoes. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1867 ; *Guild. Mus.* ; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 517 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser. vi. 170.

BOW, Pottery, with stone coffin, from the Roman way leading from Bethnal Green to Old Ford, and thence across the sea to Essex. Contained human remains, lime, &c. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 192.

BOW CHURCH, Causeway disclosed in preparing the foundations for new steeple, in thickness four feet, beneath it Roman bricks and debris. Wren's *Parentalia*, 265.

BOW LANE (Cheapside), Tile tomb,[2] depth 12 feet, skeleton, coin of Domitian in its mouth. *Gent. Mag.*, 1840, i. 420 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 58.

BRIDGEWATER SQUARE, Fine glass lachrymatory. *Guild. Mus.*

BROAD (NEW) STREET, Coffin of lead bound with iron bands, depth 14 feet. *Coll. Antiq.*, vii. 180.

BROAD (OLD) STREET, Amphoræ, leaden pipe found in 1854, depth four feet, portion of supply or waste-pipe to the baths of a Roman dwelling, the pipe in lengths of nine feet ; mosaic pavement on site of the Excise Office. *Arch.* xxxvi. 203-213 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xi. 73 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 1st ser., 1854, 114 ; *Proc. E.M.L.* and *M. Arch. Soc.*, 1860, 3 ; *Mus. Pract. Geol.* ; *Rom. Lond.*, 55.

BROKER ROW, Blomfield Street, remains of city wall, fifty feet or more. *Antiquary*, 1885, ii. 180.

BROOK'S WHARF (THAMES), Bronze armillæ, glass, flesh and other hooks ; fishing tackle, keys, etc. *Guild. Mus.*

BUCKLERSBURY, Mortaria, pins, pottery, bone draughtsmen, fine tessellated pavements, depth 19 feet. Price's *Rom. Tessell. Pavement* ; *Guild. Mus.*

BUDGE ROW, inscribed stone, Samian ware. *Guild. Mus.* ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1857, iii., 69 ; *Hübner* ; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 34, vii. 22 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iv., 113.

BUSH LANE, frescoes, pavements, tiles, debris of dwellings, walls of great strength.[3] *Arch.* xxix. 156 ; *Lnd. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii., 213 ; *Rom. Lnd.*, 14.

BUTLER'S WHARF (Thames), Bronze pins, personal ornaments and pottery. *Guild. Mus.*

CAMOMILE STREET, pavements found in 1707, depth four feet, sculptures from a bastion of the city wall, sepulchral monuments, statue in Oolitic stone of a "signifer" or standard-bearer, fragments of emblematical figures, inscribed stones and architectural details, wall, depth 8 feet, 10 feet high, width 9 feet. *Gent. Mag.*, i. 415-417 ; Price's *Bastion of London Wall*, 1880 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxii. 490-493 ; *Dr. Woodward, Letter to Sir C. Wren*, 12-14.

CANNON STREET, bronze lamp of rare form, statuette of Hercules. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, iii. 100 ; *British Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 58.

CANNON STREET ("Station S.E. Railway"), apartments with tessellated floors ; external wall, 200 feet long, 10 feet high, and 12 feet thick,[4] numerous cross walls. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 213.

[1] Pliny. H. N. xiv. 27. This burial, probably intended as a limitary mark. The site being on the line of division between the parishes of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate. It may also be mentioned that an immense number of human skulls were found throughout this street.

[2] In Paternoster Row, a tile tomb was found with skeleton beneath a tessellated pavement, and deposited, therefore, at a period long anterior to the construction of the building above it. These interments mark the limitation and gradual increase of the Roman city.

[3] The enormous walls here described are probably like those adjoining in Scot's Yard which are referred to by Gale *Com. Ant. Iter.*, p. 89, and Maitland, p. 12. The wall described by Gale as *miræ crassitudinis et firmitatis* seems identical with the former; the tessellated pavements and other vestigia of houses are evidently connected with the latter.

[4] The foundations of the present station rest upon these solid blocks of masonry.

CANNON STREET (New), Amphoræ, coins, debris of buildings, pavements, and walls, depth 12 feet, flue-tiles and frescoes, human skeleton with coffin nails, lamps, and pottery, stone mouldings. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 436 ; x. 191. *Mus. Prac. Geol.*

CATEATON STREET AND LAD LANE (Gresham Street), Amphoræ, glass, lamps, fine Durobrivian and Samian pottery, tessellated pavements,[5] partially uncovered only, depth 9 feet, toys in terra cotta. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843; 21-22, 190-191, ii. 81 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iii. 335 ; *Mus. Pract. Geol.* ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, ii. 126.

CHEQUER COURT, broken tiles, many inscribed. *Arch.*, xxix. 157.

CHURCH LANE (Whitechapel), sepulchral stone inscribed, depth 6 feet. *Gent. Mag.*, 1784, ii. 672 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 24.

CLAPTON, sarcophagus in marble, inscribed. *L. and Mid. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 191, 212 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1867, ii. 793.

CLEMENT'S LANE, coins, lamps, pottery, pavements, depth 12 feet near the church, inscribed stones. *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 32 ; *Arch.*, xxiv., 350 ; xxviii. 142-152.

CLERKENWELL (underground railway), urns. *Baily MSS.* ; *Guild. Mus.*

CLOAK LANE, sepulchral stones (Purbeck), inscribed. *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 139 ; *Gent. Mag.*, *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii. 351 ; *Brit. Mus.*

COCK LANE, bronze armlets found on the wrists of skeleton, depth 12 feet, Mortaria, pestle of terra cotta and pottery. *Brit. Arch Assoc.*, vii. 87 ; *Guild. Mus.*

COLEMAN STREET, Bone comb, urn of dark ware with cover. *Baily MSS.* ; *Brit. Mus.* ; *Guild. Mus.*

COLLEGE STREET (Dowgate Hill), tessellated pavement near Dyers' Hall (depth 13 feet 8 inches), coins and pottery. *Gent Mag.*, 1839, ii., 636.

CORBET COURT, Samian ware. *Baily MSS.*

CORNHILL, fine Samian vase, embossed and of unusual kind, the figures and ornaments having been separately moulded and affixed while moist, the glaze added and fixed afterwards.[6] *Cat. Lon. Antiq.*, 29 ; *Arch.*, xxix. 274 ; *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 97.

CRIPPLEGATE, the city wall, with bastion, encased with later work. *Rom. Lond.*, 17.

CREED LANE, Mortaria and other pottery, fine Samian ware. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i. 190-191. *Mus. Pract. Geol.*

CROOKED LANE, Amphoræ, armlets, early coins, fused glass, pavements. pottery, pins, personal ornaments, styli, tiles. *Arch.*, xxiv. 191-202 ; *Guild. Mus.* ; *Hist. and Antiq. St. Michael Crooked Lane*, p. 19 *et. seq.*

CROSBY SQUARE (Bishopsgate), cover of marble cippus, traces of inscription,[7] mosaic pavements, depth 13 feet. *Arch.*, xxviii., 397 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1836, i. 369-372 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxiii. 106 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 57 ; *Guild. Mus.*

CULLUM STREET, debris of buildings, frescoes, walls, mosaic pavements, pottery, depth 11 feet 6 inches. *Arch.*, xxix. 153 ; *Baily MSS.*

CULVERT'S BREWERY (Thames), bone dice. *Guild. Mus.*; Price's *Rom. Antiq.*

DALSTON, near to Shrubland Road, Queen's Road, urns. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv. 79.

DOWGATE HILL, tessellated pavements, Upchurch ware. Allen's *Hist. Lond.*, i. 6 ; iii. 508 ; *Baily MSS.*

DRAPER'S HALL, large urn with handles. *Baily MSS.* ; *Guild. Mus.*

DUKE STREET (Aldgate), foundations of the city wall, together with projecting bastion referred to as perfect in the year 1753. Maitland's *Hist. Lond.*

EARL STREET (near the Bible House), enamelled fibulæ. *Guild. Mus.*

EASTCHEAP, Amphoræ, coins of the first century, armour part of a Roman *lorica*, pottery, &c., a well at a depth of 10 feet, flue tiles, debris of buildings, walls, mortaria, pavements, Samian ware. *Gent. Mag.*, 1833, i. 69-70, ii. 524 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 148 ; *Arch.*, xxiv. 190, 202.

[5] The pavements in this locality were in unusually large numbers, and of all varieties; quantities of the "*Spicata Testacea*" or "herring bone" pattern, a form still in use with stables and outhouses in the present day.

[6] This description of pottery is of exceptional rarity ; some fine examples are in the possession of Mr. Ransom at Hitchin.

[7] Drawing in possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A.

EDGEWARE ROAD, indications of the Roman road, leading in a line from Paddington to Harrow-on-the-Hill. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxi., 218.

ENDELL STREET, leaden sepulchral cist, with bones and silver coins found in 1854. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., ii. 376, 377 ; *Brit. Mus.*

EWER STREET, glass lachrymatory (perfect). *Brit. Mus.*

FENCHURCH STREET, coins, fibulæ, frescoes, glass, &c., leaden sepulchral cist with bones, pavements, depth 12 feet, silver medallion, with figure of house-dog springing, terra cotta female head, tiles ornamented. *Arch.*, xxix. 53 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxviii. 283, xliii. 102 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1834, i. 156, 159 ; *Mus. Pract. Geol.; Brit. Mus.; Rom. Lond.*, 59 ; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 216 ; *Guild Mus.*

FINCH LANE, tessellated pavement, remains of buildings. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 64.

FINSBURY, bronze three-legged pot, axe head, glass and pottery. *Guild. Mus.* ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxv. 166,

FINSBURY CIRCUS, circular plate of metal, representing the popular story of Romulus and Remus, inscribed stone. *Arch. Inst.*, i. 115 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1837, 361 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 26, 76 ; *Guild. Mus.; Coll. Antiq.*, i. 134.

FISH (OLD) STREET HILL, arch turned with tiles built on stones laid on wooden piles. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 45.

FLEET DITCH, site near the old prison, depth 15 feet, coins, pottery, &c. Conyer's MSS. in Bib. Sir Hans Sloane ; Maitland *His. Lnd.*, 504.

FOSTER LANE, altar now in Goldsmiths' Hall, figure of Diana, depth 15 feet, found in 1830. *Arch.*, xxiv. 350, xxix. 145 ; *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 130, 134 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 48 ; *Vest Rom. Lond.; Hübner*, vii. 22.

FOUNDERS COURT (Lothbury), pavement near to the Church of St. Margaret's, found in 1835. *Arch.*, xxix.

FRIDAY STREET, Samian ware. *Mus. Prac. Geol.*

GOLDSMITH STREET, bronze scale beam. *Guild. Mus.*

GOODMAN'S FIELDS, cemetery, coins, glass, urns containing bones, sepulchral stone inscribed. *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 141 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii. 416, 417 ; *Hübner*, vii. 23 ; Malcolm *Lond. Rediv.*, iv. 450 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 24.

GRACECHURCH STREET (site of St. Benet's Church), beads in numbers, combs, bronzes, fine hand of statue, &c., left hand of bronze statue,[8] heroic size, Durobrivian and Samian pottery, glass, several portions of bowls, &c., in blue and green glass, many illustrating the practice of "pillar moulding," walls *across* the roadway, depth 22 feet, 4 feet thick. *Cat. Ant. Royal Exch.*,[9] p. xii. ; *Guild. Mus.; Rom. Lond.; Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii. 109, xxiv. 76, 78, xxvi. 72.

GUILDHALL, excavations at East End, small alabaster female head. *Guild. Mus.*

GUTTER LANE, coins, pottery. *Arch.*, xxviii. 142, 152.

GUY'S HOSPITAL, Samian ware. *Baily MSS.; Guild. Mus.*

HACKNEY, urns containing coins ranging from Julius Cæsar to Constantine, stone coffin, inscription illegible, found in 1773. *Gent. Mag.*, 1853, p. 899 ; Robinson's *Hist. of Hackney*, p. 29.

HAMPSTEAD, sepulchral urn with calcined bones and lamp, found in 1774. *Gent. Mag.*, 46, p. 169 ; Park's *Hist. Hampstead*, p. 12.

HART STREET, CRUTCHED FRIARS, sculpture *Deæ Matres*. *Coll. Antiq.* i. 136, 137 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 247 ; *ibid.* ii. 249 ; Wright's *Celt, Roman and Saxon*, 289 ; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 32 ; *Rm. Lnd.*, 33 ; *Guild Mus.*

HAYDON SQUARE, MINORIES, Sarcophagus, depth 15 feet. *Rom. Lond.*, 45 ; *Brit. Mus.*

HOLBORN, Mosaic pavement, sepulchral urns, bone whistles, fibulæ, glass beads, leaden lamp stand. *Gent. Mag.*, 1807, i. 415, 417 ; 1833, i. 549 ; Grew's *Cat. of the rarities belonging to the Royal Soc.*, 1681, 880 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1869, 70 ; *Guild. Mus.*

HOLBORN BRIDGE, indications of roadway in direction of London stone. Gale's *Itinerary*, 64 ; Camden *Brit.*

HOLBORN BRIDGE (new street), Anchor (3 feet 10 inches high), bottles, Samian and Upchurch pottery. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii. 416, 417.

[8] Found on site of the well known hostelry, the "Spread Eagle."
[9] A most useful work of reference.

HOLBORN CIRCUS (Mecking's Premises), ampulla with handle. *Baily MSS.*; *Guild. Mus.*

HOLBORN HILL, oaken case, 2 feet 9 inches square at a depth of 18 feet, containing urns, charred bones and pottery. *Arch.*, xxix. 147.

HOLBORN VALLEY, bone whistles, bronze fibulæ, leaden lamp stand, pottery. *Guild. Mus.*

HOLBORN VIADUCT (Parsonage House, St. Andrew's Church), seven vases. *Baily MSS.*

HONEY LANE MARKET, coins, pottery, pavements, depth 17 feet, mortarium frescoes, walls of masonry. *Gent. Mag.*, 1836, i. 135-136, 369, 372; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1861, 69; *Guild. Mus.*

HOUNDSDITCH, masonry, debris of a bastion built against but not bonded into the city wall, sculptures from the locality utilised as building material. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxvii. 87; *Guild. Mus.*

HUGGIN LANE, pavements in grey and white tessere.[10] *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., ii. 184.

IDOL LANE, pottery, &c. *Baily MSS.*

ISLINGTON (Barnsbury Park), coins, pottery and tiles, presumed traces of prætorium or camp. *Gent. Mag.*, 1823, ii. 489; 1824, i. 5; Hone's *Every Day Book*, ii. 1566; Allen's *History of London*, i.; Nelson's *Hist. Islington*; Lewis' *Hist. Islington*, 2 *et seq.*

IVY LANE, Pottery. *Proc. E. M. L. and M. A. Soc.*, 1860, 3.

KING'S ARMS YARD, marble Palette. *Brit. Mus.*

KNIGHT RIDER (LITTLE) STREET, arch turned with tiles (perfect), depth 14 feet, frescoes, tiles, walls, &c. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 254.

KNIGHT RIDER (GREAT) STREET, bricks, wall, &c. *Arch.*, xl. 49.

LAMBETH HILL,[11] wall of great strength and solidity, depth 9 feet. *Rom. Lond.*, 18.

LAURENCE POUNTNEY LANE, Samian ware, walls constructed entirely of tiles.[12] *Mus. Prac. Geol.*

LEADENHALL MARKET, Inscribed tiles, Frescoes in quantities, walls of great thickness, one with circular apex at southwest end; foundations and pavements extending over a large area. Illustrated descriptions as yet unpublished.[13] *Brit. Mus.*

LEADENHALL STREET,[14] Frescoes, Tessellated Pavement (East India House) depth 9 feet, Samian and other Pottery, querns or millstones. *Bayley. Lon. and Midd.* i., 95; *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 57; *Gent. Mag.*, i., 83; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii., 341.

LIME STREET, Samian Vases, perfect, incuse pattern, rare, in Museum of W. Ransom, Esq., F.S.A., Hitchin,[15] Urn containing a *hoard*[16] of silver coins, depth 17 feet, with pottery, &c.; specimen of charred wheat, Upchurch Ware, glass. *Guild. Mus.*; *Num. Chron.*, ser. iii., 58-60, 269-281; *Mus. Prac. Geol.*

LIVERPOOL STREET, pottery, terra cotta figure of *Pomona*, mask of a larger figure not yet identified. *Guild. Mus.*

[10] In large quantities and only partially cleared.

[11] This wall extended as far as Queenhithe, it marked the southern limit of the city, contained friezes, entablatures, sculptured marbles, and other relics from the ruins of earlier buildings.

[12] Indications in this country of early work.

[13] Accurate plans and drawings, taken at the time of the excavations, are in the possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A. As bearing on the early history of this particular site, to be referred to hereafter, it may be remarked that it has never yet been private property.

[14] Some rare descriptions of glass discovered here, viz., fragments of dark blue and streaked in variegated colours. Another variety an opaque white, the handle of a small vase, with boss representing a lion's head.

[15] This belongs to a period of which few such deposits are known, the majority of such hoards discovered in Britain usually belonging either to an earlier or later date.

[16] Mr. Ransom possesses what is *now* probably the finest private collection existing in its integrity, of "Roman Antiquities from the City of London." Many of the objects are unusually fine specimens of their class, some of great rarity, and all as yet are unpublished. It is gratifying to know that so unique and interesting a collection has fallen into such good hands.

(*To be continued.*)

9. Archæological Societies, 1886-87.

[Proceedings of the Sociöty of Antiquaries, 2nd series, vol. xi.; y Cymmrodor the magazine of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion, vol. viii.; Derbyshire Archæological Society, vol. x.]

Bishop (G.), The Leaden Bullae of the Roman Pontiffs. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 260-270.
Booth (J.), On the Early Descent of the Ferrers. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 148-150.
Browne (Rev. G. F.), An Incised Stone in the Tower of Skipworth Church, Yorks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 171-173.
Brown (J. A.), A Palæolithic Workshop Floor discovered near Ealing. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 211-215.

Cave-Browne (Rev. J.), Paving Tiles found in the Church of All-Saints', Maidstone. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 202-203.
Chandler (Prof.), On the Value of Court Rolls. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 72-77.
Cheales (Rev. H. J.), Roman and other Remains found at Willoughby, Lincolnshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 65-69.
Clinch (G.), Palæolithic and Neolithic Implements found at Rowes Farm, West Wickham, Kent. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 161-166.
Colomb (Colonel), A Letter from Thomas Shephard to Hugh Peters, 1645. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 348-359.
Cooper (Major C.), A Singular Figure of Carved Bone, &c., found in Bedfordshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 311.
Cowper (H. S.), Prehistoric Remains from Lancashire and Westmoreland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 227-231.
Cox (Rev. J. C.), The Rhymed Chronicle of John Harestaffe. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 71-147.

Day (R.), Bronze Weapons found in Lough Erne. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 157-158; 249-250.
Dawkins (Prof. B.), A Hoard of Bronze Articles found at Eaton, near Norwich. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 42-51.
Duka (T.), An African Ivory Anklet and a Chinese Cup formed out of Rhinoceros Horn. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 62-64.

Evans (J.), A Bronze Hoard from Felixstowe, Suffolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 8-12.
———— An Onyx Cameo bearing the Head of Medusa. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 396-397.
Evans (J. G.), Pedigrees from Jesus College MS. *Cymmrodor* viii. 83-92.

Ferguson (R. S.), Inscribed Stone found at Castlenook, near Whitley Castle, Northumberland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 27-29.
Fletcher (G.), Tideswell Dale Quarry. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 1-8.
Fowler (Rev. J. T.), A Roman Steelyard of Bronze discovered at Catterick, Yorks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 317-318.

G. (D. G.), Folk-lore of Wales [the Call of the Raven Imitated—Children's Play of Blindman's Buff.] *Cymmrodor* viii. 228-229.
Green (E.), An Inlaid Picture Frame with the Instruments of the Passion. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 181-185.

Hall (Rev. G. R.), A Small Flint Knife and Piece of Glass found at Chollerford, Northumberland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 187-189.
Hancock (T. W.), Ancient Welsh Words. *Cymmrodor* viii. 200-208.
Hart (W. H.), Calendar of the Fines for the County of Derby from their commencement in the reign of Richard I. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 151-158.
Higgins (A.), Thirteenth Century Ivory Box or Pyx from Sicily. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 318-330.
Hope (W. H. S.), The Great Mace, Standing Cup, and Snuff-Box belonging to the City of Westminster. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 36-41.

Hope (W. H. S.), A Remarkable Stone found on the site of Roche Abbey, near Rotherham. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 245-248.
———— The Seals of English Bishops. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 271-306.
Hudd (A. E.), A Roman Interment discovered near Farmborough, Somersetshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 313-314.

Kerry (Rev. C.), Annals of Horseton and Horsley. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 16-27.
Kirby (T. F.), Excavations at Winchester Cathedral Church. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 99-102, 411-413.
———— Waterwork Panels recently discovered at Winchester College. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 196-199.

Leader (J. D.), Report of Discovery of Cinerary Urns at Crookes, near Sheffield. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 390.
Lloyd (H. W.), Notes on the Life of St. David, the Patron Saint of Wales. *Cymmrodor* viii. 25-40.

Micklethwaite (J. T.), An English Cope at Pienza. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 398-401.
Middleton (J. H.), A Bronze Statuette from Egypt of the God Phtah. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 332-335.
Mitchell (F. J.), A Roman Pavement lately uncovered at Caerwent, Monmouthshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 195-196.
Money (W.), Roman Remains on Stancombe Down, Berks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 410-411.
Moore (E. S.), Roman and other Articles found at Felixstowe, Suffolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 12-14.

Norris (H.), A Number of Roman and Mediæval Objects found at Hamden Hill, Somerset. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 86-88.

Owen (J.), Race and Nationality. *Cymmrodor* viii. 1-24.

Payne (G.), A Carved Beam or Panel upon the Front of a House at Halesworth, Suffolk. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 307.
———— Roman Lead Coffin found at Plumstead. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 308-309.
Peacock (E.), Charter of Edward I. and Foresters Account amongst the Muniments of Berkeley Castle. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 255-258.
———— Documents Relating to the Observance of the Gunpowder Treason and Plot. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 391-395.
Price (F. G. H.), The Opening of a Barrow in Colwinston, Glamorganshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi, 430-438.
Price (J. E.), An Inscribed Roman Tile discovered in Warwick Lane, Newgate Street, London. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 178-179.

Renaud (F.), Fourteenth Century Tile Pavement in Prior John de Crauden's Chapel at Ely. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 203-206.
Robinson (J. C.), On Some Examples of Byzantine Art. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 88-92.

Savage (Rev. E. B.), A Cup-marked Stone at Ballagawne, Arbory, Isle of Man. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 239-241.
Scarth (Rev. H. M.), Account of a Roman House discovered at Wemberham in Yatton, Somerset, and a Hoard of Coins at Kingston-Seymour. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 29-32,
————Sculptured Stone found at Bath. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 102-105.
Sitwell (Sir G. R.), A Picture of the Iron Trade in the Seventeenth Century. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 28-46.
Smith (Cecil), A Chalcedony Gem Engraved with the Apollo of Kanachos. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 251-255.

Waller (J. G.), A Remarkable Incised Slab at Séclin, near Lille. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 237-239.
Ward (J.), Tideswell Dale Quarry. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 9-15.

Ward (J.), Barrows at Haddon Fields. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 47-55.
Watkin (W. T.), Roman Remains at Little Chester. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 159-163.
Westwood (Prof.), An Anglo-Saxon Sepulchral Slab at Stratfield, Mortimer, Berks. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 224-226,
——— Remains of a Fine Norman Cross Shaft at Sheffield. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 226-227.
Worsley (J. E.), Discovery of an Ancient Grave on Ty-clwyfau Farm, near Llanfaerfechan. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2nd ser. xi. 428-430.

Yeatman (Pym), The Recusants of Derbyshire. *Derbyshire Arch. Soc.* x. 56-70.

QUARTERLY REPORT OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

Prehistoric Remains.—At Ventnor, near where the Crown Inn stood, some digging brought to light the remains of the wild boar, wild bull, and wild deer, accompanied by the frontal limb of an antler, which bore signs of having been sharpened and polished by a sharp-edged flint.—Mr. J. Sylvester has been excavating on his estate at Slade, near Petersfield, and has discovered many prehistoric flint flakes and scrapers, bones of animals and men. Two of three tumuli have been opened, and burnt bones have been found on a layer of black earth, with fragments of a single urn. There are also three curious parallel banks of earth across a valley, formed of gravel, there being a layer of white clay above the natural soil. Mr. Sylvester is continuing his excavations, and he promises to communicate to us the results.—A tusk of the great hairy elephant has been unearthed from the cliff near Swalecliffe between Whitstable and Herne Bay.—The Rev. W. D. Purdon obtained from the alum-shales in the Lias of Lofthouse, near Whitby, a skull of a pterodactyle, which is extremely rare, besides which the present specimen displays parts previously unknown.—Some prehistoric remains are reported to have been found at Dunstable.

British Remains.—About ninety gold coins of the Iceni have been discovered in a crock at Freckenham, near Mildenhall, Suffolk. The crock is of coarse black sun-dried, or slightly-baked clay, ornamented apparently by the rough scratchings of a stick. The types of the coins are principally those described in Evans' *Ancient British Coins* (plate xiv., Nos. 12, 13, and 14.)

Roman Remains.—A pewter vessel, silver ring, and nearly 1500 coins rom temp. Constantine to Gratianus, were found early in the year at East Harptree, Somerset.—A large quantity of pottery, including some Samian ware in a fragmentary condition, has been found in the excavations for the new markets in Carlisle Pieces of red Salopian and the black Durobrivian pottery were also found, together with a small circular crock, richly enam-

elled. The soles of several sandals, thickly studded over with nails, were also discovered. On the pottery was displayed well-known potters' marks, ADVOCISI and CRVCVRO and XIII. With these objects was a whetstone of quartzite of beautiful finish, which is believed to be of Roman workmanship.—A series of Roman coins were also found near Peterborough, and a collection of leaden dumps, supposed to have been used in playing some popular game, but which were probably used as small change at a time when nothing less than a silver penny was in circulation.—The excavators engaged on the District Railway which passes under the site of the church St. John-the-Baptist-upon-Walbrook, London, came upon some remains which were no doubt part of the floor of a Roman villa.—In clearing the site for the new Post Office in St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, the workmen came upon what is believed to be the best specimen yet discovered of the old Roman wall. One side of the space was covered by a disused graveyard, which was being made available for a recreation ground, and the other side of the space was laid bare by the workmen in preparing the foundation for the new Post Office building. The discovery has been treated with great care, and many parts of the wall, which would be exposed to view for about a hundred feet, were in an excellent state of preservation, though in other parts the old wall had been much interfered with, large gaps having been cut through and brickwork inserted. The attention of the Government having been called to the subject, Mr. Plunkett stated in the House of Commons that it would be possible to preserve what remained of the old Roman wall, so that the whole of it should remain as undisturbed and complete as it was to-day, and exposed in sections and visible for inspection and study by antiquaries. It is so unusual to get the Government to recognise the importance of preserving these things that we ought to be thankful that so much has been accomplished.—Several coins of Hadrian, Gratian, Nerva, and Constantine, were discovered in the coprolite-diggings at Hanseton, Cambridgeshire. There were also several bronze and brass rings, buckles, pins, iron knives, forks, and two carved bone handles.—A part of a large Roman pavement has been found beneath a house at Gloucester.—Perhaps the most interesting relic of the Roman period discovered this year is the pavement at Salisbury by Mr. F. G. Nicholls. Salisbury is the mediæval city founded upon the desertion of old Sarum, the ancient Roman city, and the question arises, therefore, was Salisbury founded upon its present site, because already there existed on the spot relics of a former settlement? The pavement may be simply the remnants of a villa residence in the open fields; but its connection with Salisbury is certainly a subject which needs investigation.

Anglo-Saxon Remains.—Among the antiquities found early in the year near Peterborough was a remarkable fibula of early Saxon date, the hammer of Thor being represented in a conspicuous position.

Churches, Crosses, &c.—Mr. Stephen Williams of Rhayader has been excavating on the site of the Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida in Cardiganshire. A number of fragments of pillars, mouldings, and encaustic tiles, have been dug up, but unfortunately nothing systematic was attempted. However, the Society of Antiquaries have had their attention drawn to the

subject, and Mr. St. John Hope is to direct future operations.—The church of Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, is threatened with restoration, which, luckily, is waiting for funds. It was built by the celebrated Bishop Burnell, Chancellor to Edward I., hard by his castellated house at Acton Burnell, in Shropshire, the scene of the Parliament which met at Shrewsbury in 1283, and adjourned here and passed the statute De Mercatoribus. It is a highly interesting example of the transition between Early English and Decorated, and doubtless requires some repairs. But it does not need the whole of the plaster to be stripped off the inside walls, and the rude stone pointed, and the wooden belfry, standing upon massive timbers going down to the floor of the church, to be abolished, and supplanted by a new one perched upon the roof timbers.—It is proposed to restore the ancient parish church of Yelling, near St. Neots. The church evidently occupies the site of an older building, for there are portions of a Norman building still to be seen. In the south aisle, built into the wall, and under an arch, is a well-preserved Norman tomb.—The Abbot's Gateway at Peterborough is undergoing restoration. The gateway leads from the precincts to the Bishop's palace, and is an interesting structure.—An attempt is being made to "restore" the abbey church of Shrewsbury. The nave of the ancient church of the Benedictines is all that remains, and Mr. J. L. Pearson is to build up to the original scale of the ancient church.—Another abbey church is in the hands of the restorers, Thorney Abbey. The first Duke of Bedford gave 146 tons of stone from the old monastery towards building the chapel of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Five bays of the Norman nave of the church, and a portion of the west front, were saved from the wreck. The ruined fabric underwent a kind of restoration in 1638. Forty years ago another restoration took place. Then were added to the church two transepts, north and south, which makes the ground-plan of the sacred edifice the exact shape of the letter T. The present restoration will probably be as good a performance as can well be expected, because it is in the hands of Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.—In an old rockery in a house near Chester, on the Duke of Westminster's estate, the remains of a tabernacle cross were found and identified by Mr. Alfred Rimmer as the remains of Chester high cross, broken up many years ago. The date is about 1350. The Duke at once gave it to the city, and the Corporation have taken steps for its restoration in the Market Square at Chester.—Several Norman arches of great interest, and a spiral Norman staircase leading to the basement, have been uncovered at Norwich Castle during the process of removing the prison buildings.

CHURCH RESTORATION.

The Destruction of Ancient Monuments and of interesting Architectural Remains by the process of modern Church-Restoration is constantly being brought under the notice of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and that body has issued a circular letter which is calculated to do some good, though we fear not till the Government steps in and declares the Parish Churches to be national historical monuments, which are not to be touched

except under the supervision of specially appointed surveyors, will there be any real conservation of our ancient monuments. Why does not the Society of Antiquaries promote a bill in Parliament for the purpose of taking charge of historical monuments? Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Elton, Mr. Howorth, Mr. Leighton, and many of its Fellows are members of Parliament, and would certainly assist.

In the meantime the circular letter before us sets forth that it is constantly the case that on visiting a "restored" Church it is found that monuments and painted glass, of which the existence is recorded in County Histories, have not only been removed from their original positions, but are no longer forthcoming; that inscribed slabs from tombs have been used to bridge over gutters or to receive hot-air gratings, or have been covered with tiles; that the ancient fonts have been removed, the old Communion Tables destroyed, the Jacobean oak pulpits broken up or mounted on stone pedestals, and not unfrequently the old and curious Communion Plate sold. The architectural features and proportions of the Churches have in innumerable instances been modified, especially so far as regards the East windows, and the character of the Chancels generally.

The Society strongly insists on the great historical value of our ancient Parish Churches, every one of which contains in its fabric the epitome of the History of the Parish, frequently extending over many centuries. What would appear to the Society to be the duty of the guardians of these National Monuments is not to "restore" them, but to preserve them—not to pretend to put a Church back into the state in which it may be supposed to have been at any given epoch, but to preserve so far as practicable the record of what has been its state during all the period of its history.

The Society does not overlook the necessity of adapting the buildings to the wants of the present day, but it contends that the greatest part of the mischief that has been done to our Churches has not added to the convenience of the buildings, which is in no way aided by destroying the more recent portions of a Church and re-building them in a style which imitates the older portions, nor by the destruction of furniture and monuments only because they are not of the date which is assumed to be that of the Church. New work done to suit new wants and not pretending to be other than it is will carry on the history of the building in the same manner as did the old, and the Society has no wish to prevent that from being done. It only urges that the ancient record should not be wiped out to make room for the new, nor falsified by making the new a servile imitation of the old. Uniformity of style was very rarely a characteristic of our old Churches, and a part of the building or a piece of furniture in it is to be judged, not by its conformity to this or that style, but by its fitness for its place and for the work it has to do.

It is feared that the use of the word Restoration has itself been the cause of much mischief, and has made men think that the destruction of the later features of a building is a gain by itself, and the Society therefore urges that these later features are just as important in the history of the building as the older, for it is by them that its continuous history is recorded. To replace them by modern imitations of the earlier work not only destroys so much of the record, but discredits what is allowed to remain by confusing it with that which is not what it professes to be.

History.

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DOMESDAY MEASURES OF LAND.

THOSE who have perused "Domesday Studies"[1] will have observed that two papers of marked originality and ability are contained in the first volume, which deal with that notoriously difficult problem, Domesday measures of land. These are Canon Isaac Taylor's "The Plough and the Ploughland," and Mr. O. C. Pell's "A New View of the Geldable Unit of Assessment in Domesday." It is with certain points in the latter that I propose to deal.

Mr. Pell has studied the subject of his paper long and deeply: he has gone into the subject far more thoroughly than I, or perhaps anyone else, can profess to have done. To criticise his views, therefore, may seem somewhat presumptuous. Yet his earnest efforts to solve a hitherto insoluble problem assure one that he will not object to a discussion on the theory he propounds.

In Canon Taylor's lucid paper he has kept the extra complication caused by the use of the "Anglicus Numerus" (the practice of counting twelve as ten) well in the background. The problem is difficult enough as it stands, without this distracting addition, and when we can agree upon our first principles, we can then advance in due course to the modifications involved by the "Anglicus Numerus." Unfortunately, Mr. Pell deems it necessary to place this difficulty in the forefront of his argument, and thus to lead us to giddy heights of calculation which few brains, from what I hear, can successfully scale.

Let me start from a point of perfect agreement. Mr. Pell and I have both independently arrived at the conclusion that the "geldable hide of Domesday" contained 120 acres. I further say that this hide contained four geld virgates, each of thirty geld acres, and that this never varied. Mr. Pell, on the other hand, holds that this "certainly is a fallacy" and that "the virgate of the Domesday hide was as often as not 20 or 24 [acres]; and six of 20 acres and five of 24 acres are just as often to be met with as 4 of thirty." I must regretfully observe on this, that if there is one thing more certain than another in Domesday, it is that the

[1] *Domesday Studies*, Longmans, 1888.

"virgate" was essentially and always the *quarter* of the geldable hide.[2]

But while Mr. Pell rightly urges that "the Domesday geldable hide, &c., had one and the same meaning all over England . . . . had a fixed and certain meaning," and while he reminds us "that the terms made use of in reference to the lands on which the taxation was laid must have been of a kind so certain and so sure, that when any portion of the survey was sent to the King's officers, it would carry on the face of it the information required, without the need of a local interpreter to explain the meaning,"—yet, as we shall see, he advances the theory that the geldable "hide" represented an area of *terra lucrabilis* varying from 120 to 288 acres.

The fact is, as I have elsewhere explained, that even if we admit (as many would not) that the measures of assessment in Domesday, viewing it merely as a rate book, are now virtually clear, the true difficulty yet remains. It is when we endeavour from these measures of assessment to deduce the actual areas, or to fix, so to speak, the relation of assessment to area, that we find ourselves all at sea. Canon Taylor has attempted the task for the carucates in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and appears, within that limited area, to have attained marked success. Mr. Pell's more ambitious and far-reaching scheme comprises both hides and carucates, and is, indeed, of universal application.

Now when we find, as we do in Domesday, the relation of geldable hides to area continually and widely varying, we have only two alternatives. Either we must infer, as I do myself, that there was no necessary relation between area and assessment; or, we must allow ourselves considerable license in assigning a denotation to the word "hide." It is the latter course that Mr. Pell has adopted. If I have extracted his meaning aright, he requires us to accept the following axioms, by which he is enabled, in every case, to connect assessment with area.

(1) The Domesday hide of 120 acres represents in two-field manors (*i.e.* including fallow) an area of 240 acres of arable land.

(2) The Domesday hide of 120 acres represents in three-field manors (*i.e.* including fallow) 180 acres of arable land.

[2] See, for instance, the returns *passim* of the geld paid in 1084, otherwise known as the "geld-inquest." And note that at Wichampton, Dorset, the "½ hide" of that survey equates the "1½ virgate" of Domesday (79 b. 1.) But, indeed, the fact is self-evident. For if, as Mr. Pell insists above, "the terms made use of in reference to the lands," etc. etc., what could be the use of a term of assessment ("virgata") which might mean a quarter, a fifth, or a sixth of the hide unit, and which would need, in every case, "a local interpreter to explain its meaning"?

(3) But as (he holds) the fallow land or "idle shift" was sometimes "*extra hidam* and not geldated," and sometimes, on the contrary, *infra hidam*,—though "under what circumstances and why," says Mr. Pell, "this should have been the case, it is hard to say,"—the Domesday hide would, in the latter case, represent no more, in either manor, than 120 acres.

(4) If reckoned by the *Anglicus numerus* these three areas would respectively represent 288, 216, and 144 acres.

(5) But the six areas at which we have arrived do not exhaust the list. For not only may the "hide" in two adjacent manors represent quite different areas, and be reckoned by the smaller or by the greater hundred, but even in one and the same manor, it may (? if convenient) be reckoned at one place by the ordinary counting, and at another "Anglico numero."[3]

(6) By a far more surprising postulate, Mr. Pell asks us to admit that when Domesday gives us an assessment in terms of hides and virgates, or in terms of hides and acres, it means one thing in one place, and in another something utterly different. Keeping still to Cambridgeshire, as Mr. Pell's special county, we find two manors assessed thus:—

"In Melleburne . . . . . II hidæ et 1 virgata" (191 b).

"Burewelle . . . . . Ibi X hidæ et 1 virgata" (192 b).

In the first case, according to Mr. Pell, Domesday means what it says, viz., two hides and a virgate; in the second, it means ten times a-hide-and-a-virgate, viz.:—ten hides and ten virgates. So, too, when Domesday assesses two manors thus:—

"In Badburgh . . . . . II hidas et dimidiam et xxiv acras" (194 a).

"Escelforde pro ix hidis et xxiv acris se defendit" (191 a).

Mr. Pell asks us to admit that, in the first, Domesday means what it says, viz. 2½ hides + 24 acres, but that in the second its meaning is: 9 times a hide and 24 acres, or, as he expresses it, "9 (1 hide + 24 acres)." And for this he gives us no reason. But, further, he claims that in the first instance, the hide should be reckoned "by

[3] For instance, of four Cambridgeshire manors we read in Domesday:—
"Belesham. Ibi sunt IX hidæ . . . . In dominio V hidæ" (190 b.)
"Dodinton pro V hidis . . . . . . In dominio II hidæ et dimidia" (191 b.)
"Burewelle. Ibi X hidæ et I virgata . . . . . In dominio III hidæ et XL acre" (192 b.)
"Ely pro X hidis . . . . . In dominio V hide" (192 a.)
For the first case Mr. Pell claims to reckon *none* of the "hides" by the *Anglicus numerus*; in the next, to reckon *only the first* (5 hides); in the next to reckon *only the second* (3 hides and 40 acres); in the next, to reckon *both!*

the greater hundred," while, in the second, it should not. And for this also he gives us no reason.

(7) By way of climax to these postulates, we are asked to believe that the Domesday survey was drawn up on two different, nay, opposite systems. We are told by Mr. Pell that "in most" counties

"the standard geldable hide or carucate is placed first, and then the number of *terræ* therein is stated. But in Dorset, Middlesex, Yorkshire, Wiltshire, Sussex, etc., the returns are the reverse of this: the 'terra ad carucam' appears to be the standard geldated area of 120a; and the word 'hide' in Dorsetshire, etc., and the term 'car. terræ ad geldum' in Yorkshire, are used to express the area of one ploughland in the manor; so that the terms 'terra est car.' in Dorset, and 'car. potest ibi ere' (*sic*) in Yorkshire imply what the geldable hide implies in other counties, viz. 120a of taxed land."

It is proverbial that figures can prove anything, but really, if any mathematical mind will compute the number of combinations and permutations which the concession of these axioms would render possible, it will be pretty obvious that, with such admissions one could prove any theory on earth.

I shall address myself at once to this last postulate, because it is the most extravagant of all, and the most easily disposed of. As Mr. Pell justly observes:—

"A document like the Domesday book was a 'schedule' for the purposes of ascertaining the assessment of the whole country, or the number of pound-paying units therein; so we must naturally think of it as formed on one and the same plan of counting throughout the whole," etc. etc.[1]

Yet he asks us to believe that for a few counties, scattered, different, and so widely apart as Yorkshire, Middlesex, and Dorset, the survey was formed on a separate plan, outwardly the same as the general plan, but, in fact, diametrically opposite. To show how bewildering such a scheme would be, I append some specimen measures from Mr. Pell's own instances—

YORKSHIRE. "In Cheream VIII carucatæ ad geldum, Et iiii* carucæ possunt esse" (307 a.)

LINCOLNSHIRE. "In Scotere . . . . VIII* carucatæ terræ ad geldum. Terra ad XII carucas" (345 b.)

DORSET. "Pidere . . . . . (T.R.E.) geldabat pro X hidis. Terra est VI* carucis" (82 b.)

SOMERSET. "Geveltone T.R.E. geldabat pro VIII* hidis. Terra est VIII carucis" (96 b.)

According to all Domesday scholars the *first* figures, in every case, are those of the assessment for geld. A glance at these four instances will shew how obvious this is. Mr. Pell, however, asserts that, on the contrary, the carucate "ad geldum" of Lincolnshire meant the assessment for geld, but the carucate "ad geldum" of Yorkshire meant just the reverse, and had nothing to do with the

[1] *Domesday Studies*, p. 350.

geld: the "geldabat pro *x* hidis" of Somerset meant: "paid geld on so many hides (of assessment)," but the "geldabat pro *x* hidis" of Dorset meant just the reverse, and had nothing to do with the geld! According to him the geld-assessment was denoted by the figures over which I have placed an asterisk. But he goes further still. He holds that in one and the same county the uniform formula may be sometimes read one way and sometimes the other, that is, may sometimes mean what it says and may sometimes mean the reverse.[5]

MIDDLESEX (Tyburn) "Pro V hidis se defendit, Terræ est III* carucis" (128 b).

(Tottenham) "Pro V* hidis se defendit. Terra est X carucis" (130 b).

Here, in the first instance, according to Mr. Pell, the geld-assessment is the second figure; in the second, it is the first.

Returning, however, to Dorset, as the typical county for this hypothesis, we first note that Mr. Pell is unfortunate in having here the testimony of the Exon Domesday. The formula there employed is that a manor "reddidit geldum pro *x* hidis. Has possunt arare *y* carucæ." Mr. Pell quotes this formula throughout, but in the case of Dorset, as we have seen, contends that the manor "paid geld" *not* (as the formula implies) on *x* units of assessment, but on *y*. In fact he asks us to read the formula topsy turvy. It is difficult to treat seriously so eccentric a theory.

Fortunately, however, in the case of Dorset, we have at hand a test from which there can be no appeal. This is the so-called "geld-inquest" of 1084. As this record is concerned solely with the collection of the tax, it has nothing to do with area. We can therefore be certain that, in its figures, we are dealing with units of assessment. Now if we take Hugh de Port's manor of Compton, in the Hundred of Frampton, Dorset, we read "geldabat pro X hidis. Terra est VIII carucis." According to Mr. Pell this should mean that it was assessed at 8 geldable units, but our record proves on the contrary that the assessment, as we should expect, was 10. The Count of Mortain's manor of Shilvington (80, a 1) "geldabat pro una hida et una virgata. Terra est I carucæ." In our record it is assessed at 5 virgates. At Wichemetune "habet Hubertus unam virgatam terræ et terciam partem unius virgatæ" (79 b 1). Our record assesses him at $\frac{1}{3}$ hide.[6] Thurstan Fitz Rolf's manor

[5] "The returns in this county are mostly, though not all, made as in Dorset."

[6] These three cases have a special value, in giving us 4 virgates as the notori-

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of "Stockes geldabat pro I hida" and "pro III virgatis terræ" (80 b. 2). In our record his assessment is "VII virgatas." In the same hundred the Abbot of Abbotsbury holds two manors: "Widetone geldabat pro 11 hidis et dimidia. Terra est IIII carucis." "Atrerro geldabat pro 11 hidis. Terra est II carucis." According to Mr. Pell, this should imply a geld-assessment of 6 units for the two. According to everyone else it would imply 4½. We turn to our record and we find that the assessment is 4½.[7] Again the Abbey of Holy Trinity of Caen held the manor of Tarrant of which we read:—"Tarente (T.R.E.) geldabat pro X hidis. Terra est VIII carucis" (79 a 1). Here again our record proves that the assessment was not 8 but 10 units,[8] as indeed, I must repeat, is transparently clear from the language of Domesday itself. It is needless to multiply such tests as these. So far as Mr. Pell's elaborate calculations are based on this amazing hypothesis, they are not merely weakened: they are simply blown to pieces.

Let us now turn to the practical application of Mr. Pell's theories to Domesday. He argues that "the Norman King's officers" had "two ways" of "forming from the primary returns an assessment which would be of one uniform standard."[9] It is with the first of these I now deal. Mr. Pell writes:—

> "In some cases they appear to have stated the number of hides, terræ ad car., or carucatæ, or areas, at one-sixth less of the actual number, six hides or car. being reckoned as five . . . . . Of instances of the first method of reduction there is that of Clifton in Yorkshire, D. Bk. Tom. I. fol. 313a."

Quoting *in extenso* the Domesday entry, he asserts that manors amounting in the aggregate to 18 carucates less a bovate are reckoned in Domesday as 15 carucates less a bovate. "If," he adds, "for the purposes of simplicity, we add a bovate to each side of the equation, we shall then have 18 carucatæ in area reduced by the king's officers to 15 carucatæ ad geldum."[10] Now, if this were so, it would certainly afford a striking confirmation of Mr. Pell's hypothesis, and we cannot wonder that as a test case, he works out "the details of this manor." Unfortunately, however, for him, the very figures he quotes from Domesday convict him of error, for the

ous equivalent of the hide. Another case in point may here be cited, namely that of "Dentune," Sussex (*Domesday*, I., 29) where 2½ hides + two hides and two virgates = 5 hides.

[7] Of which he paid on 3½ and was excused (according to rule) the one which was on his demesne.

[8] Of which 3 hides 3¾ virgates were assessed on the *dominium*, and 6 hides ¼ virgate on the *villani*.

[9] *Domesday Studies*, p. 353.

[10] *Ibid*, p. 354.

aggregate of the items amounts to 18 carucates *plus* a bovate; so that if "we add a bovate to each side of the equation," we have to account, not for "18 carucates," but for 18 carucates *plus two bovates.* This flaw is beyond dispute. But we must go further still. Before we can admit that, according to Domesday, three and three make five, we must have overwhelming evidence of the fact. Where is it? Our evidence points in the very contrary direction. Let Mr. Pell examine the entries relating to "Fostun" (following Clifton), to "Massan" and to "Welle" (312 a), to "Witwn" and to "Ellintone" (311 b), to "Catrice" and "Scuruetone" (310 b), and to "Ghellinges" (309 a),[11] and in all these cases, taken at random, he will find that the total given by Domesday is in strict accordance with the aggregate of the factors. What then is the explanation of the Clifton case? We have seen that the deduction of a sixth will not, as alleged, account for it. The true explanation I take to be this: it is simply one of Domesday's blunders. Take for instance the Soke of Gayton in Lincolnshire. There (338 b) the items are given in full and their aggregate is 24½ car. 1⅓ bov. Yet Domesday totals it as 25½ car. 1⅓ bov. Even on the very same page as Clifton we have 48 car. "ad geldum" reckoned up as totalling 50 car. "ad geldum." And if this is possible, where the items are given, it is so *a fortiori*, where they are omitted and subsequently, as in the Clifton case, added by interlineation. Thus, still on the same page (363 a), we have six manors assessed collectively at 32 "carucatæ ad geldum." Then comes the interlineator, who gives their respective assessment (amounting to 41½ car.) which, by the way, he himself totals as 41 car. After such an instance as this, found by the very side of Clifton, it will probably be admitted that my explanation is, to say the least, legitimate,[12] and that the solitary case to which Mr. Pell so confidently appeals[13] is shown to be nothing more than a Domesday blunder.

I will now glance at what I consider Mr. Pell's most dangerous postulate, and examine, as a typical case, his treatment of the Burwell entry:—

"Burewelle tenet abbas de Ramsey. Ibi X hidæ et I virgata. Terra est XVI carucis. In dominio III hide et XL acre" (*Domesday*, I., 192 b.)

Here Mr. Pell claims: (1) that "X hidæ et I virgata" should be taken to mean 10 hides + 10 virgates, "10 (1 h. + 1 v.)," but that

[11] This is a strong case, because the aggregates amount to 27½ carucates and 71½ carucates and are absolutely correct.

[12] For other instances of Domesday blunders, see the instances given by Canon Taylor (*Domesday Studies*, p. 175) and myself (*Ibid*, p. 123).

[13] *Domesday Studies*, pp. 188, 356, etc.

"III hidæ et XL acre" should only mean 3 hides + 40 acres; (2) that "X hidæ et I virgatæ" should be reckoned by the ordinary hundred, but "III hide et XL acre" should be reckoned (Anglico numero) by the "greater hundred;" (3) that "I virgata" means, not a quarter of the (geldable) "hida," but "the virgate of the manor." [14]

That the first and last of these propositions are erroneous is matter, not of opinion, but of absolute demonstration. The assessment of Burwell parish had been 15 hides. The assessments of its component manors were these:—[15]

	h.	v.
Ramsey Abbey,	10.	1.
Count Alan,	2½.	
Ditto. ditto.,	1.	1.
Charteris,	½.	
Hardwin d'eschalers,	½.	
	15.	0.

It is obvious, from these figures, that the Ramsey Manor was assessed at ten hides *plus* one virgate, not at ten hides *plus* ten virgates, and, further, that this virgate was the fourth of a geldable hide (30 acres), *not* the "virgate of the manor" (here 24 acres).[16] But, this being so, what are we to say to Mr. Pell's elaborate calculations, based on these two erroneous propositions, and satisfactorily accounting, by their help, for every acre in the manor?

Further, when we read that "Buruwelle pro XV hidis se defendit" [? defendebat[17]] et modo pro X hidis,"[18] we have an instance, surely, of the correctness of the view that assessment was not necessarily dependent on area, *i.e.*, against Mr. Pell's theory.

The case of Shelford is almost as strong. Of the Abbot of Ely's maner there we read in Domesday:—"pro IX hidis et XXIIII acris se defend[it]." Here again Mr. Pell claims to render this as "9 (1 h. + 24 a.)," viz. 9 hides *plus* 9 times 24 acres. But as he here reckons

[14] *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, pp. 83, 98; *Domesday Studies*, pp. 332-3.

[15] Hamilton's *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, pp. 5-6

[16] "The real virgate was 24" acres, in this case, writes Mr. Pell, who accordingly computes his 10 virgates at "240" acres.

[17] This looks to me like an erroneous extension, and a further hint that in this so-called "original return" (Birch's *Domesday Book*, p. 41) we have nothing, as I believe, but a copy, which should be used with caution.

[18] Hamilton, p. 4.

the hides by the ordinary hundred, he views the additional 24 acres as merely converting them into hides "by the greater hundred" (*Anglico numero*). Really the *Anglicus numerus* is Mr. Pell's "Deus ex machina." What possible right can a commentator have to say that on the very same page, Domesday uses "hida" and "hida et XXIIII acre" as equivalent terms of assessment, and to assume for the purpose, that "hida" is in the first case, and is not in the second, reckoned *Anglico numero?* As a matter of fact, if we take Domesday to mean here what it says, the aggregate assessment of the manors is within 7 acres of the 20 hides at which the parish is assessed—a discrepancy of only ¼ per cent.[19] But Mr. Pell's reading would involve a discrepancy of nearly 200 acres.

These criticisms are of special importance in their bearing on Mr. Pell's interpretation of "the only direct statement in Domesday book itself, from which the area of the carucate can be inferred."[20] The entry runs: "In communi terra sti. Martini sunt cccc acræ et dim. quæ fiunt II. solinos et dim." (2.a.). This can be rendered: "four hundred acres and a half," or (as Canon Taylor does) "four hundred acres and a half (hundred)," or (as Mr. Pell does) "four hundred times an acre and a half." In this last case, its phrase would be a strange substitute for "DC acre." I am not, however, at all sure that we have a right to assume that this passage is intended to give us "the area of the carucate." It was not the intention of Domesday Book to afford miscellaneous and familiar information; and to state that so many acres would make so many "solins" would be a mere impertinence at a time when the fact would be known to everyone. It seems at least possible that these "solins" may be units of assessment independent of area.

The last case I shall discuss should be Mr. Pell's strongest, for it is that of his own Wilburton Manor, and he has gone into it in great detail. The Domesday entry is:—

"Ibi v hidæ. Terra est vii. carucis. In dominio iii hidæ et i virgata, et ibi iii carucæ. Ibi iiii sochemanni et ix. villani cum iiii carucis." (192 a).

Here, says Mr. Pell, the "V hidæ" were reckoned *Anglico numero*, that is, were hides of 144 acres, but the "III hidæ" were not, and, therefore, were hides of 120 acres. The "III hidæ et I virgata,"

[19] It is important to observe that, although Mr. Pell accepts the Domesday assessment ("IX hide et XXIIII acre"), Mr. Hamilton's *Inquisitio*, of which the authority has been upheld as higher, gives that assessment as "IX hide et XXIX acre" (p. 47), which, of itself, would be destructive of Mr. Pell's hypothesis. In any case the discrepancy (5 acres) confirms my view that in the *Inquisitio* and the Exchequer Domesday we have merely two independent compilations from the original returns.

[20] Canon Taylor (*Domesday Studies*, p. 160).

moreover, does not mean three hides and one virgate, but three hides and three virgates (this is the fallacy I exposed under Burwell). And as these were hides of 120 acres and virgates of 24 acres (which was here "the virgate of the manor"), the "III hidæ et I virgata" really means three units of 144 acres, *i.e.*, three hides *Anglico numero*.[21] That is to say, that "III hidæ et I virgata" means "three hides and three virgates," which means three hides ("Anglico numero")! Now, all this jugglery, I venture to think, is sheer illusion. Domesday gives us five hides as the assessment of the manor, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ hides as that portion of it which was on the *dominium*. The balance, $1\frac{3}{4}$ hides, was, as elsewhere, on the *homines*. The meaning is quite plain: the explanation quite simple.

Then, as to the ploughs. The Domesday formula is singularly clear: "Terra est x carucis. In dominio y carucæ: Villani, &c., $x-y$ carucas." So here: "There is land for seven *carucæ*. In demesne are three *carucæ*. The sochmen and villeins have four *carucæ*." But Mr. Pell quotes by the side of this what he terms "the primary return, contained in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*." This description is misleading. The *Inquisitio* stands, at best, on the same footing with Domesday, as an abstract from the same original returns, and is more probably, in my opinion, a mere copy of an abstract. Here, however, is the relevant entry: "VI carucis ibi est terra. IIII carucæ.........in dominio. IIII carucæ hominum." Now, those entries cannot both be right, and this entry is on the face of it corrupt, for whereas the Domesday formula involves an equation[22] ($7=3$ 4), we have here: $6=4+4$. The "VI" should clearly be "VII," and the first "IIII" should clearly be "III." Indeed, if Mr. Pell had referred to Mr. Hamilton's edition of the text, he would have found that two out of the three MSS. read "VII" for "VI." He has, however, accepted the spurious entry, and explained it with as much ease as the genuine one in Domesday:—

"These six car. of the 'Inquisitio Eliensis of 120 juxta estimationem Anglorum' 6 (144), exactly equal 864 acres" [the acreage to be accounted for]; "or, as Domesday Bk. puts it, 3 lord's car. of 144 (120 'Anglico numero') plus 4 average car. of 108 acres to tenants exactly make the 864 acres. The eight

[21] *Domesday Studies*, pp. 334-5, 355-6.

[22] See, in illustration of this, the manors preceding and succeeding it in the *Inquisitio*. Charteris, for instance, is specially interesting as containing the equation: III carucæ = VI boves + II carucæ et II boves. Here we have the eight oxen vividly equating the ox team ("caruca"), and thus confirming my declared conviction "that the 'caruca' *of Domesday* stands for a normal team of *eight* oxen" (Domesday Studies, p. 209), whether on the *dominium* or not.

ploughs of the lord and men of the Inquisitio Eliensis have an average terra of 108 each over the manor," etc., etc.[23]

What can we say of such a case as this? Here, in Mr. Pell's own stronghold, he selects a test by which to prove the same rule as at Clifton, and, here as at Clifton, satisfactorily, by his own process, accounts for the exact amount entered in the record. But when we find as we do in both cases, that the amount is purely imaginary and based on a mere clerical error, what becomes of the process? The credit which it has gained by accounting so exactly for any entry that can be found in Domesday is surely at an end. The proof, if I may be allowed the expression, of his great Domesday cryptogram, is found to consist, in each case, of a series of arbitrary assumptions, which break down, as we have seen above, when exposed to the test of fact.

It is the very importance and originality of Mr. Pell's process which has led me to criticise it so closely. For, as has been said: "This erudite essay involves results, if its conclusions be accepted, of no ordinary historical and ethnological importance." Nor, even if we have to reject Mr. Pell's main thesis, need we therefore be ungrateful for his arduous labours or for the light his researches have thrown on primitive measures of land.

J. H. ROUND.

[23] *Domesday Studies*, p. 355.

REVIEW.

ENGLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—BY THE REV. W. DENTON, M.A. London (Bell & Sons), 1888. 8vo. pp. viii. 337.

THE author of this book, who was Rector of St. Giles', Cripplegate, concerning which parish he published a small volume of Records in 1883, died while the last proof-sheets of the work were awaiting revision, so that though he practically finished his labour of love, he did not live to enjoy its completion. We are informed in the Preface that he had also collected materials for a sketch of the ecclesiastical state of England in the fifteenth century; this, had it been written, might have been a valuable introductory study to precede the recent work of Father Gasquet on the suppression of the monasteries. The book actually before us is a solid one, bristling with authorities and references to a wide range of printed matter. The writer has not gone to many manuscript sources, but has made diligent use of the recent numerous publications which contribute to his subject. So much material has within the last twenty years been made accessible, that

there is ample scope among these for a "Description of England" as old Harrison would have called it.

There is not, however, about this book the clear view and arrangement of Harrison, and the method adopted, without any broad guiding lines or principal divisions, gives it amidst such a crowd of details, at first sight, the effect of patchwork; and this in spite of certain groupings of sub-heads. Probably had the author lived he might have indicated his intention; what we find is a somewhat miscellaneous survey of rural life, agriculture, produce, and highways, the condition of the labourers and middle classes, the state of the nobility and aristocracy. Ecclesiastical matters are little touched on. More than a third of the volume is occupied by an introduction in two parts, the first of which is devoted to a sketch of the institutions and social condition of the people in the thirteenth century, the period of great achievement, intellectual and material progress, constitutional liberty, wise jurists, growing commerce and art. This was the golden time of the middle ages in England; which suffered eclipse—according to our author—by the death of Edward I. in 1307. "In his tomb was buried the promise of the continued prosperity of this country. The one hundred and eighty years lying between his death and the accession of the house of Tudor were years of violence and suffering to the people of England."

The key-note is here given to the main idea of the second part of the introduction, which traces the decline of the country after Edward's death, the destructive effects of the French and Scotch wars, the ravages of famine, murrain, and "black death," the consequences of mis-government, and the poverty and sufferings of the people, culminating in the battle of Bosworth. Throughout England the progress of society in material wealth, which was so marked a feature of the reign of Edward I., had not merely been arrested; civilization and refinement had gone back, and England at the accession of Henry VII. was far behind the England of the thirteenth century. "What was true of morals and material wealth was true also of art," which "in all its forms had become debased with the debasement of the artist." With the accession of the Tudors, a series of dictators suited on the whole "to the condition of society then so sadly out of joint, and a kingdom which seemed on the point of dissolution," the author closes his introductory survey. In spite of the black picture which, though no doubt true in the main, seems to us somewhat over-drawn, this second part commends itself as one of the best portions of the book, full of thoughtful study and inference. Particularly interesting are the first dozen pages, in which the disastrous effects of the victory at Bannockburn in retarding the development of civilization in Scotland and her union with England, and the retrograde policy of Bruce, are forcibly pointed out.

The body of the book opens with the difficult subject of population, which from all available data is estimated to have varied a little under or over two millions from the time of the Conquest, rising till the death of Edward II., then falling off, lowest about 1377; not $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1485. Passing to the rural aspect of England, the picture given of the forests and fens, moors and morasses, which covered the country on every side, prepares us for the statement that "between the times of the Norman Conquest and the battle of Bosworth field, the progress of agriculture in

England was almost as imperceptible as the growth of its population." A curious section on manures and the yield of the land brings out that "it was clear at the end of the fifteenth century that the fertility of the arable land of England was well-nigh exhausted." This led to the wide-spread conversion into sheep-pastures which caused much misery and lamentation in the next century, but which in the end restored productiveness to the land still retained by it. Enclosures of waste, game and game laws, roads and bridges, water carriage, highway-men and foot-pads,—all these about which much interesting information is gathered together may be said to be connected with the land and soil; so is a section on travelling, leading to another on the wages to members of parliament (which were partly to cover the expense of their journey to and fro). An excursus on the history of posting letters winds up this first chapter.

It is unnecessary to go through the two remaining chapters, which deal in the same way with such topics as health, food, wages, taxation, the poor, farm and home life, and the different grades of the middle classes; then with the nobility, their retinues, wealth, and relative position in the kingdom, treating of several individual instances by way of illustration, such as the Dukes of Northumberland and Norfolk, Sir John Paston, and Cardinal Kemp. The volume is a very storehouse of information, the fruit of much erudition and research, which often oversteps indeed the limits of the matter in hand. The historical student of manners and society, who finds his materials for a given epoch often fragmentary, rarely complete, is forced to resort for comparison and illustration to the known facts of earlier or later date; the temptation is great to build up inferences thereon, which no doubt may be frequently done with justice, but they should be received with caution. Again, it is an old story that it is dangerous to generalise on one example; in a book of this sort it would be strange if all such rocks were avoided. Speaking of honey in the fourteenth century, it is said to have "almost disappeared from the markets, because the bees had died from murrain." There may be another foundation for the statement. Of the two authorities given one shows that a murrain greatly destroyed the bees at one place in Norfolk during twenty years (1371 to 1391) and then entirely ceased. Roger's *History of Prices* is cited to show that honey disappears from the list from 1307 to 1328. Rogers, however, says nothing about murrain. Again, the "cadavorators," or buyers of the dead in time of pestilence, are only found in one village.

The circumstances under which the book appears make such fault-finding distasteful, and these remarks are merely made as warning. A few misprints, such as *Simon* for Simeon Luce twice, the omission of *Levi* in the late Leone Levi's name (p. 129), *Rye* for New Romney (p. 86, note), have escaped the corrector's eye. More serious is the error in the reference to the 5th Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission (p. 86, note 2) as to the independent making of treaties of peace between the shipmen of the Cinque Ports and of France. This statement appears to require support.

Literature.

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THE WOOING OF EMER.

AN IRISH HERO-TALE OF THE 11TH CENTURY, TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.

(Concluded from page 235.)

He then went on, and came to a large house in a great glen. There he met a maiden of fair make in the house. The maiden addressed him and bade him welcome. "Welcome thy coming, oh Cuchulaind!" said she. He asked whence she knew him. She answered that they both had been dear foster-children with Ulbeccan Sexa, "when I was there and thou learning sweet speech from him," said she. The maiden gave him to drink and to eat, and then he turned from her. He then met a brave youth who made the same welcome to him. They exchanged converse between them. Cuchulaind was asking to know the way to the dun of Scathach. The youth taught him the way across the Plain of Ill-luck which lay before him. On the hither half of the plain the feet of men would stick fast. On the further half the grass would rise and hold them fast on the points of its blades. The youth gave him a wheel, and told him to follow its track thence across one-half of the plain. Then he gave him an apple, and told him to follow the ground where the apple would run, and that in such wise he would reach the far end of the plain. Thus Cuchulaind went across the plain. He then proceeded further. The youth had also told him there was a large glen before him, and a single narrow path through it which was full of monsters that had been sent by Forgall to destroy him, and that was his road to the house of Scathach across terrible high strong districts. Each of them then wished a blessing to the other, Cuchulaind and the youth Eochu Bairche. He it was who taught him how he should win honour in the house of Scathach. The same youth also foretold him what he would suffer of hardships and straits in the Cattlespoil of Cualgne. He also told him what evil and exploits and contests he would achieve against the men of Erinn.

Then Cuchulaind went on that road across the Plain of Ill-luck

and through the Perilous Glen as the youth had taught him. This was the road which Cuchulaind took, to the camp where the scholars of Scathach were. He asked where she was. "In yonder island," said they. "Which way must I go to her?" said he. "By the Bridge of the Cliff," said they, "and no man can cross it before he has achieved valour." For on this wise was that bridge. It had two low heads and the mid space, and whenever anybody would leap on its one head, the other head would lift itself up and throw him on his back. This is what some versions relate here, that a crowd of the warriors of Erinn were in that dun learning feats from Scathach, viz. Ferdia, son of Daman, and Noise, son of Usnech, and Lochmor, son of Egomas, and Fiamain, son of Fora, and an innumerable host besides. But it is not told in this version that they were there at that time. Cuchulaind then tried three times to cross the bridge, and could not do it. The men jeered at him. Then he grew mad, and jumped on the head of the bridge, and made the hero's salmon-leap so that he got on its midst. And the other head of the bridge had not yet fully raised itself when he reached it, and threw himself from it, and was on the ground of the island.

He went to the dun, and struck the door with the shaft of his spear, so that it went through it. Scathach was then told. "True," said she, "someone who has achieved valour somewhere else." And from her she sent her daughter to know who the youth was. Then Uathach, the daughter of Scathach, went forth. She looked at him, but did not speak to him, so much did the striking shape which she saw on the youth move her desire. She went back to where her mother was, and praised to her the man whom she had seen. "The man has pleased thee," said her mother, "I see it by thee." "It is true," said the maiden. "He has pleased me," said she, "but sleep thou with him to-night, if that is what thou askest." "It is indeed not unpleasant to me," said Scathach, "if it be thy own will." Then the maiden served him with water and food, and looked to his pleasure. She made him boldly welcome in the shape of a servant (?) viz., profiting by it. Cuchulaind took hold of her, and broke her finger. The maiden shrieked. The whole household came to help, and the people of the dun arose. Then arose also a champion against him, viz. Cochar Cruifne, a warrior of Scathach's. He and Cuchulaind attacked each other, and fought together for a long time. Then the champion remembered his feats of valour, and Cuchulaind returned them as if he had been taught them from his youth, and the champion fell by him, and he struck his head off. Sorrowful was the woman Scathach at this. Then Cuchulaind said to her he

would take upon himself the work and service of the man that had fallen, so that he was the leader of her host and her champion in his stead. And Uathach then came and conversed with Cuchulaind.

On the third day the maiden advised Cuchulaind, that if it was to achieve valour that he had come, he should go through the hero's salmon-leap at Scathach, where she was teaching her two sons, Cuar and Cett, in the great yew tree, when she was there; that he should then set his sword between her two breasts until she gave him his three wishes, viz., to teach him without neglect, and that he might wed her (Uathach) without the payment of the wedding gift, and to tell him what would befal him; for she was a prophetess. Then Cuchulaind went to the place where Scathach was. He placed his two feet on the two edges of the basket of the *cless*, and bared his sword, and put its point to her heart, saying: "Death over thee!" said he. "Thy three wishes from me!" said she, "viz. thy three wishes as thou canst utter them in one breath." "They shall be taken," said Cuchulaind. He then pledged her. Other versions here say that Cuchulaind took Scathach with him to the shore, and lay with her there, and slept with her, and that it was then that she sang this, prophesying to him everything that would befal him, saying: "Welcome, oh" . . . . etc. But that is not told thus after this account. Uathach then slept with Cuchulaind, and Scathach taught him skill of arms.

During the time that he was with Scathach and the husband of Uathach, her daughter, a certain famous man who lived in Munster, viz. Lugaid, son of Nos, son of Alamac, the renowned king, and fosterbrother of Cuchulaind, went eastward with twelve chariot-chiefs of the high kings of Munster, to woo twelve maidens of the men of Mac Rossa. All these were betrothed to men before. When Forgall the Wily heard this, he went to Tara, and said to Lugaid that the best maiden in Erinn, both in shape and chastity and handiwork, was living with him unmarried. Lugaid said it pleased him well. Then Forgall betrothed the maiden to the king, and the twelve daughters of the twelve lords of land in Bray besides to the twelve under-kings that were together with Lugaid. The king went along with Forgall to his dun for the wedding. When now Emer was brought to Lugaid to sit by his side, she took in both her hands his two cheeks, and laid it on the truth of his honour and his life, and confessed that it was Cuchulaind she loved, that Forgall was against it, that it was loss of honour for any one that would take her to wife. Then, from fear of Cuchu-

laind, Lugaid did not dare to sleep with Emer, and he returned home again.

Scathach was at that time carrying on war against other tribes, over which the Princess Aife was ruling. Then the two hosts assembled to fight. Cuchulaind was put in bonds by Scathach, and a sleeping potion had been given him before, that he might not go to the battle lest anything should happen to him there. As a precaution (?) she did this. Then forthwith out of his sleep started Cuchulaind after an hour. While anybody else would have slept twenty-four hours with this sleeping potion, it was only one hour for him. He then went with the two sons of Scathach against the three sons of Ilsuanach, viz., Cuar and Cett and Cruife, three warriors of Aife's. Alone he met them all three, and they fell by him. There was a meeting in battle on the next morning, and both hosts went until the two arrays were face to face. Then went the three sons of Esse Enchinde, viz. Cire and Bire and Blaicne, three other warriors of Aife, and began combat against the two sons of Scathach. They went on the path of feats. Scathach uttered a sigh at this, for she knew not what would come of it, first, as there was no third man with her two sons against those three, and then she was afraid of Aife, because she was the hardest woman-warrior in the world. Then Cuchulaind went up to her two sons, and sprang on the path, and met them all three, and they fell by him. Aife challenged Scathach to combat. Cuchulaind went up before Aife, and asked what it was she loved most. Scathach said: "What she loves most," said she, "is her two horses and her chariot and her charioteer." Cuchulaind and Aife went on the path of feats, and began combat there. Then Aife shattered Cuchulaind's weapon so that his sword was no longer than his fist. Then Cuchulaind said: "Ah," cried he, "the charioteer of Aife and her two horses and her chariot have fallen down in the glen, and have all perished!" At that Aife looked up. Then Cuchulaind approached her, seized her at her two breasts, took her on his back like a shoulder-load, and carried her with him to his own host. Then he threw her from him to the ground, and placed his bare sword over her. And Aife said: "Life for life, oh Cuchulaind!" "My three wishes to me!" said he. "Thou shalt have them, as they come with thy breath," said she. "These are my three wishes," said he, "thou to give hostage to Scathach, without ever afterwards opposing her, thou to be with me this night before thy dun, and to bear me a son." "I promise it all thus," said she. It was done in that wise.

Cuchulaind then went with Aife and slept with her that night.

Then Aife said she was with child, and that she would bear a boy. "I shall send him this day seven year to Erinn," said she, "and do thou leave a name for him." Cuchulaind left a golden finger-ring for him, and said to her that he should go and seek him in Erinn, when the ring would fit on his finger. And he said that Conla was the name to be given to him, and told her that he should not make himself known to any one, that he should not go out of the way of any man, nor refuse combat to any man.

Thereupon Cuchulaind returned back again to his own people, and came along the same road. He met an old woman on the road who was blind of her left eye. She asked him to beware and not be on the road before her. He said there was no room for a footing for him, save on the cliff of the sea which was beneath him. She besought him to leave the road to her. Then he left the road, except that his toes clung to it. When she passed over him she hit his great toe to throw him off the path down the cliff. He noticed it, and leapt the hero's salmon-leap up again, and struck the woman's head off. She was the mother of the three last warriors that had fallen by him, viz., Esse Enchinde, and in order to destroy him had come to meet him.

Thereafter the hosts went with Scathach to her own land, and hostages were given to her by Aife. And Cuchulaind stayed there for the day of his recovery.

After the full lore of his soldierly arts with Scathach had passed for Cuchulaind—as well the apple-feat as the thunder-feat, the blade-feat, the *foen*-feat, and the spear-feat, the rope-feat, the body-feat, the cat's-feat, the salmon-feat of a chariot-chief, the throw of the staff, the jump over . . . , the whirl of a brave chariot-chief, the spear of the bellows,[1] the *boi* of swiftness, the wheel-feat, the *othar*-feat, the breath-feat, the *brud geme*, the hero's whoop, the blow . . . , the counter-blow, running up a lance and righting the body on its point, the scythe-chariot, and the hero's twisting round the

[1] This weapon (*gai bulga*) is thus described in the Book of Leinster, p. 87a: "It was set upon the stream and cast from between the toes. It made the wound of one spear in entering the body, and (embedded) it had thirty barbs to open, and could not be drawn out of the body unless it was cut open." With this weapon Cuchulaind killed Ferdiad in the Táin Bó Cúalgne. "His charioteer set the spear on the stream, and Cuchulaind caught it between the toes of his foot, and threw a cast of it at Ferdiad so that it passed through the firm deep iron girdle of refined iron, and broke the great stone, which was as large as a mill-stone, in three, and passed through the defences of his body into him, so that every joint and every limb of him was filled with its barbs. 'I have enough now,' said Ferdiad."

points of spears,—then came a message to him to return to his own land, and he took leave. Then Scathach told him what would befal him in the future, and sang to him in the seer's large shining ken,[2] and spake these words: "Welcome, oh victorious, warlike . . .[3]

Then Cuchulaind went in his ship to reach Erinn. This was the crew of the one ship, viz., Lugaid and Luan Da Mac Loich and Ferbaeth and Larin and Ferdiad and Drust, son of Serb. They went to the house of Ruad, King of the Isles, on Samuin night.[4] There were there before them Conall Cernach and Loegaire Buadach levying the tribute; for there was tribute at that time from the Isles of the Foreigners to the men of Ulster.[5] Then Cuchulaind heard a wailing

[2] *Imbas Forosnai.* This is the name of a mode of divination thus described in Cormac's glossary, written about 900 A.D. "The *Imbas Forosnai* sets forth whatever seems good to the seer (*file*) and what he desires to make known. It is done thus. The seer chews a piece of the red flesh of a pig, or a dog, or a cat, and then places it on a flagstone behind the door. He sings an incantation over it, offers it to the false gods, and then calls them to him. And he leaves them not on the next day, and chants then on his two hands, and again calls his false gods to him, lest they should disturb his sleep. And he puts his two hands over his two cheeks till he falls asleep. And they watch by him lest no one overturn him and disturb him till everything he wants to know is revealed to him, to the end of nine days, or of twice or thrice that time, or however long he was judged at the offering."

[3] It is impossible at the present stage of our knowledge of Irish to translate this poem. In it Scathach tells Cuchulaind of the part which he will play in the famous Cattlespoil of Cualgne, when the "kine of Bray will be lifted," when he will be "alone against an immense herd." "The warriors of Cruachan, thou shalt scatter them." "Thy name shall reach the men of Alba." "Thirty years I reckon the strength of thy valour. Thence further I do not add."

[4] The eve of the first of November, All-Halloween.

[5] The following passage from the Book of Leinster (p. 171b) is of great value for our knowledge of the intercourse between the ancient Irish and the Scandinavians :—"And send also (says the Druid Cathbad to king Conchobor of Ulster) news and messages to thy absent friends, to Conall the victorious where he is levying tribute and tax in the lands of Lewis (*Leódús*), in the Shetlands (*Inse Cadd*) and in the Orkneys (*Inse Or*[c]), in the lands of Scythia and Dacia and Gothia and of the Northmen (*Northmann*), voyaging in the Sea of Wight (*Muir n-Icht*) and the Tyrrhene Sea, and plundering the roads of the Saxons. And send news and messages to thy absent friends to the meadow-lands of the Norse (*co iathaib Gallecda, co Galliathaib na n-Gall*), viz., to Amláib (or Olaib), the grandson of Inscoa, the king of Lochlann, to Findmór, son of Rofer, the king of the seventh part of Lochlann, to Báre of the men of the Faroer (*Sciggire*), to the dun of the Fishercarls (*Piscarcarla*), to Brodor Roth and Brodor Fiúit, to Siugraid Soga, the king of Súdiam, to Sortadbud, the king of the Orkneys, to the seven sons of Romrach, to Hil, to Mael, to Muile, to Abram, son of Romrach, to Cet, son of Romrach, to Celg, son of Romrach, to Mod, son of Herling, to Conchobor the victorious, son of Artur, son of Bruide, son of Dungal, to the son of the king of Alba, and Clothra, daughter of Conchobor the Famous." Several Irish chiefs were then sent on this errand, with the Norseman Cano to guide them across the strait of the sea and the great ocean. They land in Lewis where they find Conall who sends on the summons to the meadow-lands of the Norse.

before him in the dun of the king. "What lament is that?" said Cuchulaind. "The daughter of Ruad is taken as tribute to the Fomori," said they. "It is therefore that the wailing is in the dun." "Where is the maiden?" said he. "She is on the shore below," said they. Cuchulaind went until he was near the maiden on the strand. He asked tidings of her. The maiden told him fully. "Whence do the men come?" said he. "From that distant island yonder," said she. "Be not here in sight of the robbers." He remained there awaiting them and killed the three Fomori in single combat. But the last man wounded him at the wrist. The maiden gave him a strip from her garment round his wound. He then went away without making himself known to the maiden. The maiden came to the dun and told her father the whole story. Thereafter Cuchulaind came to the dun like every other guest. Then Conall and Loegaire welcomed him. Many in the dun boasted of having killed the Fomori, but the maiden did not believe them. A bath was then prepared by the king, and each one was brought to her separately. Then Cuchulaind came like everybody else, and the maiden recognized him. "I shall give the maiden to thee," said Ruad, "and I shall pay her wedding-gift myself." "Not so," said Cuchulaind. "Let her come this day year to Erinn after me, if it be pleasant to her, and she will find me there."

Cuchulaind then came to Emain and told his adventures there. When he had cast his fatigue from him, he set out for the rath of Forgall to seek Emer. He was a whole year near it, but could not approach her for the number of the watch. He came then at the end of the year. "It is to-day, oh Laeg," said Cuchulaind, "we have our meeting with the daughter of Ruad, but we know not the exact place, for we were not wise. Let us go," said he, "to the border of the land." When they were on the shore of Loch Cuan,[6] they beheld two birds on the sea. Cuchulaind put a stone in his sling and aimed at the birds. The men ran up to them after having hit one of the birds. When they came up to them this is what they saw, two women, the most beautiful in the world. These were Derbforgaill, the daughter of Ruad, and her handmaid. "Evil is the deed thou hast done, oh Cuchulaind," said she. "It was to meet thee we came, though thou hast hurt us." Cuchulaind sucked the stone out

These at once bring together a large host and fleet, and come to Lewis. Then all set sail for Ireland. When they reach the strait of the Mull of Kintyre (*sruthair na Máile Chind Tíre*, i.e. the North Channel), a tremendous gale scatters their fleet, and they land in Ireland in three different places.

[6] Strangford Lough.

of her with its clot of blood round it. "I shall not wed thee now," said Cuchulaind, "for I have drunk thy blood. But I shall give thee to my companion here, viz., to Lugaid of the Red Stripes." And it was done thus.

Cuchulaind then wanted to go to the rath of Forgall. And the scythe-chariot was prepared for Cuchulaind that day. It was called scythe-chariot (*carpat serrda*) from the iron scythes that were from it, or again because it was first invented by the Serians. He then arrived at the rath of Forgall, and jumped the hero's salmon-leap across the three ramparts, so that he was on the ground of the dun. And he dealt three blows in the liss, so that eight men fell from each blow, and one man escaped in the midst of each group of nine, viz., Scibur and Ibur and Cat, three brothers of Emer. Forgall then made a leap on to the rampart of the rath without, in fleeing from Cuchulaind, and he fell and was without life. Cuchulaind took Emer with him and her foster-sister, with their two loads of gold and silver, and took a leap back again across the third rampart with the two maidens and went forth.

Cries were raised around them from every direction. Scennmend[7] rushed against them. Cuchulaind killed her[8] on the ford, which is hence called the Ford of Scennmend. Thence they came to Glondath. There Cuchulaind killed hundred men of them. "Great is the deed (*glond*) which thou hast done," said Emer, "to have killed hundred armed able-bodied men." "Glond-áth shall be its name for ever," said Cuchulaind. He reached Cru Foit (Blood-turf). Its name was originally Rae-bán (White Field) until then. He dealt great angry blows on the hosts in that place, so that the streams of blood broke over it on each side. "The height is a turf of blood through thee to-day, oh Cuchulaind," cried the maiden. So hence it is called Crúfoit, viz., Cró-fót, *i.e.*, Turf of Blood. The pursuers overtook them at Ath n-Imfúait on the Boyne. Emer left the chariot. Cuchulaind made a chase on the shore, so that the clods flew from the hoofs of the horses across the ford northward. He made another chase northward so that the clods flew from the hoofs of the horses over the ford southward. Hence it is called Ford of the Two Clods, from the clods hither and thither. Now Cuchulaind killed one hundred on each ford from Ath Scennmend at Ollbine to the Boyne of Bray, and he fulfilled all the deeds that he had vowed to the maiden, and he came safely out of it, and reached Emain Macha towards the darkness of that night. Emer was brought into the

[7] Forgall's sister.

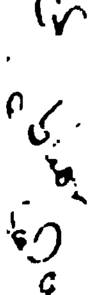
[8] MS him.

fulfills all the provisions

Red Branch to Conchobor and to the men of Ulster, and they bade her welcome. There was a grim evil-tongued man of the men of Ulster in the house, viz., Bricriu of the Venomous Tongue, the son of Arba. It was then he said: "Forsooth, it will be disagreeable to Cuchulaind what will happen to-night, viz., the woman whom he brought with him will sleep with Conchobor. For with him is the deflowering of virgins before the men of Ulster ever." Cuchulaind grew mad when he heard that, and shook himself so that the cushion burst which was under him, and its feathers were flying about the house. He went out then. "This is very hard," said Cathbad, "but it is an ordinance to the king to do everything that Bricriu has said. Cuchulaind will slay him that will sleep with his wife." "Let Cuchulaind be called to us," said Conchobor, "to know if we can soothe his wrath." Then Cuchulaind came. "Arise," said Conchobor, "and bring me the herds that I have in Slieve Fuait." Then Cuchulaind went, and drove together whatever he found in Slieve Fuait of swine and stags, and of every sort of fowl game besides, and drove them in one drove with him to the meadow of Emain. Then his wrath had departed from him. A council was held by the men of Ulster about this affair. This was the resolution they arrived at, that Emer was to sleep that night with Conchobor, and Fergus and Cathbad in one bed with them to watch over the honour of Cuchulaind, and the men of Ulster should bless him if he accepted it. He did accept it, and it was done thus. Conchobor paid Emer's wedding-gift on the morrow, and Cuchulaind's honour-price was paid, and he slept then with his wife, and they did not separate after that until they both died. Then the chieftainry of the youths of Ulster was given to Cuchulaind. These were the youths in Emain at that time, about whom the poet spoke, setting forth their names:—

The youths of Emain, the fairest host,
When they were in the Red Branch,
Furbaide—white the rod—with Cuscraid and Cormac.
Conaing, Glasni, Glan, Fiachaig, and Findchad,
Cuchulaind, hard as steel and bright, the victorious son of Dechtire.
Fiachna, Follomain was there, Cacht, Mane, Crimthand,
The seven Manes of Sliab in Chon, Bres, Nar, Lothor,
The six sons of Fergus were there, Ilarchless, Illand,
Fiamain, Bunne, Bri, Mul, Claidbech, Conri,
Laegaire Cass, Conall Claen, and the two Ethers noble and fair.
Mesdiad and Mesdedad, the beloved children of Amargen Giunnach,
Comchraid the son of Cas, from Sliab Smoil, Conchraid the son of Bad Bernad Broin,
Conchraid the son of the Derg, the son of Find, Conchraid Suana the son of Sailcend.

Aed the son of Findderg, Ollach Brec, Aed, the son of Findach, a host of strength,
Aed the son of Conall, Cirrid Cath, Aed the son of Dond, Aed the son of Duach,
Fergus the son of Lete, a bright festival, Fergus the son of Dorg, the son of Dare.
Fergus the son of Ross--the verses say—Fergus the son of Dub, the son of Crimthand.
The three sons of Traiglethan—strong renown—Siduad, Currech and Carman.
The three sons of Uslend of the Battles, Naise and Anle and Ardan.
The three Flands, the three Finds, the three Conns of Ciul, the names of the nine sons of Sceol.
The three Faelans, the three Colla Cain, the three sons of Niall, the three sons of Sitgal.
Lon and Iliach, the most beautiful men, the foster-brothers of Cormac Crichid.
The three Dondgas the sons of Mac Rossa, the three Dungas, the three Daelgos.
The poets of Cormac Ciul, the nine sons of Lir, son of Eterscel,
His three pipers—fair the deed—Find, Eochaid, and Illand.
His horn-blowers of music next, the two Aeds and Firgein.
Three jesters to make sharp remarks, Athirne and Drec and Drobel.
His three distributers of renown, Find, Eruath, and Fatemain.
Three grandsons of Cletech—bright perfection—Uath, Urud and Aslinge.
Aed Eochaid, renowned of Emain, the two fair sons of Ilgabla,
The son of Bricriu who . . . . . . with the youths of Emain.



KUNO MEYER.

INDEX NOTES.

5.—OLD ENGLISH DRAMA.

III. Jonson (Ben), Every man in his hvmovr, a comœdie acted in the yeere 1598, by the then Lord Chamberlaine his seruants. London 1616. [Wheatley's divisions of act and scene are used.]

Account-books, merchants, iii. 3.
Adjection, addition, iv. 8.
Almanacks, iii. 4.
Apple squire, an attendant on women, iv. 10.
Apricots, growing of, at Hoxton, i. 2.
Archery at Finsbury, i. 1.
Arthur (King), sword of, alluded to, iii. 1.

Bacon (Roger) alluded to, i. 4.
Ballad singer, a term of contempt, iv. 2.
Bason, a cup, i. 5.
Bed-staff [a wooden pin stuck anciently on the sides of the bedstead to hold the clothes from slipping on either side—Johnson] used as weapon, i. 5.
Begging in Moorfields, ii. 4, 5.
Beer, ii. 5.
Bencher, an idler on tavern benches, iv. 2.
Bevis (Sir) of Hampton, horse of, iii. 4, sword of, i i. 1.
Black art, magic, necromancy, iv. 6.
Blue waiters, allusion to servants' livery, ii. 4.
Books on hawking and hunting, i. 1.

Boots, use of, noticed as a novelty, i. 5.
Bottom of packthread, ball of string, iv. 6.
Breakfast, bell ringing for [this would be somewhere about seven o'clock in the morning—Wheatley] ii. 2.
Breeches, allusion to the wearing of, ii. 2.
Brokers in Houndsditch, iii. 5.
Brown bill, a sort of pike with hooked point, iv. 8.
Burdello, a disorderly house, 1. 2.
Burgullian, a bully, iv. 4.

Cannibalism, iii. 4.
Caps, flat, ii. 1.
Caps, worn by women, iii. 3.
Caract, the old form of carat, iii. 3.
Caraza (Hieronymo) alluded to, i. 5.
Cards, game of Gleek alluded to "trick vied and revied"—[Gifford] iv. 2.
Cat, nine lives of, iii. 1.
Caterwauling, iv. 2.
Ceruse, a paint for the face, iv. 8.
Child's whistle, iii. 2.
Cob, the head of a herring, i. 4.
Cockscomb, a term of reproach, i. 1.
Coins, angels, iv. 9 ; a cross, iv. 9 ; guilders, iii. 1. ; halfpenny, ii. 1. ; shillings [of Edward IV. used for the game of shuffleboard—Wheatley] iii. 5. ; a teston, iv. 2. ; three farthing piece, ii. 1. ; Spanish, ii. 1.
Conduit, tankard bearer at a, i. 3.
Coney catching rascal, a sharper or cheat, iii. 1.
Constable, the, iv. 10.
Copesmate, companion and friend, iv. 9.
Cophetua (King) allusion to, iii. 4.
Costarmonger [costar originally a sellar of costards or large apples—Wheatley] costermonger, i. 3.
Coystril, a scoundrel, iv. 2.
Cross, a penny which was stamped with a cross, iv. 9.
Cullion, a scoundrel, iii. 5.
Culverin (demi) a cannon of four inches bore [Wheatley] iii. 1.
Cypress, chiefly represented by what we now call crape, i. 3.

Deptford, Sir Francis Drake's ship ["The Golden Hind,"—Wheatley] i. 3.
Dor, to impose upon [Gifford], iv. 8.
Drake (Sir F.), old ship of, i. 3.
Dress of a merchant, ii. 1.
———see "boots," "caps," "shoes," "slops," "stockings," "stomacher."
Drinking at ale houses, iv. 6, 8.
Drum, the, iii. 2.
Ducking ponds at Islington, i. I.
Duelling, i. 5.
Dumps (in), out of spirits, iii. 7.
Durindana, the sword of Orlando, iii. 1.

Earrings, worn by men, iv. 9.
Ember weeks, iii. 4.
Excalibur, the sword of King Arthur, iii. 1.
Exchange-time, the meeting-time for business, *i.e.*, ten o'clock [Gifford], iii. 3.

Fackins (by my), an oath, by my Faith, i. 3.
Fasting days, iii. 4.
Fayles, game of [an old table game, one of the numerous varieties of backgammon—Gifford] iii. 3.
Fencing, i. 5 ; terms of, iv. 7.
Finsbury, archery at, i. 1.
Fish, kinship with, iii. 4.
Fire, burning of the world by, iii. 4.
Fleering, mocking, iii. 3.

Fleming sword, iii. 1.
Flemings, fondness of, for butter, iii. 4.
Flesht, excited, ii. 5.
Foist, a cut purse, iv. 4, 7.
Food, refinements of, ii. 5.
Foppery, badinage, foolery, iv. 2.
French custom of swearing, iii. 5.
———, words, objection to using, i. 5.
Freshwater (Mr), a byword for a raw foolish person [Wheatley] v. 2.
Frippery, old clothes shop [Gifford], i. 2.

Games, see "cards," "fayles" "shove groat," "tick tack."
Garagantua, large, giant like [derived from the name of Rabelais' giant, was a favourite word in Johnson's day—Wheatley] ii. 2.
George Castriota (1414-1467) chief of Epirus alluded to, i. 3.
Ging, company, ii. 2.
Gleek, game of cards, see "cards."
Gorget, a defence for the neck worn by soldiers, v. 1.
Gown, sergeant's [the badge of his office—Wheatley] iv. 11.
Gramercy, much thanks, i. 3.
Grogans, coarse woollen cloth, ii. 1.

Halberdier, iii. 5.
Hang bys, hangers on, iii. 1., iv. 2.
Hanger, the strap attached to the girdle in which the dagger hung, i. 5.
Hannibal, a malapropism for cannibal, iii. 4.
Harrot, an old form of herald, i. 4.
Hawking, accoutrements for, i. 1.
Hawking and hunting, books on, i. 1.
Hay, a hit [from the Italian hai, Wheatley], iv. 7.
Helter-skelter, i. 4.
Herring alluded to as the king of fish, i. 4.
Higginbottom, an unknown character alluded to, ii. 4.
Hoddy-doddy, a short, clumsy person [any one made foolish—Wheatley]. iv. 10.
Hogsden, Hoxton, alluded to, i. 1, 2.
Holofernes, iv. 2.
Hoyday, heydey, an exclamation, iv. 2.
Hum-drum, dull, heavy fellows, i. 1.

Ingine, wit or understanding, v. 3.
Inn signs, Green Lattice, iii. 7 ; the Star, iv. 2 ; Water Tankard, iii. 7 ; Windmill, i. 2 ; iii. 2 ; v. 3.
Islington, ducking-ponds at, i. 1.

Jet, attraction of straws by, iii. 3.
Jet rings [great virtue was attributed to jet in former times—Wheatley], ii. 4.

Kissing, iii. 6.
Kyd (Thomas), *The Spanish Tragedy*, alluded to, i. 5.

Lance knights, foot soldiers, ii. 4.
Latin pronunciation, iv. 2.
Lattice [the windows of alehouses were furnished with lattices of various colours—Gifford], iii. 6.
Lawn, used for ruffs, ruffles, &c., i. 3.
Leek porridge, a food, iii. 4.
Legs, covering for the, i. 3.
Leystals, dunghills, ii. 5.
Linstock, a pike with a match at the end used by gunners, iii. 1.
London, Artillery Garden, iii. 5; Bridewell, iii. 6; Christ's Hospital or blue-coat school, ii. 1 ; Colman Street, iii. 2, 5; Custom-House Key, iii. 2 ; the Exchange, ii. 1 ; iii. 3 ; iv. 7.; Fleet Street, ii. 2 ; Guildhall, i. 2 ; Houndsditch, iii. 5 ; Mile End, ii. 5 ; iv. 6 ; Moorfields, ii. 4 ; iv. 6 ; Moregate, i. 3 ; Old Jewry,

LONDON (*continued*)—
i. 2, 3, 4; Shoreditch, iv. 7; Thames Street, iii. 2; Tower, iv. 8; Turnbull, iv. 7; the Wall, iv. 6; Whitechapel, iv. 7; see "Finsbury," "Hogsden," "Islington," "Paul's man," "Picthatch."
——, citizens of, visiting Islington, i. 1.
——, fields near, iii. 2.
——, government, see "constable," "mace," "sergeant."
——, ordinaries, ii. 5.
——, pounds, the counters, ii. 1.
——, taverns, the Windmill [which stood at the corner of Old Jewry towards Lothbury—Gifford], i. 2; iii. 2; v. 3.

Mace, carried by city sergeant, iv. ii.
Maw, stomach, hence a great appetite, iii. 4.
Main, great, iii. 3.
Malt-horse, a heavy horse, i. 5.
Manners of youth, ii. 5.
Mash, a muddle, iv. 11.
Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, quoted, [see Gifford's note] iv. 2.
Marriages at the Tower of London, iv. 8.
Melancholy, a sign of gentility, i. 3; iii. 1.
Merchants' wares, ii. 1.
Middlesex, property in, i. 2.
Mechanical, belonging to a handicraft, hence base, mean, i. 2.
Minion, darling, iv. 3.
Millaner, merchants [supposed to be derived from the fact that these men dealt in merchandise chiefly imported from Milan—Wheatley], the origin of the modern milliner, i. 3.
Mithridate, an antidote against poison, iv. 8.
Monastic lands, allusion to practice of courtiers begging, ["You'll be begged else shortly with concealments"—Gifford], iv. 2.
Money, the craving for, ii. 5.
Montanto, a broad sword used by fencing masters, iv. 7.
Morglay, the sword of Bevis of Hampton, iii. 1.
Motley (to wear), [servants were by way of punishment for notorious faults stripped of their liveries and compelled to appear in a parti-coloured coat—Gifford], ii. 4.
Motte, a proverb, iv. 2.
Much, a favourite expression of contempt, used ironically for little [Wheatley], iv. 6.
Mun, must, i. 1.
Mushrooms, ii. 5.
Musket rest [the old musket was so large and unwieldy a weapon that it required a support before it could be used by the soldier—Gifford], ii. 5.
Musse, mouse, a favourite term of endearment, ii. 3.

Nicotian, a name for tobacco [derived from the name of the introducer, John Nicot—Wheatley], iii. 5.
Nupson, fool or simpleton, iv. 6.

Oaths, body of me, i. 4, 5; iii. 5; body o' Caesar iii. 5; iv. 2; by my fackins [by my faith], i. 3; as I am a gentleman and a soldier, i. 4, 5; iii. 1; for George, ii. 1, 2; gad's-lid [God's eyelid], i. 1; God's precious, iii. 7; v. 2; by the harrot's [herald's] books, i. 4; by Hercules, iii. 5; by this light, iv. 5; mack [apparently unmeaning, Wheatley], iii. 4; by the foot of Pharaoh, i. 4, 5; ii. 2; iii. 5; iv. 2, 7; by St. George, i. 4, 5; iii. 1, 5; iv. 2; 'sdeath, ii. 1; iv. 7; 'sdeyns, ii. 1, 3; iv. 3, 11; 'sfoot, ii. 4; 'slid [God's eyelid)], i, 1, 3; ii. 4; iii. 1, 4; iv. 4, 5, 10; 's light [by this light], iii. 2; iv. 2, 6; 's lud, iv. 1.
Oaths, whether his oath can bind him, not lawfully taken [that is, unless taken in form before a legal magistrate—Wheatley], iii. 3.
Ordinaries, London, ii. 5.

Parboiled, boiled through, iv. 1.

Parcel, the diminutive of part, iii. 7.
Paul's man, a frequenter of the middle aisle of St. Paul's Cathedral, the common resort of gossipers of every description—[Gifford], *dram. pers.*
Pawning, the practice of, alluded to, iii. 6 ; iv. 9.
Pell-mell, iii. 1.
Petrionel, a carbine or horse pistol, iii. 1.
Pewter, housewive's, i. 3.
Pict-hatch, a notorious haunt of abandoned characters near Charterhouse [Wheatley], i. 2.
Pismire, ant or emmet, iv. 7.
Planet-struck, iv. 7.
Playwrites, i. 5.
Poetry, unprofitableness of writing, i. 1.
Posy upon rings, ii. 4.
Potlings, iv. 2.
Provant, a provider, iii. i.
Proverbs, care'll kill a cat, 1, 4 ; he has the wrong sow by the ear, ii. i. claps his dish at the wrong man's door [see Ray], ii. 1 ; as he brews so shall he drink, ii. 2 ; a crafty knave needs no broker [see Ray], iii. 5 ; I have eggs on the spit, iii. 6 ; a toy to mock an ape, iv. 2.
Provost, iii. 5.
Pyed, parti-coloured, i. 5.

Quacksalvers, mountebanks, ii. 1 ; iii. 5.

Rabelais, alluded to [see "Garogantua,"] ii., 2.
Radish, eating of with wine, i., 5 ; iv., 9.
Rake-hells, dissolute fellows, iv., 3.
Ratsbane, a poison, iii., 5.
Reformados, disbanded soldiers, iii., 5.
Rheum, caprice, iii., 4.
Rings, jet, ii., 4.
Rising, early, i., 4, 5.
Rook, a cheat or sharper [Wheatley], i., 5.
Rosaker, a poison, iii., 5.
Rosewater, used with fruit at breakfast [Wheatley], ii., 3.
Round, gentlemen of the, soldiers whose office it was to go round and inspect the sentinels, &c. [Gifford], iii., 5.
Russet, iv., 9.

Sack, wine, iii., 7.
Sadness, seriousness, i., 3.
St. Domingo, island of, iii., 5.
St. John's Wort, the plant so-called, iii., 5.
Scanderbag, Iskander-beg, Prince Alexander, i., 3.
Scot and lot, iii., 7.
Scot-free, iii., 7.
Scroyles, scrophulous, mangy felllows [from O. Fr. *escrouelles*—Wheatley], i., 1.
Serjeant-major, the officer now called major [Wheatley], iii., 5.
Serjeants-at-mace of London, iv., 9, 11.
Seven Wise Masters, alluded to, iii., 5.
Shoes, shining, alluded to contemptuously, ii., 1.
Shove-groat shilling, a smooth shilling used for the game of shuffleboard, iii., 5.
Signs of taverns, see "inn."
Silver stuffs, ii., 1.
Slop, tumbrel, the wide Dutch breeches common in Chaucer's time and re-introduced in the reign of Elizabeth [Wheatley], ii., 2 ; iv., 2.
Smoking, see "tobacco."
Snails used for food, ii., 5.
Snuff, use of alluded to, i., 1 ; iv., 2.
Sod, boiled [past part. of seethe is sodden], iv., 9.
Soldiers, begging of discharged, ii., 4, 5.
Song, "up tails all," reference to, i., 4.

Sort, quantity, ii., 4.
Spanish coins, ii., 1.
Stage, customs of, *prol.*
Stale, to stale himself, to make himself cheap and common, ii., I.
Stockings (woollen and silk), i., 3 ; iv., 9.
Stomacher (wrought) an article of female dress. i., 3.
Stopple, i., 4.
Straw, binding the leg with, i., 3.
Strigonium, beleaguering of, iii., 1.
Suburb, i., 3.
Swearing, see "oaths."
Swinge, beat or chastise, ii., 2 ; iv. 11.
Sword, use of in London streets, ii., 2.
Sword names, iii., 1.
Sword play, i., 5.

Tabacco, "filthy roguish," i., 4, 5 ; iii., 5.
Tall, bold or courageous, iv., 7, 8, 11.
Theatre, as common as a, ii., 1.
Three farthing piece, a coin struck in 1561, ii., 1.
Tick-tack, game of [a complicated species of backgammon—Gifford], iii., 3.
Ti-he, a word used to express the art of laughing or tittering [Wheatley], i., 4.
Tightly, quickly, smartly, ii., 2.
Tobacco, iii., 5, 17.
Tokens, tavern, i., 4.
Tonnels, the throat, i., 4.
Trecher, traitor, iv., 9.
Trojan, brave, iv., 4.
Trundle (John), printer, alluded to, i., 3.
Truss, to tie the points or strings of a man's hose, i., 3.
Turkey company, allusion to, i., 2.

University scholarship, i., 1.
Unthrift, a prodigal, iii., 7.
Upsolve, solve it up, i., 4.

Varlet, a sergeant-at-mace, iv., 9, 11 ; v., 2.
Vinegar, iii., 6.
Venetian courtezans, ii., 5.

Wars, of Bohemia, Hungaria, Dalmatia, Poland, ii., 4.
Wealth of London, iv., 7.
Welkin, the sky, iv., 7.
What-sha-call-him, i., 3.
Whetstone, iv., 2.
Whistle, a child's, iii., 2.
Wusse, certainly [a corruption of *wis*. A. S. *gewis*—Wheatley,] i., 1 ; iv., 2.

Youth, manners of, ii., 5.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

All communications should be directed to "The Editor, Archæological Review," 270 Strand W.C.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected MSS. unless a stamped directed envelope is sent for that purpose.

W. C. Lane (Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.)—Thanks for your admirable suggestion. It shall be adopted for the Subject Index at the end, but it would be too late to introduce the figures into the index now partly printed off.

THE

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Anthropology.

—:o:—

SURVIVALS OF IRANIAN CULTURE AMONG CAUCASIAN HIGHLANDERS.

AS soon as leaving Rostov you cross the Don, the Tanais of the ancients, you are said, by the local Cosack inhabitants, to be in Asia. All the people of the Caucasus have but one name in the minds of the Cosacks, namely that of Asiatics. It seems that on the whole this popular nomenclature is far from being so wrong as is generally supposed; recent researches bring us to the conclusion that in the earlier part of the Middle Ages, a powerful people known under the name of "Ass" or "Oss," the forefathers of the modern "Ossetes," did occupy a good part of the southern steppes of the present Russian Empire.

A Russian philologist, whose speciality is the study of Sanskrit, Mr. Vsevolod Miller of Moscow, has recently discovered that more than one personal surname to be found in the Greek inscriptions coming from the southern parts of Russia, and collected by Mr. Latkin, has a definite meaning in the Osset language, which has much in common with the Persian and other Iranian dialects. It seems also that the name under which the old Tanais is known in our days, is the same employed by the Ossetes to designate "water" in general, "rivers" and "springs" in particular, the name "Don."

I do not see any reason for fighting against the supposition that the name of Asia itself comes from the people that were known to inhabit its European border from the times of grey antiquity, the Ossetes or the Ass, who are mentioned by Byzantine authors.

Although the most numerous, the Ossetes are by no means the sole people of undoubted Aryan descent to be found among the inhabitants of the Caucasus; the "Iesides," not to speak of Kourds and Armenians, are also Aryans, and this fact is the more interesting because it is generally accepted that the "Iesides" are the oldest inhabitants of the Caspian shore that had to be fought by the conquering Arabs who introduced the Coran. Obliged to remove to high mountains, these Iesides are still to be found in the neighbourhood of the Ararat. They speak their own dialect, very like that of the Kourds, and although officially recognised to be Christians, still mention the names of "Ormusd" and "Ahriman."

Even among people of nŏn-Aryan blood, the Georgian tribes of the Chevsurs, Pschavs and Tuschins, inhabiting the highest valleys of the central chain, more than one survival of Iranian culture is to be found, as will appear by a minute research into their religious creed and the different ceremonies followed on occasion of burials, marriages, and other solemn circumstances of life.

This early influence of Iranian culture ought not to be confounded with the posterior infusion of Persian customs and institutions. The Shahs having been more than once the recognised rulers of the Georgian kingdom, and principalities dependant upon Persia having existed for whole centuries on the Caspian shore, no wonder that more than one feature of Persian habits, mode of life, and legal ideas, has been preserved as well in Georgia, as in the Daghestan, specially on the border of the sea from Derbent to Bakou and Lencoran. The inhabitants of each of the cities just named are the undoubted successors of Persian colonies. Even the Jews, living in the neighbourhood of Derbent, speak a Persian dialect which, according to Professor Vsevolod Miller, gives us a fair idea of what Mediæval Persian must have been.[1] The "Talisch" of the Lencoran province, as well as the Tats, established in the villages surrounding the famous city of Bakou, possess even in our days, some legal customs, the origin of which is to be looked for in Persian legislation. Cruel punishments, totally unknown to the customary law of surrounding tribes, as the gallows, cutting the

[1] Some of the Jewish families of Derbent having migrated to the Northern Caucasus, we find in the borough of Nalchik, situated not far away from the Elbrous, a whole set of persons still using Mediæval Persian.

body of a criminal to pieces, and decapitating the king, etc., are the remnants of this draconian legislation, now only preserved in the memory of aged men, but a few years ago applied by the Zhans and tributary princes, as for instance by the hereditary schamchale of Torky and the elective Uzmi of Kaitag.

The same Persian influence may be ascertained by a minute survey of the matrimonial regulations of the Ossetes, the most numerous and prevailing tribe of the Northern Caucasus. These people, whose southern ramifications go as far as Gori, a town situated on the southern side of the central chain, in the Government of Tiflis, call themselves "Iron," a fact strongly militating in favour of my presumption that they are but a detached branch of the people of old Iran.

Three different sorts of sexual relationship are known to exist among them; concubinage, marriage contracted for life, and free union for a limited number of years. I have not much to say of the first, concubinage being generally entered into with female slaves very frequently during the period directly preceding the establishment of the Russian Government among the Ossetes. As to the last two modes of sexual relationship, they are both inaugurated in the same way, I mean by purchase, the wife being regularly bought from her parents; the payment is a larger one in the first case, and a smaller in the second. No religious rites are performed when marriage is contracted only for a couple of years. A powerful or rich family is not likely to give its consent to such a union, but it seems quite acceptable to less prosperous people. The wife obtained on such terms is generally spoken of among the Ossetes as a wife by name (nomoulous); her children, the so-called "cavdasards," occupy a position which is neither that of legitimate off-spring, nor of bastards. They are supposed to belong to the family of their father as a common stock. In case of a division, they cannot be forced to follow one person in preference to another, and select as a rule their new master by themselves, choosing him from among the legitimate heirs of their father.

If the legitimate family is extinguished, the cavdasards are called to the inheritance of the family estate.

A peculiar feature of this very strange mode of matrimonial existence is the right accorded by custom to the legal proprietor of the nomoulous to let her out to strangers, under the express condition that the children she might bear will be considered as his own. This reminds us of the "niyoga"[2] marriage of the Hindus,

[2] See as to details the learned work of Mayne, *Hindu Law and Custom.*

with this difference, however, that the Hindu custom obtained only in the case where the legal husband was likely to die without an heir to his family and estate.

The peculiar interest which these matrimonial regulations of the Ossetes have for our inquiry appears as soon as we confront them with the information which French travellers of the seventeenth century, Chinon, Chardin, and Tavernier, give us of the Persian law concerning marriage.

I will quote Chinon as the one who first treated the subject in detail; Chardin and Tavernier repeating only what he had said before them: "Ils ont trois sortes de mariages," the French Jesuit informs us, speaking of the Persians of his days. "Le premier est un qu'ils appellent 'Mouttia,' comme qui diroit usage, et c'est celui par lequel les femmes s'obligent à eux pour un tems déterminé à condition de quelque récompense. Et aprez ce tems ils sont obligés de les laisser aller s'ils ne font de nouveau un autre contract. Ces mariages de prostitution se font avec peu de cérémonie, parceque le tout ne consiste qu'à dire trois paroles, qu'ils appellent 'Sigue.' Ils nomment la seconde sorte de mariage 'Cassé' comme qui diroit propre: et en effet, ce sont leurs propres esclaves, dont ils se peuvent servir comme il leur plaît, nonobstant les repugnances de leurs maîtresses . . . Le troisième se nomme 'Necach' . . . C'est là leur plus noble mariage," etc.[3]

Let me add two more peculiar points to this curious information. I will apply for these to the Chevalier Chardin, whose description of the Persian Empire is certainly the most detailed and trustworthy traveller's account that has ever been written. According to Chardin a marriage for time can easily become a marriage for life, as nothing stands in the way of hiring a woman for the term of ninety years. As to the children begotten from such marriages Chardin points to the fact, that in the absence of legal inheritance, they are authorised to divide among themselves the inheritance left by their father.[4]

Although marriages for a limited time are, as a rule, admitted by the Coran, under the name of "Mota," this Arabian custom has been preserved to our days only among the Schiites, Sunnites having already abolished it under the Khalifat of Omar.[5] The Ossetes being neither Christians nor Sunnites, the prevalence of the

[3] *Relations Nouvelles du Levant*, Lyon, 1671 (p. 105), the name of the author is indicated only by the initials.

[4] *Journal du Voyage du Chevalier Chardin en Perse et aux Indes Orientales*, Londres, 1686, vi., p. 268.

[5] See Wilken, *Das Matriarchat bei den alten Arabern*, p. 1-33.

"Mota" among them cannot be explained otherwise than by the theory of a direct influence of Persian civilization, the Shahs having been more than once the acknowledged rulers of Georgia, of which the Ossetes were tributary dependants. The cases just mentioned refer only to a later Iranian influence. Those I intend to mention now will, I hope, leave no doubt that the old culture of several Caucasian tribes is of the same root as that possessed by the followers of the Avesta. First of all let me mention some legal customs, the origin of which, as far as I know, can only be explained by reference to the Zend-Avesta.

A residence of several weeks among the native tribes of Daghestan, whose geographical situation itself speaks in favour of their intimate intercourse with Persia, has opened my eyes to the great importance which ought to be attributed to old Persian influences in this recently reduced province of the Russian Empire. One feature specially must be mentioned here: the wide prevalence of "endogamy," so characteristic of the ancient Persians, and not to be found among other tribes of the Caucasus, who have the greatest horror of any marriage even among persons of the same blood, or better to say, possessing the same family, sometimes even the same gentile name.

This prevalence of endogamy cannot be accounted for by religious influences, Mahomedanism being adverse only to intermarrying with infidels; it is also not to be considered a general feature of the Caucasian tribes, as it is not to be found among the Chechens and Tartars, the nearest northern and southern neighbours of the Daghestanians. It is more probable therefore that it has been imported here in very remote antiquity, when it was a common feature among the Iranian tribes.[6]

How far endogamy still prevails in the Daghestan may be seen from the fact, that in cases where the number of unmarried female relations is very limited, and no appropriate match can be made within the same family or tribe, no marriage with a foreign girl is admitted unless she becomes previously by way of adoption a member of the family of her bridegroom.

The fact that the Yaçna precisely expresses its predilection for marriage with consanguines ("Connubium cum propinquis laudo"), as well as the prevalence of endogamy among the modern

[6] As to the prevalence of endogamy among ancient Persians, see the able paper of Rodolphe Dareste, member of the Institute, entitled "Le droit ancien des Perses," Paris, 1887, as also Abel Hovelacque's interesting chapter on marriage among the old Persians (*L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, Paris, 1880, p. 461-469).

Parsees,[7] those faithful followers of the Zoroastrian creed, leave no doubt as to the high antiquity and thoroughly Iranian origin of the matrimonial prescriptions imposed by custom on the Daghestanian tribes.

I could mention also some other legal points, on which the customs of the Caucasian tribes are similar to the rules prescribed by the Avesta. But, unfortunately, we know little of what one might call the jurisprudence of the Avesta, the greater part of the work having been lost, and I am afraid for ever. On the other hand, the few legal notions contained in the preserved parts of the sacred books of the old Persians, and specially in the Vendidad, only give such vague and general definitions and precepts that it is not easy to say if these could not also be found among people who had no connection whatever with Iranian culture. This is precisely the case with the rules that regulate the law of contracts. It is well known how much the Avesta insists on the necessity of keeping covenants. Few words have reached us applying to the way in which, according to Iranian legislation, the covenants ought to be contracted. The symbolic act, imposed on such occasions, is the one of shaking hands. Now, it is precisely the same which is recognised as binding by the customary law not only of the Ossetes, but also of the eastern tribes of the Caucasus, and specially the Daghestanians. Although I am very much inclined to think that the Avesta has something to do with this general recognition of the binding power of such an act as hand-shaking, I must confess, at the same time, that its importance for the liability of contracts is just as well accepted by people whose culture has not been directly influenced by the Avesta, among others by the Russian peasants and Russian customary law.

If the survey of legal customs, still in existence among the different tribes of the Caucasus, only enriches us with a small number of facts, directly proving the influence of the Iranian culture, a detailed account of their religious rites, manners and habits leaves no doubt as to the prevalence among them at some very remote period of their history, of the same religious creed as that which was familiar to the people of the Avesta.

I have already said a word or two about the belief in the good and bad genius, still entertained by the Iesides of the Erivan province. Their daily prayer, described by Mr. Egiasarov, is on this point

[7] Speaking of the Parsees, Anquetil du Peyron says : the alliance they like best is the so-called "Kheschs" or "Khetoudas," it is the marriage of cousins. Khetoudas, meaning the fact of "giving one's relation."

highly characteristic, as it mentions the hope, generally entertained by the followers of the Avesta, that the good spirit will at the end have the best of the bad one, and that in this way an end will be put to their eternal struggle.

I shall say no more on this subject, but leave it to those interested to read the able paper of the young Russian scholar, who was one of my best pupils at the University of Moscow.[8]

What I intend to do next is to call the attention of the reader to a very small, but exceedingly interesting tribe of the Caucasus, the Chevsurs, whom I investigated during last summer. The chief interest which, until lately, this people had in the eyes of Russian Archæologists, was its supposed descent from the crusaders. It is a fact reported by the Georgian Chronicles, that at the time of the crusade, the end of which was the establishment of the Latin principality in Constantinople, a considerable number of crusaders took the way of Georgia. During their journey through the mountains they were met by native tribes, dispersed and partly enslaved. A few of them were happy enough to escape from bondage by taking refuge in the highest valleys of the central chain.

This was the fate of the supposed ancestors of the modern Chevsurs, and some inducement to believe it seems to be given by the fact that they still wear crosses on different parts of their dress and appear on solemn occasions in a knightly attire. But this attire being of the same kind as that used in the Daghestan, and there existing no doubt as to the Persian origin of this tribe, the theory of the Latin origin of the Chevsurs must at all events forsake this sort of argument. It is true that the swords of the Chevsurs are very like those of mediæval Europe, not curved as the oriental ones, but straight, and that some are covered with genuine or counterfeited Latin inscriptions; but this fact is easily accounted for by reference to the Genoese colonies established on the Black Sea, and their continual commercial and military intercourse with the native races.

As to the dress of the Chevsurs, the chief characteristic of which are the multifarious crosses that adorn it, Georgian scholars have assured me that it is very like the one worn by the ancient guard of their kings.[9]

[8] See the bulletins of the Imperial Geographical Society, Caucasian Section, (a. 1886), where the papers of Mr. Egiasarov first appeared.

[9] Monsieur Chantre in his voluminous work on the Caucasus is the last writer who has repeated the old tale about the Chevsurs being direct descendants of Crusaders. Although I strongly oppose this view, I must mention the fact, that in more than one corner of the Caucasus a legend is still preserved about a

A fact that seems to militate strongly against the supposed Latin origin of the Chevsurs is their language, which is no other than the old Georgian, the same in which the Holy Scripture has been translated.

Similarly, the manners, and the general mode of life, as well as the religious rites and superstitious beliefs, to which we will now turn our attention, speak more in favour of the prevalence among them of early Iranian, than of mediæval Latin culture.

Let us first mention one peculiar and very characteristic feature: I mean the great importance they attach to physical purity. The objects they consider impure, as also the modes of purification which are still in use among them, remind us of more than one prescription of the Avesta. To start with, I will mention the fact that women at the time of menstruation and pregnancy are considered by the Chevsurs to be impure. To escape the bad influence which any contact with them might produce, such women are ordered to retire from the household and to pass their days and nights in buildings specially made for that purpose; as a rule, at some distance from the homestead.

The child once born, his mother after a stay of several days in the building, where she passed the time of her confinement, is allowed to return home, but not before she has washed herself with the urine of cows. After this the building is regularly destroyed.

The body of a dead person is also considered to be impure. No relation can touch it; strangers of low birth, known under the name of "Narevi," take the body of the deceased and bring it to a place specially prepared for it and situated in the middle of the court. The same "Narevi" have also to manage everything relating to the burial. They perform all this work for good pay, living all the time by themselves, taking their food in private and having no permission to address anybody on account of their supposed uncleanness. After the body has been exposed in fresh air, during five or seven days, it is covered first with white, and then with red cloth, and deposited in the grave. This mode of burial is of comparatively recent origin, but survivals of an earlier one are still to be found. During my journey through the valleys inhabited by the

foreign people, called Frenghi. To those who would like to translate this word by Franchi (French), I will mention only this fact, that among Latin inscriptions, found on the swords of Caucasian natives, the following is the most common one—"Fringia." I do not know the meaning of this word, but I think that the name Frenghi is more likely to come from the inscriptions found on the spades, than from French colonists, established in the valleys of the Caucasus.

Chevsurs, I visited on several occasions their old burial places. They are, as a rule, situated on the summit of hills. In shape they are like a prolonged quadrangle; they are constructed of stones put together without cement, and have two entrances, one on the southern and one on the northern side. Let us get into one of them for a moment to have a view of its interior arrangements. On both sides of a passage way which is left free, stone ledges at a certain level from the earth are to be seen with the mummified bodies of the deceased either sitting or lying on them. Different objects, belonging to everyday life, but no armour, are found in these burial places, where the wind freely enters and birds are likely to come.

The high importance of all the details we have given, will be at once perceived as soon as we have confronted them with the religious rites prescribed by the Avesta and still in use among the Parsees of India.

First of all, as to the uncleanness of women at the time of pregnancy and menstruation, the Avesta contains the following prescription; I will make my quotations out of the French translation, given to the corresponding text by Mr. Hovelacque, the well-known Zendish scholar. "Si une femme aperçoit du sang quand trois nuits se sont écoulées, elle doit se placer dans un lieu solitaire, jusqu' à ce que quatre nuits se soient écoulées. Si la femme voit du sang quand quatre nuits se sont écoulées, elle doit se placer dans un lieu solitaire jusqu' à ce que cinq nuits se soient écoulées," etc.[10] And, as an illustration of the practical way in which these more or less theoretical prescriptions were executed in every-day life, let me give another quotation, this time from Tavernier and relating to the Guèbres, the still preserved followers of the Zoroastrian creed: "Dès que les femmes ou les filles sentent qu' elles ont leurs ordinaires, elles sortent promptement de leur logis, et vont demeurer seules à la campagne dans une petite hute faite de trois clayes, avec une toille pendue au devant et qui sert de porte. Pendant le temps que cela dure on leur porte tous les jours à boire et à manger."[11]

To conclude, I will mention that the urine of cows used by Chevsur women is precisely the mode of purification recommended by the Avesta, and still in use among the few remaining followers of this creed, as may be seen in the accounts given of them by travellers of the seventeenth and following centuries.

[10] Abel Hovelacque, *op. cit.* p. 392.

[11] *Six Voyages en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris 1676-79, x. iii., p. 437.

Further, if we turn our attention to the idea that the Avesta entertains as to the impurity of a dead body, we shall be brought to the conclusion that it is precisely the same as the one we have mentioned, speaking of the Chevsurs.

The books v.-viii. of the Vendidad treat of this subject at length; the mode of burial they recommend coincides exactly with the general idea about the impurity of any man who has touched the corpse. It is, therefore, only on the lowest class of people that the duty of taking the body of the deceased to the place of his eternal rest is imposed by law; any relation with them, either by direct contact or by taking food in common, is totally prohibited as implying pollution. If we compare this mode of burial with the one recently in use among the supposed crusaders, we cannot help recognizing their perfect identity. Neither deposition in the grave, nor cremation of the dead body is admitted by the Avesta, both causing, according to its authors, pollution of the chief elements, fire and earth. Anquetil du Peyron is correct in his statement, when he gives the following description of the places of burial, the so-called Dakhme, still in use among the present adherents of the Zoroastrian creed: " L'Aveste ordonne de porter le corps des morts sur des montagnes, ou dans des endroits éloignés des villes et de toute terre habitée. Il faut que ces endroits soient au moins à trente gàms (90 pieds) du feu, de l'eau," etc.

The following passage of the sacred book of the Zends might be applied without reserve to the Chevsurs: " Créateur! où devons nous porter les cadavres, où devons nous les déposer? Ahura Mazda répondit: O saint Zarathustra, aux lieux très elevés, où les chiens et les oiseaux carnassiers peuvent le mieux les apercevoir."

But before the corpse is brought to its place of eternal rest it has to pass several days and nights on a plot of ground in the vicinity of the homestead, where the deceased was living. This place must be situated at a certain distance from the fire and the water, to make impossible any pollution of these elements. The dead body, according to the Avesta, must wear no dress so that the flesh might easily be consumed by dogs and carnivorous birds. When this has been done and every sort of uncleanness has disappeared in this way, the dead body is considered to be purified. The bearers of the corpse, the naçakasa, take it to the dakhma, or the burial place, which has much in common, as to its building and interior construction, with the ancient burial places of the Chevsurs. Here the bodies are either lying or sitting with their backs close to the wall,

always at a certain distance from the ground floor, for the purpose of preserving the earth from pollution.

To make an end of this rather too minute description of the funeral ceremony of the two people, whose mutual relationship we are anxious to ascertain, I will mention the fact that after the lapse of several generations when the body has fallen to pieces, its bones are ordered by the Avesta to be placed in a common grave, situated beneath the dakhma. The same custom has also recently prevailed among the Chevsurs, who in our days cannot explain its origin, except by referring to the scarcity of evenly situated ground and the necessity of making room for the bodies of newly deceased persons by removing the old ones.

I am far from having exhausted this subject, but the field of our enquiries is so large and we have so many more rites and habits to study and to compare, that I prefer at once to abandon the Chevsurs and to turn my attention to their next neighbours—the Pschavs, whose religious rites present even a greater similitude with those spoken of in the Avesta.

It is not ceremonies and habits that I intend next to examine, but religious beliefs, and especially the idea entertained as to future life. Although, officially, the Pschavs are considered to be Christians, and have temples of their own and an ordinary clergy, they, like the Chevsurs, neither go to church nor acknowledge the regular ministry, who seem to be totally superseded by self-made priests, the so-called Chevsburies or monks of the valley. Few words will be required to make quite clear to the reader what sort of people these monks are, and what part they play in the preservation of ancient customs and beliefs. Tradition says that Christianity has been imported in this part of the Caucasus, as in many others, by a half-mythical and half-historical Queen of Georgia, Tamara. It is extraordinary what a prominent part this lady plays in the legendary history of the Highlanders, appearing at once in the character of a Christian missionary and of a handsome witch, just as cruel to her lovers, as the well-known German Lurley. "She was," to speak with a Russian poet, who has fairly reproduced the popular creed, "charming like an angel, but beseeching and angry like a devil." Whatever she might have been, there is no doubt as to the prominent part she is supposed to have taken in the life of the Highlanders and especially in their conversion to Christianity. Every time, when natives came to speak to me about it, in whatever remote corner it might have been, the name either of Santa Nina or of Tomara was invariably pronounced, unless Jesus Christ himself was mentioned, as by the southern Svane-

tians who pretend that he started for their country to preach the Gospel, but that frightened by the cold and bad roads he turned back and did not adventure his life in the mountains. To preach Christianity among the Pschavs, Tomara selected a Greek monk by the name of Kopala, who, not being able to accomplish this difficult task by himself, selected among the natives a certain number of persons, who from their places of abode in the depths of mountainous valleys received the name of chevsburies or monks of the valleys.

I must say that what legend tells us about Kopala and his monks does not impress on our minds the idea of Christian missionaries, but rather of a sort of Iranian priests or "magi" engaged in a continual struggle with bad spirits, wearing the same name as the one under which they are known to the Avesta, the name of "devi," and very frequently appearing in the shape of serpents. The religious rites which chevsburies are called upon to perform, are a mixture of those prescribed by the sacred books of the Christians and those of the ancient Persians.

Every time when an ablution with water is performed by them on the body of a new-born child, it is difficult to say if we have before us the solemn celebration of a Christian rite, or the application of the following rule, plainly stated in the Avesta: "When a child is born, let first his hands be washed, and then his whole body," probably on account of the impurity to which he was exposed in the womb of his mother.

There is a more direct likeness between the holy sacrament and the fact that sick persons generally are induced, among the Pschavs, to swallow a cup of beer with a small piece of bread thrown into it.

As to the sacrifices by which the chevsburies on certain days periodically return honour to God and the Archangel George, much better known by those people than Jesus Christ himself, they are of a thoroughly Pagan character. The officiating chevsbury, like the Persian magus, divides the flesh of the victim (an ox, a cow, or a sheep) among the assistants, leaving nothing to the divinity. Such proceedings remind us of the well-known text of Strabo about the ancient Persians; "Sacrificant in loco mundo precati et adducta hostia coronata, ubi magus qui sacrificium administrat, carnes in portiones distribuerit, sua quisque accepta abeunt nulla parte diis relicta; dicunt enim deum nihil velle praeter hostiae animam," (ed. Didot, p. 623).

The fact, that in the accomplishment of his sacrificial duties, the chevsbury, otherwise called decanose, is attended among the

Chevsurs by a special help-man, wearing the same name of "dastur," as the one given to the higher clergy by the Avesta, must also be mentioned here, as militating in favour of the supposition, that chevsburies are the direct successors of the Persian "magi." The chief business of these dasturs is to prepare a sort of black-beer, very like the English porter. This beer is distributed to the people, who, as a rule, make such good use of it, that towards the evening everybody is generally drunk, women only excepted, these "impure persons" not being admitted to the places consecrated to divinity.

Let me say now a word or two of these places themselves. They are, as a rule, situated on some mountain or hill, and consist of a stone building with two separate rooms, one occupied by large pots, which serve to prepare the beer; the other being the ordinary abode of the attendant or "dastur." No images or sculptural representations of God or saints are to be seen in them. As a rule, old trees surround the place of the people's meeting, nobody daring to touch anything of which divinity itself or the saint is considered to be the legal proprietor. Now, compare this description with what Herodotus tells us about the Persians being opposed to the representation of the divinity by statues, possessing no temples or altars, and we shall find one more reason to think that the religious creed of the Pschavs and the Chevsurs has a great deal in common with the one prescribed by the Avesta.

A special discussion on the belief entertained by these people as to future life, will, I hope, leave no doubt as to the intimate connection between the Iranian culture and the one we find among these Georgian Highlanders. But before entering into any details on this subject, I consider it suitable to assure the reader that he ought to have no fear as to the accuracy of the statements that will be brought forward. I am perfectly conscious of the fact, that a cautious reader is generally adverse to believe every thing that a traveller is supposed to have seen with his own eyes or heard by his own ears. And very often the cautious reader is right, the popular prejudice against "Travellers' Tales" being justified by experience. Always in a hurry, just as busy to have his breakfasts and dinners served at the right hour as to get information from the best imaginable sources, a traveller too often relies on the impossibility of any control of the assertions he makes. "Allez voir pour y croire," he is sometimes inclined to say with the French poet Musset, whose statements concerning the East, where he confessed never to have been, are just as correct as many and many a story told by foreigners about the Highlanders of the Caucasus. Not relying too much myself

on the accuracy of travellers' reports, I have no right to claim greater respect for my own statements. But what I have to say is not exclusively the result of observations, made during a short journey. I have been happy enough to meet with a native schoolmaster, who, during years and years, went on collecting information on his country people.[12] Russian officials, and among them the coroner Chudadov, who passed two years among the Chevsurs and Pschavs, also favoured me with their manuscripts and printed accounts. In this way I have completed my personal observations by the researches made on a large scale by students thoroughly aware of the language and the local conditions of the people among whom they usually reside. It is for this reason that I think more credit may be given to what I have to say on the very delicate questions, which shall presently be treated, questions the very nature of which requires a great amount of cautious and minute study.

The Pschavs, like the majority of the tribes inhabiting the Caucasian Isthmus, believe that the life which awaits us beyond the grave is very like the one we lead: the souls of the deceased ancestors cannot exist without meat, drink or light, which living generations must of course afford them by the way of sacrifice. The prayers the Pschavs use on commemoration feasts plainly state their mode of feeling as to this point: "Our dear deceased," so runs the text of this prayer, "may you enjoy the cakes we prepare for you, and may your souls rejoice at the sight of the fire we have lighted on your behalf. You may make what use you like of every thing we offer you; keep it for yourself, or divide it with those of our dead relatives whose names we are unable to remember at this moment, to honour them with sacrifice. Let also nobody touch your cakes without your permission."

The regular abode of the deceased is known to the Pschavs under the name of Schavet (or eternal darkness). The soul does not reach it immediately after leaving the body: during several days it is supposed to be making its journey to this place of eternal rest. This journey is also adventurous and not to be effected without help. The souls want certain guides, who are no other than the souls of anciently departed relations. The name of these guides is "Mchebri." As to the "Schavet" itself, the imagination of the Pschavs represents it as an immensely large abode, where no other light is to be seen but twilight, which is therefore known to them under the name of "light of the deceased."

[12] The name of this gentleman is Mr. Rasikaschvili.

A large river prevents the access to the Schavet and can be crossed only through a narrow bridge as strait as a hair. The souls of the good alone succeed in making the passage, the others fall down into eternal pain.

More than one feature in this description of the life beyond the grave, and of the way by which it is attained, remind us of the Avestian creed about the souls passing several days in the neighbourhood of the deceased body and reaching the place of eternal rest through a narrow bridge called the Tchinvat, and which in the Avesta has the same character of a tribunal, where good and bad actions are weighed and the souls of the deceased are admitted to enjoy either eternal happiness or eternal pain.

In accordance with Zoroastrian theology the Pschavs believe also in a sort of headman being appointed to rule over the souls, which on their first appearance respectfully bow to him, but the natives are not precise in their statements as to the functions of this headman, although the most important one, the judicial, is just the same as Mithra, Craosa and Rasnu, according to the Avesta, are supposed to possess in common. To conclude on this subject I will call the attention of the reader to the fact that the name by which the Pschavs designate the place of eternal rest is exactly the same as that which the Avesta uses whilst speaking of the bridge the souls have to cross (Schavet, Tchinvat.)

Although the religious creed of the Pschavs might furnish us with many more cases of contact with the one professed by the Avesta, I prefer to terminate this paper by a minute description of the worship, which the Ossetes even on a larger scale than the Pschavs and the Chevsurs profess towards the souls of their deceased ancestors.

In a special work, under the auspices of the Geographical Society of St. Petersburg,[13] I have entered on this subject at great length. I will not do it again and shall limit myself to the reproduction of such arguments only as directly establish the correspondence of this worship with the one spoken of by the Avesta. I mean the worship of the Fravashis. But first let me say a word of these last. It is well-known what a prominent part the "souls" are called to play in the religious belief of the Aryan nations, but specially of the Iranian branch of them.

[13] The precise title of the book I mention is *Modern Custom and Ancient Law*, Moscow, 1886. A fair and able account of it has been given in the *Journal des Savants* of last year by Mr. Rodolphe Dareste, member of the Institute. Mr Morgan has favoured me also with a paper read in the Royal Asiatic Society. A French edition of my book will appear next autumn.

Instead of stating my own opinion on this subject, I prefer to quote what Mr. Harlez, the well known translator of the Avesta, has to say about it. "La conception la plus générale, paraissant le plus frèquemment," according to this author, "est celle qui présente les Fravashis comme les mânes des morts. Ce doit être la plus ancienne car elle appartient au temps Aryaque. Les Fravashis sont les âmes des morts diviniseés, comme les mânes latins, les Pitaras védiques. De nombreux textes l'attestent. Ainsi nous lisons au Yaçna xvii. 41 'Nous honorons les lumières éternelles du sein desquelles habitent les âmes des morts qui sont les Fravashis des Saints.' Comme tels les Fravashis protègent spécialement leurs familles, leurs demeures; ils y reviennent pour voir si on les honore, ce qu 'on dèsire d'eux," etc.

To this general statement let me add a few texts in the translation given to them by Mr. Harlez himself.

"Honorons les bons, puissants et saints Fravashis des justes qui reviennent au viç (which according to Mr. Spiegel means a village, inhabited by persons of the same gentile name)—désirant connaitre le secours qu' on leur demande: 'Qui veut chanter nos louanges, qui veut nous offrir un sacrifice, qui nous exaltera, nous bénira? Qui nous traitera avec reconnaissance d'une main pourvue de viande et de vêtements? Duquel d'entre nous profèrera-t-on le nom? De qui d'entre vous honorera-t-on l'âme par un sacrifice? Auquel de nous présentera-t-on cette offrande qui lui soit une nourriture que l'on mange, une nourriture indestructible à jamais, à toujours.' Si quelque homme leur offre un sacrifice d'une main munie de viande et de vêtements, avec une prière qui atteigne la (vraie) pureté, alors les puissants Fravashis des justes, contents, non offensés, non lésés, les comblent de bénédictions. Il y aura alors dans cette maison de (nombreux) troupeaux de bétail et (groupes) d'hommes, il y aura des chevaux rapides et des chars solides. Il sera stable dan sa sagesse l'homme qui nous offre constamment des sacrifices," etc. (x).[14]

Mr. Harlez is of opinion that this ancient belief of an undoubted Aryan origin was in later days not so much supplanted as enlarged by a new one of Assyro-Babylonian origin. The attributes of Fravashis were thereby applied either to persons still living, or about to be born, or to several celestial spirits and even to abstract beings or those supposed to be such. (x).[15]

We shall not follow the French scholar in this part of his learned

[14] (x). Yesht, xiii. secs. 49-52, (Harlez, Avesta p. 488).

[15] (x). Introduction, p. cxxii.

researches. It will be quite sufficient for our purpose to have mentioned the fact that the most ancient notion entertained by Iranian populations as to the nature of Fravashis is the one of souls belonging to deceased ancestors.

Now, this is precisely the same creed, which the Ossetes entertain as to their ghosts. I will ask the reader to keep in mind the text of the Avesta whilst reading the following account of the ancestor worship of the Ossetes. If he does so, he will no doubt be puzzled by the extraordinary likeness existing between the Persian and the Caucasian creed.

To proceed with order, I will begin by stating that every time when an Osset family has sustained a loss in the person of one of its relatives, large expenses must be sustained on account of the funeral and commemoration feast; besides the yearly ones, there are special commemorations, made in favour of the recently dead parent. On each, sacrificial cakes are presented, some meal and brandy thrown into the hearth, the consumption of it by the fire being considered as a sign that the offerings have been accepted by the soul of the deceased. Some other practices are also followed to make more palpable the presence of the ghost among the guests called to honour him. Amongst others, one that may be described in the same words as those which the Frenchman Chinon uses in his account of the Guèbres. The family having made a wooden manikin of the deceased, dresses it in the same way in which he was known to dress on solemn occasions. The manikin is then placed on a seat near to the hearth, before which the whole family takes its meals. The part reserved for the soul thus honoured is swallowed as a rule by one of the next of kin,[16] who in this way must eat and drink for two.

During the night preceding the new year, Ossetian widows prepare the bed of their dead husband, and expect his appearance sitting before a burning light. A misfortune happening to one of the members of the household is regularly attributed to the non-accomplishment of the duty of feeding ancestor souls which is incumbent upon all.

These ancestral spirits are considered to be revengeful, and to punish their careless relatives they thrust on them every sort of evil. But as long as due sacrifices are made in their honour, the ancestors remain the surest allies of the household, ready to fight every one of its foes, and to send happiness and luck to its members.

More than one legend is still current in which deceased persons

[16] Chinon, *Relations du Levant*, p. 465.

are represented as helping the living generations against the secular opposers of the Ossetes, the Kabardian and the Tartars.

I will enter into no further details, and only recall to the memory of the reader the general conclusions to which we have come.

It has been shown that beginning by the Caspian shore, and finishing by the valley watered by the river Don, civilisations with undoubted features of Iranian culture have existed for centuries, that more than one tribe among the Highlanders of the Caucasus still maintain in their religious beliefs, their habits, and juridical customs, multifarious survivals of this ancient civilisation, that in this way an uninterrupted chain may be established between countries still occupied by people of Iranian blood and the southern steppes of the Russian Empire, where, during the earlier part of the middle ages, Iranian nomadic tribes are known to have passed over and over again, leaving no other traces but a few Iranian words deciphered in Greek inscriptions.

Does not this bring us to the conclusion that Iranian tribes probably belonging to the stock that migrated from Central Asia to the steppes of Southern Russia took their permanent abodes in different parts of the northern Caucasus, sending their ramifications to the mountainous villages? This conjecture might gain in credibility if archæologists were to give it their support by the discoveries made in old tombs and burial places. As far as my own experience goes, I feel inclined to think that the results of excavations are very much in favour of the theory here expressed. Not only in the southern branches of the central chain have burial places like the Iranian "dakhme" been found (I speak of those existing in the land of the Chevsurs), but also on the northern side of the chain, some 10 miles away from the Elborouz, in a place called Chasaout, where, on two different occasions, mummified bodies of men and women in a sitting or lying position have been discovered, each time in groves cut out in the rock, at a considerable height, and possessing entrances large enough to give a free access, not only to the wind, but also to carniverous birds.

Accustomed as they are to other modes of burial, the natives generally account for the existence of such groves by referring to a prevalent belief of pestiferous persons having been secluded in them and left to end their days. But the story everywhere told, as well in the land of the Chevsurs, as in the neighbourhood of the Elborouz, is no more to be relied on as soon as it is acknowledged that the old burial places of the Chevsurs are the old "dakhme" of the

"Zends," and their religious rites and moral precepts a direct reproduction of those contained in the Avesta.

We do not dare to guess at the time when the migrations of people like the Ossetes have taken place. But we feel inclined to think that they happened in very remote antiquity, probably before the time when the text of the Avesta had been written. The proof of it lies, according to my opinion, in the fact that the religious creed of these people, and especially their ancestor worship, is much older than the one mentioned in the Avesta, first of all because it contains no trace of any posterior influence of Assyro-Babylonian origin, and then on account of the great likeness it has with the worship of Indian Pitaras and Latin Manes, both descended from one common Aryan stock.

All that I have just said has no pretence to be an undoubted truth. The archæology of the Caucasus is only in its boyhood, rich in problems and suppositions, but not in established facts. What seems to be out of question is the existence among other elements of Caucasian culture of one, the presence of which cannot be explained otherwise than by reference to Iranian civilisation. This is the chief point we have tried to establish.

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY.

JUNIOR-RIGHT IN GENESIS.

IT is scarcely necessary in these pages to explain that the term junior-right implies a system of tenure in which a father's property descends to the youngest son. It thus forms the exact contrast to primogeniture, and to express this opposition the term "ultimogeniture" has been suggested (Elton *Origins*, 185), while in Germany the usual name is *Jüngsten-recht*. The special English expression is "borough-English," which is said to have been derived from a local use at Nottingham where there were two tenures of land in 1 Edw. III., "and the usages of these tenures were such that all the tenements whereof the ancestor died, seised in *burgh-*

Engloyes ought to descend to the youngest son and all the tenements in *burgh-Frauncoyes* to the eldest son as at the common law." Mr. Elton, from whom I take this quotation, devotes a learned chapter to this subject in his *Origins of English History* (Chap. viii. pp. 183-221). He has traced the custom in South-East England, Wales, France, where it is termed *Mainetè*,[1] parts of Germany, Friesland, Hungary, and among the Tchuds, and Mongols, while Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, (pp. 431-2) refers to further examples in Scandinavia, New Zealand, Australia, and Zululand.

On the origin of this custom learned opinion is not yet decided. Mr. Elton connects it with another custom of a similar nature, by which the sacred hearth passes by preference to the youngest, but this only leaves an opening for an explanation which will concurrently explain both customs. Mr. Lang is inclined to see in it the natural preference for the son of the latest and *ex hypothesi* best-beloved wife in polygamous marriage; (Grimm-Hunt, Introd. p. lix). Unfortunately primogeniture is as often as not the rule among polygamous nations (Hindus, Chinese, Jews, Arabs), and the explanation would still leave unexplained why the youngest son of the youngest wife was the heir. I would venture to suggest that the custom would naturally arise during the latter stages of the pastoral period, when the elder sons would in the ordinary course of events have "set up for themselves" by the time of the father's death. The youngest son would under those circumstances naturally step into his father's shoes, and acquire the *patria potestas* and, with it, the right of sacrificing to the family gods by the paternal hearth.[2] Its occurrence now-a-days is chiefly among nomad tribes, and when found elsewhere it bears evident marks of a "survival." The English custom might have arisen in an analogous way during the time that the Teutonic invaders were successively founding "*tun*" after "*tun*" as the Paddings, the Kennings, or the Islings grew up and left the settlements of their father Padd, Kenn, or Æsel, to found new ones at Paddington, Kennington (where the custom is still to be traced, Blount-Hazlitt *Joc. Tenures*, 177), or Islington (where it also occurs, Elton p. 193).

As with other instances of ancient laws and customs which have died away into mere "survivals," junior-right has its item of interpre-

[1] Not *droit de juveignerie* which is merely a "cadet appanage." Mr. Lang, who uses this term by preference, has overlooked Liebrecht's correction in the *Nachträge* to his *Zur Volkskunde* p. 514.

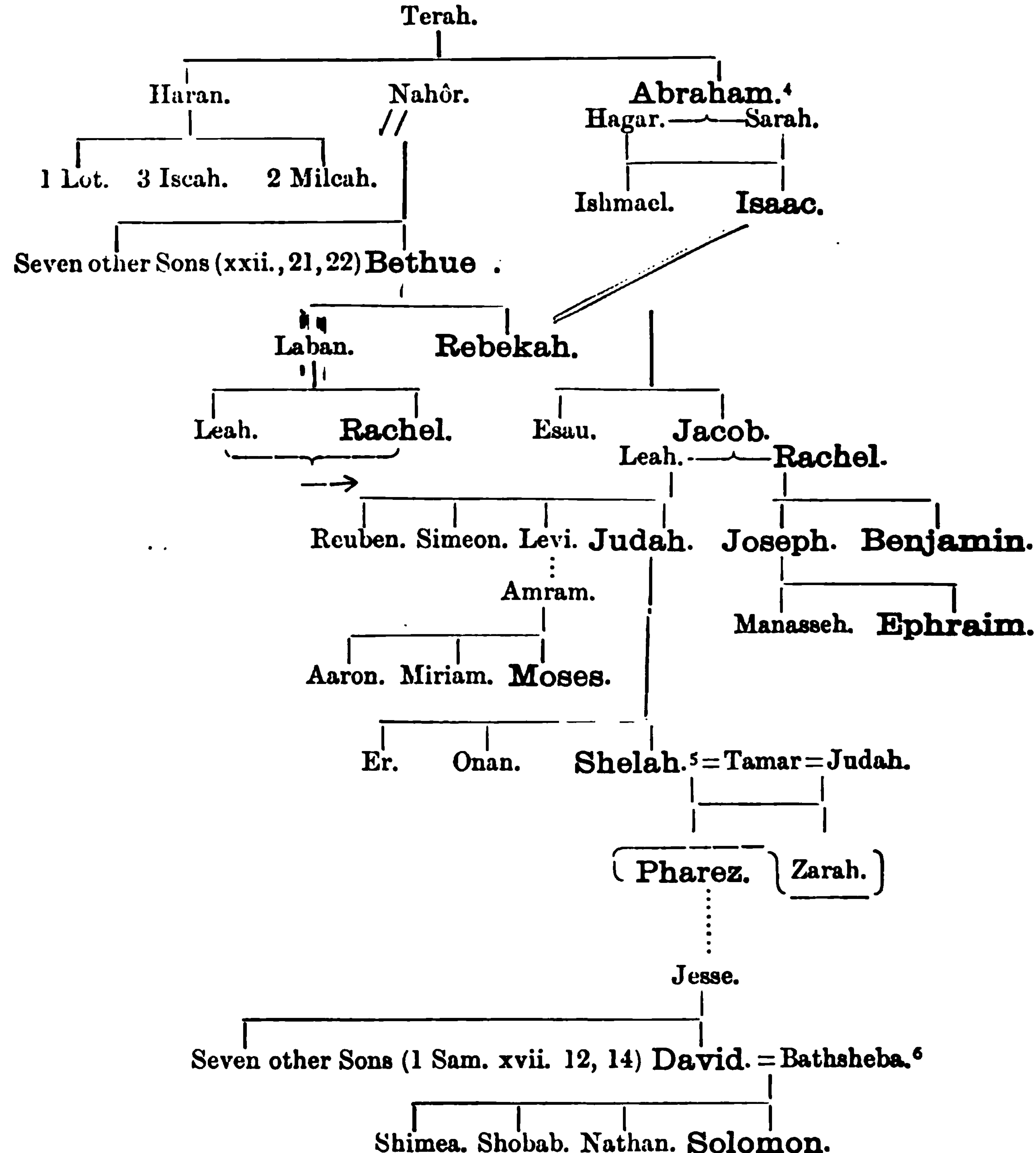
[2] I observe that this is also Mr. Gomme's explanation in *Archæologia*, vol. l. 214. Cf. too Robinson's *Gavelkind*: Appendix, quoted by Elton, 199.

tation to offer to the meaning of folk-tales. Mr. Lang in particular has extorted yeoman's service from a conception which tells so strongly for his main hypothesis (Grimm-Hunt *l.c.*, *Cupid and Psyche* p. xxxii, Perrault pp. xcvi-ix). The "formula" of the youngest born who succeeds with tasks which elder children have failed to accomplish is familiar to us in "Cinderella" and in "Puss-in-Boots," and is included by Hahn in his summary of incidents occurring in Aryan folktales as "No. III. Geschwister-formeln. Formel vom besten Jüngsten" (*Alban. und neugr. Mährchen* i. 51 ap. Liebrecht *l. c.* 432). It is natural to connect this with junior-right which is a legal "Formel vom besten Jüngsten." At the same time, Mr. Lang points out, with his usual scientific caution, that these tales involve preliminary failures which would naturally be undergone by the elders; (Perrault *l. c.*). I may add that at the root of *their* undertaking the exploits first, is involved rather the right of primogeniture. And generally the reason why the success of the youngest is striking, is because of its opposition to our preconceived notions of the right of the eldest to succeed in life.[3]

The same opposition is, I am about to suggest, at the root of a number of tales with which we are even more familiar. The traditions of the beginnings of their race given by the Hebrew sages in the book of Genesis are full of the formula "the youngest is best." This does not show itself in the very earliest history of all, for reasons which may later detain us. But the moment we begin with the history of the sacred family of the Terahides we find almost at every stage the youngest son possessing the birthright, as may be seen from a short abstract of their genealogy in which the youngest children are printed in thick type:—

[3] This prepossession seems scarcely justified by facts. Among the eminent "English Men of Science" whose nature and nurture were investigated by Mr. F. Galton, 26 out of 99 were eldest sons and 25 youngest, while 22 were both eldest and youngest, *i.e.* only sons, (p. 33). I may perhaps add here that from a very large induction I have made of the occurrence of successful youngest sons and daughters in folk-tales, I am rather inclined to doubt any connection with junior-right. No question of succession occurs in them as in the stories of Genesis.

GENEALOGY OF THE TERAHIDES.



According to this genealogical tree all three patriarchs were youngest sons. And the position of Jacob (Israel), the eponymous father of the race, is especially noteworthy. He is the youngest son of Isaac, who was the youngest son of Abraham, Terah's youngest son, and of Rebekah, who was the youngest daughter of Bethuel, who was the youngest son of Nahor.

The other names printed in thick type will come up for treat-

[4] Abram must have been younger than Haran since he is everywhere regarded as a contemporary of his nephew Lot. The order "Abram, Nahor, Haran" occurs in the latest source of the Pentateuch. (Gen. xi. 27.)

[5] Theoretically, I presume, on the Levirate principle Pharez and Zarah would count as sons of Shelah though begotten by Judah. Or would they have been regarded as carrying on the rights of Er?

[6] Besides six other wives whom he married before at Hebron (1 Chr. iii. 1-3) and by each of whom he had offspring all older than Bathsheba's children.

ment in due order and, where necessary, with the evidence by which their "ultimogeniture" is established. But at present I would call attention to the general law which comes out so clearly in the above genealogical table. Almost every name of importance in early Hebrew history is that of a youngest son or daughter: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Rebekah, Rachel, Judah, Joseph, Benjamin, Ephraim, Moses—the whole sacred history of the early Hebrews is here. And these names are connected for the most part with a question of succession of the most vital importance for the whole religious future of the world, as the Hebrews thought, and as history shows they were justified in thinking. The birthright question forms the kernel of the whole patriarchal history and yet it invariably goes with the youngest son. Surely these traditions must have arisen in a state of society in which succession went by junior-right.

Yet by the time these traditions were written down, the impression in favour of the eldest son was firmly established.[7] This is shown not alone by references in the genealogies of Genesis, (xxii. 21, xxv. 13, xxxv. 23, xlvi. 8) but still more by the attitude taken up by the narrators towards cases where the first-born did not obtain the birthright. They felt bound to show that what was seemingly the rule in patriarchal times—the birthright of the youngest—was really the exception to the rule with which they were familiar—the birthright of the eldest. It was important to show this from the sacerdotal point of view, since the whole maintenance of the priests depended on the system of first-fruits. (Deut. xviii. 4.) This sacro-sanctity of the first-born comes out strongly in the principle laid down in the earliest legislation (Ex. xxxiv. 19.) "All that openeth the matrix is mine," *i.e.*, belonged to the priests;[8] this is extended in the next verse even to the children of men when it is said "All the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem."[9] Thus while all later legislation went towards the sanctification of the first-born, the earliest traditions were in favour

[7] Into the once vexed question whether Hebrew law sanctioned primogeniture in the modern sense we need not enter. The Deuteronomic legislation clearly gave the preferential share of a double portion to the eldest son. (Deut. xxi. 17.)

[8] Wellhausen (*History*, p. 155) and Kuenen (*Hexateuch*, pp. 29, 30) argue elaborately that, in this legislative code, the priests had no more share than anyone who joined the sacrificial banquets. We would ask: what did they live upon then? At any rate the passage is sufficient to show the sanctity attaching to the first-born in the earliest written legislation.

[9] This custom is kept up to the present day by orthodox Jews who pay a small sum as a "redemption of the [eldest] son."

of the youngest. It was thus of crucial importance to the sacerdotal scribes from whom we have received these traditions to reconcile them with the sanctity of the eldest on which all Jewish society and especially the whole system of the priesthood rested. It says something for their general trustworthiness that the traditions—though telling against them—have reached us unfalsified, and that the reconciling stories can be separated from the traditions to which they were applied. It is not suggested that all or any of these reconciling stories were invented for the purpose. Our hypothesis explains only why they were inserted in the sacred narrative. The need of reconciliation, it is contended, caused them to be selected from the mass of legends which no doubt existed about the early fathers of the race. In particular our hypothesis would explain the admission of many narratives in the sacred text which seem at present to be purposeless or worse until we place ourselves in the position of the narrators and appreciate the necessity they felt of explaining away the junior-right system so manifest in the earliest traditions. It is otherwise difficult to explain their existence in a book which from the first was intended to be a moral guide.

The expedient adopted for the purpose of reconciling tradition and law varies in different cases. With Ishmael and Isaac the inferiority of the handmaid to the mistress is the leading idea which serves to solve the difficulty. This should not obscure to us the fact that Ishmaelites are included as of natural right among the Abrahamides (xxv. 12-18),[10] and that many touches of tradition show Ishmael of equal legitimacy with Isaac (xvii. 18, 20, 26 ; xxv. 9.) The touching prayer of Abraham, " O that Ishmael might live before thee," (xvii. 17), and the fact that Ishmael joins with Isaac in arranging the burial of their father (xxv. 9) is sufficient to establish this.

The next case of Jacob is especially interesting, because he is himself such a striking instance of a youngest son whose parents and grandparents are also youngest children. There are no less than two accounts to explain why, though the younger, he has the birthright. One of these, told with admirable skill, is probably founded in the last resort on a folk-etymology of the name "Jacob, the Supplanter[11] or Deceiver," and tells how Jacob supplanted

[10] Where quotation is merely by Roman and Arabic numerals, these refer to the corresponding chapter and verse of Genesis.

[11] It is possible that this name of the patriarch may be due to the Canaanites calling the Israelites, very appropriately, " sons of the supplanter "—according to Semitic idiom, supplanters. Our own " Whig " and " Tory " are sufficient to show that an opprobrious epithet may ultimately be adopted by the persons on

Esau by deceiving their father Isaac (ch. xxvii.). But there is another and probably later version (xxv. 29-34), in which Esau's privileges were disposed of to Jacob in a legitimate way by purchase, though under circumstances which fully confirm Jacob's reputation for cunning. The object of both narratives is clear—to explain why the birthright passed to the younger brother against the pre-possession of the narrator and of his audience in favour of the elder. The later custom and the earlier tradition had to be reconciled; both were sacro-sanct to the minds of the narrator and any explanation that reconciled them would commend itself as "what must have been." [12]

The sons of Jacob afford, strange to say, several instances of junior-right. Different traditions represented different sons as youngest. This fact clears up, to my mind, some of the most puzzling of the narratives in Genesis. When we are dealing with Jacob's sons, the realities underlying the narratives are the tribes in actual existence in Canaan. The "sons of Leah" and the "sons of Rachel" probably indicate early confederations of the tribes, while the "children of the handmaids" indicate some inferiority of the position of their respective tribes in the respective leagues. There is also some priority or superiority involved even in the two batches into which Leah's children are divided by the narrative of the mandrakes (xxx. 17-21.) Now of the first batch Judah is the youngest, and with Judah was to be the sceptre. Hence the need in later tradition to account for his elder brothers Reuben, Simeon and Levi being disinherited.[13] Two of the most unedifying of the Biblical stories are told in order to explain this. Reuben had defiled his father's handmaid (xxxv. 22); Simeon and Levi had used treachery towards their sister's betrothed (ch. xxxiv.) I may add here that another Biblical narrative of the same complexion is probably connected with junior-right. The obstetric details about the birth of Pharez and Zarah (xxxviii. 27-30) evidently depend for their

whom it was first bestowed by opponents. It is certainly significant that there is no patronymic in Hebrew corresponding to Jacob as there are such derived from Israel and Judah ("Israelite, Jew.")

[12] Much of the Hagada or Talmudic legends about Biblical personages is due to the same kind of logic which is by no means yet extinct among us and is indeed perfectly justifiable if hypothesis be distinguished from fact.

[13] The entry in 1 Chron. v. 1, shows how anomalous it seemed to later conceptions to find the birthright not with the eldest. "For he was the first-born, but inasmuch as he defiled his father's couch, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph, the son of Israel; and the genealogy is not to be reckoned after the birthright." (R.V. or "but he [Reuben ?] is not to be reckoned in the genealogy as first-born." Q.P.B.)

interest upon the fact that Pharez, from whom was descended David—himself a youngest son—was really the younger though he makes his appearance first. The still less edifying details about Onan earlier in the chapter, may also be possibly explained in a similar way.

With Rachel and her children the case is somewhat different, though Rachel herself may remind us that junior-right occurs, at anyrate in "Cinderella" and other folk-tales, among daughters as well as sons. It is therefore natural that Jacob should wait longer for the more important sister, the heiress Rachel; Laban's substitution of Leah (xxix. 23) would otherwise lose all point. It is Rachel too who takes away the Teraphim or ancestral gods of the hearth (xxxi. 19, 30)—a distinct point of connection with junior-right (cf. Elton, *l.c.* pp. 211-6 and especially p. 221). But as regards her sons there seem to be "survivals" of two traditions which would tend to give the birthright to each. Benjamin seems to be in every respect an afterthought among the tribal heroes. It is difficult to say what underlies the idea of his having been born in Canaan, after Joseph had gone down into Egypt. But it may be suspected that the importance thus given to Benjamin, who under the junior-right system would have the birthright, may be dated during the brief supremacy of the Benjamite Saul at the beginning of the eleventh century B.C.[14] If so, this would be the only Hebrew tradition the origin of which can be definitely dated.

But it is round Joseph that Hebrew tradition clings most lovingly, Joseph the eponymous hero of the Kingdom of Israel *par excellence.* His very name indicates his importance, "he that adds," *Mehrer des Reichs.* It is therefore only natural that in the earliest traditions formed under a junior-right system, he is regarded as the youngest and therefore the rightful heir. And equally natural is the attempt to explain his position from the later standpoint of primogeniture by means of special interference of Providence in his dreams, &c. Yet the "coat of many colours" (really the "coat with long sleeves" suitable for the pampered heir who did no work) and the jealous envy of his brothers would be clearly, on our hypothesis, elements in the earliest traditions about him. It may also have been a touch of the earliest account which

[14] That junior-right may have lasted on to this time is shown by the fact that David himself was the youngest son of Jesse, and Solomon seemingly David's. It is natural that an archaic mode of succession should linger on latest in the royal family. I may add that Moses was the youngest son of Amram.

represents, in one of the two versions of which our text is composed, the next heir, Judah, chivalrously desiring to save his rival. That is a touch worthy of the *Hamâsa* or the *Kitab al-Aghani.* The other tradition which makes Reuben the would-be rescuer was probably formed later when primogeniture had become the ruling conception.

There is yet another narrative of Genesis which receives an explanation from the conception of a change of tenure from junior-right to primogeniture as the Israelites exchanged their roving life for one in which sons became more stay-at-home and the more experienced one would naturally fill his father's place. The narrative relates to Joseph's sons or the tribes they represent. Of the two Ephraim though smaller in territory was by far the more influential. Yet tradition once more represents the best son as the youngest. And once more later conceptions felt that this needed an explanation in a society where the eldest son had prior rights and the eldest generally was sacred to the Lord. The explanation is afforded in the quaint scene in which Jacob persists in blessing Ephraim with the right hand, the hand of might and power, though he had to cross his hands in order to do so, and though Joseph calls attention to the seeming mistake (xlviii. 13-19).

Thus we have seen that many of the out-of-the-way incidents in the lives of the patriarchs, and almost all those that have especially shocked the theologians, receive an explanation on the hypothesis that junior-right was once the rule of succession in early Hebrew society, and that these tales are introduced to explain the superiority of the youngest in tradition when that of the eldest had been established in law. Indeed if the truth of an hypothesis can be measured by the number of facts it can explain, our hypothesis would compare favourably with any of the multitudinous suggestions that have issued from German seats of learning during the past half-century. A well merited suspicion attaches to explanations which seem to explain too much.[15] I hasten to disarm this in the present case by pointing out that our hypothesis does not apply to any of the earlier narratives of Genesis. The reason for this is tolerably obvious. A nation has legends about its eponymous heroes long before it deals with cosmological problems. This is

[15] It may not be discreet, but it is certainly fair, that I should point out the weightier objections. The cases where junior-right does not occur in the genealogies of Genesis deserve attention, and it would be desirable to have some confirmatory evidence of the existence of junior-right among other Semites. I may revert to some of these points on another occasion. The larger question of the so-called authenticity of the narratives of Genesis I assume to be settled in the sense given to it by all scholars whose views deserve attention in the present state of Biblical science.

only one of many indications which serve to show that the Hebrews had traditions about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob long before they speculated about the origin of the world, (i.) of man, (ii.) of sin, (iii.) of death, (iv. 1-15) of the arts (iv. 20-22.) and of the diversity of language (xi. 1-10.) The absence of any reference to junior-right in these legends would seem to indicate that they arose after the nomad stage and in Canaan probably under Assyrian influences.

I was at one time in hopes that this theory—now propounded for the first time—would serve as a crucial test to distinguish between the rival hypotheses which now divide the world of Biblical criticism as to the composition of the Pentateuch or "Hexateuch" as it is the fashion to say. Of some fourteen passages relating to the subject Dillmann and Wellhausen agree as to the attribution of all but two (xxii, 25, xlvi., partly cf. Dillmann *ad locos*): they differ only as to the relative ages of the sources. Our theory, if substantiated, scarcely enables us to decide between them. The two divergent stories how Jacob got the birthright seem to come from the same source, so that the divergencies of tradition existed prior to any literary fixation. But even had it not been so, it would not necessarily follow that the source that contained the earlier tradition was written down earlier. Mr. Fenton in the preface to his admirable little work *Early Hebrew Life*—the most suggestive contribution to Hebrew Archæology made of recent years in England—has pointed out analogous cases in India where later codes contain earlier customs. The fact is, literary criticism *per se* tells us but little as to origins: hence the unprolific character of recent Biblical work. If a tithe of the industry and acumen that have been expended on the discrimination of the parts of the Pentateuch respectively due to the Jahvist and the Elohist, had been devoted to the *Realien* of the Old Testament, Biblical Archæology would not be in its present chaotic condition. It is on the application of the methods by which Dr. Tylor and his school have done so much to elucidate origins that the future of Biblical Archæology depends.[16]

It may help to reassure some of my readers if I go on to say that in my opinion Biblical Archæology has very little bearing on Biblical Theology. Whether junior-right prevailed in early Israel or not, does not affect one jot the ethical genius of the greater prophets and their significance in the world's history. The idylls of the patriarchs will always have their charm whatever be the

[16] By a somewhat similar method I believe I have helped to solve another intricate Biblical problem—that of the *Nethinim* (*Babyl. and Orient. Record*, Feb., March, 1888).

discoveries we may make as to the ideas underlying them. If to some persons it may seem jarring to find "Cinderella" or "Puss in Boots" adding their quota of elucidation to the Book of Books, I would remind them that the most elaborate of recent works on *The Origins of English History* seeks instruction from similar folk-tales. It is at any rate appropriate that in the pages of the *Archæological Review* recourse should be had to those *aniles fabellæ*, the elucidation of which has cast as much light on the study of origins as any other department of Archæology.

As I have somewhat wandered into general topics in the last few paragraphs, I may perhaps be allowed to summarise the special inquiry in which we have been engaged in the form of a number of Theses which I seek to establish or connect together.

(1) It is assumed that the Hebrews, like other nations in the pastoral stage, had a system of succession corresponding to "Borough English" by which the youngest son succeeded to his father's flocks and property, the elder ones having probably provided for themselves before their father's decease.

(2) It is known that under the Israelite theocracy the eldest son had preferential rights which were supported by the priesthood who depended for their maintenance on the sanctity of the first-born.

(3) It is known that the patriarchs and tribal heroes were represented by tradition as youngest sons, certainly in the cases of Isaac, Jacob, Benjamin, Ephraim, probably in those of Abraham, Judah, Joseph. It is more likely that such traditions arose under (1) than (2).

(4) It is assumed that in order to reconcile (2) and (3) the priestly writers of the Pentateuch adopted the following narratives.

(*a*) The illegitimacy of Ishmael.
(*b*) The winning of the birthright by Jacob (two versions).
(*c*) The disgrace of Reuben.
(*d*) The offence of Simeon and Levi.
(*e*) The death of Onan.
(*f*) The prenatal struggle of Pharez and Zarah.
(*g*) Jacob blessing Ephraim.

I shall be curious to see what kind of anti-Theses or rival hypotheses can be supplied to explain in an equally natural manner the same series of seemingly unnatural occurrences.

I may add that our hypothesis, if substantiated, would enable us to distinguish between earlier and later elements in the stories relat-

ing to Ishmael, Jacob, Rachel, and Joseph. It would likewise fix a *terminus a quo* for the rise of the legends relating to Benjamin in the eleventh century B.C. It would establish the important principle of Biblical criticism that traditions in the hands of the priests were not falsified but only others added in order to make them chime in with current conceptions. Finally, it would confirm earlier opinions as to the great age of the main body of the patriarchal legends since it tends to show that they arose in the nomad or pre-Canaanite period when succession went by junior-right.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

No. 3. FIJIAN LAWS OF DESCENT.

THE foundation of power and authority among the Fijians rests in the highest living male ascendant of the tribe, or in other words in the head of the family. The administration of their laws, the almost entire absence of individual rights, and the connection of their proprietary rights and personal relations are in many points analogous to the ancient village communities of India. The kinship of the Fijians is strictly agnatic, and not cognatic.

Their laws of succession and marriage are based upon this ancient system, and their ideas as to social rights and wrongs, proprieties and improprieties, are probably the causes of the system itself. By this system the patriarchal chief, head, or father of the family or tribe, was and even now in many parts of Fiji is answerable for the delicts of his sons. An offence committed by an individual of his tribe against a member of another tribe was as a rule resented upon, or condoned by, the whole family of the offender. Frequently a whole family was decimated or destroyed for one man's offence, for it is a rule of this archaic law not to recognise individuals. The Chief of the tribe is also charged in a great degree with a liability to provide for all the members of his family, who, in fact, form one common brotherhood. Out of this liability or duty has, I conceive, arisen the right and power of "lala," or service tenure.

The rule of succession is also based upon the principles of Agnatic law: when a Fijian dies the brother of the deceased and not the *son* succeeds. The brother, as next in order to the common root, becomes the head and ruler of the family, administers the common property, and assumes the family rights and responsibilities. Should

this brother die, the next, if there be one, succeeds, and so on until there are no more. The succession then reverts to eldest son of the eldest deceased brother, to whom the sons of all the other brothers are subordinate; while a chief inherits or is chosen from among his kinsfolk in this order of succession, he *may* be passed over because of mental or bodily defect, or notoriously foolish conduct, &c.

This order of succession has existed from time immemorial, and any forced departure from it would break up the present family arrangements. The worst feature about it is that it may lead to the deaths of younger brothers and nephews. In the two great Mahommedan families, where "the uncle succeeds to the throne in preference to the nephew, even though the nephew be son of the elder brother," younger brothers generally come to an untimely end. Among the old Celtic clans a law something like this prevailed, for the uncle was preferred to the grandson as ruler.

With regard to abduction, it must be remembered that by their peculiar system every Fiji woman is of right the wife of some particular Fiji man; also, that every woman is by law "tabu'd," or forbidden to some particular man or men. The children of brothers, *i.e.*, brothers by the same father and mother, never intermarry; they are held to be of the same stock, of the one family and blood; the right to property or the fact of property as between "veitanoa" being held in common must not be overlooked. If the introduction of British law creates "the individual" who is hardly known to Fijian law, that which is now a lawful custom will become felony. These children when of opposite sexes hardly ever speak to one another. The words uncle and nephew are unknown; the former are all "fathers," and the latter are all "sons."

The children of *brothers and sisters* may intermarry; they are "viewatini," that is people who may lawfully cohabit together. There is no word in the language signifying wife.

Now, if a woman is enticed away, or carried off by a man of a family, other than that to which she by positive right belongs, not only is her father and all his family outraged and insulted, but so also is the man and all the family into which she should have intermarried. The offence must be instantly condoned according to tribal usage, or a conflict between the two families may break out at any moment.

A woman may be carried off by a man belonging to her intended husband's family, and this wrong also creates a great disturbance, sometimes as great as the first mentioned one.—J. B. Thurston, *Correspondence relating to Fiji* (c.—1624), 1876, pp. 38-40.

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Archæology.

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A GRIMM'S TALE IN A SHETLAND FOLKLORE VERSION.

FROM the lips of the people the brothers Grimm gathered those "Children's and Household Tales" which now form one of the most charming treasures of Germany's primitive popular fiction. Their preservation, through so long a lapse of time, seems to-day little less than a wonder. "The seats near the fire-place and the kitchen hearth; steps leading to the loft; holidays still kept; pasture commons and forests with their quietness; before all, untroubled fancy: these were the hedges that saved these tales and secured their being handed down from one age to the other." So it is said in the preface to the edition of 1819. And with great truth the Grimms add:—"What a far more complete and intrinsically richer collection would have been possible in Germany in the fifteenth century, or even yet in the sixteenth at the time of Hans Sachs and Fischart!"

In the third, augmented edition the various translations are mentioned. Here, the remark is made that, among them, the English one merits the preference, both as the fullest, and because a tongue so akin to that of the original is the most fit for rendering it. The scientific value of these popular traditions is also dwelt upon—"a value which has been proved by many a surprising trait of kinship with old divine sagas, so that German Mythology has not seldom had occasion to refer to them, and to find in their consonance with those myths an evidence of an original close connection."

How now if it were found that remnants of these very same tale-treasures are still hidden in out-of-the-way corners of this country?

From three Shetland friends there have come to me, for years past, many important stray waifs of folklore. Some of these communications have shed a sudden light upon various hitherto but dimly discernible points in the ancient creed of the Teutonic race. Originally of Norse stock, and, down to a comparatively recent

time, of Norse speech, the Shetland people have in a remarkable degree preserved their taste for the "old tales." Upwards of four hundred years ago—as they are fond of reminding the willing hearer—their country was given in *wadsett*, or redeemable pledge, by the King of united Denmark, Norway and Sweden to the Scottish Crown; and in this way, in course of time, their island group, as well as the Orkneys, passed into the hands of England. As Northmen, distinct both from the Scots and the English, they still feel in their eagle's nest.

To get at the half-sunken Nibelung hoard of runic rimes, spell-songs, and gruesome water-tales which yet glow in the fancy of the folk of that Northern Thule, is, generally speaking, by no means an easy task. There is a feeling of secretiveness, a notion that "these things must not be published." In some cases, where old cronies are concerned, who still do a stroke of business with spell-songs and wortcraft, there is a strong dislike to publication, as it is held to be hurtful to their interest. Others, even if more enlightened—say, sea-faring men who have got rid of the superstitions of their class —do not want the strange stories to go out to the world, and to have them "brought up against themselves" by other sailors in the way of taunting ridicule. If only these people could be made to see the true kinship of the old tales, and their corresponding poetic value! Are the German people ashamed of the *Märchen* still told in many a thorpe and hamlet, and which such lights of learning as the brothers Grimm most carefully put together? Why, looked at in the proper way, Shetland would only get further renown by the fullest storing up of all the jetsam and flotsam that can still be recovered from popular tradition.

I was therefore glad when, last summer, an old Shetland friend who had given me from personal recollection many a valuable Water-Tale current in his youth, wrote to me that he well remembered a version of a Grimm's Tale, as once told among the people of his neighbourhood. A translation of the German book he had only latterly seen for the first time. Immediately, the early remembrance came up in his mind. It is Mr. Robert Sinclair, formerly of Lerwick, now living at Melbourne, in Australia, to whom I owe the text of this Shetland story. The tale itself is the one marked "No. 30" in the German work of the brothers Grimm.

On turning to one of the English translations of Grimm, I found "No. 30" given under the somewhat altered title: "The Spider and the Flea." In another, recently published, it is called in still more refined language: "The Lady-bird

and the Fly." Unfortunately, the last translator, a lady, seems to be strangely in error as to the origin of some of these tales; for she says:—" They contain a complete translation from the German of the Household Stories, or Fairy Tales, collected by the brothers Grimm from various sources, and of many of which they were the authors." Now, the importance of those Tales consists in their having been all taken down from popular tradition. The Grimms were not the authors of any of them.

However, the title: " The Lady-bird and the Fly " may not be objected to, as Mrs. Paull's translation is declared to be " specially adapted and arranged for young people," and ideas are somewhat strict, in this country, as to the mere mention of certain insects. On their part, the brothers Grimm almost invariably took and gave things as they had found them. They did not feel entitled to an over-finikin suppression of naturalistic detail. Hence they straightway spoke of the story in question as that of "*Läuschen und Flöhchen.*"

Still, let it be "The Lady-bird and the Fly," and the tale will thereby not become less enjoyable. Without further ado, I now place here the Shetland text. If the reader will compare it with the German tale, he will first observe that the *dramatis personæ* are, in the Shetland version, somewhat different from those in the German story. Again, whilst the latter begins in prose, and then breaks off, now and then, into verse, the Shetland tale begins with a verse showing both the staff-rime and the end-rime.

DA FLECH AN' DA LOOSE SHACKIN' DIR SHEETS.

DA Flech an' da Loose lived tagedder in a hoose;
An' as dey shook dir[1] sheets,
Da Flech shü snappered,[2] an' fell i' da fire,
An' noo da Loose she greets.[3]

Da Crook[4] he saw da Loose greetin', an' says he ta[5] da Loose :—" Loose ! Loose ! why is du[6] greetin' ? "

" Oh ! da Flech an' I wer' shackin' wir[7] sheets.
Da Flech shü snappered an' fell i' da fire.
Noo what can I du bit[8] greet ? "

" Oh ! dan I'll wig-wag back an' fore[9] ! " says da Crook.

Sae da Crook wig-waggit, an' da Loose she grett.

Da Shair saw da Crook wig-waggin' ; an' says he ta da Crook :—" Crook ! Crook ! why is du wig-waggin' ? "

" Oh ! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets ;
Da Flech shü fell i' da fire an' brunt.[10]
An' noo da Loose she greets, an' I wig-wag."

[1] Their. [2] she stumbled. [3] weeps. [4] pot-hook. [5] to.
[6] Art thou. [7] our, [8] do but. [9] sway back and forwards.
[10] Was burnt.

"Oh! dan," says da Shair,[11]
"I'll jimp o'er da flör."[12]

Sae da Shair she jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Door he saw da Shair jimpin'; an' says he ta da Shair:—"Shair! Shair! why is du jimpin' o'er da flör?"

"Oh! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets;
Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets.
Da Crook wig-wags, an' so I jimp."

"Oh! dan I'll jangle upo' my harrs."[13]

Sae da Door jingle-jangled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Midden[14] he saw da Door jinglin'; an' says he ta da Door:—"Door! Door! why is du jingle-jangling upo' dy harrs?"

"Oh da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets,
Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets;
Da Crook wig-wags; da Shair he jimps;
An' I jingle-jangle upo my harrs."

"Oh! dan," says da Midden, "I'll scrieg o'er wi' maeds."[15]

Sae da Midden he scriegit; da Door jingle-jangled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Burn[16] he saw da Midden scriegin', an' says he ta da Midden:—"Midden! Midden! why is du scriegin' o'er wi' maeds?"

"Oh! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets,
Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets;
Da Crook wig-wags; da Shair he jimps;
Da Door jingle-jangles; an' sae I scrieg o'er wi' maeds."

"Oh! dan I'll rin wimple-wample."[17]

Sae da Burn ran wimple-wample; da Midden he scriegit; da Door he jingled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett.

Da Loch saw da Burn rinnin' wimple-wample, an' says he ta da Burn:—"Burn! Burn! why is du rinnin' wimple-wample?"

"Oh! da Flech an' da Loose wer' shackin' dir sheets,
Da Flech fell i' da fire, an' da Loose she greets.
Da Crook wig-wags; da Shair he jimps;
Da Door jingle-jangles; da Midden scriegs o'er wi' meads—
An' sae I rin wimple-wample."

"Oh! dan I'll swall o'er my brim."

Sae da Loch he walled an' he swalled;[18] da Burn ran wimple-wample; da Midden he scriegit; da Door he jingled; da Shair he jimpit; da Crook wig-waggit; an' da Loose she grett—when doon comes da Flüd[19], an' sweeps awa' da Hoose an' da Loose, da Crook an' da Shair, da Door an' da Midden wi' da maeds, a' doon i' da müddow whare[20] da Burn ran wimple-wample. An' sae ends da storie o' da Flech an' da Loose.

Thus, in the water everything perishes, even as from the water, according to many an ancient creation doctrine, everything has arisen. "Everything flows," said the old Greek philosopher.

[11] chair. [12] floor. [13] upon my hinges. (*Hjarr*, in Norse.)
[14] Dunghill. [15] swarm over with maggots. [16] Bourne.
[17] I will run meandering, going this way and that way. Comp. Wimble, Old English and dialect word = rapid, fleet. To wample = to rise up.
[18] Welled and swelled. (Comp. German: *überschwellen.*) [19] down comes the flood.
[20] All down into the meadow where—

In the German tale, Lousikin and Fleakin are, so to say, man and wife. They lived together in the same household; and when brewing beer in an egg-shell, Lousikin fell into it and "burnt itself." It is not said that it was burnt dead. At the end, Lousikin even reappears, but only in order to be swept away by the flood, like everything else.

In the Shetland tale, Loose (or Lús) and Flech are both of the female sex, whilst even the lifeless things are treated as of the masculine gender. It is not Loose, but Flech that comes to grief. The latter falls, not into an egg-shell, but into the fire itself, and does not appear any more. It is burnt for good.

In the German tale, it is the Door, the Besom, the Waggon, the Dunghill, the Tree, the Maiden with the Water-jug, and the Fountain from which the water flows, that follow each other in succession. These are seven things or beings: a holy number. They are all, like the hero and the heroine, spoken of in the fondling diminutive. In the Shetland tale, the acting forms and figures are the Crook (pot-hook), the Chair, the Door, the Midden with the Maggots, the Bourne, the Loch, and the Flood. Again the same holy number.

In both tales, the story is gradually developed from the house away into open Nature. But in the Shetland story the Maiden is wanting. No human being enters there into the general grief. It is as if in the German story there were a marked feeling of the universal kinship of all things, animate and even inanimate. This is a trait often met with in Teutonic folklore.

Finally, in the Shetland story, as in the German one, Water is the great equalising power in which everything is carried away. So we have here, perhaps, one of those Water-tales in which the Teutonic stock is especially rich.

A few words more as to some details. The "Crook" is the pothook which is linked on a chain, and hung over the fire in the middle of the house. The same contrivance could formerly, and can no doubt still now, be seen in many a German peasant house, even as in Shetland.

From the Crook to the Chair, from the Chair to the Door, from the Door to the Midden, from the Midden to the Burn, from the Burn to the Loch, and then to the Flood, is certainly, in the Shetland tale, quite a regular line of connection, bringing matters, from the inside of the house, gradually into the open to the final catastrophe.

There are, in the Shetland story, several words of close relation with German, either as it is written, or as it is spoken in dialects.

When the Flech "snappers," that reminds us of the Franconian dialect word: *umschnappen*, in the sense of: to stumble. When the Crook "wig-wags," we may easily think of the German dialect word: *wickelwackeln*. So also, the maeds (maggots) are the German *Maden*. In pronunciation, the Shetlanders lack the English "th." "The," with them, is *da*—as in German: *der, die, das*. "Thou," with them, is *du*—as in German. "Then" is *dan*—as in German: *dann*.

Harrs has been explained already in a foot-note as a Norse word. The same holds good for *scrieg* (to swarm, to run over, to jump)—another local form of which, a Shetland friend tells me, is *scried*, and which corresponds to the Old Norse: *skrida*. "To scrieg" is of the same root as the German *Heu-schrecke* (grasshopper or hay-swarmer, as it were); *schrecken* being an old, and still a dialect, word for: "to jump," or "to make jump." (See Luther's translation of "Job," xxxix. 20. The English translation, which has the words, "make the horse afraid as a grasshopper," instead of "make the horse jump as a grasshopper," is an erroneous one.) The *Heu-schrecke* is, therefore, also called *Heu-springer*, or *Sprengling*.

A truly Teutonic humour is contained in the description of how Loose and Flech are "shaking *their* sheets." The dirtiest of the Shetland peasantry may at one time, so I am told, have tried to rid themselves of vermin by shaking the bed sheets over glowing embers. A cleanlier generation then humorously put the recollection of this habit into a story of these very insects, making *them* eager for the decencies of life in the same unsophisticated manner.

Now, how did this tale wander to the far North? Was it brought there by German seamen? The relations of the Hanse towns with Shetland are of ancient date. In the new Town Hall at Lerwick, the recollection of this old intercourse is visible in a stained glass window sent as a present, some five or six years ago, by the town of Hamburg. On this subject a Shetland friend writes:—

"The painted window bears a Latin inscription setting forth that it is given in memory of friendly offices afforded in the past to seamen and fishermen of that city's marine. Above are the arms of Hamburg, and all around is an emblematic border of nets, fish, seaweed, shells, and so forth, while a copy of an old engraving of Hamburg in the last century occupies a central place in the window. About the same time the city of Amsterdam gave a similar one, which is placed in the same room. The inscription is almost

identical with that of the Hamburg window. Up to the early part of this century, the chief trade was with Hamburg. I have seen fire-places in old houses here fitted with Dutch or German blue and white tiles which had been brought direct hither. When I was a boy, many old people here spoke Low Dutch fluently, and it is only forty years ago since foreign coins passed current here in the shops along with English money. I can recollect, as of yesterday, being asked in the street: "*Quaet jy oude Jan Hooford oop die kleine Straate?*" ("Do you know old John Gifford in the narrow lane?") I don't know the correct spelling, but that is about the sound. And the skippers of the busses[1] were known familiarly all over the town by name, coming as they did every year to Lerwick.

Considering this old and long intercourse, one may naturally be inclined to think that the Shetland version of the tale here given is based on a German one, being brought over by Hanseatic skippers. Or are we to look upon the northern story as the remnant of a common inheritance from a still older Germanic past? Be that as it may, at all events every one who prizes folklore traditions must feel a strange thrill when suddenly finding a piece from the jewel-casket of Grimm's Tales, in a somewhat changed setting, lying on the shore of the Northern Thule.

KARL BLIND.

[1] Herring boats.

MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS.

IN the study of rude stone monuments of a prehistoric age, it seems to me that archæologists have arrived at a period when they should make up their minds to depend upon individual scientific research for a solution of the problems to which these monuments have given rise, and no longer to pin their faith to authors whose knowledge is superficial, and whose theories are based upon no solid and sure foundation. Error propagates error, and the conjectures and erroneous conclusions of writers who have no doubt deservedly been credited with great scientific wisdom in other branches of antiquarian pursuits, have contributed much to retard the progress of this particular study. It is very discouraging and most mortifying to contemplate what a trifling progress has been made in regard to the science of prehistoric monuments since the 17th century, when attention was directly called to them.

One thing is quite certain that the requisite knowledge is not to be

acquired in a day; it is the result of a long, close and patient study; it must be the devotion of a life. If a comparative anatomist is to be regarded as a trustworthy guide and teacher, he must not be satisfied with merely gazing at skeletons through the glass frames of museum cabinets. If a botanist or numismatist would take his place as an experienced and erudite leader in his own special field of labour, he must be much more than a mere collector of specimens and coins. And so it must be as regards the expositor of megalithic monuments. The reason why so little knowledge prevails among Archæologists in the British Isles and on the Continent is not far to seek. Writers upon the subject of megaliths commonly display the most profound ignorance of the monuments; and if they have the skill to wield the pen of ready writers, and embellish their productions with numerous woodcuts, which are only copies of sketches found in the works of other scribblers, and which they imagine will illustrate and support their conjectures, they are esteemed sound teachers, and are quoted as infallible authorities. No work of recent days has been productive of greater injury to the cause than the plausible theories and fallacious arguments contained in a volume on "Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries, their age and uses." This book is frequently appealed to and quoted by home and foreign authors as if it were a rich and valuable store-house of facts; whereas it is nothing of the kind, and every copy should be committed to the flames. The truth has been so greatly obscured and distorted, that it is not easy, indeed it is impossible, for students, who have a desire to learn and have not the leisure or opportunity to test the accuracy of plans and descriptions, to avoid being misled. This is a certainty, to which we are led, by noticing the fatal mistakes which are constantly made by youthful inquirers, and even by reputable antiquaries. The late Mr. Worsaae and others have not been free from this imputation. Had these writers been better informed, we should never have heard of Druids' altars; Free-standing and earthfast dolmens; Tripod dolmens; Demi dolmens; Dolmens erected upon the summit of artificial mounds; Phallic monoliths; sacred circles; Hut circles in the Jordan valley likened to Stonehenge; receptacles or basins on the covering stones of dolmens for receiving the blood of human and other victims; all which appellations indicate a deficiency of knowledge which is perfectly amazing, and a blind acceptance of the statements of authors whom I have the temerity to censure. One of these undiscerning gentlemen, when describing the monuments of Moab, laments his inability at the moment "to consult Mr. J. Fergusson's *beautiful book* on Rude stone monuments, having left the book in England," and hopes to be able "to correct and supplement his Report at a future period, after reference to this *great architectural authority.*" (The italics are mine.) This passage fully justifies the remark made above that megalithic science would have a chance of progressing in the right direction, if a clean sweep could be made of every existing copy of this most mischievous book and destroyed.

I have had to endure many mournful reflections since Mr. Fergusson's book was published, not only on account of its argument which is ingenious, and its inaccurate and exaggerated representations of many of the monuments in the numerous woodcuts it contains, but because I foresaw that the reputation of its author would give it a fictitious value in the

estimation of ill-informed students. And this has come to pass. The consequence has been that many books and pamphlets have been printed relating to megalithic monuments which are filled with fanciful theories more or less in accordance with the views of Mr. Fergusson respecting their true construction, and the uses for which these structures were originally erected.

Where then, it may be asked, is a student to look for sound teaching when he is warned that he is surrounded by so much error? This question may be solved in the following way. Let him use his own eyes, and resolve not to consult *beautiful* books. Let him closely observe and compare the monuments, measure them and plot them to scale. Let him be in no hurry to draw conclusions, and give no opinion, until he has accumulated hundreds of ground plans, sections and elevations. Should he be unable to do this, then let him turn his attention to some other subject.

The above has been written not for the purpose of discouraging inquirers, but to make them cautious, and for the purpose of pointing out the only true method by means of which sound views upon this subject may be acquired. While other branches of archæological science have progressed with fairly rapid strides, it is a fact which cannot be gainsaid that the knowledge of rude stone monuments has been nearly at a stand-still for two centuries. The truth is not to be arrived at by argument, but by careful and patient observation, experience, and common sense.

W. C. Lukis.

EXHIBITION OF EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES.

As this exhibition will continue open at the Egyptian Hall until July 14, it will be well to indicate to antiquaries what classes of objects are comprised in the collection.

The most striking feature is a series of about thirty portraits of Egyptians, Levantines, and Romans, dating from the second and third centuries A.D. These are painted in coloured wax on very thin cedar panels, appearing much like oil paintings. Their art is excellent, ranking with the best class of Pompeian paintings; and in many cases they are in fine condition. Some of the most brilliant were kept at the Bulak Museum. These portraits were all discovered on the faces of mummies by Mr. Flinders Petrie in his excavations in the great cemetery of the Fayum province at Hawara; and there are several examples of the mummies, shewing the manner in which the portraits were bandaged on. Some of these are also brilliantly decorated. The earlier stage of gilt and painted cartonnage coverings is well represented; some of the gilt heads being remarkably well modelled. Of the embroideries found with the mummies there are many examples. There is also a large number of wreaths and bunches of dried flowers, which were laid on the mummies, both in the coffins of

Ptolemaic age, and in the open earth burials of Roman times. Five wooden sarcophagi stand in the middle of the room, some with the mummies still in them. On the tables are several Greek funereal inscriptions; various toys found in graves—dolls, toilet boxes, glass flaskets, a toy-mirror, beads, &c.; several glass vessels, including one upright tall glass covered with wheel-cut patterns; parts of a casket with carved ivory panels; various tools—mallet, drills, combs, knives, saucers of paint, &c.; wooden tickets with Greek inscriptions, which were attached to the mummies; a magnificent flint knife, and various lesser ones, probably made about 1400 B.C.; some carved wood amulets, &c.; several kinds of late Roman minimi, with the jars belonging to them; a leaden cinerary urn; a quantity of pottery some with owners' names incised, *Isak, Iakeb,* &c.; many examples of leather shoes, gilt and decorated, papyrus sandals, and one pair of cork soles; while of papyri there are several samples from the large collection made during the excavations, including the papyrus containing part of the second book of the Iliad, and the earliest known example of printing by an inked stamp.

On one side stand the fragments of the great colossi mentioned by Herodotus, which were unearthed at Biahmu last January. Besides the above (which have been all discovered by Mr. Petrie this year in the private work which he has carried out with the assistance of some friends), there is a collection of other antiquities purchased in Egypt; mostly glazed amulets and ushabtis, and a series of scarabs with royal and private names.

INDEX NOTES.

10. ROMAN REMAINS IN LONDON. i. North Side of the Thames.

(Continued from ante p. 278).

LOMBARD STREET, animal bones, coins, &c., depth 15 to 22 feet. Evidences of a densely populated district, Fibulæ,[17] bronze dish with handles, tessellated pavement, depth 12 feet, near Sherbourne Lane, breadth East to West 20 feet, found in 1785, observed again in 1840, when coins of the early Emperors, Amphoræ, flue tiles and other pottery were discovered; cartloads of pottery removed to mend the roads at St. George's Fields. *Arch.*, viii.; Hughson's *London*, i., 34; *Gent. Mag.*, 1807, i., 415-417; *Guild Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxiv., 186; Maitland *Hist. Lond.* (Entick. 1145).

LONDON STONE, Camden *Brit.* ed. 1607, 304; Gale. *Iter. Brit.*, 89; *Arch.*, xxxiii., 115; Wren's *Parentalia*, 265, 266; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, i. 293-295; *Stow*, 84; *Liber De Antiquis Legibus*, 636; *Hardyng's Chronicles*, 41; *Tess. Pavt.*, 55, 66.

LONDON WALL, aqueduct, (subterranean), depth 19 feet, arch composed of fifty tiles, coins, drinking cups and other pottery, rings, &c., Samian ware, &c. *Arch.*, xxix., 152; *Gent. Mag.*, 1836, i., 135-137; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxiii., 91; *Stow*, 3-5; Smith's *Topog. London*, 1815; Woodward's *Letter to Sir C. Wren*, 12-14.

[17] This particular find of Brooches was so large that the quantity on one spot led to the conjecture that the site had been occupied by a Jeweller in ancient times.

LOTHBURY, coins, lamps, pottery, sandals and shoes, reticulated and plain tessellated pavements, depth 12 feet. *Arch.*, xxviii., 142-152 ; *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 56 ; *Mus. Pract. Geol.* ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii., 532-533.
LOVE LANE, Samian pottery, undescribed. *Mus. Prac. Geol.*
LUDGATE HILL, sepulchral monument with inscription, altar with inscription, sculpture, &c. *Arch.*, xli., 46 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1806, ii., 792 ; *Coll. Antiq.*, i., 131 ; Malcolm *Lond. Redir*, iv. 381 ; *Hübner*, vii. 23 ; *Guild Mus.* ; *Camden*, i., 92 ; *Coll. Antiq.*, i., 127 ; *Horsley*, 331 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 22 ; *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

MAIDEN LANE (Battle Bridge), sepulchral stone inscribed in memory of a soldier of the twentieth legion. *Cat. Lond. Antiq.* ; *Rom. Lond.* ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1842, ii., 144-145 ; *Hübner*, vii., 22 ; Hone's *Every-Day Book*, ii., 1566.
MANSELL STREET (Whitechapel), small leaden coffin (ornamented with beaded pattern) containing the remains of a child, near it cinerary urns, skeletons, beads and bracelets, in bronze and jet. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 1st ser., 349-57; *Proc. E. M. L.& Midd. A. Soc.* 1860 p. 81.
MANSION HOUSE (sewage excavations), Bronzes, figure of Mars, draughtsmen, fibulæ, keys, Samian and other pottery. *Guild Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxv., 392.
MARK LANE, Axe, with cinerary urns and pottery. Granary for corn found in 1675, depth 28 feet. Leland *Col.*, i., 71. ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxiv., 288; *Baily Mss.*
MILK STREET (Cheapside), beads, bronze mask, pottery. *Baily Mss.* ; *Guild. Mus.*
MILL YARD (Goodman's Fields), pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.* vii., 168.
MILTON STREET, bronze three-legged pot. *Baily Mss.*
MINCING LANE, stone base and capital of column, tessellated pavement, depth 12 feet, quantities of pottery, concrete, and tiles ; below a *second* floor of gravel, lime, and tiles, resting on the natural soil between the floors fragments of stone were found. This is a unique illustration of two distinct periods of building in the Roman city. Coins of early date, bone pins, pottery, and also remains of buildings. *Proc. E. M. Ln. & Midd. Arch. Soc.*, 1861, p. 91 ; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xi., 442.
MINORIES, interment by inhumation, pottery, drain and roof tiles, leaden coffin. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ix., 161 ; xiii. 239 ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., iii., 17.
MONUMENT, remains of baths, tessellated work, tiles, &c. *Gent. Mag.*, 1831, i., 95.
MOOR LANE, iron horse shoes, keys. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxii., 120 ; xxiii., 448 ; *L. & Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii.
MOORFIELDS (Railway Excavations), fine Upchurch ware. *Baily Mss.*
MOORGATE STREET ("Swan's Nest" in Great Swan Alley, on the bank of the watercourse, Wallbrook) ; a pit or well containing coins, boathook, and bucket handle ; pottery of various kinds, depth 20 feet. *Arch.*, xxviii., 142-152 ; *Ibid.*, xxix. ; *L. & Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii., 506, 507 ; *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 17 ; *Brit. Mus.*

NEWCASTLE STREET (Farringdon Street), coins, pottery, iron stylus. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1844, 68 ; *Num. Chron.*, vii., 192.
NEWGATE, portions of the city wall, Mortaria, pottery, tiles, &c. *Lond & Midd. Arch Soc.*, i., 195 ; Price's *Antiquities.*
————CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, fragments of stone column. *Arch.*, xxviii., 411.
————ANGEL STREET AND BUTCHER HALL LANE (King Edward Street), beads, bones, coins, pottery, traces of the city wall. *Arch.*, xxiv. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i., 21, 22 ; ii., 81, 416, 417.
NICHOLAS LANE, level 12 to 15 feet, amphoræ, beads, coins, lamps, glass, pottery, urns, tiles and walls, inscribed stone, PROVINCIA BRITANNIAE, inscribed slab, depth 11 feet. *Brit. Mus.* ; *Coll. Antiq.*, iii., 257 ; *Gent. Mag.*, 1850, 114 ; *Hübner*, vii., 22, 23 ; *Rom. Lond.*, 29; *Arch.*, viii., 129 ; *Mus. Pract. Geol.*
NORTHUMBERLAND ALLEY, pavement, depth 12 feet, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of London, a fragment is preserved.[18] *Arch.*, xxxix., 491-502.

[18] Mr. Albert Way's Catalogue of the Antiquities in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, 1847, 12.

NOTTING HILL, stone coffin containing skeleton and bones, depth 6 feet. *Gent. Mag.*, 1841.

OLD BAILEY, city wall in a line with the prison, a perfect votive arm in terra cotta, from Bishop's Court. *Guild. Mus.*; Price's *Rom. Antiq.*

OLD FORD, coins, leaden coffin containing human skeleton with lime, lid ornamented with cable moulding; stone coffins, pottery, &c., near the Saxon Road and Coborn Road, Bow, 60 yards south of the Roman way, depth 30 inches only; vase of pottery filled with coins of Allectus. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 327; *Proc. E. M. L. and M. A. Soc.*, 81; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1849, 1st ser. 57; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 207; *Num. Chron.*, ser. ii., 304, 306.

PANCRAS LANE, pavements, pottery, &c. *Gent. Mag.*, 1795, 986.

PATERNOSTER ROW, coins, Samian and other pottery, tessellated pavement, tile tomb [see *ante* p. 275, note 2]. *Arch.* xxvi., 396; xxix., 155; *Rom. Lond.*, 57; *Baily Mss.*

PETTICOAT LANE, torso of statue in white marble, depth 17 feet. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 329; *Vest. Rom. Lond.*

PHILPOT LANE, bronze water cock (*Epistomium*), glass, Samian ware, and other pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ix. 190; *Mus. Prac. Geol.*; *Rom. Lond.*, 145.

PLAYHOUSE YARD (near to Apothecaries' Hall), inscribed stone. *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 125; *Hübner*, vii. 22; *Rom. Lond.*, 27.

PRINCES STREET (Bank), coins, fibulæ, keys, knives, needles in brass and bone, spatulæ, styli, curious ornamented object resembling the modern steel for sharpening knives. *Arch.*, xxviii. 140, 152.

POSTERN ROW, city wall. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i. 607, 608; Price's *Rom. Antiq.*

PUDDING LANE, hypocaust, strong walls of tile and stone, pavements, inscribed tile, amphoræ. *Arch.*, xxix. 154; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., xii. 128.

QUEEN STREET (Cheapside), bronze figure of an archer found in 1842, horse furniture and finger ring, lamps, Samian and Upchurch ware. *Arch.*, xxx. 543, 544; Fairholt, *Miscellanea Graphica*, No. 8; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 134.

QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, *Arca finalis* or limitary mark, depth 30 feet; artisans' tools, beads, candlesticks, chains, coins, fibulæ, and a varied collection of personal ornaments in bronze, glass, hinges, horse furniture, keys and knives, lamps and lamp stands, manacles, perfume boxes, sandals and shoes ornamented and plain; Strigils, Styli, Samian, Durobrivian, and Upchurch pottery in quantities; potters' marks, many yet unpublished; "stone pine"[19] or *Pinus pinea* of Linneus, its fruit *rare*. Coote's *Romans of Britain*, 435; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxix. 85; Price's *Rom. Antiq.*

RATCLIFFE HIGHWAY, bronze fibula. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, x. 91; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, iii. 15; *Trans. L. and M. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 15.

ROYAL EXCHANGE, pit 19 feet deep,[20] filled with refuse of animal and vegetable matter, bones, coins, fibulæ, lamps, glass, sandals and shoes,[21] Samian pottery, Styli in bronze and iron, Strigils, writing tablets (pugillares), *Arch.*, xxix. 268; *Cat. Ant. Royal Exch.*, 39; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vii. 82; *Guild. Mus.*; *Num. Chron.*, iii. 193; *Rom. Lond.*, 13, 137.

ST. MARTIN'S-IN-THE-FIELDS, brick arch found in 1722, depth 14 feet; stone coffin containing ashes and glass, in digging foundations for the portico. Brayley's *Lon. and Midd.*, i. 90; Camden *Britt.*, ii. 93.

[19] A large proportion of these objects were discovered while excavating for the premises of the National Safe Deposit Company's offices, and those found in its site are preserved in their integrity in a separate case at the Guildhall Museum. It is seldom that such relics connected with the Roman *cuisine* are discovered; this fruit, which was *considered* to have been introduced into this country in the year 1548, is still an article of sale. It is referred to by Apicius in his recipes for sauces for boiled fish. *Arch.*, xli. 283, 324.

[20] At this time a singular notice was posted at the Royal Exchange to the effect that if coins or other objects were delivered to the authorities, the workmen would be rewarded; but if found secreting the same, they would be prosecuted for felony.

[21] It may be remarked that all collections of Roman relics from the city are exceptionally rich in sandals and shoes, both in reticulated patterns and plain; they abound in certain localities. Leather yields to the destructive action of atmospheric air and moisture, and it is only in localities where the air has been excluded that such can be preserved; the most favourable sites have proved to be Lothbury, Princes Street, site of the Exchange and river bed.

ST. MARTIN'S LE GRAND, artisans' tools, bone spoons (*Cochlearia*), bronze fibulæ, keys, objects in Terra Cotta, viz., lamp with four spouts, and figure of Venus, crucibles, quern or hand mill, upper and lower stones perfect, city wall, perfect section, 100 feet exposed. *Guild Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxix. 202; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, ser. ii., iv., 466; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 124; *Athenæum*, 28 April, 1888.

ST. MARY AT HILL, bones, bricks, coins, and pottery, found in 1774. *Arch.*, iv. 356; Malcolm, *Lond. Red.*, iii. 519.

ST. MARYLEBONE, coins, large bronze key. Brayley, *Lon. and Midd.*, i. 91; Camden *Britt.*, ii. 93.

ST. MILDRED'S COURT (Poultry), fibulæ, pottery, tessellated pavement, the design much enhanced in effect by the introduction of coloured glass,[22] Statera or steelyard (plated). *Mus. Pract. Geol.*; *Arch. Assoc.*, x., iii.; *Guild. Mus.*; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 217.

ST. PAUL'S, Bones, coins, potters kilns found in 1677, depth about 15 or 16 feet, contained perfect specimens of bottles, dishes, lamps, urns, &c., pavements, Samian pottery. *Coll. Antiq.*, vi. 173; *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, ii. 532-533; 1841, ii. 263-265; *Parentalia*, 286; *Sloane MSS. Brit. Mus.*, 958 fol. 105; *Rom. Lond.*, 79.

ST. PETER'S HILL, Wall of brick in courses with rubble, depth 5 feet 10 inches. *Arch.*, xl. 48.

SCOTS YARD, Pavements, depth 30 feet, a wall of great strength crossed the street diagonally, in width it measured 20 feet. *Arch.*, xxix. 156; *Rom. Lond.*, 14; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 213.

SEETHING LANE, Bronze arm, fragments of a statue of heroic size found at the bottom of a well, tessellated pavements adjoining foundation of St. Olave's Church. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*; *Guild. Mus.*; *Arch.*, xxix. 153.

SERMON LANE, Beads, bronze objects (undescribed). *Guild. Mus.*

SHADWELL, Bones, leaden coffin, pins, urns, &c. Brayley *Lond. and Midd.*, i. 89; Maitland *Hist. Lond.*, 782; *Brit. Mus.*

SHERBOURNE LANE, Pavement, depth 12 feet, width 20 feet, east to west, length not ascertained, others at divers levels, walls with other debris of buildings, many perforated by flues. *Arch.*, viii. 116-132; xxxix. 492; Price's *Tess. Pav.*, 18.

SHOE LANE, Pottery, Samian ware, numerous potters' names. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, 639.

SKINNER STREET, Samian bowl, embossed. *Guild. Mus.*

SNOW HILL (Railway Excavations), earthenware dishes. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*

SPITALFIELDS, Glass ossuary or urn, with handle.[23] (St. Mary Spital Churchyard)—Excavations in 1576, coins, glass, pottery, stone coffins. Maitland *Hist. Lond.*, 745; *Stow*, 64.

STEELYARD (DOWGATE), Embankment of great strength and durability, many of the timbers as much as 18 inches square, a bronze figure of "Hope," coins, fish hooks, glass, keys, knives, hanging lamp, with six spouts, pins, spoons, Strigils, sandals, and shoes in quantities. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 77.

SUFFOLK LANE, Buildings of superior class, frescoes, a fragment representing a youthful head, winged. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv. 388; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., 1855, 194.

SWAN LANE, Bronze statuettes, figures of Minerva and Fortune, likewise a "Lar." *Brit. Mus.*

THAMES (Barnes), bronze statuettes. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii. 100.

——— (Battersea), pewter cakes stamped SYAGRIVS and the Christian monogram. *Arch. Inst.*, xvi. 38; xxiii. 283; *Hübner*, vii. 22, 23, 1221; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd series, ii. 234; *Brit. Mus.*

——— (Hammersmith), spear heads. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*

——— (Putney), iron sword (*Parazonium*), with remains of bronze sheath—ornamentation, birds with foliage, Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, found in 1873. *Brit. Mus.* [See note 30.]

[22] Drawing in the possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A.

[23] Presented by Sir Christopher Wren to the Royal Society. *Parentalia*, 265. This probably belonged to the Ancient Cemetery, described by Stow "as Lolesworth, now Spittlefield."

THAMES STREET (Lower), Coal Exchange, remains of dwelling-house, bath, hypocaust, &c., &c., pins, pottery, and tiles, depth 10 feet 2 inches from surface, and 1 foot above high water level, finger rings with perfume box. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1st ser., 1848, 240; 2nd ser., ii. 163; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, iv. 38.

——— ——— (South Side), enbankment depth 10 feet to 20, formed of trees, oak and chestnut. *Hist. and Antiq. St. Michael's Crooked Lane*, p. 14.

——— (near London Bridge), Amphoræ, coins in numbers, gold, silver, and brass, among them leaden examples, Nero and Aurelian bronzes, figures of goats, peacock, head of wolf or dog, head, portrait of Hadrian, bronze instrument, a pair of brays or forceps for the nose of a victim; on the shanks are busts of the Gods presiding over the days of the week, viz., Cybele, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Ceres on one side, on the other Juno, Mars, Diana, Apollo and Saturn, all indicated by their peculiar attributes; statuettes of Apollo, Mercury, Priest of Cybele, Jupiter and Harpocrates; wooden piles encrusted with conglomerate and coins. *Brit. Mus.; Arch.*, xxiv. 190, 202; xxv. pl. 24; *Coll. Antiq.*, ii. 60; iii. vii.; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 285, iv. 57; *Rom. Lond.*, 21, 66, 68, 69, 72, 76; *Gent. Mag.*, 1827, ii. 69; 1835, i. 491, 493; *Num. Chron.*, iv. 147, 168.

THREADNEEDLE STREET, tessellated pavements[24] found in excavating the foundations of the French Protestant Church in Threadneedle Street to prepare for the Hall of Commerce in 1841. *Brit. Mus.*; *Rom. Lond*, 56.

THREE KING'S COURT (Lombard Street), beads of glass, bone draughtsmen, bronze objects, lamps, padlocks. *Guild. Mus.*

THROGMORTON STREET, Samian ware undescribed. *Mus. Pract. Geol.*

TOKENHOUSE YARD, bronze fibulæ, handles of boxes or caskets, knives, lamp and stands, trimmer for lamp, spindles and whorls, locks and keys, pottery, fine Upchurch ware (site of the New Auction Mart). *Baily Mss.; L. and Midd.* *Arch. Soc.*, iii. 217, 219; *Guild. Mus.*; *Brit. Mus.*

TOWER, inscribed stone sepulchral, found in 1777; coins, ingot of silver, stamped; inscribed stone, depth 18 feet; hand of colossal bronze statue; leaden coffin, portion of the City wall,[25] pavements, pottery, traces of dwellings towards the river, sculptures, tablet inscribed. *Hübner*, vii. 23; *Coll. Antiq.*, i. 140; *Gent. Mag.*, 1784, 403; *Arch.*, v., 292; *Rom. Lond.*, 25, 31, 65; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vii., 241; xxxviii., 127, 135, 447; *Rom. Lond.*, 15-27.

TOWER HILL,[26] sepulchral stone, inscribed. *Brit. Mus.*; *Arch. Inst.*, ix., 4; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, viii., 241; *Rom. Lond.*, 28; *Hübner*, vii., 23.

TRINITY COURT (Basinghall Street), pottery, late period. *Baily Mss.; Guild. Mus.*

TRINITY SQUARE, city wall, length removed for railway purposes, 73 feet, tessellated pavement on concrete bed, supported by a substructure of oak piling. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxviii., 447.

VINEYARD STREET (Minories), city wall: writing of this portion of the wall Dr. Woodward says: "This is the most considerable remain of Roman workmanship yet extant in any part of England that I know of." *Arch.*, xl., 299.

WALLBROOK, bronzes, bones and horns of oxen, cinerary urns, lamps and pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ix., 82; *Guild. Mus.*

WARWICK LANE, coins, cinerary urns, pins, pottery in quantities; perfect leaden *Ossuaria*[27] or cists containing bones, glass vase with handles, tiles, one inscribed urn with cover cut from a solid block of stone, contained bones and a coin of Claudius; tile from site of the present "Cutler's

[24] Mr. Roach Smith remarks that as these pavements were found beneath Threadneedle Street, it is excluded from any claims as a thoroughfare of remote antiquity.

[25] Drawings in possession of John E. Gardner, F.S.A., unpublished, a fine piece of the wall is yet preserved in the vaults of Messrs. Barbers' Warehouses, near Trinity Square.

[26] The recent discovery of this portion of the Wall proves the accuracy of the statement given by Coke in his *Institute*—"The Ancient Wall of London extended through the Tower; all that part on the west is within the City and Parish of All Saints, Barking. Therefore Weston the principal and Sir Gervas Elweys the accessory, in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, committed in the Tower on the west of the City Wall, were tried in the City of London."

[27] This specimen taken from the City Wall bears a curious inscription; it is now at Guildhall.

Hall," perfect and inscribed. *Arch.*, xlviii., 221-248; *Brit. Mus.*; *Guild. Mus.*; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xliii., 102; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., xi. 178; *Guild. Mus.*

WATLING STREET, an ancient way terminating at Dover, continued from Stone Street, Southwark, at the point known as Dowgate, thence along present way to Aldersgate, whence it quitted the city. Brayley's *Lon. and Midd.*, i., 71.

WELL STREET (Jewin Street), silver coins, bones, urns, &c. *Num. Chron.*, ix. 85; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii. 273.

WEST SMITHFIELD, sepulchral remains, wooden coffin with pottery at the crown of the skull; Ampullæ, Mortarium, and Patera, at left hand of the interment; Armillæ, cattle or horse bells, glass, stone coffins, now in St. Bartholomew's Hospital. *Gent. Mag.*, 1843, i. 520; *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 37.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY, inscribed stone coffin, preserved in the Abbey. *L. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, iii. 61-68.; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxvi. 76; Price's *Rom. Antiq.*; *Arch. Inst.*, xxvii. 103; *Pro. Soc. Antiq.*, 2nd ser., iv. 468-469.

WHITECHAPEL (Red Lion Street), sepulchral deposits. *Arch.*, xxviii. 403.

WHITECROSS STREET, quern of Purbeck stone. *L. and M. Arch. Soc.*, iv. 130; *Guild. Mus.*

WHITE HART COURT, Samian bowls. *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 36.

WINCHESTER OR POULETT HOUSE (old Broad Street), beads, lamps, circular pavement, upon it charred coins, corn, and pottery. *Arch.* xxxix. 492.[28] *Guild. Mus.*

WINDSOR COURT (Monkwell Street), pottery, portion of tower of City wall. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*

WOOD STREET (Cheapside), at the corner of St. Michael's Church, mosaic pavements in profusion, foundations of the church upon them,[29] ridge tile inscribed. *Brit. Mus.*; *Gent. Mag.*, 1834, 157; Price's *Tess. Pavet.*, p. 23.

ii.—SOUTH OF THE THAMES.

BEAR GARDEN (SOUTHWARK), Gladiators' tridents, Samian and other pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxii. 312.

BLACKMAN STREET, Samian bowl. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*

CHURCH STREET (BERMONDSEY), Amphoræ, coins, Samian bowls, depth 12 to 14 feet. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, i. 312.

DENMARK STREET, large vase. *Baily Mss.*; *Guild. Mus.*

DEPTFORD, On the banks of the Surrey Canal, coins in quantities.[30]

DEPTFORD ROAD, Bricks, the hand of an ancient terminus with two faces, a "Simpulum," and urns in the immediate vicinity. Brayley's *Lond. and Midd.* i. 77; Leland *Itin.*, viii. 7.

DEVERIL STREET (SOUTHWARK), Site of cemetery, amphoræ and other pottery, bronze mirrors, urns, with calcined bones. *Gent. Mag.*, 1835, i. 82; ii. 303; *Arch.*, xxvi. 467; xxviii. 412.

KING'S HEAD YARD (SOUTHWARK), Amphoræ, coins, bird *(terra cotta)* in form of a whistle, filters, keys, mortaria. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv. 216; xxxvii. 211; xxxviii. 101.

NEW KENT ROAD, Coins and pottery. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xiii. 321.

NEWINGTON ROAD, Water pipes,[31] near to St. Mary's Church. Allen *Hist. Lond.*, i. 37; *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxi. 211.

[28] In this communication there is included a carefully prepared List of Tessellated Pavements found within the city limits.

[29] This was also the case at the site of St. Gabriel which formerly stood in Fenchurch Street. At the depth of 12 feet a tessellated floor was seen in 1833, and between Rood Lane and Mincing Lane a brick floor was found.

[30] These really came from London Bridge. The same as many found in the ballast spread on the towing path between Hammersmith and Barnes, as well as at Putney. This fact is to be recorded as a prevention against unwarranted theories which may be founded in connection with such discoveries at these places.

[31] Probably Roman. Allen writes that in 1824 a portion of the Roman Road from St. Thomas-a-watering to Stangate was discovered near Newington Church.

PARK STREET (Southwark), ironwork, nails, piles, timbers, and other indications of a platform of a Roman jetty or landing place, facing Dowgate on the opposite side of the river. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxv., 80.

ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH (SOUTHWARK), Amphoræ and other pottery, coins, glass, personal ornaments, tessellated pavement, adjoining the church. *Gent. Mag.*, 1825, ii., 633-634 ; 1832, i., 399-400 ; ii., 17 ; 1840, i., 191-192.

ST. THOMAS' HOSPITAL (and adjoining), lamps, pavements, and pottery, depth 7 to 8 feet, tessellated floor with passages and walls, all built on piles ; upon the floor a number of coins of the early Empire, lamps, pottery, &c. *Arch.*, xxix., 149 ; Ralph Lindsay *Etys. of Southwark*, 1839.

SOUTHWARK, pewter dishes inscribed *Martinus*, iron sickle (rare, smaller than those now in use, but similar to example at Pompeii) *Fuscina* or trident used by the Gladiators in combat, styli, &c. *Cat. Lond. Antiq.*, 72 ; *Brit. Mus.*

SOUTHWARK STREET, wooden piling, depth 12 feet, driven straight into the earth, they varied from 5 to 11 feet in length, and many were as thick as 12 inches square ; pottery, walls, &c. *Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxii., 445. *L. and Midd. Arch Soc.*, iii. 213.

TOOLEY STREET, (near to St. Olave's Church), coins, mortaria and other pottery. *Gent. Mag.*, 1833, i., 482 ; ii., 194.

UNION STREET (Southwark), pottery. *Gent. Mag.*, 1825, ii., 633, 634.

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11. FOREIGN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

Andree (R.), Swinigel und Hase. *Zeit. für Ethnol*, xix. 674-675.
——— Ringwall im Hörnegebirge. *Zeit. für Ethnol*, xix. 727-729.

Bartels (M.), Südslavische Dorfanlagen und Häuser. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 666-668.
——— Dorfanlagen im Kreisse Neidenburg Ostpreussen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 676-678.
Bastian (A.), Sammlung des Leutnant Wissmann. *Zeit. für Ethnol*, xix. 682-688.
———Priester-Königthum. *Zeit für Ethnol.* xix. 711-712.
Behla (A.), 3 neu entdeckte Rundwälle in der Umgebung Luckau's. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 609.
Berger (V.), Die Kirche zu St. Georgen in Niederheim. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 40-41.
Binzer (Hr. v.), Ausgrabungen im Sachsenwalde. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 726-727.
Boeheim (W.), Alte Glasgemälde in Wiener-Neustadt. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 22-25.
Brausewetter (F.), aus dem nordöstlichen Böhmen. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 26-30.

Deschmann (K.), Neueste Funde römischer Steinsärge in Laibach. *Mitth. der K. K. Central-Comm.* xiv. 5-7.
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Evans (S. B.), The sculptured stone of Tezcuco. *American Antiq.* x. 179-186.

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Ghirardini (G.), Intorni alle Antichita scoperte nel fondo Baratela. *Notizie degli scavi di Antichità.* Genn. Feb. 1888. Pp. 1-42. 71-127. Pl. 1.12. Rome.
Goodyear (W. H.), Egyptian origin of the Ionic capital and of the Anthemion. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 271-302.

Grempler ( ), die Dreirollen-Fibeln von Sakrau. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 654-655.

Helm (Otto), Herkunft des Bernsteins an einigen Fibeln im Museum zu Klagenfurt. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 604-605.

Ilg (A.), Lunz und Umgebung. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 41-47.

Jagor ( ), Ausstellung von den Philippinischen Inseln in Madrid. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 730-731.

Jenny (S.), Bauliche Ueberreste eines Privatbades in der Oberstadt von Brigantium. *Mitth. der K. K. Central-Comm.* xiv. pp. 3-5.

——— Glasgemälde aus Vorarlberg. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 18-22.

Jentsch (H.), niederlausitzische Alterthümer. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 721-722.

Kaufmann (R. von), das Gräberfeld von Schlaupitz, Kr. Reichenbach Schlesien. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 678-682.

Lemke (E.), prähistorische Begräbnissplätze in Kerpen, Ostpr. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 609-613.

Lewis (T. H.), The old fort earthworks of Greenup county, Kentucky. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 375-382.

Marquand (Allan), A Silver Patera from Kourion. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 322-337.

Merriam (A. C.), Painted sepulchral stelai from Alexandria. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 261-268.

——— Greek inscriptions published in 1886-87. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 303-321.

Muck (M.), Die Bronzeschatz von grehin gradae in der Herzegovina. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 7-15.

Müller (R.), Die Capelle des gräflichen Schlosses in Reichenberg. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 1-3.

Olshausen ( ), über Gräber der Bronzezeit in Hinterpommern untersucht durch Dr. W. König in Stettin. *Zeit für Ethnol.* xix. 605-607.

——— neue Glasgemmen vom Typus der Alsener und über Verwandte der Briesenhorster. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 688-711.

Ramsay (W. M.), Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the borderlands. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 344-368.

Schierenberg (G. A. B.), das Mithraeum in Ostia und das in den Externsteinen. *Zeit für Ethnol.* xix. 608.

Schönbrunner (F.), die Tempera-Gemälde auf der Rückseite des Verduner Altares in Klosterneuburg. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 33-34.

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Schwartz (W.), Alte Hausanlagen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 668-671.

Traube (H.), ein neuer Fund von ausstehendem Nephrit bei Reichenstein in Schlesien. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 652-654.

Ueber verschiedene Kunstdenkmale Tyrols. *Mitth. der K. K. Central Comm.* xiv. 35-37.

Virchow (R.), das alte deutsche Haus. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 568-589.

Ward (W. H.), Notes on Oriental Antiquities. iv. an Eye of Nabu. v. a Babylonian Bronze Pendant. vi. the Stone Tablet of Abu Habba. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 338-343.

——— Assyro-Babylonian forgery, ii. the Sun-god on Babylonian Cylinders. *American Journ. Arch.* iii. 383-386.

Wedding ( ), Alterthümer von Gulbien, Kr. Rosenberg, Ostpreussen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.* xix. 675 676.
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Acland (Rev. C. L.), some stone circles on the side of a hill at the east end of Quendale Bay, Shetland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 282-284.
Anderson (J.), notice of an urn and four arrowheads of flint found in a cist at Dairsie, Fifeshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 132-133.

Bain (J.), Two original seals of James, first Lord Hamilton, one attached to a document dated in 1457, the other to an original truce between England and Scotland, on September 28, 1473. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 203-205.
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Boyd (D. A.), and J. Smith, notice of a rock surface, with cup marks and other sculpturings, at Blackshaw, West Kilbride, Ayrshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 143-151.

Christison (D.), the Pre-historic Forts of Peeblesshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 13-82.
Cursiter (J. W.), notice of a canoe recently found in the Island of Stronsay, Orkney. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 279-281.
——— the bronze weapons of Orkney and Shetland, and of an iron age deposit found in a cist at Moan, Harray. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 339-346.

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Kinglake (R. A.), in memoriam Thomas Hutton Knyston. *Somerset Arch. Soc.*, xiii., 157-167.

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Lovett (E.), the Gun Flint Manufactory at Brandon, with reference to the bearing of its processes upon the modes of flint working practised in prehistoric times. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 206-212.

MacAdam (W. J.), notes on the ancient iron industry of Scotland. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 89-131.

Maxwell (Sir H. E.), further excavation of St. Ninian's Cave, parish of Glasserton, Wigtownshire. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxi., 137-141.

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History.

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THE HISTORY OF THE WORD HEARSE IN ENGLAND.

WHEN we hear the word hearse used in conversation, or meet with it in books, we picture to ourselves the funeral car in which a dead body is carried to the grave. So entirely have the other meanings of this word dropped out of use and memory, that we have encountered more than one person of education and culture who has been not a little puzzled to interpret certain passages in our earlier literature in which it occurs with significations widely differing from the one at present in use.

Hearse is derived from *herpicem*, the acc. of *hirpex*, a harrow. In this sense we occasionally meet with it in English. In Lord Berner's Translation of Froissart we are told in one place that "The archers . . . . stode in the maner of a herse, and the men of armes in the botome of the batayle," and in another that "at thende of this hedge, when as no man can go nor ryde there be men of armes afote and archers afore them, in maner of a herse, so that they woll nat be lightely discomfyted."[1] We are also informed that the device on a certain "standerd was a herse of golde, standyng on a bed goules."[2] That is in the language of modern heraldry gules a harrow or. We also find it used by soldiers in a different but nearly related sense. Sir Richard Burton informs us that "Herse is the old military name for a column as opposed to haye, a line. So we read that at the far-famed Cressy, the French fought 'en battaile à haye,' the English drawn up 'en herse.'"[3] The Scotch never gave the world a translation of the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue, but we owe to one of that nation the best version of the works of Rabelais in existence. Sir Thomas Urquhart makes his author say, when describing the terror caused by Philip of Macedon's preparation for the siege of Corinth, that the people "fastened the herses, sarasinesks and cataracts."[4] Here a portcullis is obviously meant,

[1] Ed., 1523, vol. i., ch. cxxx., 156., ch. clx., 195.
[2] *Ibid*, vol. ii., ch. clxxi., 501.
[3] *El Medinah and Meccah*, ii., 6.
[4] *Gargantua*, Book iii. Prol. Ed. 1858., p. 290.

The late Mr. Charles Hartshorne uses herse in a similar manner. In a paper on Orford Castle he says, "The entire absence of the Herse is very unusual, and can only be explained, under the supposition that there was one at the porch of entrance, now fallen."[5] Mr. Hartshorne may have had in his mind the way in which Cæsar and Sallust use a kindred word, "Erat objectus portis eritius."[6] "Eminebant in modum ericii militaris veruta binum pedum."[7] Vossius, commenting on the former passage, says, "Est trabs, cui infixæ pinnæ ferræ; et sæpe versatilis."[8]

As late as the days of Caxton, hearse in the sense of harrow seems to have been familiar, for we read in his *Ovid's Metamorphosis* of a man who "kembyd his heer with a hierche in stede of a combe."[9]

The earliest ecclesiastical use of the word seems to have been to indicate the triangular candlestick made of bars crossing each other like the "bulls" and "slots" of a harrow. It was used in the service of *tenebræ* and probably on other occasions. The number of candles in the hearse are said to have varied from seven to thirty-two. Sometimes the shape of the hearse was modified; it ceased to be like a harrow, and assumed the form of a triangular stand on a foot, it then was used to contain fourteen yellow wax candles and one of white wax in the middle. The yellow candles were symbols of the eleven faithful apostles and the three Mary's, the white candle representing our blessed Lord. In the *tenebræ* service fourteen psalms were chanted, and as each was ended a taper was put out, and the white taper, still burning, was hidden near the altar.[10] Some of these hearses seem to have been very elaborate affairs, in which in latter times, it is probable, the harrow-like form had been completely lost. In Strype's *Memorials of the Reformation* we read of "an herse of four branches with gilt candlesticks and two white branches and three dozen staff torches."[11] These triangular candlesticks seem to have been much like the harrows employed by farmers in the middle ages, and thenceforward almost without change of structure down to the early years of the present century. They were commonly used in triplets and united together by a chain or thick piece of rope. A good representation of this old-fashioned implement may be seen in Guillim's *Display of Heraldry,*

[5] *Archæologia*, xxix., 62.
[6] *Com. de Bell. Civ. lib.*, iii., c., 67.
[7] *Fragm. lib.*, iii.
[8] Davis's *Cæsar*, *Lugd. Bat*, 1713, p. 566.
[9] B. xiii. c. 15.
[10] *Synodus Exon*, A.D. 1287, *in* Wilkins' *Concilia*, ii., 139.
[11] Ed., 1665, iv., p. 376.

where the reader is informed that a family of the name of Harrow bear "Ermyn three harrows conjoyned in the nombril of the escocheon with a wreath, argent." [12] The wreath is a mere fancy of the author or of some previous herald from whom he has copied. It is the cord or chain by which the triplet is locked together. These harrows were commonly very rude and simple things; except on stony land the teeth—called tines or tushes—were of wood, pins of oak or ash. The farmer took a supply of them to the field with him in his pocket, so that when one was broken it could be immediately replaced.

Now that hearse had become familiar as a term to distinguish a structure in the form of a harrow used for supporting candles, it was natural to transfer the word to that light frame of wood, also decked with candles, which it was the custom to place over a dead body in church before the funeral rites began, for the purpose of supporting the pall. These frames were part of the ordinary furniture of a parish church in unreformed times. I am not aware of a solitary example having been preserved, nor is it probable that any should have been, for they were of a light and fragile nature so as to be easily carried about. They are, however, very often mentioned. From a memorandum in the Churchwardens' Account Books of Louth in Lincolnshire of the year 1522, it appears that the bellman on each occasion of the hearse being used was to have one penny and no more, for setting it, that is, for placing it over the body.[13] In the little church of Awkborough, in the same county, near the confluence of the Trent and the Humber, there was, in 1565, a hearse which the churchwardens for some reason or other regarded as superstitious, and consequently sold to one of the villagers who "put it to prophane vse."[14] At Newton, another Lincolnshire village, a hearse had been sold the year before to a man who had broken it in pieces.[15] Rich cloths or palls were thrown over these hearses when service was going on. There are many references to them in Mr. Daniel Tyssen's Inventories of the Churches of Surrey.[16] Robert Burton, declaiming on the tale of the

[12] *Fifth* Ed., 1679, p. 214.

[13] A few extracts from these most interesting documents have been printed with shameful inaccuracy. The writer made a full transcript of them some years ago. He trusts soon to be able to print the whole without abridgment. They began in the year 1500.

[14] Peacock, *Eng. church Furniture*, p. 36.

[15] *Ibid.* 118.

[16] pp. 17, 40, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 67, 90, 116, 119, 131, 154: cf. *Archæologia*, xliii., 240; Money, *ch. Goods in Berks*, 41; Jupp, *Carpenters Co.*, 20.

wicked rich man, tells us that "he perisheth like a beast . . . for all his physitians and medicines inforcing nature, a sowning wife, families, complaints, frends, teares, dirges, masses, naenias, funerals, for all orations, counterfect hired acclamations, elogiums, epithaphes, herses . . . and Mausolean tombs, if he have them at least, he dies like a dog, goes to hel with a guilty conscience and many a poor man's curse."[17]

The parish bier was sometimes furnished with a head or lid of this kind, of a curved form, something like the head of an old-fashioned stage-waggon. A bier with a lid of this sort existed in Northorpe church, in Lincolnshire, in the early part of this century, but is now destroyed. There were, I have heard, two others at Campsall in Yorkshire, which are also said to be lost.

A few specimens remain of hearses of this kind made in metal, and permanently affixed to tombs for the purpose of supporting the lights and the rich cloths with which the piety of our forefathers were wont to decorate the tombs of the dead. A very beautiful hearse of this sort still canopies the tomb of one of the Marmions in Tanfield Church, Yorkshire. It has attached to it sconces for holding seven candles, two on each side and three on the ridge.[18] The effigy in the Warwick Chapel of Richard, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439, possesses one of these frames: it is smaller than the Tanfield specimen, but is executed in brass. The contract with the makers informs us that it was meant to "beare a covering."[19]

Portions of what must have been a remarkably beautiful hearse of this kind are now preserved in the Museum at South Kensington. They were removed from Snarford Church, Lincolnshire, many years ago. The general character and ornamental details make it probable that it is of fifteenth century date. A representation of it is given in the writer's *English Church Furniture.*[20] The author of *Morte Arthur* was well acquainted with these hearses and their uses. He writes of

> "A tombe that new was dyghte
> * * * * * *
> These on an herse sothely to saye
> With an C tappers lyghtes."[21]

From these permanent hearses, the transition was almost imperceptible to those large temporary structures of timber hung

[17] *Anatomy of Melancholy*, 2nd ed., 1624, p. 267.
[18] *Reports of Ass. Architec. Soc.* 1851, 250.
[19] Parker, *Gloss. Architec.* 1850-1, 250.
[20] p. 126.
[21] Roxb. Club, p. 114.

with rich cloths and banners, under which the corpses of great people were placed when they rested for the night on the long journeys which often had to be taken to the place of burial. Minute accounts of many of these structures have been preserved. There is an engraving of one in Nichol's *Illustrations of Manners and Expenses in England.*[22] And of another in the *Vetusta Monumenta.*[23] In the rubrics of some foreign churches this kind of hearse is spoken of under the name of "castrum doloris." The Italians know it as "catafalco," the French as "chapelle ardente."[24] Wycliff in an invective against the pompous funerals of the rich, speaks of "ful rich heerses & grete festis after."[25] Chaucer in his *Dream* had before him a canopy of this kind—

> "In an abbey of nunnes which were blake
> *　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*
> Ordeint and said was the servise,
> Of the prince and of the queen,
> So devoutly as might been,
> And after that about the herses,
> Many orisons and verses
> Without note full softely,
> Said were and that full heartily,
> That all the night till it was day,
> The people in the church can pray
> Unto the holy Trinity,
> Of those souls to have pity."[26]

It is said, but I have not come upon the passage, that Jeremy Taylor speaks of the hearse being strewn with flowers.[27] This is almost certain to have been the case. Flowers were constant accessories of worship in olden times, and even during the commonwealth when religious symbolism was more deeply under the ban of public opinion than at any other time, there are instances of churches being decorated with flowers. Philip Henry, in his diary, mentions a case of this kind and tried to hinder it, but happily was unsuccessful.[28] Dr Rock gives several examples of torches and candles being wreathed with flowers.[29] As this was evidently a common practice, it is probable that the lights burning on the hearse would be so decorated.

[22] *Last* leaf.
[23] Vol. iv. pl. 18.
[24] Rock. *Ch. of our Fathers*, II. 496.
[25] *Of Antichrist and his Meyner*, 152.
[26] *Line* 1806.
[27] Walcott, *Sacred Archæology*, 312.
[28] Lee's, *Diaries and Letters of Ph. Henry*, p. 53.
[29] *Church of our Fathers*, ii. 425., iii. i. 274., iii. ii. 98.

The funeral car originally differed little from the stationary canopy, except that it had wheels and was of a smaller size. When prayer for the dead ceased to be a part of the national religion, this became the popular meaning, and the older significations have been well-nigh forgotten. Milton uses the word in the modern sense.

> "Gentle lady, may thy grave
> Peace and quiet ever have ;
> After this thy travel sore
> Sweet rest sieze thee evermore.
>
> Here be tears of perfect moan
> Wept for thee in Helicon,
> And some flowers and some bays
> For thy herse to strew the ways."[30]

In the reign of William III. the hearse, as we know it, had become common, and was, as at present, let out for hire. The *London Gazette* of 1690 contains an advertisement setting forth that "If any have occasion for a coach or hearse to Deal, Dover, or any other place upon the road, they may be furnished."[31]

Hearse is sometimes used as a figure of speech for a corpse—

> "Now grew the battell hot, bold Archas pierses
> Through the mid-hoast and strews the way with herses."[32]

And a writer in 1659 says: "The thunderbolt of judgment, levelled at his life, he yet with a passive valour . . . with a constancy which might cast a blush on the ghost of an ancient Roman hearse, but continues his resolution."[33]

I have met with a single instance, though there may be many more, where it seems to stand for a cart or carriage, if not, indeed, for a beast of burden, without any reference to either the harrow, the candlestick, or a dead body. Horace advises Lollius, when his friend has a mind to take his dogs and cattle laden with nets into the fields for sport, to cheerfully make one of the company.[34] Robert Hyrde paraphrased this passage in his translation of Vives *Instruction of a Christian woman*, in these words. They are printed as prose, but seem to be meant for verse. "If he list to hunt . . . . do thou not sit to make verses, but cast uppe thy

[30] *Epitaph on March. of Winchester.*
[31] Mmlvj. col. 4.
[32] Th. Heywood *Britaines* Troy c. iij, st. 86. fol. 72.
[33] *The Unhappy Marksman* in *Harl Misc.* iii. 9.
[34] Epist. lib. 1. 18.

muses, and follow the herses, carrying the nets and lead forth the dogs."[35]

The word, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, acquired a further meaning, as rich hangings were wont to be hung around stationary or temporary hearses. These products of the loom or the embroidery frame acquired the name of the thing they covered. A writer of the year 1581 speaks of "all other marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the sea, as sylkes, wynis, oylis, . . . and all hearses and tapestry."[36]

The above is but an imperfect history of a curious word. I have only traced, and that in part, its adventures in England. Its fate in continental lands has not been less interesting.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

[35] 1592. *Sign* R fol. 4.
[36] Stafford, *Exam. of Complaints*, i. p. 16 (ed. 1876).

REVIEW.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH ECONOMIC HISTORY AND THEORY: THE MIDDLE AGES. BY W. J. ASHLEY. LONDON (RIVINGTONS) 1888. 8vo, pp. XIII. 227.

A WORK of this kind has been very much needed. Economic history has been adequately, though of course not finally, dealt with in the works of Gneist, Maine, Nasse, Seebohm, and others; economic theory has been worked up by writers from Adam Smith to Fawcett. That both history and theory needed bringing into contact is a thought that has occurred to many of us, but it has remained for Mr. Ashley to carry out this necessary piece of work.

Setting to work with the known factors of his subject, Mr. Ashley first treats of the manor and village community from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. He lays emphasis upon the fact which has not been sufficiently insisted upon by historians that "till nearly the end of the fourteenth century England was a purely agricultural country. Such manufactures as it possessed were entirely for consumption within the land. The only articles of export were the raw products of the country;" and after a very succinct description of the details of agricultural life, the well known divisions of the land into acre and half-acre strips held by a group

of tenants in intermixed tenure in the common field, the powers and duties of the tenants in admitting new tenants, in their right to the soil and in their dues to the lord, he summarizes the economical position of the country by pointing out that "the fundamental characteristic of the manorial group was its *self-sufficiency*, its social *independence*," and its "corporate unity." This again is a phase of manorial life which has not been sufficiently insisted upon by historians; and we cannot help thinking that with these two important conclusions brought now into proper historical prominence the future work of those who seek to investigate the early history of this country will be considerably lightened.

In working out the details of manorial history Mr. Ashley has been studiously careful not to overstep the boundaries of his own special study. It is only incidentally that he touches upon points which illustrate some of the larger subjects with which an inquiry into manorial history must of necessity be concerned. For instance, the well known theories which divide students of the subject into two opposite camps, those who follow Seebohm and those who follow Maine and Von Maurer, find very little assistance from Mr. Ashley. He summarizes very usefully the arguments for and against Mr. Seebohm's theory with a bias we should infer in favour of it; and in this he lays great stress upon the fact that "it is the uniform agricultural system, the system of joint compulsory labour that is so difficult to explain on the old hypothesis" of free village communities having gradually become subject to such extremely onerous burdens. We do not now wish to enter into the controversy, but it is worth while bearing in mind that the uniformity of the agricultural system only becomes apparent in the eleventh century, and that then it is reduced to this appearance of uniformity by the officialism of a strong central government which no more understood the inner life of the communities than Elizabeth's commissioners understood the Irish social system, than the long line of Anglo-Indian officials understood the Hindu social system. To read the early reports on Indian matters, one would suppose there was but little difference between the Hindu village community and the English manor as it existed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is talk about the lord of the manor and the tenant, whereas there existed only the headman of the village and his fellow villagers. We protest most strongly against legal and official documents being made to do duty for history. To take one phase of our village life, that of the open democratic assembly, held in London itself down to the reign of Henry III. in spite of the Guildhall, there is not a single reference to such an institution in Domesday nor in any legal document. Yet it is difficult to believe that a community which possessed so distinctively a primitive feature of early Teutonic freedom could have been of itself unfree. The history of the London folkmoot proclaims the true nature of the struggle. It was not *for* freedom on the part of a serf-bound community, but *against* free institutions on the part of successful commercialism backed up by a chartered constitution, and in this we have a distinct reversal of the theory held by the followers of Mr. Seebohm. Again let us take the argument of uniformity from another standpoint, namely, the endeavour to see if uniformity is possible under any other condition than that of compulsion from a higher authority. This can be done only by an appeal to comparative

history. Over and over again in this domain of study we are met with the proposition that like causes produce like results, until one is forced to conclude that throughout the world the course of social development has been largely along parallel lines wherever it has been brought under scientific observation. Granting then free village communities belonging to one stock group following therefore the same sort of life and possessing in the main the same system of economic theory; granting the conquest by these communities of a country already occupied by other people not widely separated from themselves in economic ideas; granting subsequent contact with other peoples of kindred race and development; granting the gradual though slow development of a nationality out of these aggregated communities; and where is the difficulty for the rise of a tolerably uniform system? Then if we add to the facts of uniformity, the facts of parallel social customs in widely distant lands, the difficulty seems to us to be not so great as it is made out to be. Of course it is not possible to go deeply into this question now. Let us note however that in the Ditmarsh free village community every one was free to employ himself on his own account for three days in the week, the remainder of the week being due to the community, while among the wild races of India each adult is liable for three days' work in each year without pay at the chief's bidding. Surely here we have evidence of compulsory labour unaccompanied by serfdom.

When we pass on to Mr. Ashley's second chapter, the merchant and craft gilds, we are impressed with the same idea that the economical side of early English history favours the theory of a descent from free village communities rather than from village communities in serfdom. We meet with bodies of men trading together, not as a company of traders like those of the present day, putting capital together, but as *naturally* constituted communities who work or trade together because they have not yet arrived at the stage of thought where it is conceivable that an individual could separate himself from his fellows. It is communism based upon the living characteristics and conceptions of the archaic family, having therefore historical continuity for its origin, and not legislative or commercial creation. Mr. Ashley quotes the famous example of Totnes to prove that the ancient gilds included a very considerable number of persons, and that blood relationship was one of the means of becoming entitled to membership. We cannot get away from such a conspicuous example without going back to the well known facts of archaic society for an explanation of its singular provisions. The economic conditions of early Gild history are clearly shown by Mr. Ashley to be based upon the theory of mutual help and responsibility, each member being bound to submit to regulations for the common good, and to come to the assistance of his fellow-members. "If a gildsman of Southampton were put into prison in any part of England, the alderman and steward, with one of the échevins, were bound to go at the cost of the gild to procure his deliverance. At Berwick 'two or three of the gild' were bound to labour on behalf of any one in danger of losing life or limb, though only for a few days, at the gild's expense. Individuals were not to monopolize the advantages of trade." Such regulations are possible only upon the assumption that the gilds took up the older family life of the people at the point where the old family life had come to an end. They were not the isolated

invention of one locality, and they were not the legislative invention of statecraft, being found to be "common to the whole society of the time," as Mr. Ashley points out; such a common institution must have been derived from a previously existing institution, quite as common to the whole society of the time, and the only institution which can possibly answer to such a state of things is the archaic family, broken into by Christianity on the theory of marriage, broken into by the theories of the civil law, broken into by the growing nationality of the country, but still a living influence upon the action and thought of the people at large, who have never yet at any time or in any country, advanced so far in economic or political knowledge as the governors of the nation which they inhabit. Old clan instincts existed to a considerable extent, and maintained the idea that the men of other towns were foreigners; there was no capital in the country to take men's thoughts away from their local surroundings, there was only abundance of labour power which, at first occupied within the domains of its own local community, at last came to look beyond. Internal trade was simply the exchange of surplus commodities between one independent village and another. The overstepping of this boundary was first made by the weavers. Weaving hitherto done by the women of each community to supply the clothes for members of the community only, began early to break the bounds of locality, and accordingly we find that the weavers' gild was the first of the craft gilds to be formed; and yet it is singular that even in recent times the older system had not yet entirely disappeared, for we know of several examples in Scotland where, at the beginning of this century, each community was clothed by the work produced from the handlooms of the women of the community. The economical phase which this state of things presents to the enquirer is admirably put by Mr. Ashley when he states that "what existed was scarcely more than a trade between certain towns, an inter-communal or inter-municipal commerce," as contrasted with the national commerce of the present day.

Finally Mr. Ashley puts before us an exposition of the existing economic theories and legislation, which is of the highest value and interest. Here we think Mr. Ashley has done almost unique service, especially as he treads upon nearly virgin soil. How clearly he grasps the true position of things is best shown by the opening statement of his third chapter that "the social development with which hitherto we have been dealing may in a sense be called *spontaneous*; we have now to see how the forces of Church and State took hold of the growing society and attempted to control its activity." The self-growth which Mr. Ashley indicates by his term spontaneous is a factor of large importance in understanding the early history of society, and it is this very self-growth which marks the borderland of archaic society and political society. The Church was not antagonistic to the self-growth of early society. Cosmopolitan as were its doctrines and faith, its theories, where they touched upon economics, were wholly consistent with a state of things which eschewed individual gain, which condemned commercial ideas, and which ran very near to pure communism. The communism of the early Church was philosophical in its origin, but it is easy to understand how well it fitted in with the historical communism of the early societies with which after the fall of the Roman empire it was destined to come into close contact. When St. Ambrose exclaimed, "that

which is taken by thee beyond what would suffice to thee is taken by violence . . . thinkest thou thou committest no injustice by keeping to thyself alone what would be the means of life to many? . . . It is the bread of the hungry thou keepest, it is the clothing of the naked thou lockest up; the money thou buriest is the redemption of the wretched," he proclaims ideas and theories perfectly at one with those held by the vast mass of the people of his age. His opponents were the new school of jurists who had become steeped in the revived studies of Roman law, which, belonging to a more advanced society, could not at once be accepted by such a backward society as the villagers of mediæval England belonged to. We shall not follow Mr. Ashley into this portion of his disquisition. To the economist it is a most valuable chapter of information from a source which has been almost a sealed book to him hitherto; to the historian it is something more. It tells of a phase of social history not hitherto quite recognised to have existed at all; it tells of a phase of political history which for the first time is capable of adequately explaining the cause and justification of the usury laws, the currency provisions and other important subjects; finally it tells of a phase of church history which must bid pause those who are gradually giving up belief in the secular life or secular history of the Church. For our own part we have long recognised that the over-spiritualizing of the Church in later days has done it incalculable harm both in its teaching and its position. This is not the place to insist on this question, but it is useful to turn to Mr. Ashley's pages for a chapter in church history which throws an unexpected light upon the early secular characteristics of its position and powers. In all these researches it must be borne in mind that the historian does not touch upon the political side of the question, for to quote Mr. Ashley's prefatory note, "History seems to be proving that no great institution has been without its use for a time and its relative justification. Similarly it is beginning to appear that no great conception, no great body of doctrines which really influenced society for a long period was without a certain truth and value, having regard to contemporary circumstances."

Literature.

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HIAWATHA AND THE KALEVALA.

IN the year 1855, the literary world in Europe and America was surprised by the appearance of Longfellow's Indian poem, "The Song of Hiawatha." The metre was unfamiliar to English ears, and was supposed by many at the time to be the invention of Longfellow himself. This led to its being ridiculed and parodied in various forms.

But it is impossible to glance at Prof. Schiefner's German version of the Finnish epic poem known as the Kalevala, published in 1852, without perceiving at once that Longfellow borrowed the metre and style of his "Hiawatha" from this source, though the two poems have comparatively little in common beyond occasional though very obvious points of similarity; and my friend Dr. Garnett has kindly called my attention to some passages in Longfellow's own diary for June, 1854,[1] which show positively that Longfellow was reading the Kalevala at that time (probably in Schiefner's version, then quite recent), and meditating an Indian poem in the same metre.

But Longfellow was not the first writer to employ this metre in English. In 1850, five years before the publication of "Hiawatha," Kenealy published the first incomplete version of his remarkable, but little-known, poem, "The New Pantomime," under the title of "Goethe." Here we find very nearly the same metre employed occasionally in several scenes, as, for instance, "Tartarus of Hades," where the lost spirits in the Styx appeal in vain to the avenging angel for mercy; and again in "The Witch's Star" (called in later editions "The Witch's Masque"), where Goethe is tempted by Calypso, Armida, and Alcina, in the train of the Witch of Endor. As a specimen, I quote the Witch of Endor's welcome to Goethe and Mephistopheles:

"We shall be indeed delighted
Such fair travellers to welcome.
Lo, I wave my wand of magic,
And a banquet spreads before ye.

[1] This seems to dispose conclusively of the date of 1842, assigned to Hiawatha, on what grounds I know not, in some editions of Longfellow's works.

> These young Cupids, crowned with roses,
> And with lilies, in whose eyelids
> Shines the softness of the moonlight,
> And with wings of gold and purple
> Waving melody, will serve ye.
> Sit, brave sir, beside this ladye,
> On this bank of fan-like flowers.
> You, Sir Voland, couch beside me;
> While we banquet, sweet Calypso
> Will with magic lays enweave us
> In a rosy spell of rapture."

The materials of the Kalevala were orally collected by Dr. Elias Lönnrot in Finland, and were afterwards woven by him with additions of his own into a connected whole. The first recension was published in 1835, and contained 32 runos or cantos, and about 12,000 lines; and the second, published in 1849, contained 50 runos and about 22,800 lines. There are complete translations of the first recension in Swedish and French; and of the second in Swedish (two), German (two), French (one), Russian (one), and Hungarian (one), besides numerous abridgments, episodes, and fragments in various languages.

The Kalevala bears evident signs of having been composed, or rather, perhaps, altered and added to, in different ages. The greater part is pre-Christian, and exhibits a system of nature-worship, animism, and magic. The highest deity is Yumala,[2] which name is employed wherever Christian influences crop up in the poem; and Schiefner usually translates the word "God;" but Yumala likewise seems to be identified with Ukko, described as an old man dwelling in the sky—a representation not very dissimilar to the Middle Age conception of God the Father. Nature-gods of the second grade are Tapio and his family, the gods of the forests; Ahto and Vellamo, the chief god and goddess of the waters; and various others. The sun and moon and the seven stars of the Great Bear are frequently mentioned; but the heavenly bodies do not appear to be worshipped, though the sun and moon are distinct personalities. The evil powers are Tuoni or Mana, the Pluto of the North (the name Kalma is also used for Death); Hiisi or Lempo, the mischief-maker, &c.

The gods are constantly appealed to, and sometimes lend their aid to one combatant until they are gained over, or perhaps forced by incantations to go over to another. All nature is animated: iron, the product of the milk of the cloud-maidens, is represented as the brother of fire and water; and apparently, though the

[2] Jumala. The Finnish j, as in most Continental languages, is our consonental y, which I substitute for it, though it must be observed that y is a Finnish vowel, and = ü in German.

passage is somewhat obscure, likewise of the heroes; the bear is looked upon with great reverence; the serpent is dreaded as having been formed from the spittle of the hag Syoyator, by Hiisi, after the Creator had declared that nothing but evil could come of it; and trees and boats bewail their evil destiny with human voices. Even the beer stored in casks for a wedding calls upon the guests to drink it. But notwithstanding the deeply-rooted belief in magic and in nature-gods which we find in the Kalevala, prayers are usually addressed to Yumala, or Ukko, and rarely to other gods, except when they relate to matters specially belonging to their jurisdiction. We find nothing like indiscriminate fetish-worship.

The accounts of the creation and of the birth of the heroes are not always consistent or complete. In the first Runo, after a pre-amble differing from, but occasionally somewhat resembling that of Hiawatha, the Virgin of the Air is described as descending into the sea, where she is impregnated by the winds and waves. It will be remembered that Longfellow's Nokomis falls from the moon to the prairie, where she brings forth Wenonah, who is seduced by Mudjekeewis, the West-Wind in person; and their son is Hiawatha. In the Kalevala, a duck builds her nest on the knees of Ilmatar, the daughter of the air, as she is floating, and the broken eggs form the heavens and the earth. After this, the goddess fashions the world,[3] and brings forth the immortal minstrel Vainamoinen, who clears and cultivates the land.

We likewise hear of daughters of Creation, and of sons and daughters of the sun and moon, the latter of whom busy themselves with weaving, an art frequently mentioned, and held in high honour in the poem.

There are four principal heroes in the Kalevala. The first is the above-mentioned Vainamoinen. He is always called

Vaka Vanha Väinämöinen.

The second word means "old"; but translators and commentators are by no means agreed about the exact meaning of *vaka*. I prefer to translate

Vainamoinen, old and steadfast.

Schiefner's rendering, here, is one of his worst, he translates "alt und wahrhaft."[4] This is peculiarly inappropriate, for Vaina-

[3] In many original ballads, however, the Creation is attributed to Vainamoinen.

[4] Paul, in the latest German version, has "brav and bieder," which is still farther from the original; the Swedish translator render the line "Gamle

moinen is very much in the habit of saying "the thing that is not," without any occasion whatever, and when he has one of these fits often upon him, it takes a long time before he comes to the end of his fabrications, and allows the truth to be ultimately forced from him. He was born old,[5] and although he woos several young girls he cannot persuade any of them to become his wife, notwithstanding his wealth and wisdom, and the natural anxiety of the mothers of the young ladies that he should succeed in his suit. One of the girls leaps into the water, and becomes a mermaid, and another prefers his brother, Ilmarinen, who is younger and handsomer. In the latter part of the poem, Vainamoinen is represented as the father of his people, and as leading the expedition undertaken by the heroes to carry off the Sampo, or talisman of plenty, from Pohyola (Lapland), and counteracting all the evils which Louhi, the witch-queen, endeavours to bring upon his country in revenge. Sometimes, too, he plays the part of Orpheus, and charms all beings with his music. In the final Runo, Vainamoinen is dethroned by the child of the virgin Maryatta, takes to his boat, and sails away for ever, like Hiawatha. Vainamoinen, however, has his weaknesses, and though "steadfast" is a term which is often applicable to him, he can be unmanly enough at times. On his first expedition to Pohyola, his horse, as light as a pea-stalk, on which he is riding over the water, is shot under him by Youkahainen, whom he has defeated in a singing duel, and whose sister Aino has thrown herself into the water, in consequence of being pledged by Youkahainen to Vainamoinen. The latter, after being tossed about by the waves for some time, is at length borne away by an eagle, and set down in a swamp opposite the castle of Pohyola, where he weeps for three days and nights, until Louhi is informed of the strange sounds. She starts off in her boat, and offers him her daughter, if he will forge the Sampo for her; but he is so thoroughly homesick that he begs her to send him home, and promises to send his brother Ilmarinen the smith instead. Ilmarinen suspects foul play, and refuses to go; but Vainamoinen entices him to the top of a magic tree, from whence he is wafted to Pohyola on the wings of the wind. Nothing is more curious in the Kalevala than the almost omnipotent power of the heroes at one moment, and their absolute impotence to overcome even a trifling obstacle at another time.

Trygge Wäinämoinen," and the French translate *raka* by "imperturbable, or "ferme."

[5] In the last Runo, however, the son of Maryatta reproaches him with the misdeeds of his youth.

Thus, Vainamoinen, notwithstanding this miracle, was quite unable to rescue himself either from the water or the swamp without the aid of the eagle and Louhi. The heroes dread most of all being lost in the swamps and forests.

The Sampo was forged by Ilmarinen for Louhi, from various magical substances with which she supplied him. There has been much discussion as to what this talisman (the name of which reminds us of the Sanpo River in Thibet) actually was. It appears to have been a kind of mill with three sides, on which corn, salt, and money were painted, and it had a brightly-coloured cover, to which great importance was attached. Three measures were also painted on it, and it used to grind three supplies of corn, for food, sale, and storage respectively. When Louhi hid it in a cavern of the stone mountain of Pohyola, it threw out three roots, and fixed itself so firmly that the strongest heroes could not even stir it till they had ploughed it up by the roots.

Ilmarinen, the second of the heroes, the Vulcan of the Kalevala, is represented as young, handsome, strong, and industrious, and much more honest and straightforward than Vainamoinen. However, he is a bad sailor, and dreads the dangers of the water. He declares frequently that he forged the dance of heaven ; but he fails in some of his enterprises. When Louhi steals the sun and moon, and hides them in the mountain, where not even Ukko can find them, Ilmarinen forges a new sun and moon, but they will give no light; and when he has lost his first wife, the daughter of Louhi, to whom he was tenderly attached, and for whose love he had performed many great deeds, he transforms her recalcitrant sister into a sea-gull, and then forges himself a third wife of gold and silver, to which he can impart no warmth, and which nearly freezes him to death.

The third hero of the Kalevala is Lemminkainen, also called Ahti, Kaukolæinen, or Kaukomieli. He is a dandy, like Longfellow's Pau-Puk-Keewis, to whom he has some points of resemblance, and whose name may be derived from one of his epithets. One of Schiefner's lines, of frequent occurrence,

> "Er, der schöne Kaukomieli,"

corresponds exactly to Longfellow's

> "He, the handsome Yenadizze."

He is described as young and handsome, with black hair, and of immense strength, but rash, impetuous, and foolhardy, and liable, like Vainamoinen, to allow himself to be grievously discouraged in

adversity. He is a proficient in magic, but much inferior in this respect to his mother, for whom he has the deepest affection and reverence, which is the redeeming feature in his character.

Wherever he goes he makes havoc with the fair sex, and therefore, notwithstanding his high breeding, and at times courtly manners, Louhi expressly refuses to invite him to her daughter's wedding with Ilmarinen; but he afterwards declares that only bad men go where they are invited, and good men invite themselves with their swords; so he forces his way through all manner of magical perils into the castle of Pohyola, which has been very strongly fortified against him, grossly insults the inmates, and after an unsatisfactory magical combat with the chief, finally slays him by stratagem in a duel with swords, and is then compelled to fly for his life in the shape of an eagle.

Kullervo, the fourth hero, does not belong to the brotherhood of the others. His father, Kalervo, and his uncle, Untamo, are at variance, and Untamo ravages Kalervo's farm, drives him away, and brings up the infant Kullervo as a slave. But Kullervo vows vengeance against Untamo in his cradle, like the heroes of some of the Danish ballads,[6] and Untamo makes fruitless efforts to destroy him. At last he abandons the attempt, and tries to turn his slave's superhuman strength to his own profit. But the one thought of Kullervo's life is revenge, and he can do no useful work either for Untamo, for Ilmarinen, to whom Untamo sells him, and whose wife he delivers over to the wolves and bears; nor even for his own father; and all his efforts at work only result in mischief. Kullervo is a more guilty Œdipus, pursued by the fearful consequences of his own and others' misdeeds, until he and nearly all his friends and enemies are involved in utter ruin and destruction.

His youthful feats evidently suggested these of Kwasind to Longfellow, although Longfellow, as usual, has avoided any very close imitation. Thus, when Untamo orders Kullervo to build a fence, he rears it to the clouds, but leaves no gate by which it is possible to pass it. In the corresponding passage in Hiawatha, Kwasind and his father find a forest-path blocked:

> "We must go back," said the old man,
> "O'er these logs we cannot clamber,
> Not a wood-chuck could get through them,
> Not a squirrel clamber o'er them."[7]

But Kwasind easily clears away the obstructions. We find the

[6] Compare "Sir Loumor" (Prior's Danish Ballads, vol. i. p. 29), &c.

[7] This passage, like several others in Hiawatha, exhibits a more clumsy versification than we ever find in Longfellow's models.

same vague general resemblance, with the details carefully altered, in other feats related of Kullervo and Kwasind, although the characters have nothing in common beyond their superhuman strength.

The Kalevala presents us with many passages of great delicacy of sentiment and expression, and sometimes of much pathos. Its moral tone, especially with reference to the domestic virtues, is far higher than we might expect to meet with in a poem of similar archaic character. There is hardly an immodest expression to be found in the whole book, not even in the account of the many amours of Lemminkainen. On the other hand, the descriptions of the various monstrous giants, beasts, birds, serpents, and fishes occasionally encountered by the heroes are generally full of grotesque and childish exaggerations. Thus we are told, concerning the great bull that was slaughtered for Ilmarinen's wedding-feast, that it would take a weasel a week to traverse his yoke, a swallow a whole day to fly from the tip of one horn to the other, and a squirrel more than a month to run from his shoulder to the tip of his tail. Some of the serpents might vie with those of the Mahabharata; and Lemminkainen finds the outer wall of the castle of Pohyola formed of wattled serpents, like the Hall of Serpents in Naströnd, described in the Edda, except that their heads are turned outwards instead of inwards.

However, resemblances between the Kalevala and the Edda are not very numerous. The ash Yggdrasil had three roots; so had the Sampo; and the Sampo itself suggests the mill in the Mill-song (Grottasöugr), and was likewise sunk in the sea. The constituents of which it was formed, too, though not the same, have some resemblance to those used by the dwarfs in the manufacture of the chain Gleipnir. It has been suggested that either Louhi or Lemminkainen is analogous to Loki; but I can see no resemblance between them. The real analogue of Loki is Hiisi, of whom we often hear in the Kalevala, though we do not make his actual acquaintance. Least of all can Louhi be identified with Loki, beyond the (probably accidental) similarity of name; for Louhi is a careful housewife and a good mother, and, except that she sets almost impossible tasks before her daughter's suitors (and she was fully justified in doing her best to get rid of Lemminkainen), she does not appear as the enemy of the heroes, until she is roused to fury by the loss of her husband and two of her daughters, and the robbery of the Sampo, which last calamity reduces her country to poverty and wretchedness. The misery of Pohyola and the plagues

which Louhi sends upon Vainamoinen and his people seem to me to indicate the date of this portion of the poem as about the latter half of the fourteenth century, when the Black Death, which would probably enter Finland from the north, and the atmospheric and terrestrial disturbances which accompanied it, would still be fresh in the minds of the people. Other portions of the poem are doubtless of different periods; and the last Runo, which exhibits curious traces of Christianity, is no doubt one of the latest of all. Maryatta, the shepherd-girl, is impregnated by swallowing a magic berry, and is sent by Ruotus (Herod), one of the head men of her village, who is represented as a rich fop and a bully, into a stable, where her child is born. Afterwards, when the child disappears from her lap, she inquires after him of a star, the moon, and the sun. The two first refuse to tell her, complaining that he created them to keep cold vigil through the night; but at last the sun directs her to him.

There is much local colouring in the Kalevala. Foreign countries are rarely mentioned at all, even those most nearly adjacent; and the sea is much less often alluded to than the vast lakes, swamps, and forests. The domestic economy and the daily lives and occupations of the Finns are portrayed in a very lively manner. We obtain a clear insight into the Finnish household, and the duties and relations of its various members. Women are usually treated with great respect, and are the companions and equals of their husbands. Occasionally, it is true, we hear of scolding wives and brutal husbands; but they are the exceptions, and not the rule. Parents and children live together on affectionate terms, and men frequently seek counsel from their mothers, another point of similarity between the Kalevala and the Danish Ballads,[8] in which latter, heroes often appeal to their mothers, or even to their nurses, in cases of difficulty.

Lönnrot has been called by his admirers the Finnish Homer, and some of the admirers of the Kalevala have gone so far as to compare it to the Iliad, which it certainly resembles in having been put together from the national ballads of a people. However, parallels occasionally occur, the most noticeable being perhaps the relations between Lemminkainen and his mother, who mourns over him sometimes like Thetis over Achilles. Sometimes, too, she speculates about his proceedings in a very similar way to that in which Helen in the third book of the Iliad, ponders over the fate of her brothers.

[8] "Habo and Signild," (Prior., i. p. 216); "Knight Stig's Wedding," ii. p. 339.

The metre of the Kalevala is approximately that of Hiawatha, but Finnish is a very compact language, and the short lines usually consist of three words only, sometimes two, and rarely four. In any Western European language, many more words are often required, so that it is difficult to give the exact force of the original. Nevertheless, a metrical translation could easily be made, both effective and fairly exact, whereas any prose translation would convey no real idea of the original. And although Schiefner's is the oldest translation of the second recension, and not always quite correct (as we have seen in his erroneous rendering of "vaka") it is still, on its own intrinsic merits, apart from its being probably the edition used by Longfellow, peculiarly well adapted to form the model of an English version. The Swedish versions are in the same metre, and read equally smoothly; so, I believe, is the Hungarian; the French is in prose.

It is somewhat remarkable that a poem like the Kalevala, so interesting to students of almost every branch of antiquarian and ethnological research, and to those who love literature for its own sake, should not be better known in England, though it has not infrequently formed the subject of magazine articles, and is sometimes noticed in books on Folk-Lore, as, for instance, in Mr Andrew Lang's *Custom and Myth*, pp. 156-179.

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EXOGAMY AND POLYANDRY.

IN the January number of the *Historical Review*, a paper by the late Mr. McLennan is published which elaborates his theory, mentioned but slightly in *Studies in Ancient History* (p. 75), as to the origin of exogamy. "We believe," he says at the latter reference, "this restriction on marriage to be connected with the practice in early times of female infanticide, which, rendering women scarce, led at once to polyandry within the tribe and the capturing of women from without." To emphasize the fact that it was "a limitation on the *exercise* of the right of marriage among kindred," Mr. Donald McLennan brings forward some curious evidence for the purpose of proving that though the right of *marriage* was restricted by the laws of exogamy, the right of less regular intercourse was not thereby abolished. If this evidence is to be accepted, it will have an important bearing upon the origin, not only of exogamy but of polyandry. For clearly if the right of less regular intercourse than marriage survived after the introduction of exogamy into polyandrous society, such a right is of course assumed to have existed with purely polyandrous society. Here we are met with Mr. McLennan's definition of polyandry as "a modification of promiscuity."[1] It would seem that we must either give up this definition of polyandry, or

[1] *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 94-95.

refuse to accept Mr. Donald McLennan's application of periodical promiscuity as evidence bearing on the origin of exogamy. If we examine the custom of periodical promiscuity, it will, I think, assist us in determining which of these alternatives is necessary.

Mr. Donald McLennan instances the tribes about Port Lincoln in South Australia, the Turra tribe also in South Australia, tribes in the Adelaide district, and the tribes of the Riverina district,[2] as evidence that at some periodical festival class rules of marriage established by exogamy did not operate, and that hence exogamy did not necessarily limit anything but marriage rights. What we have first to note is, that such festivals are in many cases held for the express purpose of creating marriage ties between the sexes, and not for over-stepping the bounds which already regulate this institution. Thus among the Australian tribes themselves, the Wa-imbios, "when there was a great gathering at corrobborees, wives were exchanged but always within class limits."[3] The Watch-andies too are described by Mr. Oldfield as holding a grand semi-religious festival in the spring, for the express purpose of instituting marriage rights, one peculiarity of the customs then practised being the construction of artificial pits in the ground where the males reside during the festival.[4] This very singular custom is to be found elsewhere, namely, among one of the tribes of India, the Bhondas of Jaypur. "A number of youths, candidates for matrimony, start off for a village where they hope to find a corresponding number of young women and make known their wishes to the elders, who receive them with all due ceremony. They proceed to excavate an underground chamber, if one is not already prepared, having an aperture at the top admitting one at a time; into this the young gentlemen with a corresponding number of young girls are introduced when they make their selection, after which they ascend out of it, each holding the young lady of his choice by the forefinger of one of her hands."[5] In this case presumably exogamy as between village and village is held to be the rule. Two other instances may be quoted from India, where the class rule is not so observable, though judging by the almost universal practice it undoubtedly exists. The Meris of the plain in the Lakhimpur district have a custom whereby "at one season of the year the adult unmarried males and females of a village spend several days and nights together in one

[2] *Historical Review*, pp. 99-100.

[3] Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 290.

[4] *Journ. Ethnological Soc.*, new ser. ii. 230. These pits are curiously described by Mr. Oldfield as examples of the grossest forms of phallic worship.

[5] *Indian Antiquary*, ii. 237.

large building, and if couples manage to suit each other they pair off and marry."[6] Among the Coorgs "on some great day, a family would call together the whole gráma (village), that is, all the families of one of the rice-valleys girt with farm houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives."[7]

We meet with the same kind of thing among the Kafirs of Natal, among whom, at the festival of circumcision and arrival of womanhood, the two sexes mix indiscriminately with the result that if children are born the parents are married.[8]

These examples are perhaps sufficient to show that the periodical festivals to which Mr. Donald McLennan has given prominence, must not be taken as proof of an over-riding of exogamous marriage rights, and a return to endogamous promiscuity. By far the greater number of these festivals, and they occur nearly all over the world, are held for the express purpose of instituting marriage, and they are identified, as in the case of the Bhondas, with the rule of exogamy. May we go a step beyond this tentative result and ask if they explain any stage in the history of primitive marriage?

If we take temporary monandry to be the earliest marriage-condition, answerable to Mr. McLennan's theory of promiscuity, and polyandry to have arisen out of this, the conditions of Nair polyandry, as the earliest form, are important to note. The Nair woman has attached to her two males or four or perhaps more, but she is free to cohabit with any number of men; a Nair man may be one in several combinations of husbands.[9] This is quite in accordance with the facts of polyandry elsewhere, as for instance, among the Kandyans of Ceylon where the evidence proves a man to have had fifteen wives, and a woman thirteen husbands.[10] But we get a further important fact in connection with Nair polyandry, namely, that cohabitation takes place according to rules. What these rules were we do not quite know, except that their object was to regulate

[6] Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, i., 343.

[7] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, p. 132.

[8] MacLean's *Kafir Laws and Customs*, 98, 101, 126.

[9] *Studies in ancient History*, 100, 101. This account is derived from slightly different versions given in *Asiatic Researches*, v., 13, Hamilton *Account of the East Indies*, i., 308, and Buchanan's *Journey*, ii., 411, but which Mr. McLennan accepts as "consistent with the three accounts."

[10] *Journ. Ethnological Soc.*, ii. new ser. 292.

the period during which each husband lived with the common wife. Let us assume that pure polyandry had ceased to obtain in any given society, and new forms of marriage had taken its place, and we may well conceive that a periodical marriage festival might mark the new stage. As a matter of fact, polyandry has ceased in all the tribes that have been cited as affording examples of periodical marriage festivals. If these festivals answered Mr. Donald McLennan's explanation, they would at least be found generally, if not always, to obtain within polyandrous tribes who capture their wives from without. But this is not the case. As these festivals are not found amongst existing polyandrous tribes, nor amongst bride capturing tribes, and as in the case of the Coorgs and the Kafirs they are found when tribal development has passed forward to the stage of reckoning kinship through males and of polygamy, there seems to be evidence that the influences which brought about such rites show us both exogamy and polyandry in a state of decay, instead of, according to Mr. Donald McLennan, "exogamy operating within its original limits."[11]

It is most singular that this proposition may be best shown by the evidence of British custom, and it will doubtless not be unacceptable to the student if the case under this head is stated rather fully. We will first notice the evidence for the existence of polyandry in Britain, and will then examine some survivals in custom which can be best explained, or perhaps may be only explained, by the theory of their direct descent from polyandry.

Mr. McLennan relied upon the well-known passage in Cæsar relating to British custom for proof of an exceedingly rude type of polyandry, only less rude indeed than the earliest type of all, Nair polyandry; but Mr. Fison objects to this evidence on the ground that it really proves group-marriage as he shows it to have prevailed among the Australian blacks.[12] It seems clear, however, that Mr. McLennan's reading of the passage is correct, particularly in view of the clause, habentur liberi a quibus primum virgines quaque ductae sunt, which can only mean that there being doubt about the paternity of the children they were considered as belonging to him who first espoused the woman.[13] If it were a group act—several men marrying several women—no such arrangement could be applicable. Accepting Mr. McLennan's view, then, what we have next

[11] *Historical Review*, p. 101.

[12] Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 146.

[13] Compare Strabo's account of Arabia (xvi. 4) quoted in Robertson's *Kinship in early Arabia*, 133, and see notes to the *Irish Nennius*, p. lv.

to enquire is—does Cæsar's notice exhaust the evidence as to British polyandry ?

It seems to be confirmed by the remarkable story reported by Dion (B. lxxvi. Sec. 16) which is as follows: "The wife of Argentocoxus, a certain Caledonian, said to Julia Augusta, who taunted her, that mixedly they united with their husbands: 'we accomplish these things which necessity demands from nature much better than you Romans; for we have openly intercourse with the best men; but you, secretly, the worst men pollute with adulteries.'"

Other classical authorities allude to the practise of an almost unregulated promiscuity from which Mr. McLennan has by evidence proved polyandry was developed. It seems more probable that these descriptions are the extreme "moralist" views of classical writers rather than strictly accurate descriptions, but whether they tend to prove "utter promiscuity" or whether they really refer to a misunderstood system of polyandry the evidence is material to the matter now in view. Strabo (bk. iv.) says: "The inhabitants of Hibernia, more wild than the Britons, esteemed it decent to live openly not only with other women, but even with their mothers and sisters;" and St. Jerome likewise observes that the nation of the Scots (*i.e.* Irish) had not particular wives. Again Solinus referring to the island of Thule says, "they used women in common; certain marriage to none. Even the King of the Hebrides had no wife of his own, but took *by turns* the use of any woman he desired; so that he could neither wish nor hope for children." (Solinus c. 22.)

A curious passage in Giraldus Cambrensis may, perhaps, contain a tradition of the purer polyandry in Wales, "Tegengl is the name of a province in North Wales . . the same word also was the name of a certain woman with whom it was said each brother had an intrigue, from which circumstance arose this term of reproach 'To have Tegengl, after Tegengl had been in possession of his brother.'"[14] There are also traces of it among the Eddaic lays where it is attributed to Woden and his brothers and where though it is considered as disgraceful it is proposed to Brunhild.[15] It seems to be some confirmation of the view that these references point to the existence of polyandry in Britain, that it was most probably accompanied by female infanticide, the cause in Mr. McLennan's opinion of its first and universal institution, for it is permissible to suggest as parallel evidence, in want of direct evi-

[14] *Description of Wales*, lib. i., cap. xiv.

[15] Vigfusson and Powell's *Sigfred Arminius and other papers*, p. 84.

dence, the custom once surviving among the Prussians of killing all the daughters except one.[16]

We may next examine some survivals in custom with a view of ascertaining whether the evidence of polyandry from the early authorities is confirmed by such evidence. Now there is a custom well known to have existed in Scotland in comparatively recent times, known by the name of *hand-fasting*, and an examination of the various forms of this custom will, I venture to think, supply a curious chapter in the history of polyandry, and will help us to understand the periodical festivals which Mr. Donald McLennan has sought to identify with exogamy.

The word so far from being identified with Scotland is pure Saxon, *hand-fæstan* and *hand-fæstung* being found in Saxon speech and in the cognate Icelandic, Swedish and Danish languages,[17] to mean a pledge by giving of the hand. A definition is to be found also in the *Glossarium Suio-Gothicum*: "hand-fæstning, promissio quæ fit stipulata manu, sive cives fidem suam principi spondeant, sive mutuam inter se, matrimonium inituri, a phrasi fæsta hand, quæ notat dextram dextræ jungere." These facts clearly take the word out of the limited range of Scottish custom and place it as a custom of the Gothic races who overran Scotland and England alike.[18]

In turning to the evidence of the custom, apart from the name, of hand-fasting, it is found to be most commonly marriage by a simple pledge, which did not mean a marriage sanctioned by the Church, though indirectly recognized by the state. Pennant points

[16] See Elton *Origins of English History*, p. 92.

[17] See Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s. v.

[18] A very suggestive passage occurs in Mr. Freeman's account of the marriages of the Norman Dukes, which is worth quoting: "Rolf and Popa were probably married, as the phrase was, 'Danish fashion,' which, in the eyes of the Church, was the same as not being married at all. A woman in such a position might, almost at pleasure, be called either wife or concubine, and might be treated as either the one or the other. Her children might, as happened to be convenient, be branded as bastards or held as entitled to every right of legitimate birth. Rolf put away Popa when he married King Charles' daughter, and when King Charles' daughter died, he took Popa back again. So William, Popa's son, put away Sporta, the mother of his son Richard, when he married Lindgardis of Vermandois. This strange laxity with regard to marriage though spoken of as something specially Danish, was in truth hardly more Danish than Frankish. The private history of the Frankish Kings, Merwings and Karlings alike, is one long record of the strangest conjugal relations. Ordinary concubinage is not amazing anywhere; what stands out specially conspicuous in the history of these kings—nowhere more conspicuous than in the history of these kings—is the liberty which they assumed of divorcing their queens at pleasure, and sometimes of having several acknowledged queens at once." Freeman's *Norm. Conq.* i. 203, 204.

out an instance in the reign of James II. of Scotland when James Sixth Earl of Murray took advantage of the custom with Isabel Innes daughter of the laird of Innes.[19] In Brand's *Popular Antiquities* is quoted a curious passage from *The Christen State of Matrimony*, 1543, from which it may be inferred that the custom was pretty general at that time. In Ireland it existed apparently in a very rude form. A couplet from Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, 1581, says:

> Now ere the lorde sitts downe
> With concubine or wife
> Whereof he often makes exchaunge
> In compasse of his life ;

and a marginal note explains that the "Irishe Karne euery yeare once or twice peraduenture make exchaunge of their wiues, as thei like them so will thei keepe them for thei will not be bounde to them." Campion in his *Historie of Ireland*, (p. 23) says, "they can bee content to marrie for a yeare and a day by probation and at the yeare's end to returne her home uppon any light quarrells if the gentlewoman's friendes bee weake and unable to avenge the injurie." O'Donovan in his notes to the *Book of Rights*, (p. 243) mentions a current tradition at Telltown, County Meath, which records that all "marriages which took place in the Kingdom were celebrated there in Pagan times, but the contract lasted for twelve months only, at the expiration of which the parties might separate if they pleased."[20]

In Wales the same custom prevailed as we learn upon the evidence of Giraldus. He relates that "they do not engage in marriage until they have previously tried the disposition and particularly the fecundity of the person with whom they are engaged. An ancient custom also prevails of hiring girls from their parents at a certain price and a stipulated penalty in case of relinquishing their connection."[21] This custom certainly lasted down to the reign of Edward I., for it is to be identified with that looseness of the marriage bond which was one of the offences against Llewellyn recorded by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1282.[22]

Except the fact that the handfast marriage lasted for a year and a day these examples of the custom do not afford much clue to its

[19] *Tour in Scotland*, p. 81. Millar in his *Origin of Ranks*, 1806, mentions existence of the custom in Scotland, p. 20.

[20] *The Irish Nennius*, pp. 179, 182, gives an early example of this loosenes of the marriage tie.

[21] Giraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wales*, lib. ii., cap. vi.

[22] O'Curry's *Manners, etc. of Ancient Irish:* introd. p. clxxviii.

origin. Pennant advances a foolish theory that it originated "from the want of clergy in this county in the days of popery." A writer in *The Statistical Account of Scotland* has something more significant to say. Noticing that the example he quotes occurred at a place "only a small distance from the Roman encampment of Castle-o'er,' he goes on to ask, "may not the handfasting have taken its rise from their [the Roman] manner of celebrating marriage, ex usu, by which if a woman with the consent of her parents or guardians lived with a man for a year without being absent three nights, she became his wife?"[23]

The suggestive analogy between the Roman law and the Scottish custom indicates the true question which must be asked concerning the origin of this custom, is handfasting a degraded relic of a once well-established law of civilized society, or is it survival, pure and simple, of archaic custom which had not succumbed to the reforming powers of Christianity? If we consider that the Roman law of usus, so far as it affected marriage, was a provision of the Twelve Tables and that at the time of Gaius it had already fallen into desuetude (i. 111) it is difficult to see how it could have been transplanted to the distant colony of Britain, and that too, not as a decaying law, but as a law vigorous enough to assert itself among alien people and for centuries after its meaning had been lost. Neither can it have descended from a local observance of the later Roman law which became incorporated into Scottish law, because in the code of Justinian it no longer finds a place. We therefore fail to find any explanation of the custom of handfasting as a degraded relic of a once civilized ceremony and we are forced to make the only alternative enquiry, is it a survival in more or less completeness of archaic custom once prevalent among rude tribes? And it may be pointed out here, that if this should actually be the case, the history of this custom may prove to supply a clue to the origin of the Roman law of usus. The two cases would then be put thus. Among the Romans the rude practice of their barbarian ancestors got filtered down to the smallest dimensions, and in this shape was allowed a place in their earliest code of law, only, however, to exist in a decaying state until eventually it dropt out all together. In Britain the self same rude practices of barbarian ancestors became stereotyped into local custom, and without at any time having the force of national law lived on to a later age in much the same fashion as its parallel existed in early Rome. But then there would be an archaic form

[23] Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*. xii., 615.

of the custom from which both Roman and British examples have descended, and it is this form we must discover before it is possible satisfactorily to enter upon any enquiry as to its origin.

There certainly exist forms of the ceremonial attached to handfasting which have been strangely overlooked. To my mind they supply some important details which are absent from the simple forms more generally known. The first example is to be obtained from the Eskdale custom. The earliest account of it that I have met is to be found in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, 1774. A nearly identical account is given in Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1794, and this has been transcribed into Ellis's edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. Pennant's version is as follows: "Among the various customs now obsolete the most curious was that of Handfisting, in use about a century past. In the upper part of Eskdale, at the confluence of the white and black Esk, was held an annual fair where multitudes of each sex repaired. The unmarried looked out for mates, made their engagements by joining hands, or by handfisting, went off in pairs, cohabited till the next annual return of the fair, appeared there again and then were at liberty to declare their approbation or dislike of each other. If each party continued constant, the handfisting was renewed for life; but if either party dissented, the engagement was void, and both were at full liberty to make a new choice but with this proviso, that the inconstant was to take charge of the offspring of the year of approbation." A still more curious form of the custom obtained in the parish of Campbeltown, which we are told formerly consisted of four distinct parishes, two of which were respectively dedicated to St. Cowie and St. Couslan. "These two saints held very different ideas in respect to marriage. Couslan inculcated the indissolubility of the marriage tie, and if lovers could not marry, their joining hands together through a hole in a small pillar near his church was held an interim tie of fidelity so strong and sacred that no one would ever break it." This ritual at the stone is extremely interesting as a survival from pre-Christian times. But now we turn to the district presided over by Cowie. He is said to have instituted "an annual solemnity at which all the unhappy couples in his parish were to assemble at the church: at midnight all present were blindfolded, and ordered to run round the church at full speed. At a particular moment the word *cabbay* (seize quickly) was pronounced, upon which every man laid hold of the first female he met with, who was his wife till the next anniversary."[24]

[24] Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 168. With these two remarkable cus-

These examples of handfast marriages, as they may be called, throw an altogether different light upon the subject. Getting rid of the modern terminology we unquestionably have here remnants of old tribal custom. What is first to be noted is, that these examples no longer identify the practice with the mere will or fancy of individuals. It is essentially a tribal act taking place at fixed intervals. Such a form must necessarily be older than the instances of individual handfast unions, and we may therefore safely turn to it for an explanation of the origin of the custom.

Supposing the custom to be in full operation, the following important points are presented for consideration as the result of its normal working:

(1) The periodical [annual] practice of the custom.

(2) The obvious fact that the "unhappiness" of the temporary union is only a modern gloss upon the old practice of changing wives.

(3) The possibility of all the women in course of time, the custom being regularly kept up, becoming handfasted to all the men.

(4) The consequent uncertainty, during the normal operation of the custom, of male parentage.

(5) The necessity therefore of an original recognition of kinship through females, though in the modern practice the inconstant takes the child.

But all these practices are so little removed from the Nair type of polyandry with its system (1) of periodical regulation between a wife and her several husbands and (2) of both wives and husbands entering into several combinations of marriage groups, that it seems only necessary to seek for an explanation of the stoppage of female infanticide and the consequent restoration of a balance in the numbers of the two sexes to account for the institution of these periodical marriage festivals. In the case of the Scottish examples now under examination this may be traced to the surrounding civilization which favoured the state of inter-tribal peace, the consequent restoration of a balance between the sexes, and which recognised monogamy as the only form of marriage.[25] The poly-

toms may be compared another which existed at Canway, Argyllshire. On Michælmas day, every man mounted his horse unfurnished with saddle and took behind him either some young girl, or his neighbour's wife, and they rode from the village to a certain cross and back again. After the procession, the females entertained the companions of their ride. Guthrie, ibid 166.

[25] Skene's *Celtic Scotland* iii. 138, says, "The lax relations between the sexes which still survived must have been checked and controlled."

androus tribe which met this tide of new influences would have to fall back upon customs partly answering to their own stage of development and partly answering to the new theory of social morality, and in this way would evolve a system which might perhaps be termed handfast-polyandry.

This seems to me to be the only reasonable conclusion to be obtained from a consideration of the evidence as it appears in British custom. The clear parallels which the handfast ceremonial supplies to the savage festivals must go a long way in determining the origin of both the civilized and savage custom as a crystallization of customs arising from outside influences. If we took the savage examples in some detail, it would be found that nearly all the conditions set forth in the British survivals were paralleled. For instance, there is much to show that all savage tribes who have these festivals exhibit a state of arrested progress. The Australians on the evidence of Messrs. Fison and Howitt show this; the Indian tribes of the Miris and the Coorgs are certainly influenced from the plains, and while now following more advanced customs, show distinct traces of pure polyandry and female kinship; the Kafirs of Natal, while recognizing male kinship and practising polygamous marriages, also reveal traces of the older system. The periodical marriage festivals could not be the result of tribal legislation, and without this cause for its existence it needs some other powerful and general cause which might well be found in a polyandrous society meeting an outside force which checked its normal development and turned it aside into a bye-path.

We will take the Coorg example in detail. (1) Its periodical marriage festival is a close parallel to the British handfasting. (2) Existing custom shows advanced notions of social organization such as we know the Teutonic conquerors of Britain shewed, namely kinship through males, succession being to sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons in the order named;[26] the family group consists of two or three generations under the headship of the senior male member.[27] (3) Survivals of more ancient custom show that women held property and could choose their husbands;[28] that blood feuds between clan and clan existed;[29] that exogamy was practiced, bride and bridegroom being of two different village communities;[30] that bride-capture

[26] Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, 131.
[27] *Ibid.*, 121.
[28] *Ibid.*, 120-121.
[29] *Ibid.*, 128. [30] *Ibid.*, 134.

was once practised;[31] and finally that polyandry was practised.[32] And (4) the tide of opposing influences from a higher surrounding civilization is shown to have influenced social development in Coorg by the fact that "the present marriage rites conform to the Hindu usages,"[33] and are therefore the result of Hindu civilization upon the ruder people.

If we carefully consider these points, it will be found that the Coorg forms an exact parallel to the British evidence all along the line. If, then, the British and the Coorg may be taken as types of periodical festivals at which marriage rites are instituted; if we there see exogamy and polyandry in a state of decay, not in a state of normal working; and if we can point to the probable cause of this decay, it seems impossible to admit, with Mr. Donald McLennan, that periodical festivals, such as he has drawn attention to, illustrate the rule of "exogamy operating within its original limits."

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

[31] *After* the wedding the bride is locked up in her mother's house for two months as a close prisoner. *Ibid.*, 124.

[32] Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore* . Mr. Richter denies that polyandry once existed, but there is no reason to doubt the evidence of the authorities he quotes —see *Manual of Coorg*, 139—except on the ground of the immorality of the proceeding, which is of course not scientific argument. Cf. McLennan, p. 97; *Indian Antiquary*, ii. 182.

[33] Richter, pp. 133, 134.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

No. 4. NATIVE TRIBES IN THE INTERIOR OF LAGOS (WEST AFRICA).

THE Jebus, Ibadans, Oyos, and Modakekes do not make human sacrifices. The Ifes are the only people of the countries through which the late mission passed, in which human sacrifices were made, and who have not declared for the abolition of the custom. The Ifes consider themselves the fathers of mankind, the conservators of the world, and the special priests of the deities, and say if they do not propitiate the gods the whole world will spoil.

According to Ondo custom 16 human sacrifices at the very least would have been made on the occasion of their King's death and funeral.

One is to be killed when the corpse is washed, a second at the

gate leading to the King's harem, a third and fourth at the entrances of the two council meeting courts, a fifth near the pathway in the King's street, and a sixth at the market place. All these immolations would have been made before the day of the funeral. When the burial takes place at least 10 persons and a cat would have been buried either alive or dead in his grave to attend (as they believe) his spirit in the unseen world. The commissioner was told that the number of victims on this occasion might have been much larger as the late King had reigned long and became very wealthy. After the burial, and during the three lunar months which must elapse before a new King be installed, several of the King's wives and slaves who had been eyed by the Chiefs for some misbehaviour might be hunted out and murdered in cold blood. Even the ceremonies of installing a new King are accompanied with some human sacrifices.

The men of Jebu are, as a rule, tall and independent-looking, and although for the most part they wear the usual country cloth, it is not unusual to see the flowing robes and loose trousers after the Mahomedan style.

The women in general are short and ugly, and given to disfiguring themselves by streaking their faces with the juice, which resembles lamp-black, of the fruit of a tree called Buje, or by dyeing them red with camwood, or yellow with a paste made from sandstone, the last-named substance producing a most ghastly appearance. We saw some women who had dyed their feet with camwood to resemble red slippers; others had one nostril pierced and a red bead inserted. They wear the ordinary native cloths, and their ornaments consist of brass chains, iron, brass, lead and bead bracelets, Niger-glass armlets, and strings of beads and cowries. The population seem much addicted to revelry; drum-beating and singing were kept up pretty well all night during the time the commissioners were in the capital.

A good many blacksmiths were at work in the town making hatchets, &c., from iron bars imported from Lagos; with the emblem of their sacrifice to Ogun (god of iron), a dog's head, nailed up in a conspicuous place in their workshops.

So far as could be ascertained the Jebus do not kill human beings for sacrifice, but they have an annual sacrifice at Jebu Ode to Obanta (Oba = King, Nita = in the street, *i.e.*, god of state), when a man and a woman are sent into the bush as scape goats for the nation, and are supposed to be taken by the god. As a matter of fact, however, the scape goats generally manage to make their way

to a village called Aha, not far from Oru, which is inhabited solely by people who have undergone a similar trial, where they live unmolested, but they are not allowed to return to any town or village in Jebu. If the victims die in the bush, it is said that the god has accepted them, and if they reach the village it is merely put down to the god's rejecting them. It is supposed that the Awujale has private human sacrifices, but we could learn nothing definite about this.

While the commissioners were conversing it came on to rain slightly and the orderly opened and held over them an umbrella. The Balogun, who was sitting on a camp stool close by us, suddenly discovered the umbrella and darted off with his stool some two or three yards distance in a terrible fright lest the shadow of the umbrella should fall on him.

The umbrella in Jebu is the symbol of sovereignty, none but the King being allowed to use one, and so sacred is this privilege considered that, we were informed, it is death for any Jebu to use an umbrella, and it was amusing to see how people started away from us lest the shadow even of our umbrella should fall upon them.

In Ibadan in every street are fetish houses, small, round, mud structures, with cone-shaped, thatched roofs, some of them capable of holding a couple of persons, and in these devotees sit and meditate; while others are much smaller, and have little wooden images in front of them, which are generally liberally streaked with the blood of a fowl offered in sacrifice, and inside the fetish houses there is generally a small pot of water, an offering to the god.

Many of the women dye their faces and feet red, but do not disfigure them like the Jebus with buje, and the hideous yellow paste is seldom seen. Their ornaments, which are few, are principally silver and brass rings, brass, bead and cowrie armlets, and charms. The children have brass ear-rings and anklets and numerous charms. The men's ornaments are similar to those of the women, and both dress in the usual native cloths, the Mahomedans, of course, adhering to their peculiar dress.

Many of the wealthy Chiefs have upwards of a thousand wives, and minor individuals as many as they can afford to keep. The senior Christian in Ibadan had had 17 wives before being baptised, but had managed to dispose of them all but one.

The eldest son is heir to all his father's property, and on his father's decease takes his wives, save his own mother, who goes to

live with the deceased's eldest brother unless the son provides a separate house for her.

Girls are given in marriage by the parents, but a King or Chief's daughter marries or lives with whom she pleases and changes her consort as often as she likes. A woman under the rank of a Chief's daughter, on becoming a widow, goes to live with her late husband's relatives, and if she marries again the second aspirant to her hand and heart has to pay to these relatives a dowry equal to that which was paid by the first husband for the lady.

Laws in Ibadan are passed by the Council of Chiefs, in which any member may propose a law, all questions being decided by the majority, subject, however, to a veto in the Head Chief. They are promulgated by being proclaimed by the town criers, and their enforcement is left to the Chiefs in their several quarters of the town. Cases of life and death are heard by the Head Chief in Council, who alone can pass sentence of death. If a criminal is condemned to death for murder or serious wounding, he is handed over to the Ogbonis, and executed by them in their house, and the head nailed to the tree in the market place, which is counted a curse. The body is not shown, but supposed to be thrown into a pit, said to be in the Ogboni's house. Theft is seldom punished by death, the imposition of a fine or imprisonment in fetters being the usual penalty, but when sheep or horse stealing or burglary become prevalent an example is made, and the condemned prisoner is executed by the stool of the god Ogun in the market place by the sword bearers of the Chiefs, who place the head on the stool where it remains, but the body, unlike that of a prisoner executed by the Ogbonis, can be bought and removed by the relatives of the deceased, and this form of execution is considered the least degrading. Minor cases are heard and decided by each Chief in his own quarter of the town, but heavy fines and imprisonment in fetters can only be inflicted by the Head Chief. There are no police, the apprehension of offenders being left to the people at large. When thieves are known to have entered the town—and it is curious how quickly their presence is discovered—the public criers go round warning people to look after their belongings and to shut up their houses well at night.

The Bale is the Head Chief of the town, and is chosen by Chiefs, subject to the approval of the Alafin. He appoints the Balogun (war Chief), Otun Bale (right hand of the Bale), Osi Bale (left hand of the Bale), both civil Chiefs, and the Seriki (second war Chief), and a host of minor dignitaries. At the present time the titles of

Bale, Osi Bale, and Seriki are in abeyance, the Chiefs who had held them having died during the present war.

In former times when the Ibadans began a war they paid the Ifes to offer a human sacrifice at Ile Ife to Ogun (god of war and iron) on their behalf, but when the present war, which commenced, one may say, with the revolt of the Ekitiparapo and the raids of the Egbas into Ibadan territory, broke out it was not considered of sufficient importance to require a sacrifice. Later, when the war assumed a more serious aspect than had been expected, the Chiefs wished the customary sacrifice to be offered, but the then Are, being a Mahomedan, overruled them, and none was made. When, however, the Are died at Kiji camp, in August 1885, a slave was sacrificed, the Ibadans attributing their inability to overcome their enemies to the neglect they had shown to the god of war. The last time on which human beings are said to have been sacrificed at the funeral of a Chief was on the death of the late Basorun (the highest title next to Alafin in the Yoruba country) in 1867, but whether there really was any human sacrifice on that occasion is uncertain; we could learn nothing to make us consider it otherwise than mere rumour. It may therefore be said that the Ibadans do not practise human sacrifice, for even in the instance of the war sacrifice, they retain the services of the Ifes to perform the rite.

Ibadan (Iba=ambuscade, Odan=grass field) was originally inhabited by the Egbas, who were driven out by the Jebus and Ifes about the year 1813, and took refuge at Abeokuta (Abe=under, Okuta=stone), their present town. When the Yoruba country was invaded by the Fellatahs about 1820-1 many of the Yoruba people settled in Ibadan, and subsequently increasing in numbers they waged successful wars against the Jebus and Ifes, and compelled them eventually to leave the town.

The musical instruments of the Ibadans consist of drums (ilu), cow horns (ipe), wooden instruments, a cross between a trumpet and a flute, and a rude imitation of the guitar, a two-stringed instrument named molu. The flutes are of three kinds, the fami fami about two feet in length, giving a loud sound as of a trumpet, the ekutu somewhat shorter and less powerful, and the fere, not unlike in size and tone to the English flute, but in all three kinds the holes in the cylinder are stopped by the fingers and not by keys, and the music produced, both by flutes, drums, horns, and guitars, is most discordant to European ears, although there is a certain amount of harmony in it, and time is observed. The dancing indulged in is much the same as is found in all African countries, and

consists mostly of posturing, a single man or woman dancing only at a time.

It was formerly the custom among the Fiditi for the eldest son, who bore the title of Aremo, to reign with his father, at whose decease he was supposed "to go to sleep," *i.e.*, to kill himself, the Yorubas having a proverb that "a man cannot serve the father and the son," and the successor to the throne, who must be a descendant of a person who had worn the crown, was chosen from another branch of the royal line. The late Alafin Adelu, however, declined on his father's death either "to go to sleep" or to cease to reign, hence his rupture with the Are, and the destruction of Ijaye. On the death of Adelu, his son, Lawani, attempted to follow his father's example, but he had proved himself so cruel and overbearing when he was Aremo that the Oyos would not have him as King, and he was forced to fly. The present Alafin, who is a brother of Adelu, was then elected King, so that the ancient custom of succession has been completely set aside in these last-named rulers.

Mr. Johnson told the commissioners that in interpreting before the Alafin he had to be most careful to choose his words, as court etiquette was most strict in reference to the language used, and words which have more than one distinct meaning, of which there are many in the Yoruba language, cannot be spoken if one of the meanings is in any way objectionable.

The Alafin is supreme judge and decides all cases of importance, and he alone can pass sentence of death. The Basorun, the Chief next in rank to the Alafin in the whole Yoruba country, resides at Oyo, and advises the King. The title is hereditary, there being a Basorun line, but the individual of the line who is to bear the title is selected by the Alafin. The Alafin also appoints the Are Onakakanfo (generalissimo), who may be a native of any place and reside where he pleases. The honour has generally been bestowed on some wealthy and troublesome Chief to keep him quiet. There is no Bale in Oyo, the King residing there, but there are innumerable Chiefs of different grades and titles.

Human sacrifice is not practised, so far as we could ascertain, among the Oyos, but the Oyos have a proverb that "when the King dies the ground spoils," *i.e.*, there are many burials; and there is little doubt that the principal wives and slaves of an Alafin disappear at his death. They are supposed to kill themselves; whether, however, they really make away with themselves or are slaughtered was not made quite clear. There is a curious legend that the

body of a deceased Alafin is cut up and buried in different parts of the town, but nothing authentic could be learnt on this point.

Father Baudin has been travelling about the Yoruba country for a number of years, and is said to be a perfect master of the Yoruba language. He has written a book of his experiences, and has also compiled a Yoruba-French dictionary, and he is thoroughly conversant with the customs of the country, and the rites of fetishism.

The marks worn on the faces of Yorubas are of five distinct kinds, denoting the principal families; and these, again, are divided by slight differences in breadth or direction. The Abaja marks are divided into two classes, the Abaja Mefa ≡ ≡, six horizontal cuts on the cheek, being peculiar to the Alafin and his family, and the Abaja Mejo ≣ ≣, eight horizontal lines on either cheek, worn by all slaves born in the royal household. The Abaja Mejo marks are also used by the Basorun line, but the cuts are not so broad or deep as those worn by the royal slaves.

The Keke marks are also of two kinds, the Keke and the Keke Olowu or Olowu Odan. The first are also perpendicular marks down each side of the face, and are worn by the Olokunesin, and one or two other tribes. The second are only to be found on middle-aged or old people, now having gone out of fashion, and consist of short perpendicular cuts in lines from the sides of the head to the jaw, where they turn inwards to each side of the mouth. The marks worn by the Onikoyi, Olugbon, and Aresa, three vassal Kings, and their people are ≣ four parallel horizontal cuts on each cheek. The Pele, ||| and the Gombo ≡ marks are peculiar to the Mahomedans, but are fast dying out, the Mahomedans having given up marking their children. The first are three short perpendicular cuts on either cheek, and the second three parallel horizontal lines on either cheek. The Abaja Olowu cuts |||≡, three short perpendicular and three short horizontal marks, on the cheeks are worn by the Owu people, who formerly used the Olowu Odan marks.

There was a severe thunderstorm while the commissioners were at the interview, and a house was struck by lightning and set on fire in Mesi Ipole, the flames being plainly visible in the Ibadan camp. All the Ogbonis in the Ibadan camp turned out and paraded the streets with drums beating and loud praisings of Sango (god of thunder) who had deigned to visit the earth in the form of lightning. If a person is killed by lightning in the Yoruba country the body is considered almost sacred and the spirit is supposed to have gone to Sango. If any one is stunned by lightning and the Ogbonis hear of it they very quickly despatch the unfortunate creature to Sango,

saying that it was clear that the god wanted the person and, therefore, it was not right for such a person to continue to live. There is a story told of a woman at Ibadan, who was struck by lightning and stunned, but who recovered in a short time from the shock. The Ogbonis did not hear of this occurrence for some days afterwards, but immediately on being informed of it some of their society proceeded to the woman's house. They found the woman quite recovered and employed on household duties, but they politely informed her that she had no business to be alive as she was wanted by Sango. The woman not unnaturally wished to dispute this, and an argument on the point ensued, which was settled by one of the Ogbonis administering a blow with a club on the wretched creature's head and killing her.

It is not an uncommon thing in these countries for a man to pawn himself (sell himself) in order to get married, for a wife costs money, and when one of his sons becomes old enough to work he exchanges him for himself and becomes free. There were all manner of legends as to the wonders to be seen at Ile Ife, but it is almost needless to say that none were seen. The Ifes call themselves the conservators of the world, and the oldest of mankind, and boast that all the crowned personages in the world, including the white man's sovereign, went out originally from Ile Ife, and it is curious the deference with which other tribes treat them, although they may be at war with them. They are a singularly stubborn and mean tribe, take all they can get and give nothing in return, and never entertain strangers. In the time when they and the Modakekes were living amicably they made the latter entertain Chiefs and others who visited them, and as every one was supposed to be a descendant of the Ifes they looked upon all strangers who visited their town in the light of pilgrims who came, as they put it "to make their house good," that is, to pay reverence to departed ancestors. On a former occasion when a peace had been made between the Modakekes and Ifes after a rupture, the latter having been driven from Ile Ife, they swore to each other by the god of iron and war, Ogun, that whoever fired first upon the other in the future should incur the anger of the god and be overwhelmed. However, when a rupture took place again the Ifes evaded the oath by climbing into trees and firing down upon the Modakekes, who fired back from the ground, and were therefore accused of breaking their oath, the ground being sacred to the god.

At the entrance to the town on the Oke Igbo side there is a short avenue with spreading trees and "bush" on either side which

is called the grove, and in the "bush" on the left side is situated the place of execution and where human sacrifices were offered. There is a curious superstition about the place which does not allow of people passing each other from different directions in the avenue, and if, therefore, people were leaving the town, anyone arriving at the entrance to the avenue would have to wait till they emerged, when they would go on, and people at the other end would have to wait for them, and so on.

Up to the beginning of the present year, when Governor Moloney wrote to them so strongly on the subject, the Ondos offered human sacrifies to their deities. They worship a spirit called Oro Doko or Male Doko, and they have a yearly custom which lasts three months. Every ninth day during the custom the women are obliged to shut themselves up in their houses from 6 a.m. till noon, while the men parade the streets beating drums, wrestling, dancing, and singing. A woman who appears in the streets during the forbidden hours does so at the risk of her life, and dogs and fowls if met with are killed and eaten by the men.—[*Further Correspondence respecting the War between Native Tribes in the Interior.*—C.—5144 of 1887.]

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Archæology.

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ARCHÆOLOGY IN EGYPT.

TO the archæologist who wishes to understand those past civilizations of the West, which have built up our present life and history, the very basis of enquiry must be that grand and long enduring power of Egypt which has underlain them all. Greek art and literature had their foundations fixed in Egypt; and without that civilization from the Nile it would have been impossible for them to have had the same form, or fulfilled the same functions in the world, that we now see in history. Carthage, Rome, and the West all profited by the labours of Egypt through the Phœnician commerce, which propagated that skill and knowledge which the Phœnician nation itself was incapable of originating. In later days, Egypt was the most fertile soil for the growth of Greek thought; and to the Alexandrian school belongs the glory of having started into perfect being the present conceptions of geometry and geography, which we have only been able to build upon and enlarge.

Moreover, from its peculiarities of climate and circumstances, the Nile valley has preserved to us more of its past greatness than perhaps any other land. Its temples, tombs, and houses are in many cases almost exactly as they stood thousands of years ago. And this preservative power has perpetuated not only its own remains, but those of other nations entrusted to it. In no other country can we readily unearth the manuscripts, the textiles, the embroideries, or the paintings of Greek and Roman life, in the same perfect condition in which we find them in Egypt.

While many seats of ancient civilization are almost closed to research by the paralysing power of Turkey, the case is different under the government of the Khedive. Although exploration in Egypt was practically forbidden to outsiders under the influence of Mariette, the more enlightened views of Prof. Maspèro, and the increase of English control in the country have loosened the former restrictions almost as far as reason will permit. The law stands as it has long done; and the rule is that one-half of all antiquities

discovered belongs to the government, as in Turkey. But in practice, now, accidental discoverers, on giving notice of their finds, are to be fairly rewarded, if anything is required for the national museum at Bulak: while systematic excavators, if approved by the department of antiquities and the Ministry, are allowed to work on condition of yielding to the government such a selection of objects as may be needed for the museum; everything found belonging nominally to the government until remitted to the finder. Under the present régime this system works fairly enough, for no one could reasonably wish to see Egypt stripped of all its treasures, and the country deprived of the power of retaining a representative collection of the former labours of its population. The only real grievance of the excavator on parting from his finds, must be in the insecure condition for their preservation in the country; rain, inundation, and robbery having all damaged the national collection in its present unsuitable storage.

The state of the country is favourable for work: there is security for life and property, and the people are willing to take very low wages; 7½d a day, or 2d a cubic metre, being a rate which will secure any number of men required. The fellahin are a very tractable folk; and when once assured of a master's honesty, justice, and determination, there is no difficulty in dealing with them. Having noticed now what may be done, we will turn to what is being done.

The Department of Antiquities works for the Museum in any site that is deemed most promising; but practically the government work is limited to Memphis and Thebes, other sites receiving far less attention. Of such excavations no complete official record is kept, and only isolated accounts appear from time to time in Egyptological publications. Much of the work is conducted by Arab overseers, and there is scarcely ever any continuous supervision of a European manager. Under these circumstances a large part of the objects do not find their way to the government; and, as the workmen are not rewarded for their finds, this is not at all surprising. Of foreign work a small amount of excavation is done by the French School of Egyptology in Cairo; but most of the labours of that institution are given to copying and publication under the excellent rule of Maspero, that every member must copy one complete monument each year. In short, it is more a school for the language than for the archæology of the country as a whole. The publications of the Tomb of Seti I., and other remains, by the Mission Archæologique Française, are fine pieces of work. Of English enterprise the Egypt Exploration Fund is the corporate

representative; and the discoveries of Pithom, Naukratis, Daphnae, and Goshen, are among its principal results. There is besides this full scope for private excavations; though unfortunately, the present writer seems to be the only person—English or otherwise—who systematically uses such opportunities. Provided the Egyptian government is satisfied on the principal points of good faith in the agreement, of due diligence in the preservation of all the antiquities found, and of proper care for the archæological results, as distinct from mere plundering, no difficulties, I believe, would be placed in the way of research in a specified locality—at least in the Delta.

With regard to the manner of work necessary, it should always be borne in mind that no excavator is justified in partiality for one class of antiquities; the business of an excavator is to preserve everything that is found which can be of archæological value; and his first duty is to attend to its safety, and to register the particulars of its position, so far as they can be understood and explained. To ransack an ancient site solely with a view to one object, is as unscientific as the work of treasure-hunters; and there is a similar store of future curses awaiting all those who dig with one point only in view, and destroy everything else; whether that one point be gold, jewellery, armour, statuary, inscriptions, skeletons, or any other speciality. As the science of archæology advances, more and more details will be understood, and more will be required of the worker; to destroy three-quarters of the history remaining to us in the course of reaching one quarter is wholly unjustifiable. The first duty of an excavator is then to consider, not his immediate wants and wishes, but the responsibility which he undertakes in opening up a place, and destroying for ever the evidences of objects, and their collocation. He should always remember that if he does not diligently observe and note all that can be seen as work goes on, the information is being wantonly thrown away by him, and he is doing perhaps vastly more harm than good.

If an excavator's first duty then is to observe, his first principle must be the scientific use of the imagination, while always maintaining a freedom from bias, or any wish to prove one thing or another. Nothing is so useful as free speculation, exercising the mind in constructing every theory which will account for the known facts. When beginning on any site the facts are generally but few, and a large field of possibilities is open. On reviewing in imagination all solutions which will account for these facts it is seen in what directions their critical points will lie; what spots will show decisively which view is correct. The great value of framing

several hypotheses is that the evidential importance of most trifling details is far more readily seen and remembered. If we know what we expect to find in a given place according to various hypotheses, we are the more ready to seize on minute indications which prove or disprove a point, although they would seem quite meaningless and unnoticeable if the mind were not already lying in wait for a decision. Of course it need hardly be repeated that the casting out of bias is necessary before all things; to be burning to get some result, but to be quite indifferent what the result shall be, or which way it shall tell, is the needful condition of mind for all research. This is so often misunderstood that there is the more need to be explicit on the matter. Never make a hole without knowing what you expect to prove or disprove by it; and always bear in mind what the reason is for every man's work in the place; this is the golden principle for an excavator.

In Egypt the rainless state of the country—such slight rain as falls not sufficing to maintain any close vegetation—renders work easier than in other lands. The outlines of mud brick walls can be noticed on the surface of the ground; and the whole plan of a building may sometimes be made from colour alone, without any remains above the surface. Hence the first inspection of a site will often show enough to guide future work. The all-important index to periods is to be seen in the pottery. To go over a town without knowing the different styles of the several periods is to go over it blindfold. When once the peculiar colours, pastes, decoration, and forms of each age are known (and there is unhappily no museum or collection in which this can be learned), then the age of every patch of ground, and of every stratum is labelled, and can be read off, to within a single century in some cases. To establish a home for a complete series of Egyptian pottery, all dated and with localities fixed, is the most urgent need at present of practical archæology in Egypt; but sad to say I do not know of a single place in the world where such collections would even be properly housed and arranged if they were sent in, though in perfect condition and carriage paid. If there is anywhere such a museum I can assure it of hearty support; but so far, it seems as if collections had not yet grown out of the "curiosity" stage, when gold and pearl are the attractions, and scientific research must take its chance.

The key to dealing with the native diggers is a silver one; the main principle being to claim and take possession of all that is found, while at the same time giving the finder as much as he would be likely to get if a native dealer came round and bought

things from him. To pay in fact by results as well as by time. The 10 per cent, or so, extra over and above the wages, is fully discounted by the men, and more so, in their reckonings; and it is equivalent to a higher rate of wages in attracting better men. Such payments, moreover, ensure the most careful preservation of everything found, and as much caution as a man can give to avoid breaking what he turns up. Of course not more than half or a third of what is shown is worth keeping; but to look over it is a small tax on time, compared with the chances of getting important things which do not look very attractive. Care is of course needed to hit the mean in valuing things, and to ensure getting everything while avoiding having things foisted into the work. The safeguard against this consists in giving exactly the same for anything no matter where it comes from, so that there is no temptation to lie about it; and when men know that a single lie or concealment detected will deprive them of profitable and coveted work, they will hesitate to mislead you without cause.

The subjects for research will determine in most cases the place and manner of working, though no good opening which occurs accidentally should be slighted. These subjects we will now consider. History—political and chronological—takes the lead; and here the old familiar lacunæ still await us. The dark periods of the Ist-IIIrd, the VIIth-Xth, the XIVth-XVIIth dynasties still need clearing; also the royal succession between the Ramesside times of the XXth dynasty and the renascence of the XXVIth is still very obscure in parts. It is not probably to any one great find that we must look for light on these points, so much as to isolated discoveries here and there which will gradually fall into place. Of the earliest times Abydos ought to show traces; but like the other primæval settlement of Memphis, it has been so overlaid with later remains that it is hard to find any part in which to search for the first three dynasties. It must, however, always be remembered that although great stress has been laid upon the agreement between Manetho's history and the lists of kings at Abydos, Karnak, and Sakkara, yet all these lists belong to the official edition of State history promulgated under the XIXth dynasty; hence all that their agreement proves is what the accepted historical beliefs were in 1400 B.C., after a series of great convulsions and periods of barbarism. How much value we are then to assign to this list for facts which occurred nearly as long before its compilation as we live after it, is obviously a matter for discretion. It may be a true and correct record, and so far the

monumental evidence has not contradicted it; but as there is a persistent silence of the dated monuments for the first three dynasties —for hitherto not a single fragment has been certainly proved to be contemporary with that cycle—we must at least pause before we give full weight to the copies of a list compiled thousands of years later than that. Of the IXth dynasty Mr. Griffith appears to have found evidence at Siut, as yet unpublished, and more may be looked for at Heracleopolis. While the later chasm of the Hyksos period has been partially filled by the statue of King Raian, the piece of an obelisk of Apepi, and the Hyksos heads and fragments found by M. Naville at Bubastis. Probably other towns of the E. Delta may contain similar traces to these, and to those found by Mariette at Tanis; it is much to be hoped that Bubastis will be exhaustively finished, and that similar sites may then be attacked. For the later history Thebes is the main source, but isolated monuments in other parts of the country are very valuable as pointing out the range of dominion of various kings.

For geography the most useful data are obtained by a small amount of excavation, enough to unearth one or two monuments with the place-names, at many different sites. In Upper Egypt there are few, if any, questions of importance outstanding; but in the Delta a large part of the capitals of the nomes are still in doubt. Some—such as the capitals of the Libyan, the Arabian nome, and Am Pehu, and the cities of Buto, and Naukratis—have been lately determined, but much still remains to be done for the capitals as well as the lesser towns.

Language, hitherto, has been much more thoroughly studied than any other branch of Egyptology, probably because it can be worked on at any time in the quiet of a European study, and does not need the bodily fatigue and expense of other researches. Far more time indeed has been devoted to this one branch than has been given to all the other subjects put together; but important as it is, it is not by any means the whole of Egyptology, any more than the study of eyes or of teeth is the whole of comparative anatomy.

Mythology also has had a full share of attention, and is now in a stage in which the historical development of it in various periods is the only line for farther advance in safety. Lanzone's mythological dictionary—when finished—will be a repertory of all the forms and names of divinities known at the present time. Naville's critical edition of the Book of the Dead gives the various readings of the large body of good hieroglyphic copies. Maspero's recent

lectures at the College de France have opened up the pyramid texts and the cult of Ra. And such work as Dümichen's publication of the greatest of all the Theban tombs, is also most valuable for study. My last season's work at Hawara has shown the late continuance of mummification into the IVth or Vth cent., A.D., and also the habit of decorating the mummies with portraits and preserving them for years amongst the living, a custom which belongs to the Roman age of the IInd and IIIrd centuries.

In social history there is a great need of further work. How the nation lived, what its organization was at different periods, what were the relations of civil and military power, the changes of laws (of which our knowledge is almost all of the latest age), the proportion of idle hands, the occupations of the leisure classes, the system of barter or trade, the co-existence of different races in the nation, all these and many other problems are scarcely touched on yet, except in the Ptolemaic times, and somewhat under Ramessu II., by Revillout; and here lies one of the most interesting fields for further research. Domestic life also needs elucidating, particularly in its historical changes; the forms of houses, the use of utensils, the food used, the disposal of refuse, and the habits of the people are only known to us in scattered examples. Systematic observation in the ruins of towns of various ages is much needed for this subject. Maspero's charming volume on Egyptian Archæology touches more than any other book on this, beside being the only general work on the whole of Egyptian antiquities.

Architecture has been well studied in some periods, though scarcely anything is known about others. When we consider that not a single temple or royal tomb is known of that most splendid period the Middle Kingdom, or XIIth dynasty—and that only a single temple is known of the old kingdom—it is evident how great our ignorance still is. In obvious facts of construction, moreover, various recent books of repute can all shew some strange blunders and oversights; length for breadth, granite for limestone, pavement for foundation, rock for built stone, are some of the sort of mistakes which are continually to be met with. The most urgent work in this line at present is a careful excavation and plan-drawing of the remains of any temples before the XVIIIth dynasty.

In Art there are also very similar gaps and deficiencies, in spite of all the attention given to it. What is needed is far more historical discrimination, and a more definite tracing of the development of various forms and designs. Every century had its special style, its own colouring—especially of glazes—and its peculiar fashions,

and all these need to be treated separately and not all massed together as "Pharaonic." Another branch of discrimination greatly needed is that of the various schools of work. The differences between the statues in different materials, though of one period, is striking. Those in black granite are usually the finest in execution; next to them comes the limestone school of Memphis; then the red granite school of Assuan: and worst of all the sandstone school. To lump all of these together is much as if all pictures painted in one century were classed together, whether Venetian or Lombard, Flemish or French, Spanish or English. We need to find the quarry of each statue, and then to classify Egyptian sculpture according to its schools as well as by its periods.

We will now briefly consider what isolated subjects might well be taken up by any one worker, without requiring excavation. The tomb paintings have never been systematically worked through; and any one who would collect and classify all the information from all sources on any one point would do good service. The forms of metal vases, for instance, are abundantly shown, and are often of beautiful design; such objects have been so generally melted up that a series of dated drawings would be our only source for a history of Egyptian metal working, from the bronze vases of the old kingdom, and the gold and silver ones of Theban paintings, to those shown in temple ceremonies in the late times. Jewellery again needs a similar collective treatment, down to the necklaces and earrings on paintings of the Roman age, and a comparison of all examples in various museums. Woven patterns also are a good field of research, as they are often drawn on figures, and represented on the roofs of tombs. A most important matter is the variation in the forms of hieroglyphs: fashion had almost as much to do with these as with anything else, and the styles of various ages are quite recognisable; but a serious classification of the variations is necessary on an historical basis, in order to train the eyes of those who —relying on copies—are quite oblivious to the importance of monumental style in questions of age. The curious primitive rock drawings of Upper Egypt much need collecting, with due regard to their degree of weathering. The matter of foreign races and their types I have done in bulk, though not so fully as is yet desirable; more casting and photographing would be well spent on this subject. The glazed vases are being now classified and treated as a whole, by an English authority; and of the historical scarabaei I have collected drawings which I hope to publish before long. The other scarabaei in general still need a cataloguer.

One of the most broadly important aspects of Egyptology is the contact of Egypt with other nations, or Egypt's place in history. Unfortunately no positive contact is yet known before the age of the recently discovered tablets of Tell el Amarna, which give in cuneiform writing the names of various Babylonian kings, contemporaries of Amenhotep III. and Khunaten; Kurigalzu and Dushratta being coeval with the former, and Burnaburias with the latter. This is of special value in the Kassite dynasty, as Burnaburias had been dated about 1430 B.C., (Sayce), and Khunaten according to the probable chronology reigned just about this period, or, perhaps, half a century earlier. It seems so far possible that Tii, the celebrated wife of the grand monarch Amenhotep III., is the daughter of Dushratta, to whose marriage one of his letters to Amenhotep refers. Doubtless much more will be ascertained when all these tablets are translated and compared. The well known connections of the XIXth dynasty with the Khita, of the XXIInd dynasty with Rehoboam, and of the XXVth dynasty with Assurbanipal need not be recapitulated. The contact with the Greeks, and the influence of Egypt on Greek art and manufactures has been greatly cleared by the discovery of Naukratis and of Daphnae, the two great settlements of the archaic Greeks in Egypt, in the VIIth century B.C. These explorations show that those Greek settlements had each its own distinct school of potters, and that they painted vases in styles peculiar to each city; also that metals, and especially iron, were largely smelted and wrought in these places, and that writing was employed at an early period. In everything the substance is Greek, while the influence is Egyptian. In still later times Egypt was again the stem on which Greek thought was grafted, and thus arose the wondrous school of Alexandria, the active and pregnant labours of which body will never be effaced from our modern science. Though our immediate descent of civilisation may be through Rome and Greece, yet Egypt will always remain the grand ancestor of us all.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

AVENTICUM, THE ROMAN METROPOLIS OF HELVETIA.

OF the thousands who annually travel through Switzerland, few, perhaps, would be able to say where the chief town of Roman Switzerland was situated, and it has been seldom visited even

by British Archæologists, who have but a slight conception of the character and importance of its remains. This may, perhaps, in some measure be accounted for by the fact that, though in former days a city of great splendour occupying a site on the principal line of route between Italy and Gaul, it now lies out of the beaten track, and remains buried in great part beneath the ground.

Avenches, the modern French name for the ancient Aventicum, lies about a mile and a half S.E. of the picturesquely situated little lake of Morat in the northern part of the Canton de Vaud. It can be reached by rail from Lausanne *via* Payerne in two hours, or by steamboat from Neuchâtel in about the same time. The town is situated on an elevation on a pleasant, cheerful, healthy and undulating plateau, which, with its sturdy industrious peasantry, its thriving farms and lovely lakes, presents the appearance of a huge garden thickly dotted with picturesque houses, amid fertile and highly cultivated fields and pastures, interspersed with tree-crowned hills.

In however slight a sketch of the archæology of this place, it would be wrong to omit referring to the interesting prehistoric epoch, which is presented by the numerous lake-dwellings discovered in the adjoining lake of Morat, more especially as there is evidence in them of a connecting link between historic and prehistoric Aventicum. Upwards of sixteen of these lacustrine sites have been found in this lake, and the numerous relics discovered there shew that they existed from the period of the early stone age till the time of the Roman invasion, or even still later. Those interested in the subject would do well to visit the margin of the Morat lake at the promontory named "Bec de Greng," distant about one hour's walk from Avenches, where can be seen hundreds of piles projecting from the lake bottom, on which the ancient people, who resided there long before the Christian era, fixed platforms of timber and thereon built their dwellings. The piles at this spot extend over an area of 4,900 square ft. for the most part in the lake (the waters of which have receded of late years), thus forming a large station or village. A great number of objects have been found buried in the mud amongst the piles, consisting of implements of stone and bone, such as hatchets, chisels, needles, awls, besides a vast quantity of the bones of animals, pottery and so forth, being the accumulated débris of centuries, and which mainly have dropped from time to time from the platforms and houses built on them, or been cast down at the period of the final destruction of the village. I collected several specimens there; among them being several fragments of pottery of

a crude form, some of them of the kind peculiar to the early stone age. This earliest variety is a coarse, dark red kind of earthenware containing numerous grains of quartz, and there are 12 or 15 varieties shewing the rude kind of ornamentation adopted by these early people on their hand-made utensils. I was fortunate also in fishing up, from a depth of 3 ft. in the water, a curious little vase. It is of black ware, smooth, displaying some elegance of form, and with a delicate design encircling it: it no doubt belongs to the age of bronze, this site having been inhabited at that period, as well as during the earlier stone age, as proved by the discovery there of numerous bronze spear-heads and similar objects peculiar to that epoch. A bone needle recovered from this spot, also some charred wheat and bones of animals, including a skull of the extinct marsh cow (Bos brachyseros), were given to me by the steward of Count Portales, whose chateau and well-wooded grounds lie close to the lake. At the station on the lake at Montellier, half an hour's walk north of Greng, in addition to other relics usually found at these sites, there were discovered at a great depth a large number of vases, which shew by their design and ornament a greater degree of taste and skill than have been seen elsewhere in the Swiss lake dwellings. Some even resemble the specimens of the potter's art found in Etruscan tombs, and it is a noteworthy fact that in the very locality where the Romans founded their Helvetian metropolis there existed, even in prehistoric times, the evidence of a state of civilisation more advanced than in any other place in the province. A connecting link between the prehistoric and Roman period of this ancient metropolis was established also by the discovery within the walls of Aventicum of a bronze die for the largest type of Gallic gold coin, affording positive evidence of the early progress of the district. This die can be seen in the Museum at Avenches. Tacitus, writing about A.D. 69, speaks of the Helvetians as originally a Gallic people, renowned for their valour and exploits in war, and he designates Aventicum "Caput gentis,"[1] or capital of Helvetia. It acquired this title most probably on account of its comparatively advanced state of civilisation, as already indicated, and its conspicuous position on the main route between Italy and Germany. It was also the centre of a net-work of very perfect and much frequented military roads, this city and Nyon (Colonia Equestris) situated on the shores of the lake of Geneva, being the only points of departure for mile-stones in Helvetia. Although it is referred to by Tacitus, Julius Cæsar, who vanquished the Helvetians at Bibracte near

[1] Tacitus, Hist. 68.

Autun (then within the boundaries of Helvetia) in B.C. 58., does not mention Aventicum. Tacitus relates how the ferocious Cecina, the lieutenant of the Emperor Vitellius, was provoked by the Helvetians, who, not having heard of the death of Galba, were unwilling to acknowledge his successor as Emperor, whereupon Cecina took the opportunity of a quarrel between the 21st Legion and the Helvetians to march eagerly against them. Tacitus goes on to remark that of late years it may be said of the Helvetians that the history of their ancestors was their only glory, and that now their spirit, though fierce while danger was at a distance, began to drop when it was near. To oppose Cecina, the Helvetians chose Claudius Severus to command their forces, but they neither knew the use of arms nor methods of discipline, and perceiving that a contest must lead to their destruction, they fled, were overtaken and slain. Cecina, having desolated the surrounding country, laid siege to Aventicum, the capital city of the Helvetians, when the inhabitants sent deputies to him to offer terms of surrender. Their submission was accepted, and Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was executed. The rest were left to the mercy and resentment of Vitellius. The Helvetians sent ambassadors to the new Emperor, who menaced and abused them. At length Claudius Cossus, one of the deputies, and a remarkably eloquent man, appealed to the Emperor and his soldiers and so moved them to compassion that, says Tacitus, after torrents of tears and begging for milder treatment, they obtained immunity and their city was saved from destruction.

But it was not till the time of the immediate successors of Vitellius that Aventicum reached its zenith, the great patrons of the Helvetian metropolis being said to be Vespasian and Titus, whose busts now occupy a prominent position in the local museum. It is generally asserted that Sabinus, the father of Vespasian, carried on a banking business at Aventicum, and that he died there, also that his son Vespasian and grandson Titus were born there; but on referring to Suetonius, an almost contemporary historian, I find he simply states that Sabinus (son of Titus Flavius Petro) was born at Reate (the modern Rieti) in the Sabine mountains, and after returning from Asia, where he had been honoured with the title of "the honest tax farmer," became a usurer among the Helvetians, where he lived the remainder of his life. All historians, however, agree in considering Aventicum as his place of residence in Helvetia, and assign to Sabinus an inscription found there which speaks of a

man who had done much good in that town. The first line of the inscription and the name of the person in whose honour it was written is wanting, but it records the fact that he had filled the office of quæstor in Asia, and subsequently acquired very deservedly the title of patron and protector of Aventicum.[2] Such being the case, the Emperor Vespasian, who was born five years before the death of Augustus, at the village of Phalacrine, near Reate, may not improbably have passed some time in this city in his youth or early manhood, although it is known his main education was conducted in Italy under the care of his grandmother, Tertullia. It is also probable that he would reside there sometimes *en route* to Germany and Great Britain. Of the Emperor Titus Suetonius asserts that he was born near the Septizonium at Rome. It is remarkable that of the many inscriptions found at Aventicum none bear the names of Vespasian or Titus.[3]

There is no reason to doubt, however, that both of these emperors showed a great predilection for the place, and that in their time and through their influence Aventicum became a populous and important city, and a large number of their coins have been found there. It contained when most prosperous some 50,000 or 60,000 inhabitants (the modern town has less than 2,000); its public buildings were of great magnificence, as shown by the massive and elaborately sculptured fragments of friezes, remains of a theatre, amphitheatre, and other objects still to be seen there.

Succeeding emperors likewise favoured Aventicum in different ways. An inscription now built into the exterior of the wall of the modern church of Avenches indicates this to have been the case as regards Trajan, while Hadrian is known among other things to have renewed the milestones which had existed there since 128 B.C.[4]

After the Antonines the Roman influence in Helvetia declined, and St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, dates the destruction of Aventicum by the Alemanni as having occurred in A.D. 264, while Ammianus Marcellinus who, in A.D. 360, was in the suite of the Emperor Julian the apostate when he travelled through Gaul, states that he found the city of Aventicum, recently so glorious, now deserted, and its half-ruined edifices attesting its former splendour. Subsequently the whole province was overrun by hordes of Burgundians and Germans, the extent of whose conquests may

[2] Mommsen, *Insc.* 177.

[3] Mommsen, *Inscrip. falsæ vel suspectæ*, p. 114.

[4] See Insc. in Museum of Lausanne.

be recognised in some measure in the division of languages which now prevail in the German and French Cantons.

The great wall of defence which surrounded Aventicum is considered by Mommsen to have been erected previous to the accession of the emperors. It was about 4 miles in circumference and of a nearly octagonal outline; it was 25 ft. high, and 12 ft. thick on the low-lying land where the soil was loose and marshy, and 4 ft. thick on the rocky higher land. Towers were built in the walls at regular intervals of about 200 yards, numbering about 80; they were 40 ft. high and of two stories. These towers were singular in being continuous on the exterior with the straight line of the wall; that is to say, without projecting at all, but convex towards the interior only, as if intended to supress sedition from within no less than reject attacks from without. A similar unusual construction was observable in the Roman towers erected in the ancient walls which once surrounded Wiesbaden in Germany, and in some others along the banks of the Rhine. Twenty of the towers at Aventicum were still standing in the last century, but at the present time one only remains, and that evidently almost entirely a restoration. But it is interesting as preserving the shape of the original. Some conception of it may be formed by examining the ground plan and sketch of its elevation with the picturesque bits of the old wall adjoining it on both sides. The old wall can be traced in almost its entire circuit, and some very lengthened and striking portions of it remain (one being close to the railway station), though in a ruined condition. The outside cut stones have nearly all disappeared, leaving only the concrete core intact.

Both the wall and its towers have been utilised as a stone quarry for the erection of farm-houses and châteaux for many miles around; the part near the village of Donatyre having, all except its foundations, disappeared in this way. It is not known how many gates were originally in this wall, but portions of five have been found. They were guarded by two round towers, one on each side, which were connected above the gateway by means of a gallery.

Only one-twentieth part of the large and very undulating space enclosed by these walls of defence is occupied by the modern town, the remaining portion consisting of cultivated land. At its lowest portion it is 1320 feet above the sea-level, 1500 feet at Avenches, 1400 at the Forum, and 1600 at Donatyre. No systematic excavations were made there till two years ago, and then only on a small scale. But the discoveries then made, as well as others in the course

of previous incidental excavations in past times, suffice to convince us that many treasures lie still buried in the soil. The site is admirably adapted for excavating, on account of the complete absence of any modern buildings over a considerable extent of its surface. When the small proprietors who own the land now dig only a short distance below the surface, they invariably, as I have myself seen, meet with foundations of buildings, remnants of hypocausts, fragments of pottery, of which I collected some specimens, and not infrequently objects of value.

But I will now refer to some few of the more important remains and discoveries already made, a few of which are *in situ*, and others are collected in the museum, forming altogether a very interesting and important series of objects well worthy the attention of the Archæologist.

The first object that cannot fail to strike a visitor to Avenches is a columnar-looking structure in the middle of a grass field just below the present town, and on the site of what has been identified the ancient Forum. This structure is 40 feet high, and consists of 15 blocks of white Jura marble, built up without any cement, each stone being most evenly cut; the blocks are very massive, 3½ feet high, and run right through the structure. The summit is crowned with the remnants of a Corinthian capital, and about ten feet from the ground there are clear indications of the spring of an arch, facing north, and just below it the commencement of an ornamental cornice. Much discussion has arisen as to the nature of this structure. It has been thought to have been a portion of a triumphal arch, the facade of a temple dedicated to Bacchus or Apollo, and other theories have been put forward; but the most credible opinion seems to be that held by Bursian and Hagen, who consider that it belonged to a kind of open portico, forming an arcade along that side of the Forum.

Not far from the column lies a huge mass of an entablature of white Jura marble, displaying a rich Corinthian frieze, on which is sculptured two winged griffins facing each other, each with a fore-paw on a beautiful two-handled amphora standing between them, while their tails encircle candelabra, the same combination of griffins, amphora and candelabra being variously repeated. This fragment is 10 feet long, 4½ feet high, and 4 feet deep. At a little distance from this was found a Corinthian capital of elaborate design, bearing on its plinth one word of an incomplete inscription in gilt bronze letters, "Lugones." This word Lugones is found in an inscription in the town of Osma in Old Castille, as the name of

a protective divinity of a confraternity of shoemakers,[5] and it is probable that the monument of which this fragment formed a part was dedicated to this tutelar god.

Passing hence across the 250 paces occupied by the space (now a green meadow) identified as the site of the Forum, there are seen facing us two crumbling masses of ruined walls about 80 feet apart. These have been recognised as the extremities of the two wings of the substructure, which supported the tiers of seats of the fan-shaped auditorium of the theatre. On examination these remains are found to consist of radiating walls, 6 or 7 of which remain on the south extremity, and 2 or 3 on the north, the intervening portion being a huge turfed mound surmounted by patches of brushwood. Sufficient foundations have been found to justify the construction of a ground plan. Some inscriptions have been found amid the ruins of the theatre, in one of which the letters were eight inches high, also a quantity of personal ornaments, needles, buttons, brooches, &c., and so distributed as to lead to the conclusion that the spectators, to whom they belonged, must have fled from the theatre suddenly, as if in a panic.

Not far from this have been discovered the remains of four large edifices, designated by the inscription upon them as "Schola," a word which sometimes signified in Imperial Rome a place of reunion of confraternities or corporations. One built of snow-white marble, a column of which is preserved, was erected in honour of C. Valerius Camillus. Another was in honour of Q. Cluvius Macer. These persons belonged to two of the most influential and distinguished Helvetian families at the end of the last century B.C. Their connection with Aventicum is identified by inscriptions found there, of which no less than nine bear the name of the family of Camillus. Of the latter "schola," some very beautiful massive marble friezes have been found, as well as the site of the building itself, which had a double row of fluted marble columns, and was ornamented with statues, its facade being 106 feet long.[6]

A third "schola" was an academy founded, as recorded in an inscription, by two Greeks named Hygenus and Hermes, and is curiously enough dedicated to the Emperor Augustus in combination with Minerva and Apollo.[7] In connection with the same building

[5] Tetscherin *Die Schätze von Aventicum.*

[6] According to Appius the historian, it was in the house in Helvetia of the head of this same family of Camillus just named, and where he had fled for protection, that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers of Julius Cæsar, was given up and decapitated.

[7] Bonstetten, p. 6.

there appears to have been a College of Physicians, as shown by the same inscriptions on a slab now built into the church wall, facing the central street of the town of Avenches. We may conclude from the existence of this academy that the inhabitants cultivated the intellectual as well as the beautiful. In the fourth "schola," situated at a short distance from the former, was found the fine inscription of the Nautæ Aramici, 10 feet long and 2 feet broad, referring to the existence of a corporation of boatmen, and to the house erected for them, at their cost, in honour of the Imperial family, which granted the site by a decree of the Senate. Besides being architecturally important, this erection is of great interest on account of the knowledge it affords us of the existence of this club house for sailors. It is known that there was formerly a canal, still traceable, between the lake of Morat and the town, about one mile apart. By this means communication was maintained between the three contiguous lakes of Morat, Neuchâtel, and Bienne, and the traffic, especially in building materials, must have been both large and profitable, when it is considered how extensive were the constructions of the city, including its vast wall with its towers, its mansions, and public edifices. The building stone has been proved by Professors Agassiz and Desor to be of precisely the same character as is found in the Jurassic limestone quarries of Concise and Hauterive, on the shores of the lake Neutchâtel, and the visitor to Avenches can observe that some of the large pieces of chiselled stone lying about near the theatre are full of the fossils peculiar to that geological formation. I found a small polished slab of this marble, as it is called, on a heap of macadamising stones by the road-side, close to the theatre, in which may be clearly seen the fossils of the shells of the genus Natica, such as belong to these Jurassic rocks. As might be anticipated in regard to a Roman city, remains have been found in several places of baths, and a few also of aqueducts; and judging from what I saw of an excavation, in search of building stones, going on in a field near the railway station, the drainage system must have been very elaborate. The conduits were hollowed out in a series of large slabs of chiselled Jurassic limestone, which were made so as to fit with the greatest accuracy.

The mosaics found at Avenches are both numerous and beautiful, connoisseurs considering them equal to the finest specimens of this kind of Roman decoration, not excepting the celebrated one of the victory of Alexander in the Naples Museum. The designs represent the usual scenes of Orpheus playing on his lyre surrounded by wild animals; Theseus killing the Minotaur; Dionysius and

Ariadne, and so on. One of the mosaic pavements bears the name of the Greek artist Prosthasius; and another evidence of the employment of Greek artificers at Aventicum is an inscription recording the Greek name of Polynices, who was a worker in gold and silver, who attained all the honours of the corporation of carpenters to which he belonged.[8]

At the entrance of the modern town is an enclosed space, containing amongst other things the site of the amphitheatre and an uncouth looking tower-like building, formerly a granary, but now adapted to the purposes of an archæological museum. A deep oval hollow, now covered with rich verdure, with here and there a fruit tree, still preserves the outline of the amphitheatre. On the outskirts of this space stand some ruined lofty walls, forming a portion of the exterior of the amphitheatre, which must once have been a stately building. A few tiers of the large slabs which served as seats also remain *in situ*, likewise one of the vaulted arcades on a level with the arena. It is estimated that ten thousand spectators could have been accommodated in this building.

On a platform close to the entrance of the Museum, and commanding a fine view of the Lake and Jura mountains, are collected together the massive elaborately sculptured pieces of entablature already referred to, several marble columns, stone-sarcophagi, amphoræ, &c.

The Museum contains a very interesting collection of more than 2,000 objects, besides 700 coins, nearly all of which have been found within the walls of Aventicum. Some of them are labelled, but no catalogue printed or written is obtainable, and I am bound to add that I have never visited a town where I had greater difficulty in gaining personal information as to the antiquities or received less encouragement to investigate them; and, as I said before, the literature on the subject is scattered here and there in the form of pamphlets and magazine articles, in French or more especially in German. One small case in the Museum contains objects from the pile-dwellings of the adjoining lake, and there is the usual collection of toilet articles, utensils, bronze and marble statues, bricks bearing stamps, one being that of the 21st Legion, which was of such ill omen in the local history; there are also a fragment of a griffin's wing in gilt bronze, 12 pounds in weight, and a large relief in stone of the wolf and twins, besides mosaics, pottery, vases, and other things too numerous to mention.

[8] Mommsen, *Insc.* 212.

There is one object there, however, to which I am tempted to refer at greater length. It is called a votive hand, and was found in a drain within the walls of Aventicum in January, 1845. It is the only specimen of the kind in Switzerland, and only 14 votive hands are known to exist; this one surpasses them all in the richness and variety of its ornamentation. A German writer, Herr Meyer, in his description of it, remarks that at the very first sight it has an appearance of mystery, seeming connected with some form of religious worship—three fingers are seen to be raised as if in the act of taking an oath, and its whole surface is adorned by images of gods and animals. It is an *ex voto*, dedicated to a temple by a mother on behalf of her newly born child. The elevation of the thumb and first two fingers was used in the religious ceremonies of Pagan Rome, and subsequently adopted by Christians. It is here intended to signify that the mother desires to commend her child at once to the protection and providence of the gods. This votive hand, like all the others discovered, is dedicated to Phrygian or Egyptian deities. It is indeed as charming as it is graceful. Its delicate elegance and the softness and beauty of contour of the fingers and their joints render it an accurate representation of a woman's hand, an object which painters as well as sculptors and modellers find so difficult to represent, as may be so often seen in the stiff or swollen restorations of ancient statues. It is a right hand, as used in making a vow, and it rests on a circular pedestal about 4 inches high: on the tip of the thumb is modelled a fir-cone; on the digital joints of the 2 fingers not raised is a youthful head with the wings of Mercury, and at the side of the hand below it is the head of a ram. At the base of the index and middle fingers is a small half length figure of Bacchus, his forehead crowned with vine-branches and grapes, while his arm is gracefully curved over his head, the lower part of the chest and shoulders being clothed in a chlamys (scarf). On the palmar surface of the same two fingers, projects the bust of an aged god, bearded, and wearing a Phrygian cap; it is that of the god Sabazius, according to Prof. Gerhard. Below the chest of the god is what looks like a small package divided into four parts by the string which encircles it; a similar unrecognisable object is often seen on ancient vases; it strongly resembles a cake of oblation. On the dorsal face of the hand, approaching the head of the ram is a frog, and below it a climbing tortoise, by the side of which is a two handled cup, and obliquely below it a lizard also climbing. On the joint of the thumb is a clothed bust of Cybele, as indicated by her walled

crown, with a tympanum on one side of her head, which is a customary attribute of that goddess. The lower part of the hand near the wrist is twice encircled by a serpent, in such a manner that the head of the reptile arrives just at the middle of the palm of the hand; below the head of the serpent is a little bell. The ulnar side of the hand is ornamented by a branch of oak, whereon acorns and leaves are easily distinguishable. Below the serpent on the dorsal part of the hand are placed the figures of the mother and her infant. These terminate the series of objects, the number and variety of which render this unique specimen so remarkable.

The serpent here represents the life which never ends; and is also a symbol of medical virtues, or of gods who were supposed to be the sources of healing.

Mingled with the divinities of Rome, we find on this bronze those of Asiatic and Phrygian origin, such as Cybele and Sabazius, who were often worshipped in common and their favours sought by means of coarse mysteries and turbulent feasts. Cybele was considered to be the creatress of the world and the author of the blessings which it brought forth; and Sabazius the god of the sun, whose rays of light vivified everything. Their worship among the Romans shews the influence which the oriental cult gradually exercised over that people, proving even more attractive than that of Bacchus and Mercury, both of whom are also represented here. There are, in fact, four divinities whose combined influence would be considered to extend the largest amount of protection over the child. A similar custom is observed now in giving a child the names of different saints as patron-protectors. Cybele has here as her attributes the bell, the pine-cone and branch of oak, while Sabazius is known by his Phrygian cap, strong beard and serious countenance. A votive hand in the Museum at Naples is dedicated to him, on which his figure is represented in a sitting posture. Bacchus has the attributes of a crown of vine leaves and the Cantharus, while the head of a ram betokens Mercury, as protector of flocks. The lizard, frog and turtle are such as are often represented on amulets for the protection of children from infirmity and disease. A serpent on an amulet was considered to act as a talisman against the evil eye, and is often seen thus depicted on the pillars of shop entrances at Pompeii. The superior workmanship of this bronze entitles it to be considered a production of the first century, a date corroborated by the fact that Aventicum at that period was an opulent and cultured city.

The different writers whose works I have consulted in reference

to Aventicum are unanimous in regretting that some systematic and efficiently supervised excavations had not been made on so eligible and interesting a site. At last, in September 1885, an "Association Pro Aventico," as it is called, was founded at Freiburg, under the auspices of the Historical Society of Roman Switzerland. In December of the same year the association commenced excavating, and continued their operations the following winter when, although they were on but a small scale, some interesting discoveries were made. The work was begun on the site of a tomb which had been discovered a few years previously, its contents being the bones of a young girl, some children's playthings and two glass vases; and they have brought to light a series of other tombs along the sides of the old Roman road outside the gate which leads to Payernes, in addition to which were objects of personal adornment, coins of Domitian, and Hadrian and several lamps, on one of which was impressed the word "Fortis." But what excited considerably the surprise and interest of Aventican Archæologists in connection with these more recent discoveries was the possibility that Pagan and Christian tombs could be mingled in the same necropolis! For the young girl whose tomb has just been referred to is considered to have been a Christian, on account of the words "Vivas in Deo" being seen on the rim of one of the two glass vases found there. Much discussion has been indulged in by Swiss Archæologists with reference to two points, namely, if the words "Vivas in Deo" on the vase are sufficient to entitle the occupant of the tomb in which it was found to be called a Christian, and secondly, if the tombs of Pagans and Christians are ever found mingled in the same necropolis, the writers just referred to assuming that such latter occurrence is incredible.

E. J. MILES, M.D.

AGRICULTURAL DIALECT WORDS.

NO. 2.—DURHAM.

THIS glossary is compiled from J. Bailey's Agriculture of Durham, 1810, pp. 370-379, 410-412. The only published Durham Dialect word-list is F. T. Dimsdale's *Glossary of Provincial*

Words used in Teesdale, 1849, and with this the Bailey list has been compared where the two glossaries contain the same word. It has also been compared with Britten's *Old Country and Farming Words gleaned from Agricultural Books,* 1880. Professor W. W. Skeat, who has kindly looked through this list, says "the words are nearly all known to readers of dialect," but the spellings are different. "Thus this writer uses *u* for *oo,* whereas *u* in English is commonly *eu* as in *pure, endure,* and distinct from *poor.*" All editorial notes are placed between square brackets. Where the county is named in Mr. Britten's agricultural word-lists, it has been noted here. From these editorial notes may be ascertained the additions to the printed Durham dialect words.

ADLINGS, earnings [*Teesdale Glossary* ; see Britten, "Addle," Yorks].
AMEL, between.
ARDER, fallow quarter [Britten].
ARLES or EARLES, earnest money [Britten, Scotland].
ARNUT, earth nut.

BAIN, ready, near [*Teesdale Glossary*].
BATTS, islands in rivers, or flat grounds adjoining them.
BECK, a brook or rivulet [*Teesdale Glossary;* Britten].
BERRIER, a thresher.
BIGG, four-rowed barley.
BINK, a seat of stones, wood, or sods, made mostly against the front of a house [*Teesdale Glossary*].
BLASH, to plash [to throw water or dirt, *Teesdale Glossary*].
BLEB, a drop [of water, also a blister or rising of the skin, *Teesdale Glossary*].
BRAUGHAM, a collar which goes round a horse's neck to draw by. [See Britten, "bragham" (braffam), Devonshire ; "barfin," Yorks ; "barfhame," Durham, from A.S. *beorgan* to protect, and *hame.*]
BRAKE, a large harrow.
BRENT, steep [*Teesdale Glossary*].
BRISSEL, to scorch or dry very hard with fire.
BUMBLE-KITES, bramble berries (fruit of Rubus fructicosus). [*Teesdale Glossary* gives "Bummel-kite"].
BURN, a rivulet.
BUTE or BOOT, money given in bartering horses, etc., to equalize the value.
BUSE, a stall ; as cow-buse, hay-buse [*Teesdale Glossary;* Britten, "boose"].
BUSTE, a mark set upon sheep with tar, etc.
BYER, a cow-house [Britten, "byre."]

CAM or COMB, remains of an earthen mound [*Teesdale Glossary;* Britten, Yorks, a bank].
CARR, flat marshy ground [*Teesdale Glossary;* Britten, Yorks., lowlands].
CHISEL, bran [*Teesdale Glossary,* s.v. Chizzle].
CHOUPS, heps, the fruit of briars.
CLAG, to adhere or stick together [*Teesdale Glossary*].
COPE, to barter or exchange [*Teesdale Glossary*].
COPE or COUP, to empty or turn out [Britten, Scotland].
COUL, to scrape earth together [*Teesdale Glossary*].
COW-WA, come away.
CRINE, to shrink, pine.
CRYING, weeping.

DAFT, foolish, stupid, insane [*Teesdale Glossary*].
DARKING, listening obscurely or unseen [*Teesdale Glossary*].
DENE, a dell or deep valley [*Teesdale Glossary*].
DIGHT, to dress, to clean.

DOFF, to undress [*Teesdale Glossary*].
DON, to dress [*Teesdale Glossary*].
DOWP, a carrion crow.
DRAF, brewers' grains [*Teesdale Glossary.*]
DRAWK, to saturate with water.
DREEROOD, a long and weary road.
DUB, a pool.

EAR or a niere, a kidney [*Teesdale Glossary.* M.E. *nere*; the *n* is radical.—W.W.S.]
EARLES, see "arles."
ELSIN, an awl [*Teesdale Glossary*].
ENNANTERS, in case of.

FELL, a moor or common [*Teesdale Glossary*].
FETTLE, to make ready [*Teesdale Glossary*].
FLACKER, to flutter or quiver [*Teesdale Glossary*, s.v. Flecker].
FLAID, frightened [*Teesdale Glossary*].
FLIT, to remove from one dwelling to another.
FOG, aftermath [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].
FOND, silly, foolish [*Teesdale Glossary*].
FORSE, a cascade.
FROATING, anxious unremitting industry.
FUSIN, nourishment [*u* as in *ruby*; Shakespeare's *foison*, *Tempest* II. i. 63—W.W.S.; Britten, "foison, fuzzen, or fuzen."]

GAITING, a sheaf of corn set up on end to dry [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Nhumb.]
GAIT for cattle, the going or pasturage of an ox or cow through the summer [Britten, Yorks.]
GAIT or GATE, a path, a way, a street [*Teesdale Glossary*].
GAR, to oblige to do anything.
GARSIL, hedging wood.
GAVELOCK, an iron lever. [Britten, "gablock," Nhumb, Norfolk, and Suffolk].
GEAR, stock, property, wealth [*Teesdale Glossary*].
GEARS, horse trappings [*Teesdale Glossary*].
GEE or REE, go off or turn to the right, used by carters to draft horses [*Teesdale Glossary.* Britten under "horses" gives all the terms used in directing, but he does not include "ree"].
GILL, a small valley or dell [*Teesdale Glossary*].
GIMMER, an ewe sheep from the first to the second shearing [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Durham].
GLAIR, mirey puddle.
GLIF, a glance, a fright [*Teesdale Glossary*, a transient view].
GLORE, to stare [*Teesdale Glossary*].
GOB, the mouth [*Teesdale Glossary*].
GOPING, as much as both hands can hold, when joined together.
GOUK, a cuckoo.
GRAIN of a tree, a branch [*Teesdale Glossary*; Icel. *grein*, branch, arm, fork.—W.W.S.]
GRAPE, a three-pronged fork for filling rough dung [Britten, "graip," Scotland].
GREETING, weeping.
GROATS, shelled oats [Britten].
GROSERS, gooseberries.

HARD CORN, wheat and maslin [*Teesdale Glossary*].
HAVER, oats [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].
HAVERMEAL, oat-meal [*Teesdale Glossary*]; hence the haversack of soldiers which was formerly used for carrying their oatmeal.
HAMES, H'YAWMS, the two pieces of crooked wood, which go round a horse's neck to draw by. This is pronounced "yawmes" with the aspirate H before it. A in this and many other provincial words is sounded like "yaw;" as yal, ale, and where so sounded is marked â.
HAUGHS, HOLMS, flat grounds by the sides of rivers.
HECK or TROP, come here or turn to the left, used by carters to draft horses [neither of these words is given by Britten in his terms used in directing horses, s.v. "horses."]

HEFT, a haunt.
HELL or HAIL, to pour [*Teesdale Glossary*].
HEMMEL, a shed for cattle [*Teesdale Glossary;* Britten, "hemel," a small yard for cattle.]
HINDBERRIES, raspberries [Rubus Idæus].
HIPE, to rip or gore with the horns of cattle [*Teesdale Glossary*].
HOGG, a young sheep before it be shorn [*Teesdale Glossary;* Britten].
HOPPLE, to tie the legs together [*Teesdale Glossary*].
HOWK, to make a hole or cut earth with a spade.
HOWL, hollow [*Teesdale Glossary*].
HUMBLING BARLEY, breaking off the awns, with a flail or other instrument.
HUSE, a short cough [*Teesdale Glossary,* hüsy].

INGS, low wet grounds [Britten].
INKLING, an intimation [*Teesdale Glossary*].

KAVE, to separate the short straw from corn with a rake and the foot.
KEMPING, to strive against each other in reaping corn [Britten, Scotland].
KEMPS, hairs amongst wool.
KEN, to know (*Teesdale Glossary*).
KENSPECKLED, particularly marked, so as to be easily known [*Teesdale Glossary*].
KESLOP, a calf's stomach salted and dried to make rennet [*Teesdale Glossary*].
KEVEL, a large hammer for quarrying stones [*Teesdale Glossary*].
KITE, the belly.
KITTLE, to tickle [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LAKE, to play [*Teesdale Glossary*].
LATE or LAIT, to seek [*Teesdale Glossary*].
LEMURS, ripe nuts that separate easily from the husk [also spelt leamers or leemers.—W. W. S.].
LEAM, a flame.
LEIF, rather.
LETCH, a swang or marshy gutter.
LIB, to castrate [*Teesdale Glossary*].
LICK, to beat, to chastise [*Teesdale Glossary*].
LIG, to lie [cf. Britten, ligs, ley, Yorks].
LING, heath (erica vulgaris) [*Teesdale Glossary*].
LINGEY, active, strong, and able to bear great fatigue.
LINN, a cascade.
LOACH, a leach.
LOOKING CORN, weeding corn [*Teesdale Glossary*].
LOP, a flea [*Teesdale Glossary*].
LOP-LOACH, the leach used by surgeons to draw blood. Some of Shakespeare's commentators have been much puzzled to explain the carrier's expression (in Hen. V.) that "your chamberlie breeds fleas like a loach." A North country reader understands it to mean, that the fleas bite as keen, or suck blood like a leach, loach, or lop-loach.
LOWE, a flame.
LYERY, abounding with lean flesh especially on the buttocks [Britten; from A.S. *lira*, flesh, muscle.—W. W. S.].

MANG, barley or oats ground with the husk, for dogs and swine meat [*Teesdale Glossary*].
MAUGH, a brother-in-law.
MAUMY, mellow and juiceless [*Teesdale Glossary*].
MEAL OF MILK, as much as a cow gives at one milking [*Teesdale Glossary*].
MEL-SUPPER, a supper and dance given at harvest home [*Teesdale Glossary*].
MIS-TETCH, bad habits [*Teesdale Glossary*].
MOUDY-WARP, a mole [*Teesdale Glossary*].

NEIVE, the fist [*Teesdale Glossary*].
NEIVEL, to strike or beat with the fist.
NOLT or NOULT, neat cattle [*Teesdale Glossary.* The form *nolt* is very doubtful.—W. W. S.]

PIGGIN, a wooden cylindrical porringer, made with staves, and bound with hoops

like a pail; holds about a pint [Britten, a payl with one handle standing upright].

PLENISHING, household furniture.

PROD, a prick [*Teesdale Glossary*].

PUBBLE, plump, full; usually said of corn or grain when well perfected.

QUICKENS or QUICKEN GRASS, a general name for all creeping or stoloniferous grasses or plants, which give the farmer so much trouble to eradicate.

RATED, approaching to rottenness.

REE, see "Gee."

REINS, balks of grass land in arable fields. [Seebohm's *Village Community*. 381-382.]

RICE, hedging wood [Britten, the shrouds or tops of trees or fellings of coppices].

RIFE, ready, quick to learn [*Teesdale Glossary*].

RIFT, to belch, also to plow out grass land [*Teesdale Glossary*, with first meaning only].

ROWTING, bellowing of an ox [*Teesdale Glossary*].

RUNCH, a general name for wild mustard, white mustard, and wild radish.

RUNG, a round of a ladder [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SAMCAST, two ridges ploughed together [*Teesdale Glossary; sam* means together: cognate with Gk. ἅμα.—W. W. S.].

SARE, much, greatly: as sare hurt, sare pained [*sare* or *sair* is the Northern form of *sore*.—W. W. S].

SCALING, spreading mole hills or dung [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SCALLIONS, young onions [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SEIVES or SPARTS, articulated rush.

SHEER, to reap or cut [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SHIVE, a slice of bread [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SILLS, strata of minerals [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SIPINGS, the draining of a vessel after any fluid has been poured out of it.

SKEEL, a cylindrical milking pail with a handle made by one of the staves being a little longer than the rest [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SKELP, to slap, to strike with the open hand [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SKIRL, a loud and continued scream or shriek.

SKUGG, to hide.

SLAPE, slippery [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SLOCKEN, to quench thirst [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SMASH, to crush.

SNELL, sharp, keen: as snell air.

SOSS, to lap like a dog [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SPÂIT OF RAIN, a great fall of rain.

SPÂNED, weaned [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SPARTS, see "seives."

SPURLING, rut made by a cart wheel [*Teesdale Glossary*].

STARK, stiff, tight, thoroughly.

STEE, a ladder [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Yorks.].

STEEK THE HECK, shut the door [*Teesdale Glossary*].

STEER, a three-year-old ox [*Teesdale Glossary*].

STEG, a gander [*Teesdale Glossary*].

STELL, a large open drain.

STINT, in stocking grass land is equal to an ox or cow's grass [*Teesdale Glossary*].

STIRK, a yearling ox or heifer [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, young cattle.]

STORKIN or STORKEN, to grow stiff: as melted fat cooled again.

STOT, a two-year-old ox [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].

STOUR, dust [*Teesdale Glossary*].

STRIPPINGS, the last part of a cow's meal said to be richer than the rest [*Teesdale Glossary*].

SWAMEISH, shy, bashful.

SWARTH, sward, the surface of grass land.

SWATHE, a row of mown grass as left by the scythe [Britten].

SYDE, hanging low down [*Teesdale Glossary*, meaning long].

SYKE, a small brook.

SYLES, principal rafters of a house.

TAWM, a fishing line made of hair [*Teesdale Glossary*].

TEAM, to empty a cart by turning it up, to pour out.
TEWING, teazing, disordering, harassing [*Teesdale Glossary*, tew, to fatigue].
THREAVE, twenty-four sheaves of corn, etc. [*Teesdale Glossary* ; Britten].
THUD, a heavy stroke [*Teesdale Glossary*].
TITE, as tite, as soon [*i.e.*, tite occurs in the phrase "as tite," *i.e.*, as soon].
TITTER, rather, sooner.
TROD, a beaten footpath [*Teesdale Glossary*].
TROP, see "heck."
TWEA, two [*Teesdale Glossary*].
TWIBLING, slender, weak [*Teesdale Glossary*, twible, to walk unsteadily].

UNLETES, displacers or destroyers of the farmers' produce.

WANKLE, uncertain [*Teesdale Glossary*].
WARE-CORN, barley or oats.
WATTLES, teat-like excrescences which hang from the cheeks of some swine [*Teesdale Glossary*].
WHANG, a leather thong [*Teesdale Glossary*, giving meaning of "a large piece as of bread and cheese." I suspect these two *whangs* are totally different words.—W.W.S.].
WHIG, soured whey with aromatic herbs in it, used by labouring people as a cooling beverage [Britten].
WHYE, or QUEY, a heifer [*Teesdale Glossary;* Britten, Yorks.].
WIN, to get ; as winning stones, to get stones in a quarry [*Teesdale Glossary*].
WIZENED, dried, shrivelled, shrunk [*Teesdale Glossary*].
WO, stop or stand still, used by carters to draft horses [*Teesdale Glossary* ; Britten].

YAITS (aits) oats, hence probably gaitings [?] from yaitings, single sheaves of oats.
YAK (ayk). oak.
YAL, ale [*Teesdale Glossary*].
YAMMER, to cry like a dog in pain.
YAN (ane), one.
YANCE (ance), once.
YAP, ape.
YARNUT, arnut, earthnut.
YAT, gate [*Teesdale Glossary*].
YAUDE, a horse [*Teesdale Glossary*].
YEDDERS, slender rods that go along the top of a fence and bind the stakes together [*Teesdale Glossary*, s.v. yether. The Southern English *ether*, A.S. *edor*.—W.W.S.].
YERD, a fox earth.
YERNING, rennet [*Teesdale Glossary*, s.v. yernin].
YOUL, to howl like a dog [*Teesdale Glossary*].
YUKE, to itch.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DERIVATION OF PLACE-NAMES.

FROM a book which Professor Skeat speaks of as the most worthless book of its class that he is acquainted with, but I, with more respect, describe as the most imaginative book on place-names I have seen—viz., Edmunds' *Traces of History in Names of Places*—I learn from "the half-Norse, Nunthorp, that there were nunneries in pre-Norman times, and that they held estates." I had previously supposed that the rather migratory body of nuns, who settled here for a few years before they shifted their quarters to Baysdale about the year 1260, or later, had then given the prefix Nun to the name which, in the Domesday pages, stands simply

Torp. But, of course, I defer to Mr. Edmunds' superior "imagination." In like manner, I learn from the same authority that the word "combe"—which is always by natives of the district pronounced coom—is not found anywhere in the Anglian or Norse districts, which have other British words marking the places retained by the "Indigenes." This, too,—I do not mean the obscurity about the retention indicated—has perplexed me a little. I had imagined that the North-Riding moorlands, Ryedale, Rosedale, Danbydale, were all in "the Anglian or Norse districts," and that place-names always, by natives of the district, pronounced cooms, might have something to do with *combe*. *Pace* Mr. Edmunds, it is even so. I am acquainted with from fifteen to twenty local names within the area roughly indicated above, or within the Furness Abbey district, all of which involve the element *coom*, *combe*, or *coomb*. Some of these names are of great written antiquity—as Ravenecumbe, in a document printed in the Whitby Chartulary belonging to about the year 1200; and others of them are in constant use to this day. Such is the case with two separate places in this parish, and in one of them the combe-making process is—to the eye of the observer—in still continued operation. There is, within a linear half-mile of this house, a place called "the Cooms" by the "natives," within the area of which I have, during the last decade, seen subsidences, involving many hundreds of tons of earth, evidently proceeding. A tithe of the "imagination" involved in Mr. Edmunds' book will enable anyone to conceive a moorland ridge of half a mile or upwards in width, coming to an end abruptly on reaching the valley of the small river running at right angles to the general direction of the ridge in question. These ridges, thus abruptly cut across, and of which there is no lack in the entire district, are usually called "nabs" or "nab-ends," and they present to the eye a sufficiently steep slope, with more or less of a talus at the foot, perhaps a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet below the end or "brae" of the ridge. Calling on our imagination still further, we have to conceive the half of a basin scooped out in this half-mile-wide nab-end, the diameter of the basin being about two thirds of the whole width, and the total depth of it, where the original face-line of the cliff may be assumed to have run originally, scarcely less than a hundred and twenty feet. This half-basin is "the Cooms," the name extending, in its application, some little way into the valley. In the course of my careful and exact watching of the changes going on within the area of our half-basin during the last seven or eight years, I have seen enough to assure me that the processes in operation for the creation of this combe, demand a series of ages, rather than of centuries, only; and the grave-hills I have opened on the moors around are, as it may be said, babies in years in comparison with our Cooms (or Coums, as more usually spelt here). What language the pilers of those burial mounds spoke, there is none to say; but there can be no doubt that the abiding name under notice is a survival from the tongue of some former "natives of the district."

The mischief done by the writers of such books as this *Names of Places* is a real mischief, and from its nature not easily remedied. For it is the application of ignorant but more or less plausible guessing to the *tabula rasa* of ignorant but receptive minds; and, the impression once produced, the representations of historical investigation and sober sense have no scope for influence, and are summarily rejected. And yet, one would think that

some of the incoherent ramblings of the unscientific deriver of place-names were too nonsensical and inconsistent to obtain a moderately thoughtful person's regard. To take but one illustration from that curious medley of unsifted statements, professing to be "historical," and really authentic recital, called *Old Yorkshire*, take the account that is given of Golcar:—"Anciently Gudlagesarc, i.e., Guthlac's Scar. Gol, a corruption of Guthlac, an O.E. or D. personal name. Car, an abbreviation of scar, D. a steep precipitous rock, derived from skéra, to cut." The most trivial amount of investigation would have sufficed to show the compiler that the suffix *arc* belonged to a group of forms, all apparently variations of one and the same stem-word; and the most embryonic amount of knowledge of the laws of philology would have averted the preposterous identification of *scar* with *car*, and *car* with *arc*; to say nothing of the almost equally astounding "corruption" of *Guthlac* into *Gol!* Of course, when one plays tricks of legerdemain with words after this fashion, anything becomes possible to the operator, and Boston admits of easy resolution into Celtic *bo*, an ox, and Teutonic *ton*—a derivation gravely propounded and printed some years ago by a Liverpool luminary in the derivation line; Aislaby (Hesselby in the "pronunciation of the natives of the district") into Hazel village; Danby, Ingleby, and Picton into the villages or towns of the Danes, the English, and the Picts! [1]

But the case of Golcar is perhaps one of the most startling, and, at the same time, one of the least justifiable of the vagaries of the imaginative deriver of place-names. The suffix is found in the forms *arg*, *arc*, *argo*, *erck*, *ergh*, *arghe*, *arge*, &c., as well as *ergum*, *argum*, *hergum*, and the like; and not less than six or seven of these forms are met with in Domesday, while these last named forms in *um* are so slightly removed from their original, *hörgum*, that a scholar, only slightly conversant with the implements of his profession, might easily have made a reasonable conjecture as to the real origin of the entire group of such terminations. And truly there is some "History" in such a "Name of a Place:" for "the *horg* was an altar of stone erected on high places, or a sacrificial cairn built in open air, and without images; for the *horg* itself was to be stained with the blood of the sacrifices; and hence such phrases as to 'break' the horgs, but 'burn' the temples. The horg worship reminds one of the worship in high places of the Bible. . . The worship on horgs seems to be older than that in temples, but was in after times retained along with temple worship." (Vigfusson's Icelandic-English Dictionary). The references or quotations from Old Norse writings in which the hof, or temple, and the horg are placed in antithetical connection, are really most numerous, and with the Domesday triad, Ergone, Ergune, Ergun (now severally Arram, Erriholm, and Airyholm) to compare with such collocations as "hofum ok horgum," it seems strange that the true connection of *arc*, *argo*, *arge*, *ergum*, *hergum*, and so forth, should have escaped the observation of even such derivationists as Edmunds and the "Old Yorkshire" investigator. Possibly one of the most curious connections is found in the Cleveland Ergum, now Airyholm. That is the name of a farmstead at the foot of Roseberry Topping. The hill thus named is

[1] This is not imagination. A man, educated at Eton and Oxford, travelling along the Cleveland line, told me he had seen the most interesting ethnological memorials in the names of those stations he had passed—the three named in the text!

known to have been, from 1100 onwards for four centuries and more, called Odinberg, or by some variation of that name. By what course of transition, or whether in virtue of some survival of an all but obsolete reminiscence of an elder appellation, Othenberg or Othenbruch gave place to Roseberry, there is nothing whatever to show conclusively. But the old Horg has survived through all, indifferent alike to the undiscriminating phonology of the Norman scribe of 1186, and the more reckless processes of later or modern accommodation and corruption. There seems to be some "Trace of History" indeed in such a name so associated; and when it is collated with the Whitby Thingwala, with Klifslönd, Klfflönd, (the name of the district including either), or with the endless place-names in *by*, *throp*, *toft*, *thwaite*, *um*, and the like, the history is not hard to read. It needs not that we should resuscitate the wielders of those four Danish swords and the mighty Danish battle-axe dug up at Kildale to tell us that Cleveland (and with Cleveland more than one or two other districts of important area in North Yorkshire) were almost as Old Danish as Old Denmark itself in jurisprudence, religion and language: these place-names do that with a singular emphasis and a most striking forcefulness. Rightly read, that story of Styrkar the Staller fleeing from the disastrous field of Stamford-bridge—however mythical in some of its aspects the account of the battle may be held to be—declares to us the unmistakable fact that the language of the Yorkshire husbandman (*bondi*, *húsbondi*) of 1066 was an entirely intelligible dialect of his own tongue to the Northman of the period, even if we are justified in applying such a word as "dialect" at all in the case. And surely, Thingwal, Odinsberg, with its horg, Grimesarge (Grim's harg), Gudlagesargo or Gudlagesarc (Guthlac's harg), Stratesargum (Stræts harg), Gusandarghe (Gusinsharg), Feges argh (Vegsharg) speak quite as plainly as to the polity, civil and religious, of the Danish-speaking people.

Illustrations of the same sort are literally without number, and attended in no small proportion of instances with analogous misapprehensions and consequent blunders and corruptions. There are in this parish, besides the cardinal name, Danby, which the imaginative folks we are speaking of interpret by "the village of the Danes," (therein ignoring alike the meaning of the suffix and the identity of the prefix), Butterwick (disguised as Butterwits), Clitherbecks (one of the two becks implied being almost the most rollicking beck of my acquaintance), a natural Houe (*haugr*) of large size, and the like, Danby Head and Danby Botton. To be sure, we have Dale-end now instead of the Norse form *Dals-mynni* or Dales-mouth, but Dalehead as sounded by a true dalesman—another pure Norse word—as if still written as it was originally spoken; while Botton is yet as thoroughly old Danish as is *dalsbotn* itself. And yet the lawyer and the modern local topographer must needs convert it into "bottom," while Professor Phillips (who might have known better), transmogrifies it into Burton! Doubtless there is a sort of ingenuity in the change; but then it is a perverted ingenuity. It is true the "natives" sound *word* "wo'd," and *bird* "bo'd," and *hurt* "ho't;" but that is hardly a justification for reversing the process and transforming *botton* into *burton*. But this is what the professor has done in his *Rivers, Mountains, &c.*, and the same charge lies at the door of the nomenclators of the Ordnance Survey, who print Burton Cross for what was written Bothine in 1205, and Burton Howe for Botton Howe

in the close vicinity of Phillips' Burton Head. If only there were an Index Expurgatorius of such books as we have glanced at, and the compilers were "set" a hundred lines for every blundering guess they made, what a slackening there would be in the flow of production.

J. C. ATKINSON.

DANBY PARSONAGE.

INDEX NOTES.

13. ROMAN REMAINS IN SUSSEX.

(C. I. L vii., pp., 17-20.)

NOTE.—The chief abbreviations used are:

Dall. *Hist.* J. Dallaway's *Hist. of Chichester*, 1815.
Dall. *Chich.*—Dallaway's *Topography of the Rape of Chichester*, 1815.
Cartw. *Arundel, Bramber*—Dallaway's *Top. of the Rapes of Arundel and Bramber*, re-edited by E. Cartwright, 1830-2, 2 vols.
Horsfield—T. W. Horsfield's *Hist. of Sussex*, 1835, 2 vols.
Lower—M. A. Lower's *Hist. of Sussex*, 1870, 2 vols.
Dixon—Dixon's *Geology of Sussex*, ed. 2, 1878, (*see Arch. Journ.* viii., 12).
S. A. C.—Sussex Archæological Collections, vols. i.-xxxv.
Coll. Ant.—C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, 1843-80, 7 vols.
Chich. Tr.—*Transactions and Museum of the Arch. Institute*, Chichester, 1853. (*See* S. A. C., viii., 284.)
Arch. Journ.—*Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vols. i.-xliv.
Assoc. Journ.—*Journal of the British Arch. Association*, vols. i.-xlii.
Arch.—*Archæologia*, vols. i.-l.
G. M.—*Gentleman's Magazine.*
O. S.—Ordnance Survey (six-inch and twenty-five-inch sheets).

The first nine publications I have searched myself; for the rest I have been mainly dependent on published indices. Through the kindness of Sir Charles Wilson, I have been able to look at some of the Ordnance Survey "Namebooks" for Sussex. The antiquities marked on the Ordnance maps are taken, sometimes from local enquiries made by the surveyors, more often from published authorities, *e.g.*, Horsfield. I do not suppose that my list is complete, but it is full enough for a beginning, and, I hope, omits very little of value. References in brackets denote passages borrowed from the work named immediately before, though I have not always been able to trace a statement to its fountain-head. I have purposely omitted many references, particularly those printed by Hübner. Those who use this list should remember that it is sometimes impossible to go behind the published accounts, that all manner of remains are apt to be thought "Roman," and that the occurrence of coins, &c., does not necessarily prove the presence of

Roman soldiers or settlers. I shall be grateful for any corrections or additions to my list.

F. HAVERFIELD, Lancing College, Shoreham.

ALBOURNE (near Hurstpierpoint), coins, &c. S. A. C., xiv., 176.
ALDRINGTON, urns, fibulæ, &c. Horsfield i. 160 (a vague notice, probably belonging to Portslade brickfields).
ALFRISTON, coins. Lower i., 6. (Possibly the coins are really British).
ANGMERING, bath, urns, inscribed pateræ, coin. Dall. *Arundel* i., 73 (Horsfield ii., 141).
ARUNDEL. The alleged road and station do not exist, nor are there any Roman remains here (Tierney's *Arundel* (1834) 30-33, *Assoc. Journ.* xxxii., 488). The station *ad decimum lapidem* (S. A. C. ix. 112) rests only on the spurious Richard of Cirencester. The Arun is probably Ptolemy's Trisantona (*Arch.* xlviii., 390).
AVISFORD (near Walberton), stone coffin with glass, bones, sandals, lamps, pateræ, &c. *G. M.* 1817, i., 464, Dall. *Arundel* 80 (Horsfield ii., 117), *Coll. Ant.* i., 123 Pl., Dixon, p. 91, S. A. C., xi., 130.

BEAUPORT PARK (near Battle), ironworks, pottery (inscr. ALBVCIANI, cp. C. I. L. 1336-44), ligula, coins of Hadrian and Trajan. S. A. C. xxix, 169 Pl.
BEDDINGHAM, coins of Antonines. Horsfield i., 340, *Lewes* i., 70. Lower i., 41 says "many remains."
BEEDING (UPPER) HILL, tumulus with coin of Commodus, Samian ware (inscr. SABILIANI or -LINI) urns. Cartw. *Bramber*, 221, Horsfield i., 59, and *Lewes* i., 44 Pl. ["Sabiliani" may be an error for "Sabiniani," C. I. L. 1336-960].
BIGNOR, large villa, figured mosaics, Samian ware, inscribed tiles, bricks, gold ring, &c. *Arch.* xviii., 203 Pl., xix., 176 Pl. (Dall. *Arundel*, 253 Pl.), Lyson's *Reliq. Brit. Rom.* iii., Pl. *See* also *G. M.*, 1811, ii., 515, 1812, ii. 487 (not 437), S. A. C. viii. 292, xviii., 99, xxx., 63 Pl., *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii., 154., *Assoc. Journ.* xlii., 57 Pl. (Side-road, S. A. C., x., 169, xi., 132).
BILLINGSHURST, pottery, tesserae, &c. S. A. C. xi,, 145, Lower i., 52.
BINDERTON, urn, tiles. S. A. C. xxii., 65.
BLATCHINGTON (EAST), urns under the church probably Roman. S. A. C. xiii., 309 (xv., 243, *Assoc. Journ.* xlii., 45).
BLATCHINGTON (WEST), foundations, fluetiles, bricks, stucco, hand-mill, coins of Tetricus. *G. M.*, 1818, ii. 107 (Horsfield i., 157), S. A. C. xxvii., 70, O. S. 65-8.
BOGNOR MILL, first brass of the elder Agrippina. Dixon, 71 Pl., Wright *Celt Roman and Saxon* (1861), p. 190, places a villa here.
BORMER (near Falmer), cemetery, vases, glass, instrumenta, coins. S. A. C. xiv., 67, xviii., 65 Pl.
BOSHAM, foundations and coins (near Broadbridge Ho and Swan Inn); tiles, bath, coins (near church—supposed basilica), alleged amphitheatre and walls. S. A. C. xviii., l. (Lower i., 63), Monographs by Smith, Longcroft, O. S., 61, 5 and 9.
BOTOLPH'S (down near), bricks, pottery. (?) Cartw. *Bramber*, 216 (Horsfield ii., 231).
BRAMBER, supposed bridge, probably post-Roman; coin (in castle). S. A. C. ii., 73; xvi., 243. The localisation of Portus Adurni here or near Shoreham, is based *only* on the similarity of *Adurnus* and "Adur." The Adur is said (S. A. C. xxvii., 98) to have been originally called Alder (cf. Domesday "Eldretune"). See *Magna Britannia* (1730) 536, "The *P. Adurni*, we suppose, gives ground for the conjecture that the river is called Adur." The form "Adur" may be the invention of an antiquary.
BRIGHTON (Furze Hill), coin of Constantius II. (found by C. G. Allum, Esq.). *See* also PRESTON, WHITEHAWKE, ROTTINGDEAN.
BUNCTON, tiles in church walls. Lower i., 88.

CABURN, MOUNT, pre-Roman camp, a little pottery and oyster shells on surface. *Arch.* xlii., 38 Pl.; xlvi., 424 Pl.; *Arch. Journ.* xli., 75.
CAKEHAM, coins of 3rd and 4th cent. *Assoc. Journ.* ii., 199, 442 (*Chich. Tr.*, 66.)

CHANCTONBURY, pre-Roman camp, Roman pottery and Samian ware, coins of Claudius and Nero, bricks. Evans' *Picture of Worthing* (1787) p. 65, *Arch.* xlii., 44 Pl., S. A. C. xxiv., 154, xxxiv., 220.

CHICHESTER (REGNUM or REGNI—the exact name is doubtful), walls, inscriptions, pavements, pottery, instrumenta, coins 54-270 A.D. Besides the rest below, see for—i. Urns and pottery. *Assoc. Journ.*, iv. 185 Pl.; S. A. C., x. 180; *Chich. Tr.*, 67. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), v. 39; Wright's *Uriconium* 299 Pl.; ii. Inscribed pateræ. C. I. L., 1336 (501, 530, 823, 898); *Journ. Arch.*, xxxvii. 150; iii. Inscription (site unknown). *Arch.*, xli. 185 (comp. xliii. 288; *Chich. Tr.* 97); iv. Fig. of Priapus, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), v. 180; v. Mortarium, Brighton Mus. [The "caput statuæ" quoted by Hübner (p. 17) from *Arch.*, xxvi. 466, is there said to be medieval.]

——— North Street (near, not under, Council Chamber), inscr. of Cogidubnus. C. I. L., 11; *Chich. Tr.*, 34. Mommsen *Staatsrecht*, ii. 792 *n.*

——— C. I. L. 10.

——— West Street, pavement. Dall. *Hist.*, 5; Horsfield, i. 42.

——— East Street. C. I. L. 12 (cp. *Eph. Epigr.*, 3, p. 114); Dally *Chich. Guide*, p. 5 (1831).

——— pavement at St. Andrew's Ch., pottery, &c., near. *Chich. Tr.*, 67; Lower, i. 102.

——— pottery kilns. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), vii. 292.

——— pavement. S. A. C., xxxii. 230.

——— waterpipes. O. S., 61-7.

——— Bishop's Palace, pavement, coins of Nero and Domitian. *Magna Britannia* (1730) 5, 489; Dall. *Hist.*, 5; Camden, i. 193.

——— inscription. *Arch. Journ.*, xliii. 286.

——— Cathedral, pavement. Horsfield, i. 42; S. A. C., xix. 198; *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxv. 94.

——— St. Olave's Ch., bricks, urns. S. A. C., v. 223; *Assoc. Journ.*, xxiv. 215; *G. M.*, 1852, i. 164, 272; but the remains are not Roman. *Chich. Tr.*, 73.

——— St. Pancras, pottery. *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii. 150.

——— Cattlemarket, ligula (inscr.). S. A. C., xxiv. 295.

——— Walls, Roman. *Assoc. Journ.*, xlii. 96, 120.

——— Eastgate, Roman (?) work, existing 1770. *Chich. Tr.*, 97.

——— inscription near (C. I. L., 14), and miliary column. Dall. *Hist.*, 5.

——— Southgate, inscr. C. I. L. 13-15.

——— pottery, coins, near. *Assoc. Journ.*, iv. 158; *G. M.* 1836, ii. 418.

——— Palace Field (near Canal), pottery, hand-mills, glass, 700 silver coins. *G. M.*, 1830, ii. 228.

——— The Broil, earthwork, perhaps Roman; conduit pipes, &c. Dall. *Hist.*, 177; *Arch.*, xlii. 48; S. A. C., x. 169 Pl.; *Arch. Journ.*, xiv. 357.

[For the alleged amphitheatre, see *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxii. 489; Grayling well not Roman.]

CHIDDINGLY, ironworks, pottery, coin of Severus. S. A. C. ii., 175; xiv., 208.

CHILGROVE (near Chichester), skeletons, glass, rings, bronze, urns. *Arch.* xxxi., Pl., ix. (*Chich. Tr.*, 68), Dall. *Chich.*, 168 (Horsfield ii., 83).

CHITCOMB, ironworks, pottery, bricks. S. A. C. xxix., 175.

CISSBURY, pre-Roman camp with slight traces of Roman pottery and coins on surface, and at Leechpool in the valley near. Evans' *Worthing*, 65, Cartw. *Bramber*, 32, *Arch.* xlii., 47 Pl., xlv., 337, S. A. C. iii., 179. [The "station" alleged *Assoc. Journ.* xxxiv., 311, does not exist, nor does the "prætorium."]

CLAYTON (Rectory garden), figured mosaic, bath. (?) Horsfield i., 161, 239; *G. M.*, 1818, ii., 107. [Found about 1810 and reburied by the Rev. — Halliwell; since re-opened, but known to the present rector only by tradition.]

——— (near) quern; coins of Antonines Commodus, and pottery. S. A. C. ii., 76, xiv. 178; *G. M.*, 1781, 306; 1818, ii., 107.; Horsfield *Lewes* i. 70.

COCKING, stone quarried at. S. A. C. x., 175.

COLD WALTHAM (Watersfield hamlet), urn with 1700 brass of Gallienus &c. Dall. *Arundel* i., 289 (Horsfield ii., 152); S. A. C. xi., 137.

CUCKFIELD (Highbridge Hill), urn, bones, and pateræ. S. A. C. iii. 142.

DANNY, *see* Hurstpierpoint.
DENSWORTH (near Funtington), stone and tiled coffins, inscribed pottery, glass, coins of Hadrian, sandals, pieces of illegible marble inscription. *G. M.*, 1858, i., 532 ; S. A. C. x., 169 Pl., xxxii., 197 (*Arch. Journ.* xv., 153, xvi., 101 Pl.), C. I. L., 17, 1276., O. S., 61, 1. [The entrenchments near, O. S. 48, 9, and 13, are hardly Roman.]
DEVIL'S DYKE, pre-Roman camp. *Arch.* xlii., 42. [Coins alleged, Lower ii., 108].
DITCHLING, pre-Roman camp and road ; coin of Tiberius. *Arch.* xlii., 30, 40 ; Horsfield i., 237 (the coin should read TI. not T).
DONINGTON, stone coffin with pottery, &c. Dall. *Chich.*, add 54.
DUNCTON, bath, pavement, tiles, &c. *G. M.*, 1812, i., 381, 1816, ii., Pl. Dall. *Arundel*, 279 Pl. (Horsfield ii., 170).

EARNLEY (Almodington), urn with 840 denarii, Caracalla to Gallienus, *G. M.*, 1836, ii. 418. S. A. C. xi., 127.
EASTBOURNE (Seahouses), villa, bath, pavement, coins (265-300 A.D.). *Phil. Trans.*, 351 (*Eastbourne Guide* (1787) 133-145, Dall. *Hist.*, xxii., Horsfield i., 55) ; S. A. C. ii., 257, xiv., 126 ; *Assoc. Journ.* xxxv., 218.
——— (The Wish), pottery. S. A. C. xvi., 308. [The alleged station S. A. C. ix., 156 is now given up ; the piles mentioned in the *Guide* can hardly be Roman.]
——— (cliffs near), hoard of 680 coins (253-275 A.D.) S. A. C. xxxi., 203 (Num., Chron., 1881, 27.)
ECKENFIELDS, coin of Victorinus. Gordon's *Harting* (1877) 20.
EDBURTON (down S. of), urns. Cartw. *Bramber* 240 (Horsfield ii. 224).
EWHURST (Sommersbury), glass. *Arch. Journ.* xxxii, 478.

FINDON (Tormur Hill), urns. Cartw. *Bramber* ii., 95 ; Dixon, 91 ; (Lower i., 178 ; *Assoc. Journ.*, i., 149). Brighton Museum.
FIRLE HILL, pottery, coins of Domitian, Hadrian, &c. S. A. C. xx., 52 ; xxii., 76 ; Horsfield *Lewes* i., 48, 70.
FISHBOURNE (NEW), bath, pavement, bricks, coins, urn. *G. M.*, 1805, ii. 926 ; Horsfield ii., 52. [More in two places, found 1863.]

GLATING BEACON. The alleged Roman camp does not exist. S. A. C. xi., 128 *n.*
GLYNDE, coins of later empire, ford. Dall. *Hist.* xxiii. ; Horsfield *Lewes* i., 70, ii., 112 ; S. A. C, xiii., 55, xx. 52 ; *Arch.* xlii., 35.

HAMPNETT (WEST), bricks and tiles built into the church. S. A. C. xxi., 33 Pl. (*Assoc. Journ.* xxiv., 213 Pl.).
HANGLETON, silver coins of Valerian,&c., in tumulus. S. A. C. ix.,124,xxxiv., 167.
HARDHAM, camp, cemetery with ashes, pottery, fibulæ, coins of Hadrian, bricks, tiles in church walls. Dall. *Arundel*, 295 (Horsfield ii., 153) ; S. A. C. xi., 138 Pl., xv., 243, xvi., 52 Pl., xxxii, 179 ; *Coll. Ant.* vi., 252 Pl.
HARTING BEACON, coin of 325 A.D., pottery. Gordon's *Harting*, p. 18.
HASTINGS, camp, coin of Theodosius. S. A. C. ix. 366, xiii., 308, xiv., 64 ; *Assoc. Journ.* xxiii., 41, 181. In 11th cent. called Hastingchester.
HOLLINGSBURY HILL, pre-Roman camp. *Arch.* xlii., 39.
HURSTPIERPOINT, churchyard and neighbourhood, clay ring (?), urns, coins, pateræ. S. A. C. xiv., 178 ; *Chich. Tr.* 73.
——— Danny Park, tessellated pavement, foundations, pottery, bronze ornaments. S. A. C. x., 210, xiv., 178 Pl.

IPING, urns under church. *Assoc. Journ.* xlii., 45. [Near this parish is a Cold Harbour Farm.]

LANCING DOWN, tumulus with walls and flooring of small room (16 feet sq.) and painted stucco, ashes, bones, coins (Claudius to Gallienus). Also under the tumulus graves with fibulæ, celts, beads, dagger, urns, *bones*, comb, British coins, &c. *G. M.*, 1828, ii., 631, 1830, ii., 17 Pl. (Cartw. *Bramber*, 388 Pl. ; Horsfield ii., 207) ; *Coll. Ant.* i., 93 Pl. ; O. S., 64, 8 ; *Assoc. Journ.* i., 149. [The accounts disagree, i. as to site, ii. as to coins found. Possibly the sceattas[1] of *G. M.* are a mistake. The British coins,

[1] The plate contains four coins, one a sceatta, one British, two undistinguishable with certainty. Cartwright speaks of many sceattas.

Evan's *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 110, 169, 183-5, were probably found here in the graves. The "Roman Ditch" marked in O.S. one-inch 1881 is now given up by Ordnance authorities.]

LAVANT, coins, alleged earthwork. S. A. C. x.. 169 Pl., xxii., 65.

LEWES, urn with bones, coins, fibulæ. Horsfield *Lewes* i., 67, 76. S. A. C. xxi., 91 ; *Assoc. Journ.* i., 230. There is *no* evidence of Roman occupation or town ; the statements made, S. A. C. xii., 3, and Lower ii., 17, seem to be much exaggerated.

——— (Combe place), urn. S. A. C. xxii., 194.

LITTLEHAMPTON, bottle possibly Roman. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), v. 39.

MARESFIELD (Oldland), ironworks, inscribed pottery, coins of 60-250 A.D., glass, fibulæ. S. A. C. ii., 172 Pl., xxxiii., 260.

MIDHURST, coins. *Assoc. Journ.* xxii., 358.

NEWHAVEN, pre-Roman camp with some Roman pottery and kitchen-midden, &c. *Arch.* xlii., 34. S. A. C. xviii., 167 ; *Journ. Arch.* iv., 210 ; *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, 15, clxxxvii. (1886)

——— (near), foundations, tiles, pottery, coins (Hadrian to Gallienus). S. A. C. v., 265 Pl. *Journ. Arch.* ix., 285.

PAGHAM. *See* Selsea.

PARHAM HILL, coins of M. Aurelius and Maximus. Dixon, 92 Pl.

PETWORTH, coin of 268 A.D. S. A. C. xix., 143.

PEVENSEY (ANDERIDA), walls, masonry, pottery, coins from Carausius to Gratian. *Report* (1858) by C. Roach Smith (*Coll. Ant.* vii., 166). *See* also Horsfield i., 310 ; S. A. C. vi., 265 Pl. ; *G. M.*, 1852, ii., 130 Pl. ; *Journ. Arch.* iv., 213.

PLUMMER'S PLAIN (in St. Leonard's Forest), onyx cameo. S. A. C. xxv., 228 Pl.

POLEGATE, pottery, coin. S. A. C. xx., 233.

POOR MAN'S WALL. *See* Devil's Dyke.

PORTSLADE (N.W. of railway station, in Brickfield), urns with bones, Samian and Durobrivian ware, lachrymatories, fibula, clayballs. Brighton Museum, and in possession of J. E. Hall, Esq.

——— windmill, supposed villa, pavement, bone awls, Samian and other pottery, tiles, key. Brighton Museum.

PRESTON (near Brighton)—Springfield Road, pavement, pottery, graves, urns, glass, coins (160 A.D.), loose urns, fibulæ. *Assoc. Journ.* xxxiii., 518 ; Proceedings of Brighton N.H.S., 1876 ; Friend's *Brighton Almanac*, 1885, 166. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), vii., 294.

PRINSTEAD, silver coin of 40 B.C. *Arch. Journ.* xiii., 96.

PULBOROUGH. i. Broomer's Hill, 4 lead pigs inscribed. C. I. L., 1215, and reff. there. ii. Holmstreet (Marehill), bricks, circular foundations, and iii. Borough Farm, foundations, stucco, tiles. Dall. *Arundel*, 358 Pl. (Horsfield ii., 164 Pl.). S. A. C. xi., 140 Pl. iv. Cold Harbour, coin. S. A. C. xi., 139.

RANSCOMBE CAMP, tiles, Samian pottery on surface. *Arch.* xlvi., 474, 489.

ROTTINGDEAN (shore near), supposed glass factory. Wright's *Celt Roman and Saxon* (1861), 230.

RUMBOLDSWYKE, bricks and urns in church, and near. *Assoc. Journ.* xxiv., 215 ; S. A. C. xvii., 255 Pl.

RYE, coins. Reynold's *Itiner.* (Appendix.)

ST. ROCHE HILL OR TRUNDLE (near Singleton), pre-Roman camp, gold coin of Nero. *Arch.* xlii., 48 ; Dall. *Hist.* xxiii. *n.* ; O. S., 61, 3 and 2.

SEAFORD, possibly Roman camp with tumuli, pottery (inscribed V. E.), coins of Hadrian, &c., fibulæ, nails ; cemetery ; ampulla, gold coin of Valentinian. *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* vi., 287, x., 130 ; *Arch.* xlii., 34 ; S. A. C. xxxii., 167 ; *Assoc. Journ.* ii., 344 ; S. A. C. xxi., 218 ; vii. 73 Pl.

——— (Sutton), tiles in church wall. S. A. C. xiii., 309 ; xv., 243 ; xviii., 141 (supposed saltpan).

——— (near), urn. S. A. C., ix., 368 Pl.

SEDLESCOMBE, ironworks, coins. S. A. C. ii., 175.

SELSEA. Mill—coins of Hadrian, Aurelius, &c. Dixon, 18 Pl. Rectory—tiles, bricks, pottery. Dall. *Chich.*, 5.
SHOREHAM (near), coins. Dall. *Hist.* xxiii. (vague notice).
SLINDON, earthwork, tiles, pottery, vase handle. S. A. C. xxvi., 267 ; *Arch. Journ.* xxxii., 332.
SLINFOLD, foundations, tiles, stucco, coins (80-300 A.D.). *G. M.* (1841) ii., 261 ; S. A. C. xi., 145 ; O. S., 13, 2.
SOUTH DOWNS, Camps on. *Arch.* xlii., 27-76 ; *Arch. Journ.* xli., 58 ; *Assoc. Journ.* xlii., 159, and reff.
—— —— uncertain site near Brighton, urn with 1000 denarii of Ant. Pius. Relhan *Hist.* (1761) p. 8 (hence other *Guides*, and *G. M.* 1761-249) ; Gough's Camden i. 200 ; Horsfield i., 178 ; Dall. *Hist.* xxiii.
SOUTHERHAM, urn, coins. Horsfield *Lewes* i., 70.
SOUTH STOKE, bronze statuette. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (II) vii., 339.
SOUTHWICK (N.E. of), bricks, pottery. Cartw. *Bramber*, 69 ; Horsfield ii., 218.
STANMER, bronze Cupid. *Arch.* xxix., 372.
STEYNING (downs above to W.), barrow with skeleton, 50 coins of lower Empire, stylus (?). Cartw. *Bramber*, 170.
STONEHAM (near Lewes), coins of Nero, Trajan. Horsfield *Lewes* i. 70.
STONEYRIVER (near Hardham), coin. S. A. C. xi., 139.
STORRINGTON (Redford hamlet), 1800 coins of lower Empire. S. A. C. viii., 277 ; xi., 140 ; *Arch. Journ.* xxiv., 70.
SULLINGTON (Sandgate), Roman (?) weapons. Cartw. *Bramber*, 128. (Horsfield ii., 239) ; S. A. C. i. 57 ; Lower ii., 192.
SUTTON (near Stane st.), pottery. S. A. C. xv., 242.
—— (near Seaford). *See* Seaford.

THUNDERSBARROW CAMP, Roman (?) and British pottery. O. S.
TWINEHAM, urn, spear head. S. A. C. xix., 195. Remains of buildings of uncertain date. S. A. C. xxxv., 195.

WARBURTON (near Arundel), glass vessel, bones, coin of Vespasian. Dixon, 91.
WASHINGTON HILL, coin of Faustina. Dixon, 92 Pl.
WATERSFIELD. *See* Cold Waltham.
WEPHAM, coins. Dall. *Hist.* xxiii.
WESTERGATE (near Chichester), stone coffin, with pottery, glass, bronze instrumenta. *Arch. Journ.*, xi. 125, Pl. ; *Chich. Tr.*, 65 Pl. [Now in British Museum.]
WESTFIELD, cinderheap, coins. S. A. C., ii. 219, xxvii. 228.
WHITE HAWKE HILL (Brighton racecourse), pre-Roman camp, urns, coins. Relhan *Hist.*, p. 8 ; Horsfield, i. 59 ; *Lewes*, i. 43 ; *Arch.*, xlii. 39.
WIGGONHOLT, graves, urns, Samian ware, coins (60-220 A.D.), patera. Dall. *Arundel*, 274 ; (Horsfield, ii. 162) ; S. A. C., ix. 112, xi. 139. *Arch. Journ.*, xii. 278.
WILLINGDON, coins. Horsfield, i. 290 ; (Lower, ii. 249).
WILMINGTON, pottery, key (?), coin of Nero. S. A. C., xxv. 231 Pl. ; Horsfield, i. 327.
WINCHELSEA, Hübner (C. I. L., p. 17) calls the walls Roman, referring to W. D. Cooper's *History*, but the latter mentions *no* Roman remains.
WISTON, foundations, pavement, tiles. S. A. C., ii. 313 Pl. ; *Assoc. Journ.*, iv. 386.
WOLSTANBURY, pre-Roman camp, arms, brass of lower Empire. *G. M.*, 1806, ii. 900 ; Horsfield, i. 59, *Lewes*, i. 70 ; S. A. C., xiv. 178 ; *Arch.*, xlii. 42.
WORTHING (Park Crescent), burial urns, with coins of Diocletian and Constantine. Dixon, 91.
—— —— (shore), coins of Vespasian to Postumus, pottery, bones of animals. Dixon, 75 Pl. ; S. A. C., i. 27.
—— —— (East Chesswood), burial urns with bones, Samian ware (one inscr.), coin. S. A. C., xxxii. 233, xxxiv. 218 Pl. ; *Arch. Journ.*, xli. 172.
—— —— (Broadwater), urns, Samian ware, glass, shoes and nails. Dixon, 89.

ROADS—

1. Stane Street : London to Chichester through Dorking, Slinfold, Billingshurst, Pulborough, Hardham, Cold Waltham. Dall. *Hist.*,

xvii. (Horsfield, i. 57); S. A. C., xi. 128 Pl., xix. 162; *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxii. 480. The statement sometimes made that this road ran through Arundel is erroneous; the alleged continuation towards Selsea (S. A. C. xi. 27) is equally unfounded in fact.

2. Chichester to Bittern (Hants). *Anton. Itin.*, 478. This road seems not to have been explored, except at New Fishbourne perhaps.

The following roads rest on insufficient evidence:—

3 Chichester to Pevensey. S. A. C., vi. 103, xiii. 55*n.*, xx. 233; and in parts, Chichester to Cissbury. *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxiv. 311. Steyning and Edburton. S. A. C., i. 77, ii. 64, 315, v. 112. Shoreham to Lewes. Relhan *History*, p. 8 (hence many writers). Lewes to Newhaven. Horsfield *Lewes*, i. 67 (against). Beddingham. S. A. C., xxi. 30. Newhaven to Seaford. xvii. 141. Lewes to Pevensey. *Assoc. Journ.*, vi. 91. None of these passages contain any real evidence for the existence of the supposed road, for which the spurious Richard of Cirencester seems mainly responsible. Hübner is therefore probably rash in marking it as *certa sed nondum explorata*. There are traces of British roads at Glynde and Ditchling (*Arch.*, xlii. 30-35) which the Romans may have used.

4. London to Newhaven or Pevensey. Dall. *Hist.*, xvi. (Horsfield, i. 38). This continuation of the Ermyn St. was invented by Richard of Cirencester, and has no real existence whatever.

5. Aldrington, Portslade, Clayton, St. John's Common to Bromley (Kent). *G. M.*, 1781, 306, 1818, ii. 107; S. A. C., ii. 76, xiv. 178. It is certain that a road made with flints was traced in 1781 near Clayton and St. John's Common, and about 1860 near Hurstpierpoint; the rest is conjecture. The road which Elliot placed at Street (Burrell MSS.; Horsfield i. 232) seems to be supported only by the name.

6. Lewes, Heathfield, Burwash, Etchingham, into Kent. S. A. C., xxvii. 163. This is apparently mere conjecture so far as Sussex is concerned.

7. A road running east through Midhurst to Lewes rests on nothing better than a mistaken interpretation of the "Anonymus Ravonnas."

14. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1887.

[*Archæologia Cantiana, being transactions of the Kent Archæological Society*, vol. xvii.; *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xxxv.]

Arnold (A. A.), Quarry House on Frindsbury Hill. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 169-180.
——— Roman remains and celt found near Quarry House, Frindsbury. *Arch.* Cant., xvii., 189-192.
——— Rochester Bridge in A.D. 1561. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 212-240.
Attree (Capt. F. W. T.), Wivelsfield. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 1-60.

Brock (E. P. L.), Ancient Stained Glass in Westbere Church. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 1-3.

Cowper (J. M.), Accounts of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury (continued from vol. xvi). *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 77-152.

Dalison (Mrs.), Dalison documents: letters of Thomas Stanley of Hampton, written between 1636 and 1656. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 353-372.
Dowker (G.), Roman remains at Walmer and Ramsgate. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 4-5.
——— Saxon cemetery at Wickhambreux. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 6-9.
——— Roman remains recently found at Canterbury. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 34-37.
Duckett (Sir G. F.), additional materials towards the History of the priory of St. Pancras at Lewes. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 101-126.

Expense book of James Master, Esq. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 321-352.

Fenton (J. A.), Worthing two hundred years ago. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 93-100.

Gomme (G. L.), Boley Hill, Rochester. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 181-188.

Hussey (E.), Scotney Castle. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 38-48.

Payne (G.), Roman leaden coffin discovered at Plumstead. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 10-11.
——— Potters' names and marks on pseudo Samian ware found in Kent. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 153-160.
Pearman (Rev. A. J.), Rainham Church. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 49-65.

Return of aliens resident at Cuckfield and Lindfield in 1793. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 173-178.
Robertson (Rev. Canon Scott), sculptured head of a knight. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 37.
——— Church plate in Kent. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 241-320.
——— Cobham Hall: letters to the Duke of Lenox, A.D., 1667-72. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 373-391.
——— Furniture and pictures at Cobham Hall in 1672. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 392-410
Rye (W. B.), the ancient Episcopal palace at Rochester and Bishop Fisher. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 66-76.
——— Rochester Bridge, a poem written in A.D., 1601. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii. 161-168,

Salisbury (E.), report on the records of New Romney. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 12-33.
Sawyer (F. E.), Extracts from the Sussex Assize Roll, 1279. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 89-92.
——— Glossary of Sussex Dialectal Place Nomenclature. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 165-172.
——— Crown presentations to Sussex Benefices temp Charles II. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 179-188.
Smith (C. R.), discovery of a hoard of Roman coins at Springhead. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 209-211.
Stenning (Alan H.), return of the members of Parliament for the county and boroughs of Sussex. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 127-164.

Wadmore (J. F.), Thomas Smythe of Westenhanger, commonly called Customer Smythe. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 193-208.
Whistler (Rev. R. F.), the annals of an English family. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 61-88.

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Guillemand (J.), Les Inscriptions Gauloises: nouvel essai d'interprétation. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 200-213.

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Müntz (Eugène), L'antipape Clément vii; essai sur l'histoire des arts à Avignon vers la fin du xive siecle. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 168-183.

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R. (S.), Liste des oculistes Romains mentionnés sur les cachets. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 254-268.
Reinach (S.), an inedited portrait of Plato. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 1-5.
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Schliemann (H.), Urälteste Tempel der Aphrodite. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 20-23.
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Trowbridge (S. B. P.), Archaic Ionic capitals found on the Akropolis. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 22-27.

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REVIEW.

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS: ASSYRIA. By Z. A. RAGOZIN. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1887. 8vo. pp. xix., 450.

MDE. RAGOZIN has followed up her admirable account of ancient Chaldea by an equally admirable account of Assyria. Though not a professed Assyriologist, she has made use of the best and latest works bearing on the history and language of Assyria, and has produced a volume which the Assyriologist himself will read with pleasure and profit. She possesses good

judgment, historical imagination, and a pleasant style, and the very fact that she does not approach the subject from the point of view of a specialist makes her the better historian. She has no favourite theories to defend or overthrow, and no temptation to allow unimportant details to obscure the general features of the narrative.

The best commentary that can be furnished on the labours of Assyrian students in these latter years is afforded by a comparison of this book with those written upon the history of the ancient East thirty or forty years ago. The discoveries of the last few years have opened up a new world of life and thought and civilisation and made us familiar not only with facts but also with conceptions of which our immediate forefathers never even dreamed. Half a century ago the very site of Nineveh was questioned; and all that was known about its history was derived from a few stray notices in the Old Testament and the legends that passed current in the classical world. Now we can read the story of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah told in his own words, we can follow the armies of Tiglath-pileser I. as they marched through Western Asia four centuries earlier, and we can study the same literature that the scribes and scholars of Nineveh once studied, measuring the depth of their knowledge and the profundity of their scientific lore.

It is perhaps startling at first sight to find how little the world has changed since the days when Sennacherib transferred the royal library of Calah to its new habitation in Nineveh. The books it contained were duly numbered and registered, and the librarian was enjoined to lend them to any reader who required their use. But these arrangements were of old standing. The libraries of Assyria were but imitations of those of Babylonia, and the literature that was stored in them consisted for the most part of copies of older Babylonian works or else of commentaries upon them. Like the Babylonians the educated Assyrian was required to know Accadian, the extinct language of primitive Chaldea, and the grammars, vocabularies, reading-books, and interlineal translations of Accadian literature that were provided for the purpose recall to mind the Latin manuals of our own school days.

During the last ten years such excavations as have been made in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates have taken place in Babylonia rather than in Assyria. Our knowledge of Assyrian history, as separate from that of Babylonia, has consequently received but little addition. Perhaps the only new facts of importance that have come to light are the existence of a second Tiglath-pileser the father of Ramân-nirari II., making the Tiglath-pileser of Scripture the third of his name, and the fact that the last, or almost the last monarch of Assyria was called Sin-sarra-iskun. But the history of the closing days of the Assyrian empire still remains shrouded in mystery.

Before parting from Mde. Ragozin's book it is necessary to say a word or two in praise of the excellent and well-chosen illustrations which are profusely scattered through its pages. They add greatly to the interest of the volume.

A. H. Sayce.

History.

—: o :—

VILLENAGE IN ENGLAND DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIIth CENTURY.

REVIEWING the last two volumes of Mr. Thorold Roger's splendid work on the history of agriculture and prices, the *Athenæum* states in the following manner the current idea as to the complete disappearance in England of personal servitude, during the second part of the 16th century :

" Slavery, serfdom, bondage, villenage, call it by what name you will, has existed throughout the greater part of the island from time immemorial. Slowly, however, without revolutionary violence for the most part, bondmen became free ; a few old manorial customs remained, but in the Tudor times serfdom may be said to have expired. The last conveyance of bondmen with the land we have seen is in the reign of James I., but it is probably only a egal form copied from older documents." (*Athenæum*, May 12th, 1888.)

A petition which I have been fortunate enough to find amongst the State papers of the Commonwealth preserved at the Record Office, gives a formal " démenti " to this somewhat sweeping statement. Slavery, it is true, is not mentioned there, as it had already disappeared centuries before ; but villenage, totally differing from it by its origin and legal character, and not having been repealed by statute, is represented as being still alive in more than one corner of the country. The petition we are quoting is not the only document of the 17th century where villenage is mentioned. We find traces of it in the parish registers of Hartland, embracing the period from 1638 to 1650. One of the chief characteristics of villenage is the payment of heriots. This payment is mentioned more than once in these parochial documents (Fifth Report of the Historical Mss. Commission, p. 574). The heriots are bitterly complained of in the petition we are now publishing. It seems that the progress of society, instead of bringing a certain improvement in the matter, had, on the contrary, rendered this sort of payment more heavy and

burthensome to the peasants, the landlord leaving aside any moral considerations, and insisting exclusively on the peculiar character of the obligation.

One of the chief claims of the Long Parliament to the gratitude of succeeding generations is certainly the fact that it brought forward a bill for the abolition of every vestige of personal bondage. Dissolved by Cromwell it was prevented from bringing to a right conclusion one of its noblest designs.

Instead of taking in his own hands the interests of the English peasantry, Cromwell, notwithstanding the petition presented to him by the oppressed villeins, declared in a special act "that all rents certain and heriots, due to mesne Lords or other private persons, shall be paid; and that where any relief, or double ancient yearly Rent, upon the death of an ancestor was in such cases formerly due and payable, a double ancient yearly Rent onely in lieu thereof shall now be paid upon the death of an ancestor, as in free and common soccage; and that the same shall be recovered by the like Remedy in Law, as Rents and Duties in free and common soccage." (An act for the taking away the Courts of Wards and liveries, London, 1657.)

So far was villenage from being completely obsolete in the years directly preceding its legal abolition by Charles the Second, that contemporaneous pamphleteers openly expressed the desire "that some courte may be thought of how, without injury or wrong to the propriety of landlords, the duties and services with which most lands are charged may be taken off at a reasonable composition, as the infamous marks of servitude, and badges of the Norman yoke and tyranny." [1]

These remarks will help to explain the following, hitherto unpublished petition to the reader, who, we have no doubt, will consider it as a precious document, capable of throwing a new light on the social condition of the English labourers during the great epoch of the religious, social and political commotions attached to the name of Oliver Cromwell.

"N. 35. To his Highness the Lord Protector of ye Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc., and to his most honorable Councell.

The humble petition of the well affected yet oppressed tenants of Thomas Dykes, Esq., of Warthold, in the Countie of Cumberland and other divers Landlords in the aforesaid Countie . . .

[1] *A modest Plea for an Equal Commonwealth*, 1659.

Wherefore in ye assurance wee have of your Highnes Ayme to God's glory, and the good liberty and benefit of his people, wee are now constrained to present our sad and lamentable grievances unto your Highnes pious consideration by reason of those intollerable pressures which wee have continually yet upon our backs by those many delinquents who are landlords over us and our estates, who by their owne power and wills breake all our customes and unrobes us of all our ancient and iust priviledges in laying such yokes upon our necks, that neither wee nor our estates are able to beare, in keeping us absolute vassalls and bondslaves to their tyrannous and perverse wills, and ourselves and posterities miserable and slavish Beggers to Eternity. Yea, and that which is ye sorrow of sorrows to our spirits, the Tirants doe more and more aggravate their oppressions upon us under pretence that your Highnes doth encourage, and is engaged to maintaine those their illegall lawes and oppressions upon us which our faith is very opposite to believe, and in whome wee hope the Lord hath wrought a more heavenly principall, etc."

The petitioners mention in the course of their address that they had "humbly made their addresses to ye late parliament: in consideration thereunto an intended act for yat purpose was 2 severall times read in ye House, but the House being dissolved could not perfect this."

"N. 35. A particular of ye insufferable grievances imposed upon ye Tenants under ye Tirannous and Delinquent Landlord Thomas Dykes of Warthold, Esq. and other Delinquent Landlords in the Countie of Cumberland (11 August 1651).

(1) The said Thomas Dykes of Warthold, Esq. and other landlords in the county of Cumberland, compells the tenants at the death both of Landlord and tenant to pay some 30s. and some 40s. fyne, whereas the auncient customs of fynes was but to pay one yearly value.

(2) The Landlord, etc., doe compell the said tenants to be bound to grinde at his and their milnes, and if otherwise they doe refuse, then the said Landlord, etc., doe amerce their said tenaunts at their mannor courts, where their power and will are a law, and afterwards commence suits against them either in Comon Law or Chancery to their great ruine unles the said tenaunts doe give the said Landlord what agreement or composition the Landlords shal be pleased withall to buy their owne peace.

(3) The said Landlords compell their said tenaunts to carry them all manner of carriages, viz. as Milstones to their Milnes, Coales and other fewell to their houses, etc.

(4) The said Landlord, etc., compells the said tenaunts to cut downe their corne in time of Harvest, and often to bring in the same to be lodged in their houses, whereby their tenaunts corne doth often perish for want of their industry.

(5) The said Landlord, etc., doth enioyne the said tenaunts to furnish their said Landlords with certaine number of Henns and other poultry to uphold their superstitious ffeasts at Christmas and Easter soo called.

(6) The said Landlord, etc., will not permit the said tenaunts to ffell a tree in their owne grounds or hedges though planted by themselves for ye repayre of their owne houses, unless they bribe their Landlord for a lycense (yea, and often the said Landlord or their betrust officers, which are all in generall malignants and Delinquents, will for a price of money give unto his or their friends any Timber Wood that grows in their tenaunts hedges or grounds to any foraigner[2] or stranger that lives in another parish or county, and the poor tenaunt not daring to make complaint).

(7) The said Landlord, etc., will not permit the said tenaunts to dig up any Lyme stone for ye tillage of their owne grounds, for their better subsistence and ye generall increase and good of ye nation, whereby the poore people are kept in continuall Beggery, and the land kept barren and unfruitfull against ye generall increase of ye commonwealth.

(8) The said Landlords doe most unhumanely impose one most cruell tyranny more upon ye said tenaunts (which surely had its rise from Jophott), especially as its abuses (to wit) that destructive custome of Herriots, the originall and abuses whereof were and are as followes:

The said Landlords formerly having some lands in their owne power of disposall, which afterwards they came to sell to their tenaunts upon conditions of ffyne and herriot, soe yat at ye death of ye tenaunts, an heire being in minority, the widow or guardian were to give the Landlord one Herriot as a composition for ye ffyne till the heire came himself to maturity of yeares, which custome hath of long time bene tyrannously abused as followeth, viz.

(1) That if a tenant (sic) have a parcell of ground conteyning

[2] The application of the term "foreigner" to the inhabitant of another village at so late a period as the Commonwealth affords curious evidence of the isolation of villages from each other.

20 or 30 acres more or lesse, and the same he is through necessity constreyned to sell by severall parcells, and in case the said tenant doe parcell the said ground into 20 parcells more or lesse to soo many severall persons, the said Landlord will have a heriot for every one of ye parcells, which is tyrannicall oppression.

(2) If ye heire of ye partie deceased who did so parcell the said ground as aforesaid shall desire to repurchase the said parcells againe to his estate, yet at his death his widdow or childrens guardians are by ye then Landlord compelled to pay so many herriots as it was formerly sold into parcells by his said ffather if their be soe many goods belonging to ye person deceased.

Like in Copyhold land, where ye Landlord and their delinquent stewards will not accept of a fyne unles the tenaunt doe take so many copyes and surrenders for so many parcells as the said land was parcelled in ye sale or purchase thereof though all in one field and tenor under one Landlord of purpose to make ye fee to ye said Lord or his delinquent stewart excessive.

These and other like intollerable grievañces seriously weighed in ye ballance of your pious justice, wee pray a Christian regulation hereof, who shall have cause to Magnify the Lord for you.

and ever pray, etc."

The same state of things is shown to have existed in Cheshire and Lancashire, from which counties the following petition was sent to Cromwell:—

"To his Highnes the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The humble petition of divers well affected persons in Lancashire and Cheshire counties against oppressing Landlords (August 1654).

That your petitioners having from ye beginning of those warrs faithfully served ye Parliament freely hazarding their lives and all that was deare unto them to maintaine ye interest of ye commonwealth against ye bloody papists and Cabaleires, and hoping yat when ye Lord should have subdued their Enemies, your petitioners and many others should have been sett free from future bondage. But soo it is that to their great greife ye yokes of their oppressors are not yet breaken, but when your petitioners had by their opposicion to them heated them in wrath and Mallice 7 times hotter then they were before were given upp to their Mercy. Who have already begun to oppress their cruelty by turning some of your petitioners

out of dores, and threatning ye like to ye rest and ye oppresed for their servise done to ye Parliament, which will not only weaken the Nation by Depopulacion of the Northerne counties of many of your faithfully cordiall friends, but greatly dishearten many Thowsands of such under your happy government, The redress of which great grievance now through ye providence of God lyeth in ye power of your Highness to assert.

Wherefore your petitioners most humbly pray that your Highness will bee pleased to take their sade condicion into consideracion, And yat ye Act intended and drawne upp for releife of tennants against oppressing Landlords and read twice in ye late Parliament, but never brought to a periode by reason of their dissolucion may againe bee revived and established by Your Highness ordinancy. Your Highness would please by your order to impower ye persons whose names are expressed in the draught of an order hereto annexed, being gentlemen of knowne integrity, and most of them having very many tenants of their owne as commissioners to heare ye grievances of oppressed tenants, And to examine upon oath matter of fact between them and their landlords in the said countyes respectively and to certify to your Highness ye true state of your petitioners complaynt, And that in the meane tyme all proceedings at Law for Ejection of such tenants may bee superceeded until certificate bee made from ye saide commissioners. Provided such certificates be returned before ye 31st Day of January 1654.

And not only your petitioners but many Thousand others shal be in duty bound to pray, etc.

JOHN JOLLIE in ye behalf of ye petitioners."

There can be no doubt that these petitions reveal a state of things in the northern counties which our best authorities have been slow to recognise. The plain truth is that all conclusions arrived at before manor rolls, legal documents in contested cases, and Parliamentary papers referring to the condition of the peasant class, are made accessible to students, must of necessity be of a tentative character. But it becomes all the more a pressing duty of the various societies devoted to archæological and historical inquiry to cease for the time publishing theory after theory, and to commence earnestly the work of publishing documents, by which alone the true state of things can be arrived at.

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY.

THE BOOK OF ACCOUNTS OF THE BAKERS OF YORK.

THE following specimens from the *Book of Accounts* of the York Bakers, furnish some interesting illustrations of the ordinances already printed in this Review (ante pp. 124, 215). If the date of the payment sometimes precedes that of the ordinance, it indicates that the regulation was in force before it was registered or renewed. The figures between brackets refer to the corresponding ordinances :—

1585. Receipts.

"Item of Henrye Cowper for his brotherheade monye	20d.
Of the pynners and paynters for theire paidgion rent	16d.
Fynes rec. at Owse bridge [i.e. in the Mayor's court]	
Inprymis of Thomas Rames for lacke of weight	4d.
Item of Adam Symson Inholder (cf. sec. 42, 43)	4d.
„ of Robt. Cooke Inholder	6d.
of Mr. Mettam Inholder	8d.
„ of Willm. Nicholson for lacke of weight	2d.
„ of Thomas Rames for evill stuff and lack of weight	6d.
„ of John Yaite for lacke of weight ij sundrye faultes	4d.
„ Henrye Cowper for lacke of weight in a horse lofe	8d.
Fynes rec. at St. Anthony Hall [at the Company's meeting]	
Inprimis rec. of Wm. Wilson for openinge his shoppe on Sondaye (sec. 41, 61)	1d.
Item of Raiphe Herdye for the lyke offence [and seven others for the like]	1d.
„ of Steven Robson for brawlinge in the market with Raufe Herdye (sec. 30, 31, 69)	8d.
„ of Raufe Herdye for the lyke offence againste Steven Robson with evill speaches to hym	4d.
„ of William Tyndall for sayinge to his brother Steven Robson 'thou' in the common plaice (sec. 30, 69)	2d.
„ of Willm. Nicholson for disobedyence (sec. 29, 69)	2d.
„ of John Metcalfe, jernaman, for disapointinge John Yaite when he was hyered to hyme (sec. 39)	4d.
„ of Willm. Skelton to the vse of the occupacon for the goodwill of Thomas Nicholson prentis (sec. 65, 68)	3s. 4d.
„ of Charls Skaife, sercher, for bayking on Sonndaye (sec. 41, 61)	6d.
„ of John Yaite for disobedyence or gaynesainge the Searchers in the common place	4d.
„ of John Daver for not comynge to the common place (sec. 28)	2d.
„ of Willm. Nycholson for charginge tholde searchers of wrongs in there accompts, and was not	4d.
„ of Willm. Wayte for geving moulter at castle myls [and five others, the like ; cf. sec. 51]	2d.
„ of Steven Lonsdell for Kiddall his prentis assigned to hym by the searchers and occupacion in the comon place (sec. 68)	5s. 0.
" of Cunande Walles from promyssinge Gregorye Smith to bayk, and came not (sec. 39)	4d.
„ of Richerd Wilson for comynge behinde the hower (sec. 28)	2d.
„ of Richerd Wright for 'thowinge' Wm. King, searcher (sec. 29)	4d.
„ of Henrye Cowper for mysorder at Trinitie supper (sec. 30, 69)	4d."

Again in 1586 fines were set at St. Anthony's Hall—

"Rec. of Thomas Bewemer for gevinge moulter att Castle mylls 4d.
„ of Willm. Fell for evill words spoken by hys mother (sec. 30) 4d.
„ of John Dynsdell for maykinge the mylner privye what he maide of thre bushels of Rye 4d.
„ of John Watman for brawlinge with Wm. Langton wyfe in Thursday market 2d.
„ of Willm. Waite for fower default whiche was arbitrated by fower brether of thoccupacion (sec. 70) 4d.
Rec. of Mathewe Roger which was electe and chosen searcher and wolde not stande (sec. 55) 20d.
„ of Willm. Beckewith for contributer to the occupacon to baike spiced caikes for this yere (sec. 47, 48, 53) 5s.
„ of Robt. Wyseman for baikinge Horne caikes in Lente on dayes which was not fastin daies (cf. sec. 58) 2d."

In 1587 fines were set in the Mayor's court for many cases of light weight—"a light rye loofe," "a light bowted[1] loofe," "a light crose lofe," "a light white lofe," "a light horse loofe," "for spiced caikes baiking," &c. In their own hall the same year were fined "Mathew Roger for not comynge to go to church with Mr. Ketiland at his mariage as he was warned by the Searchers" (sec. 57), "for brawlinge at castle mylls," "Wm. Nicholson for not comynge to go to churche with Thomas Haxuppe at his mariage" (sec. 57), "Mathew Staynton for baykinge in the cuntrye" (sec. 3).

On the other hand, the following are payments:—

1584 "to John Jackeson the officer for goinge with searchers to searche Innes (cf. sec. 43) 12d.
to the bridgemaisters for padgion-howse rent 12d.
at the offrande of Thomas Slater (sec. 57) 4d.
to mynstrells straungers at John Garthe Maundaye dynner 12d.
to the bedall of St. Anthonye [the Hall rent] 3s. 0d.
bestowed of John Dixson by consent in the comon place when he wente to Baithe 3s. 4d.
to my lorde mare concerninge the playe 3s. 4d.

1585 "For two sewte of newe weights 9s.
for a payre of newe brasse scaylles 3s.
at the offrande of John Mylner wife (sec. 57) 4d.

1587 "Laide furthe at the offrande of Mr. Ketiland mariage 4d.

1588 "At John Collye offrand
at John Dinsdell wife offrand
at John Gryme reckeninge dynner to mynstrels by consentte 16d.
for parchment to maike ij leaves to putt vnto the ordynall to sett doune the newe orders 3d.
to Thomas Roger[2] the clark for maikinge vpe this our accompt 8d."

[1] This word occurs several times; in 1588 it is "bowlted" and "boulted." It seems to mean a loaf of "boulted" or sifted flour. Compare sec. 21, 42.

[2] Adam Kettlewell appears to have become clerk in 1593; he was paid in that year for "the reformacon and certaine articles to be added vnto our ordenarye;" and in 1595 for "his paynes in ingrossinge the same booke."

Besides the offerings at marriages and burials of brethren charity was sometimes given, as in 1593, "to a strainger havinge a pasport and beinge a baker, as he affirmed, 6d.;" and in 1595 it was ordered by the company, at their common assembly, that three of their number "shall be free at the foure ordenarye dynners and dischardged of all other dewtyes in respecte of their povertie."

These are among the interesting matters to be found in these two old books, which it is hoped may form a not useless contribution towards the history of an English craft or company.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

REVIEW.

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED. The History of the Town and Guild. By JOHN SCOTT. London: Elliot Stock. 1888. 4to, pp. xv., 495.

THERE are many reasons why we should expect that—"Our town of Berwick-upon-Tweed," as its style ran in royal proclamations, should readily furnish materials for a great book: its strategic value as a frontier garrison, commanding the eastern route from England to Scotland, as Carlisle commanded the western one; its *status* as a free town, independent alike of both kingdoms; and its position at the mouth of a great river, within easy sail of the ports of Western Europe, all render it certain that the historian of Berwick-upon-Tweed, whether he be of the old-fashioned drum and trumpet school, or whether he loves rather to trace the history of municipal institutions and their gradual development, or to follow to their causes the fluctuations of commercial prosperity, will find plenty of material to his hand, and there will be stuff remaining over for those who like to deal with ecclesiastical matters. With all these various branches of history Mr. Scott has concerned himself, and the result is a great and valuable work, that is, perhaps from its very fullness, a little overpowering: while the necessity of going over the history three or four times, general history, guild history, ecclesiastical history, &c., is apt a little to confuse: it would have been better had Mr. Scott emphasized by subtitles, or other means, these various divisions.

Berwick and Carlisle readily occur to one's mind in connection with one another: they have many points of resemblance: both are frontier fortresses of great strategic value as commanding routes by which wheeled carriages, and therefore armies, could pass from one kingdom into the other: both sprang into importance, when the present boundaries between England and Scotland were established: both have seen great English armies assemble under their walls for the invasion of Scotland: both are indissolubly connected with the history of Edward I.: one is the capital of the Western Marches, the other of the Eastern: English Parliaments have assembled in both places: both depended largely for their prosperity upon their garrisons, and when these were broke in 1603, in consequence of the union of the two kingdoms, both places fell into poverty: both places were occupied for Charles I. in 1639, and both had, a little later, to endure being garrisoned by Scots. But the resemblance must not be pressed too

far: the one town, Berwick, is situate in the English kingdom of Bernici and the other, Carlisle, in the British kingdom of Strathclyde: Carlisle has a long history prior to its re-foundation by the Red King, and its soil is replete with Roman antiquities; no mention is found of Berwick until the 9th century, and Mr. Scott can find no evidence that it was a place of any importance until the 11th century; no Roman relics occur there; Carlisle has always been for military, for civil, and for ecclesiastical purposes, the capital of the district around it, though the boundaries of that district have from time to time been varied; but for all these purposes Berwick has been, time and time, overshadowed by its neighbours of Bamborough, Newcastle, and Durham: at this day Carlisle retains its supremacy and is a manufacturing town and a great railway centre: so is Newcastle, but Berwick is a mere road-side station, whose coasting trade has been diverted by the railway into other channels, and we are sorry to find Mr. Scott writing sadly—"trade does not flow to the old town, and at no period in its history have the signs of decay been more legibly written on it than in the year 1887."

Berwick was at the zenith of its prosperity in the 13th century: the Chronicle of Lanercost under date of 1296 writes of it: "Ipsa civitas quondam adeo populosa ac negotiosa exstiterat, quod merito altera Alexandria dici poterat, cujas divitiæ mare, et æquæ muri ejus." It had more ships, and more foreign commerce than any other port in Scotland, and through it went to the continent, the export of wool, woolfells, and hides collected from the great basin of the Tweed, in which were situate the wealthy farming and trading monasteries of Melrose, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, and Kelso, which last place was connected with Berwick by a good road, practicable for wheeled conveyances. The Scotch kings had a palace in Berwick, and frequently resided there; perhaps in consequence of this the eastern or Berwick route between the two kingdoms was more used than the western through Carlisle. In 1286 Berwick paid into the Scotch exchequer £2,190 annually, a sum equal to about one fourth of the whole customs of England. These halcyon times passed away: the death of the Maiden of Norway gave Edward I. an excuse for interfering: in 1296 he besieged, captured, and destroyed Berwick, and massacred the inhabitants: he made it into a fortress, and Berwick was caught up into the current of history; for the next 300 years it was conspicuous only for its share in the calamities of war: its wool trade dwindled away, and little of its export trade remained but that in salmon, when, in 1482, Berwick, after various vicissitudes, passed for ever from under Scotch rule into English possession and government.

About one half of the volume now under review is devoted to the general history of Berwick from its first mention in the 9th century down to its decadence in 1887. The garrisons that held Berwick appear to have been as great a terror to those they were supposed to protect, as to those they were expected to fight, and we read of them frequently as "thievish and ill-behaved." In 1560 statutes were signed by Queen Elizabeth for the Town and Castle of Berwick, in which offences by the soldiers were dealt with, with considerable severity. Some of the statutes are curious: every soldier is to have a jacket of white and green: the playing at dice or cards for money, or "at marbles but for beer, ale, or

wine," was prohibited to the soldiers, as also was the keeping of "curr dogges or bitches:" one can understand one of Queen Bess's musketeers keeping a disreputable little cur dog, but one does not readily realise him at a game of marbles: still, in the reign of William IV. an order was in the order books of H. M.'s guards that the ensigns were not to play marbles with the drummer boys. These Elizabethan soldiers, who garrisoned Berwick, required some pleasure to sweeten their lot with: "the sourness of the northern air" made them ill, as Sir John Brende tells in a letter to Cecil, while the Queen's victuallers fed them on condemned provisions, to wit, "naughty herrings," of which they had 396 barrels: the pay however was liberal, only it was not forthcoming. No wonder men would not stay in Berwick longer than they could help—to be deprived of their games at marbles, their little wee dogs, and their liberal pay, to be fed on stinking herrings and to breathe sour air. Lord Grey of Wilton was appointed governor in 1560, and he purged the town: he sent away "269 abominable Damoselles": at the suggestion of John Knox he imported learned and godly men to preach, the Dean of Durham and Mr. Sampson, and he laid a cess on the garrison for payment of their fees. The fortifications of Berwick, which Edward I. had made, were by the reign of Queen Elizabeth obsolete and decayed: Grey started to reform them, and the work was completed by his successors—Bell Tower, of which a photograph is given, is now the only remnant of that old line of fortification which Edward I. built and Bruce did much to strengthen. Henry Lord Hunsden, Queen Elizabeth's cousin, was appointed in 1568 Governor of Berwick, and Warden of the East Marches: he was more given to hanging than either hunting or hawking: he suppressed Leonard Dacre's rebellion, and he and after him Sir Robert and Sir John Carey did much to reduce the thievish and murderous propensities of the Borderers (of which Mr. Scott gives some instânces) by severely punishing some, and by treating others in a spirit of generous confidence. With the death of Elizabeth came the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English throne, and the union of the two kingdoms, which ultimately resulted in the pacification and civilisation of the wild country between Carlisle and Berwick, into portions of which Camden and Cotton in 1599 dare not venture on account of the "rank robbers thereabouts." James visited Berwick on his road to London, and was received by the inhabitants with great loyalty, but they soon found, as also did Carlisle, that "Union" spelt ruin for the good town of Berwick. The garrison was reduced to 100 men: the ordnance was sent to the Tower of London; the walls dismantled, and the high personages, governor and others, who dwelt and spent their money in Berwick, departed: no longer did the Crown, as in Queen Elizabeth's time, spend annually in Berwick the sum of £30,000: the glory had departed, and in 1623 the merchants of Berwick plead their poverty and misery in two petitions, which we have not room to quote, but which may well be compared with a similar petition that the merchants of Carlisle in 1617 presented to James I.[1] Mr. Scott says that "from this time (1603) the history of the town rapidly diminishes in importance, and what remains shall not detain us long." Mr. Scott's account of Berwick during the Commonwealth is extremely inter-

[1] See Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle: Ferguson & Nanson: Carlisle, 1887, p. 95. A longer one (unprinted) is among the muniments at Carlisle.

esting, but we must refrain from going into it. In 1715 and in 1745 the tide of war rolled away from Berwick.

In the portion of his book which Mr. Scott devotes to the general history of Berwick are many interesting items as to wages, prices of provisions, the prevalence of the plague in Berwick, &c.: those curious in municipal pageantry can cull some interesting items:—thus in 1760 one Henry Coole has to make a public apology for an assault on the Mayor, "in which Mr. Mayor's White Rod, the insignia [sic] of his office was broken:" at Carlisle the insignia of the Mayor is also a white rod; it was so in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and is so now: according to Ridpath's *Border History* the staff of the Mayor of Berwick was handed over to James I. on his visit to that town: the book before us says the governor's staff was. A very interesting picture is given of the last of the Town Waits—interesting as showing the cloak gown or livery, which Berwick supplied to these officiates. We do not exactly gather what are the municipal insignia of Berwick: four sergeants at mace are mentioned, and maces, which in 1651 had the arms of the commonwealth put upon them, and also halberts: whether the maces exist now does not appear; the halberts do. Berwick possesses a sufficiently ugly major's chain, which they purchased in 1836 with funds raised by the sale of a silver bowl, a silver tankard of the date of 1686, and a silver oar! The Mayor, besides his chain, also possesses a purple gown.

The second part of Mr. Scott's book is called "Guild History of Berwick," and is followed by a number of disconnected chapters which deal with ecclesiastical history, charities, schools, bridges, fisheries, and many miscellaneous matters, including the Jubilee of 1887: this part of the book would have been better of more careful arrangement, and a note on the Berwick Mint is sandwiched in between the general history and the guild history in an odd manner.

Municipal history would have been a fitter title for the second part of the book than guild history: Mr. Scott gives no information as to the formation of the corporation or guild, which up to 1835 ruled Berwick; we presume none now exists, but it probably originated in a guild mercatory established by the colony of Flemings, whom the wool trade at a very early date attracted to Berwick: we do not gather whether Berwick had also separate trade guilds like Carlisle or Newcastle: we gather from the book before us no history of any prolonged struggle, as at Carlisle and other places, between the oligarchic Guild Mercatory or Corporation and the democratic trade guilds. Apparently the Berwick guild was in a full blown state in the reign of David I., under whom Berwick became a royal burgh, and a member of the Court of the Four Burghs, Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. The laws of the Four Burghs have been published by various editors, and Mr. Scott in his seventh appendix gives a very interesting set belonging to Berwick that had up to his time escaped the eye of historian or archæologist; Mr. Scott considers they were *codified* in 1249. The second rule is: "We order that all particular gilds from hens furth in o[r] burghe had be abrogat and down away and the catell on to them reasonably belongyn shal be gewyn vnto o[r] gilde and from hens furth that no man presume to procur any other gilde w[t] in oure burghe but all gang together w[t] on

assent and trew lowff." This would seem to point to a struggle between the Guild Mercatory and the Trade Guilds, in which the first obtained a decided victory, and, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up the others. The government of the town by them was vested in twenty-four feering men (a term Mr. Scott does not explain) a mayor, and four bailiffs; but the powers of these officials were until 1603 largely controlled by the military authorities, and the mayor was a paid servant of the Crown. A charter which was granted by James I. extended the powers of the guild or corporation, and abrogated the control of the military authorities. From the books of the guild and the records of the court leet Mr. Scott has made a large number of extracts, which throw much light on the manners and social customs of Berwick: we do not see that they differ much from what occur in the records of other towns, Carlisle for instance: a series of extracts as to the salmon fisheries are of course peculiar to Berwick. In 1685 the authorities of Berwick purchased a new silver mace for £36 11s, but their poverty compelled them to sell it in 1697 for £30. Chronic debt and extravagance seem to have ever been the failing of the governing body of Berwick, and it was high time that they were superseded by the present corporation under the Municipal Corporations Reform Act.

The ecclesiastical history of Berwick Mr. Scott tells us is obscure: in the Reformation times it had four churches, but only one now remains, and the sites of the vanished three are not all identified. The mendicant orders must have found a happy hunting ground in Berwick: the Red, Black, Grey, and White Friars, all had houses, and there is a suggestion that the Austin Friars were there also: by the way Mr. Scott uses the terms "monks" and "friars" as if they were the same. There were also one or two nunneries and sundry hospitals. The post-Reformation history of the parish church is interesting, as showing that though the Berwickians might belong to England, yet they were very Scotch:—thus when the parish church was rebuilt in the middle of the 17th century they galleried it all round, and the Bishop of Durham had much difficulty in getting the east gallery removed and a communion table and chancel provided: he had also to insist upon a font: steeple the church has never yet had, and the bells are hung in the town hall.

The book is so full of matter that we part with it with great reluctance: we have no space to even touch upon the histories of the bridges, the tolls, the fisheries, or the castle, to all of which our author devotes chapters. He gives some valuable appendices, but his index is deficient: for instance he ofttimes mentions Carlisle in his text, but it is not to be found in his index: nor does "railway" appear, though we do read in the book something about the railway and the detriment it has worked to the town's prosperity; these are trifles, due perhaps to the indisposition which, we learn with regret from the preface, hindered Mr. Scott from attending closely to the proof sheets.

RICHARD S. FERGUSON.

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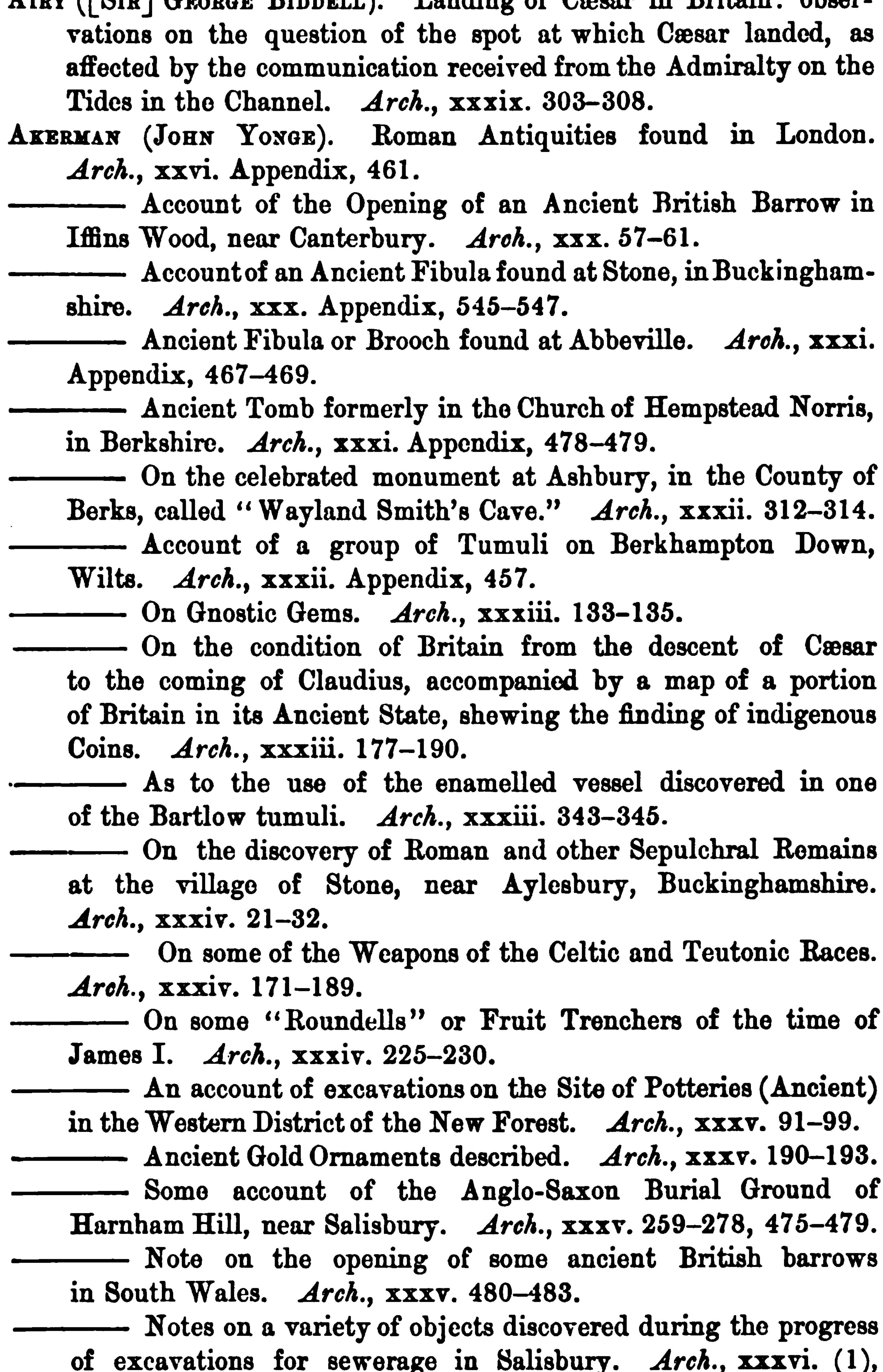

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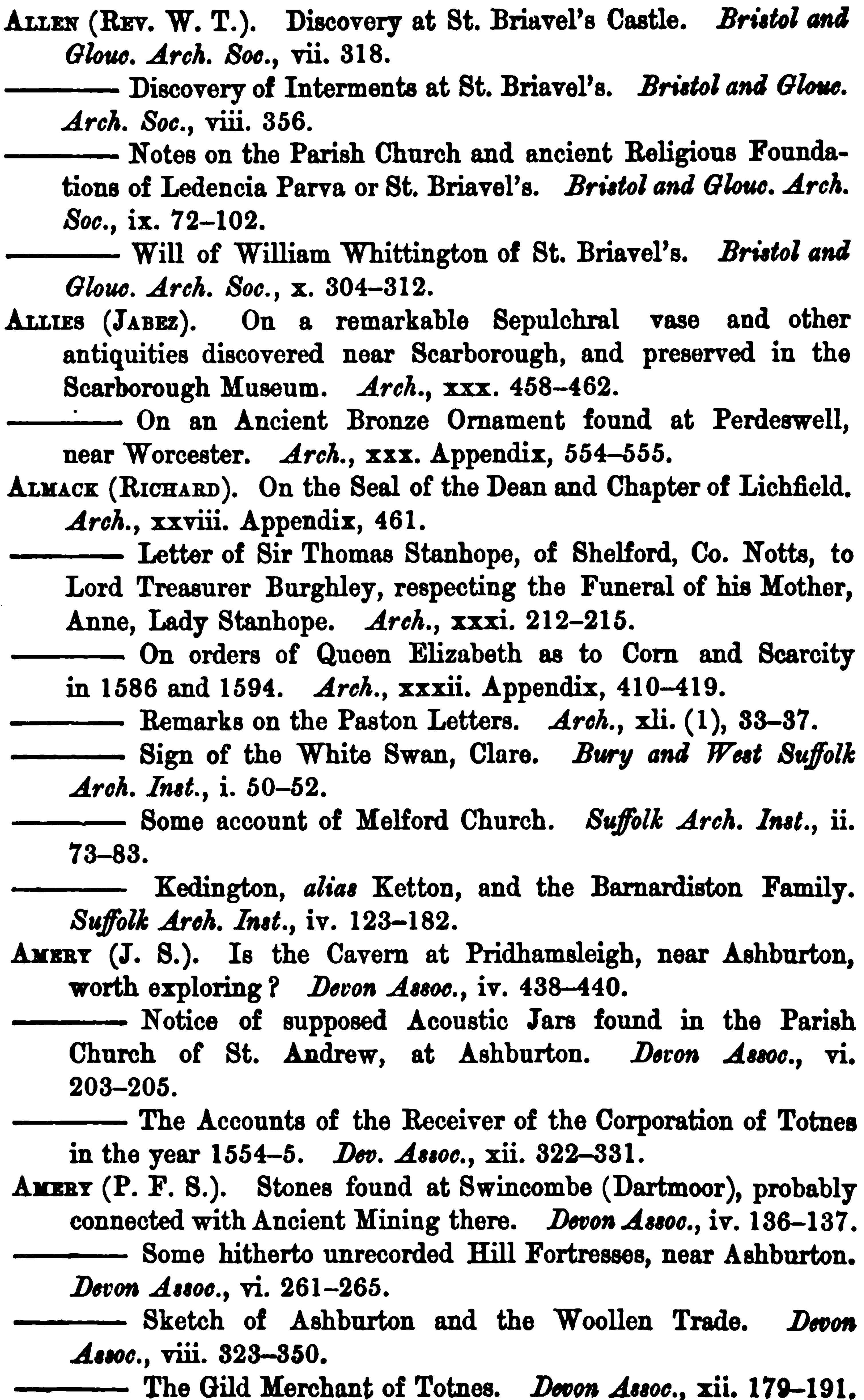

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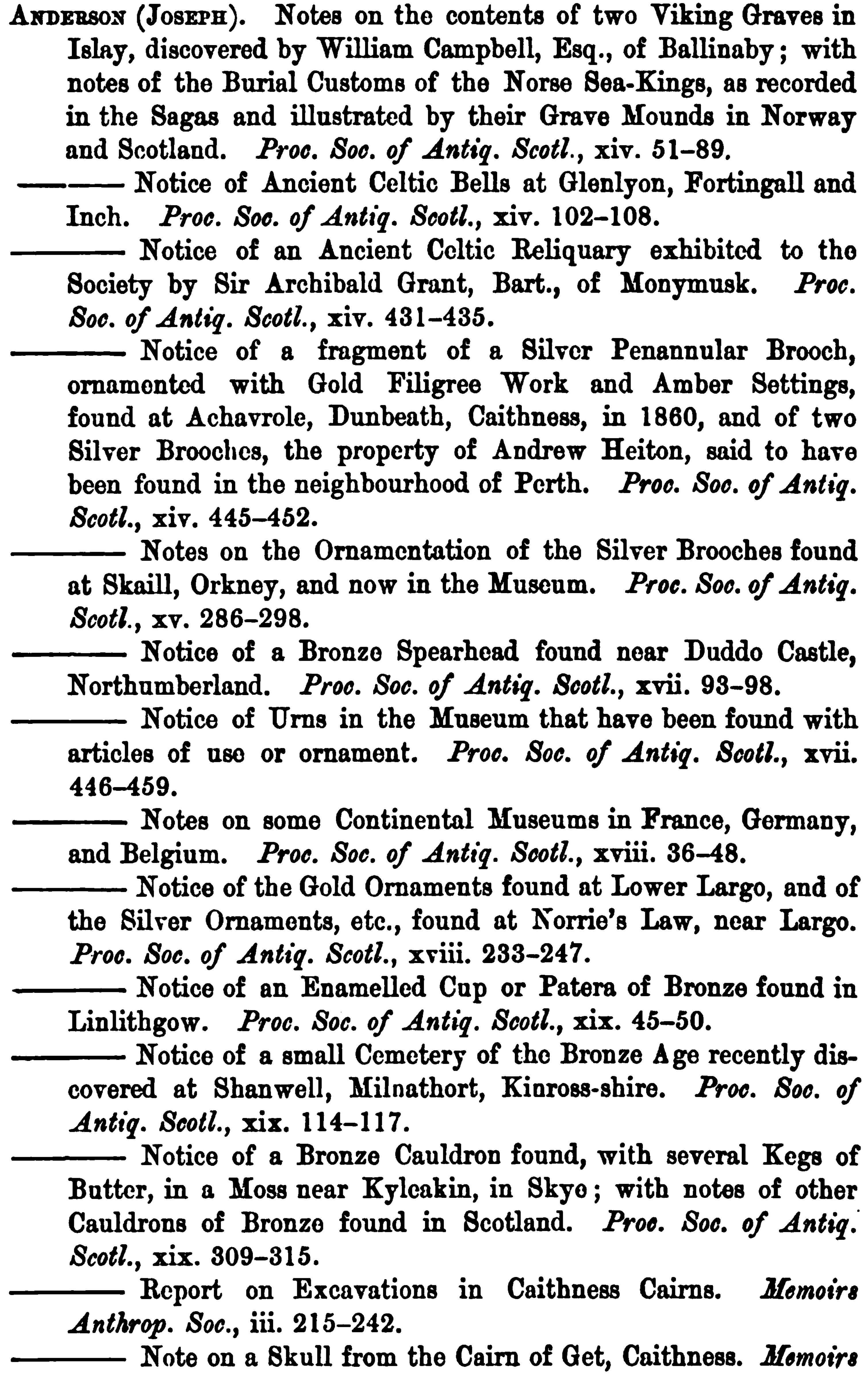

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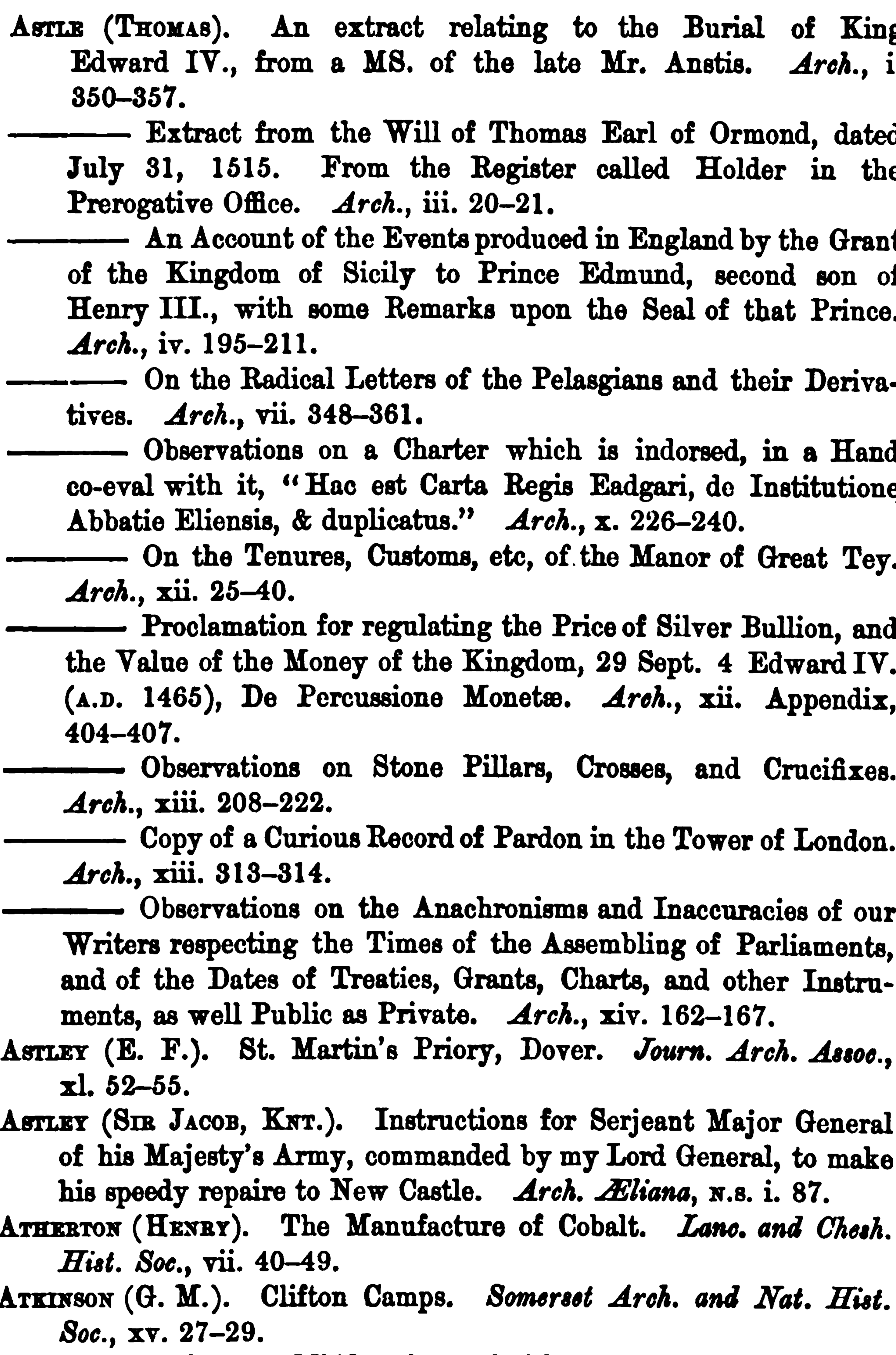

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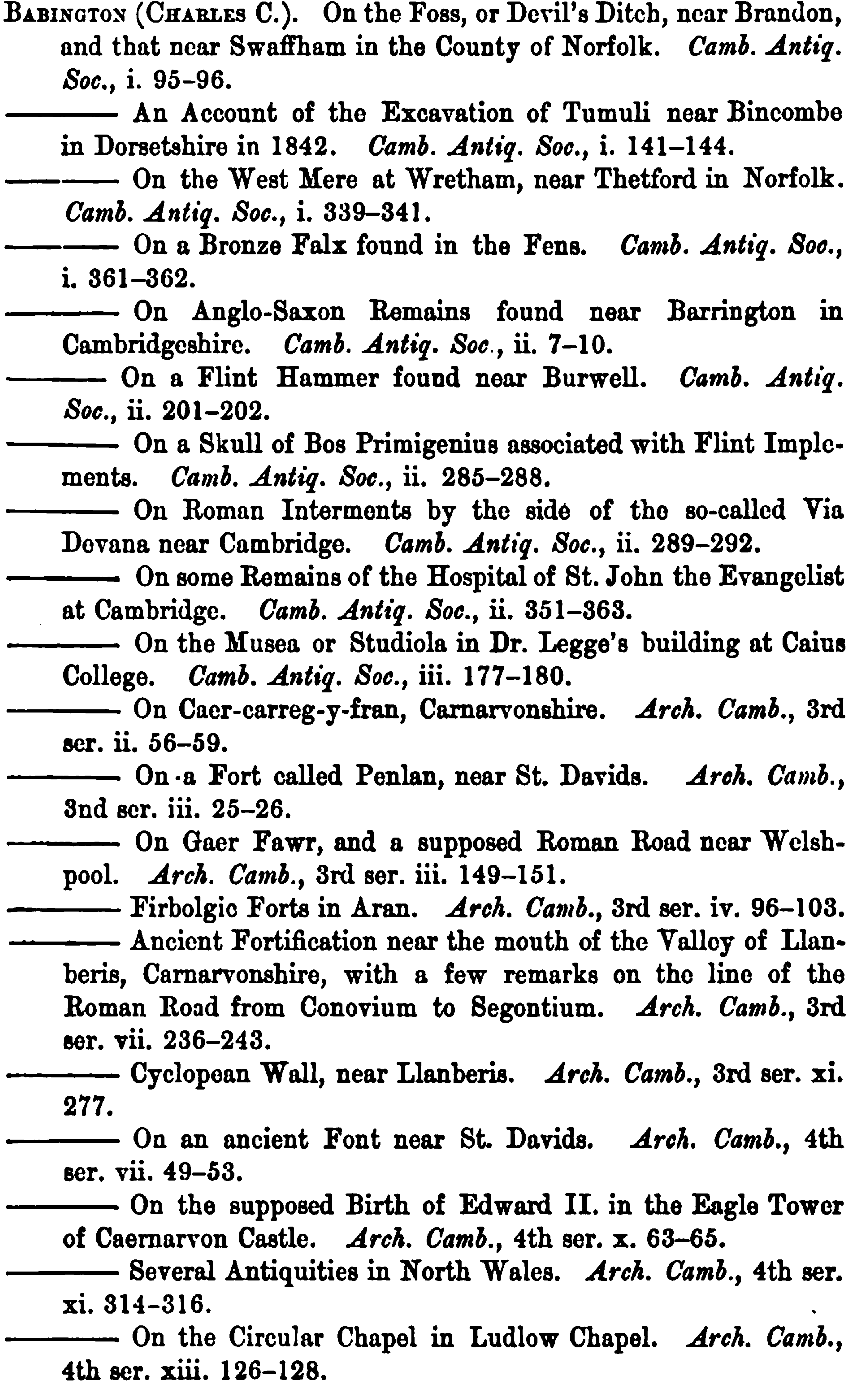

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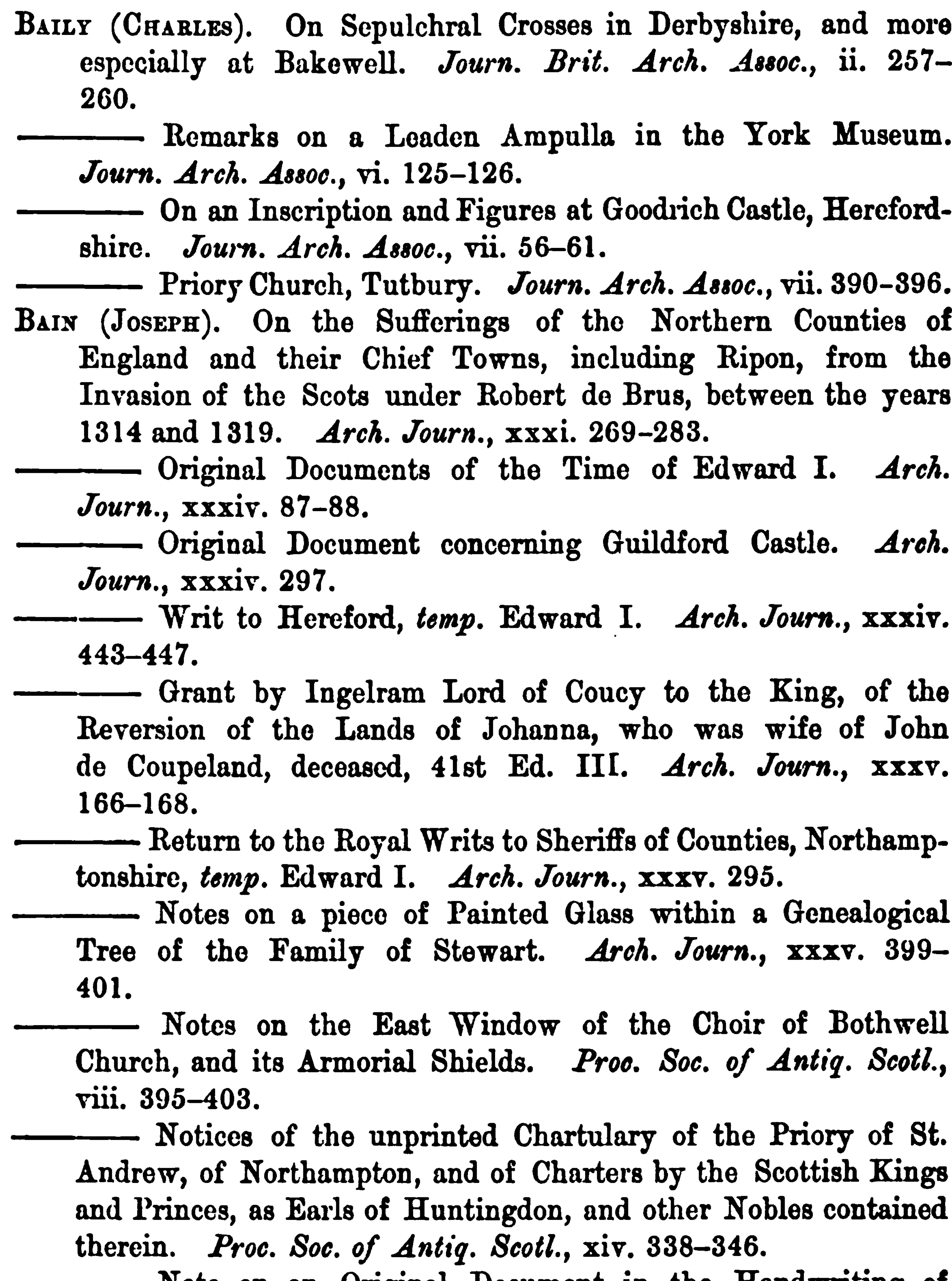

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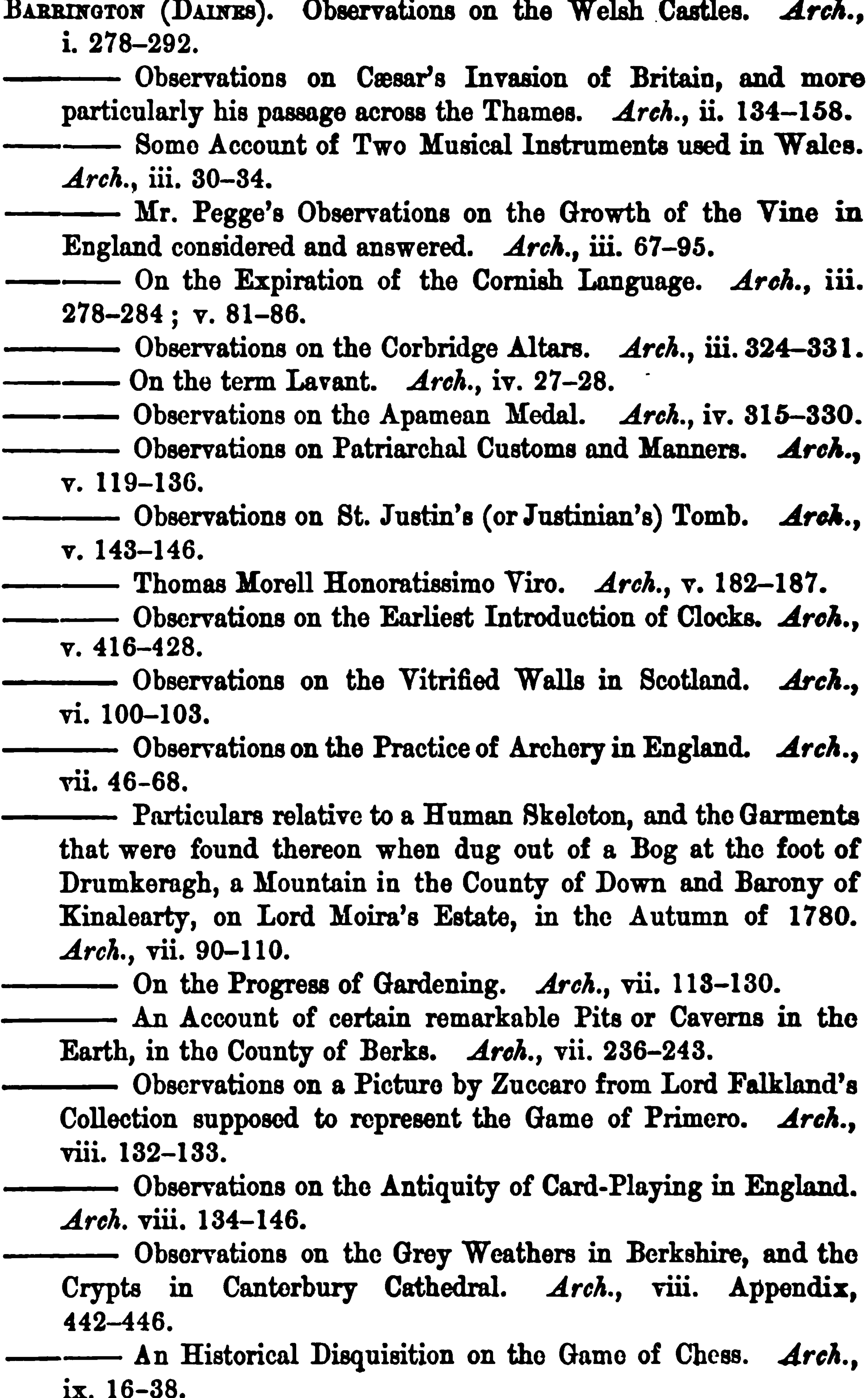

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