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CONTENTS.

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PAGES

ASHBEE (H. S.), La Société des Amis des Livres de Lyon . . 142-143
ATKINSON (J. C.), Derivation of Place-names . . . 199

BAHNSON (Dr. K.), Ethnographical Museums 1-18, 73-90, 145-163, 217-236, 289-311
BARCLAY (ISABELLA), Cornish Dialect Words . . . 199
BELL (E.), The Distinction between Romanesque and Gothic 217-236, 237-251, 289-311
BENT (J. T.), The Pisan Game 57-66
BELL (EDWARD), Distinction between Romanesque and Gothic . 237-251

CODRINGTON (R. H.), A Folk-Tale from the Hebrides . . 90-91
CORRESPONDENCE 18, 236

ELY (TALFOURD), Petrie's Tanis Memoirs 343-348
EVANS (A. J.), Stonehenge 312-330

FARNELL (L R.), Origin of Greek Sculpture . . . 167-184
FLEMING (J.), Lucayan Remains in Bahamas . . . 91

GOMME (G. L.), Village Community at Aston and Cote . . 29-44
———— Widowhood in Manorial Law . . . 184-197
———— Local Museums in Great Britain . . . 311
———— Art Illustrations of Folk-Lore . . . 288
———— Earle's Handbook to Saxon Charters . . 360-363
GOW (J. M.), Cup-marked Stones in Perthshire . . . 102-104

HALL (HUBERT), The Site of the Ancient Exchequer at Westminster 386-396
HARTLAND (E. SIDNEY), Excavations at Cranborne Chase . 377-385
HAVERFIELD (F.), Roman Inscriptions in Britain . . . 267

INDEX NOTES : British and Foreign Archæological Periodicals 54-56, 108-109, 200, 266-267, 348-349
———— Old English Drama . . . 286-288, 411-413

JACOBS (J.), Notes on Jews from the Pipe Rolls of the Twelfth Century 395-410
JENNINGS (J. V.), Dilucidating 144

207462

PAGES

LANE-POOLE (S.), Coins at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg . 19-29
LEMON (J. V.), Early Punch and Judy Show . . . 364

MARTIN (C. TRICE), Witchcraft in the 16th Century . . 280-283
MASSON (D.), Notes from the North Highlands . . . 45-50
——— Old Gaelic Prophecy concerning Iona . . 107-108

NICHOLSON (BRINSLEY), Heirship of Youngest among Kaffirs . 163-166
NUTT (A.), Celtic Myth and Saga 110-142

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS: Fijian Service Tenures . . . 367-376
PEACOCK (E.), Dedications of Churches 268-279
——— Church Porch 283-284
PELL (O. C.), Domesday Measures of Land . . . 350-360
PRICE (J. E.), Roman Remains, No. 5, Essex . . . 92-102
„ „ „ No. 6, Yorkshire . . . 330-342

QUARTERLY Summary of Discoveries . . . 50-54, 251-266

REVIEWS 70-72
ROUND (H. J.), Suitors at the County Court . . . 66-70
——— South Porch 215
——— Widowhood in Manorial Law . . . 267
RYE (W.), Crime and Accident in Norfolk, temp. Edward I. . 201-215

SPALDING (F.), Roman Antiquities at Colchester . . . 197-198
STEVENSON (W. H.), Derivation of Place-names . . . 104-107

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUMS.

BY KRISTIAN BAHNSON.

Translated from the Danish, with the author's additions and corrections, (to May 1888), by H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A.[1]

I. General Introduction, pp. 1-5—History of the Science, pp. 5-10—Museums of Europe reviewed, pp. 11-18.

THE idea of a general ethnographical museum was due to the French geographer Jomard. About the close of last century the desire for such a collection had found expression here and there, but roused no interest.[2] It was not till Jomard with great energy pointed out the importance of having a museum for the non-historic peoples outside of Europe, that steps were taken to realise the design. He was supported by the Geographical Commission, which, under the presidency of Cuvier, was founded by the French Ministry of Trade and Industry, and gave utterance to

[1] A German translation of this article, which appeared first in the Danish *Aarböger for Nordisk Oldtyndighed og Historie* (1887), has been issued by the learned Curator of the Kiel Museum, Fräulein J. Mestorf, under the auspices of the Anthropological Society in Vienna. [*Mittheilungen der Anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xviii. (vol. viii., new series).] "By one of the ablest ethnographers of the modern school, Herr. Dr. Kristian Bahnson. The subject is one that will command the deepest interest of specialists, and its clear method of treatment deserves the attention of the educated public."—*Note of the Editor to the Germ. Tr.*

[2] Hamy: *Rapport sur le développement et l'état actuel des collections ethnographiques.* Paris, 1880.

his scheme in a Report of Nov. 1st, 1831.[3] Frequent travels and scientific expeditions had fostered the study of the earth's physical structure, described in charts and plans. Museums of botany and zoology illustrated the lives of plants and beasts. But the science of Man had been left far behind. To understand human progress, it was of the utmost importance to have a collection displaying man in the various stages of his evolution. History does not show us every step in the development of civilisation. Primitive peoples have, as a rule, in their early stages, been without means to record their life by tradition or writing; or they have only become the subject of observation, after they had lost part of their distinctive stamp. The study of their material remains could alone restore to us the knowledge of those stages of culture, which history passes by in silence. Every race, according to its needs, taste, and development, has implements with which it seeks to overcome the obstacles presented by nature and climate. These, taken together, offer a picture of its industrial arts, customs, forms, and spiritual life, such as can be drawn in no other way with the same clearness and precision. The Commission therefore, in accordance with Jomard's idea, proposed that a museum should be founded in Paris, to collect the ethnographic materials ready to hand, to take every opportunity of acquiring more, and to systematically represent the forms of culture found among the existing non-European races. Only by establishing ethnography on a firm foundation would it be possible to fill up the gap in our knowledge of Man. It was high time for action. Owing to intercourse with Europeans, and the steadily growing influence of a superior civilisation, the primitive races were on the eve of losing all trace of originality. Soon it would be too late perhaps to rescue materials important to science.

The idea was warmly welcomed by Philipp Franz von Siebold, the only man of his day who understood—and showed practically that he understood—the task in hand. The excellent collection he had brought home from Japan, acquired by the town of Leyden, contained everything needed for a comprehensive history of civilisation in a special country. In his letter to Jomard[4] he points out distinctly how the study of the Asiatic civilisations and primitive races had been pushed aside in the effort to unearth every trace of Classical and West Asian antiquities. In Holland, his own country, he had already taken steps to mend matters, adopting and improving on the idea of the French geographer: his attention had been

[3] *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, 2e Série, vi., p. 92.
[4] *Lettre sur l'utilité des Musées Ethnographiques*, Paris, 1843.

turned to the need of following up every trace of the origin of peoples and their early migrations, by a comparative investigation of their customs, forms, and cult. But the plan of founding an ethnographical museum was not realised in France for a long time. Jomard was never weary of fighting for his darling scheme;[5] but his last published work ends with a sigh, "qu'on ne songe guère à ce musée de la géographie et des voyages longtemps espéré, vainement attendu . . . bien que l'utilité en soit incontestable."[6] It was reserved for our times to produce such an institution in his native country.

Jomard's thought was not dead. It grew silently, and in one place at least before the famous geographer's death a museum had arisen, which showed what could be done in this direction.

There was one on whom Jomard's words and Siebold's practical illustration had made a strong impression. This man was Thomsen, to whom the museums of Denmark are so deeply indebted. On the dissolution of the Danish "Chamber of Art" the ethnographic objects were sifted out and exhibited in a separate group in the new Art Museum. As early as 1839, on undertaking the management of this museum, Thomsen saw that "the ethnographic section was just the one that Denmark, as a maritime state with colonies, ought, and could with least expense, raise to a pitch of some pre-eminence."[7] His plan was to extend the collection into a Danish Colonial Museum. A visit to Leyden, and the influence of Jomard ripened in him "the idea of a general ethnographic museum, to embrace not only single, but, as far as possible, all nations, not possessed of European culture." Having fixed his eye on the object to be attained, Thomsen, with that extraordinary energy which marked the man, threw himself, heart and soul, into the work of rousing the public to take an interest in it; and this has survived him down to the present day. The museum did not develop at a bound with gigantic additions, like many more modern collections, but grew slowly, fostered by the active and ever-ready support of the entire nation. That the Danish Ethnographical Museum long remained the first in Europe, and, though now surpassed by others, still holds a high place, is due chiefly to the liberality of donors; but to Thomsen we are indebted for raising the means and organising the efforts needed to keep it going.

In another way Thomsen's activity did good service to ethno-

[5] See *e.g.*, *Bull. de la Soc. Géogr.*, 1845.
[6] *Revue Orientale et Americaine*, 1862.
[7] *Fortale til Kataloget over det Ethn. Museum*, 1862.

graphic museums. Not content with collecting material, his aim was to make it instructive to the public, as well as to the specialist. At a time when ethnographic collections were at best a mere appendage to other sections, without special significance, his genius for classification created an independent museum, which was in his day a model of method and order. Here was a practical solution of the problem. An ethnographical museum was started, scientific in its aims, striving critically to define and give to every object its proper place and setting, to combine things that belonged to one another into separate groups, in short, to give a picture of the various grades of culture in their special peculiarities. Thomsen in this showed his appreciation of what an ethnographical museum should be, if meant to be more than a hap-hazard assortment of what is rare and curious. Many objections can, it is true, be urged against the plan he pursued. His arrangement into groups of cultures and races was in itself imperfect and arbitrary; but we must remember that it was a first attempt, unaided by the experience of others. In the rearrangement which took place after Thomsen's death, the old plan was abandoned, and Worsaae carried out the simple natural arrangement according to groups of peoples, a method of division comprehensive in effect, and strictly scientific.

Thomsen was thus the first and long the only man to carry out in practice the conception of a general ethnographic museum. The rest of Europe was slow to recognise the importance of such a collection to our knowledge of Man.

At the time the Danish museum was founded, many places possessed considerable materials for forming similar collections. Amidst the medley of Royal Cabinets of Art various ethnographical objects of value had crept in, but mingled with mere curiosities, chiefly as frightful examples of man's savage state. Travels and expeditions had brought home much that had nothing to do with the various collections in which it lay scattered. No small quantity was owned by private persons. Here was foundation enough to build on, given the necessary interest; but that was wanting. A step was gained by breaking up the cabinets of art: ethnographical objects were sifted out and exhibited apart. But this beginning was of no scientific importance. The collections were attached to other sections, and left untended and uncared for. Few showed any interest in them, still fewer understood. Materials continued to grow with gifts and occasional additions; but no one thought of using the opportunities enjoyed by many places for bringing together a comprehensive collection. Attention was at best roused only by

objects strange and curious. No one saw clearly the importance of details seemingly unimportant and commonplace, the first necessity for a full picture of a people's life. Without plan, aim or effort, all that was done was merely to make room for casual presents. No one took the trouble to fill in the details needed to explain and illustrate their meaning. The materials were therefore to the last degree confused and untrustworthy, and additions only added to the disorder. Here and there a few private men, interested in the science, had surpassed the public in their efforts. Thus Klemm and Christy founded collections, with different aims in view, but still both bent on carrying out some fixed plan, and amassing something of real value to the history of civilisation.

Less than twenty years ago a new chapter in the history of ethnographic museums begins. The newly-founded ethnological societies and broader method of handling the science helped to spread a wider interest in primitive peoples. Physiological anthropology was no longer the main object of study: Man, as a social being, now became the subject of extensive research. The way was thus prepared for the formation of ethnological collections; but still there failed the impulse needed to give them life. This came from another branch of science, prehistoric archæology, which was just at that time winning its way into general recognition, amidst the prejudices and doubts with which it had had to struggle. Investigation of prehistoric periods and the methods of dealing with the new problems proved clearly that a knowledge of the primitive forms of culture, still in existence, was necessary in order to understand remote ages, and illustrate the development through which they had passed. The subject rose in interest. The Archæological congresses—which at one bound popularised a science hitherto neglected except in the Scandinavian countries—helped to give ethnography also the much-needed impulse. On many sides was now heard a demand for collections to supply the exhaustive materials required for a complete study of primitive peoples. The feeling began to gain ground, that the material products of a lower civilisation were of the greatest importance to the knowledge of a people's mode of life and thought. And this feeling found practical expression in various places. One man deserves to be here mentioned, whose name will ever be associated with the new era in the development of ethnographical museums, Professor Bastian of Berlin. Beyond all others he has laboured unceasingly by word and deed to awaken an interest for ethnography in his own country. Nowhere is the work of repairing deficiencies pushed on with such energy as in Germany; and this

is due not less to his example as the indefatigable director of the Berlin Museum, than to his earnest demand for scientific instruction as a basis for an inductive treatment of ethnography. In both respects his efforts have borne fruit in other countries besides.

The foundation of systematic ethnographical museums has thus, except in Denmark, been the work of the last few decades. The progress made is unparalleled even in the history of the Danish museum. In all the chief countries of Europe, and in America also, institutions have sprung up which have already done good work. England has united its scattered collections in the newly rearranged *British Museum*, with which the *Christy Collection* has also been incorporated, and in the *India Museum*, as well as in the museums in *Oxford* and *Salisbury*. Holland has reorganised its *Rijks ethnographisch Museum* in *Leyden*, one of the most important in Europe; and there are smaller collections in *Amsterdam*, *Rotterdam*, and *The Hague*. France has founded the *Musée de Trocadéro* in *Paris*, soon to be supplemented by the independent and unique *Musée Guimet*, now in *Lyons*. In Germany, besides the chief museum in *Berlin*, considerable ethnographical collections have been founded in *Hamburg*, *Leipzig*, *Dresden*, and *Münich*, besides many of less note. Austria has in *Vienna* two for ethnography, the *Hof Museum* and the *Orientalisches Museum*. In Italy there is the important *Museo preistorico ed ethnografico* in *Rome*, along with the collection of the *Propaganda*, and museums in *Florence* and *Venice*. And lastly ethnographical museums have been formed in *Christiania* and *Stockholm*, the latter of which will include the rich material collected by Dr. Stolpe on the voyage of the frigate Vanadis round the world.

Everywhere the work is being actively pushed on. Besides the general public interest felt in ethnographical studies, men have begun to see that they must use the time for collecting, before it is too late. Ethnography differs from archæology in this, its materials are not hidden in the bosom of the earth for ages to teach the after-world about vanished civilisations. Only a small part of the ethnographic material survives the people to whom it belongs. Transitory in its nature, it rapidly disappears under the transforming influence of a new civilisation. The development of ethnographical museums is therefore threatened with a great danger, which demands prompt action. In the last century one primitive form of culture after another has faded away before the advance of European civilisation. And this process is going on now more rapidly than ever. Twenty or thirty years ago one might have indulged the hope that time would

bring the extension and additions so much needed: in our days it would be folly to build on this hope of development. Every day it is becoming more difficult to get materials. There are still some regions uninfluenced by the culture of Europe. But they are becoming more and more limited. Vast districts are now quite exhausted, the population having become unproductive. Others again have lost a great part of their special characteristics. We may certainly anticipate the time, and that soon, when information essential to our knowledge of Man's progress will be dried up at the source.

The museum which neglects the present moment, debars itself from progress. This conviction has been a constant spur to steady efforts among collectors, past and present, throughout Europe. Thanks to this, many regions have been saved for science, and, as will be seen from what follows, by far the most of the groups of races may now be studied in the very considerable materials gathered up. This rapid success is in fact due to the great liberality of the leading states. Museums have thus been enabled to act with energy in every direction, to take part in expeditions made methodically to distant quarters of the globe, to buy up large collections, in short to follow out a fixed scheme of development. Another great change is also of recent growth. Formerly an ethnographical museum could often be started without much expense, given the necessary interest in the subject; and museums had to look to donations for enlargement. Products of primitive races were still common, and in this manner many found their way into collections. The Copenhagen museum, due almost exclusively to gifts, shows how much may be accomplished by a popular institution. But however valuable the support of public interest, this alone does not suffice to maintain a collection. Ethnographic objects become rarer and more costly with increasing competition. Donations consequently cease, and growth is checked. The museum also is liable in this way to become hap-hazard in character, and this lessens its value. To avoid this, to extend and supplement its contents, above all to fulfil the demands of a guiding principle, it must have state aid or a regular income, as far as may be, independent of voluntary support. This is all the more necessary, as the demands now made on such collections are somewhat changed.

Ethnographical museums, like all others dealing with the history of civilisations, have a twofold task, scientific and popular; on the one hand to provide materials for the study of the non-European peoples; on the other, to be a school of instruction for the public

at large, as an exhibition of the forms of culture through which mankind has passed. Formerly the latter was the chief object kept in view. The end aimed at was only to characterise a group of peoples by its most peculiar products; and special stress was laid on variety. In our own times, on the other hand, most places have striven first and foremost to make museums scientific institutions, by collections formed to give, as far as possible, an exhaustive representation of the various stages of civilisation outside of Europe. This requires very complete and trustworthy materials, suitable not merely for the study of the larger groups of peoples, but of all the chief tribes included in them. Rare and remarkable objects are by no means first and foremost what one wishes to store up. These are of course entitled to a place; but the foundation must consist of all the common, often apparently unimportant things, which mark the grade and characterise the development reached in the several regions. Ordinary implements used to provide the means of subsistence, imperfect weapons of defence, poor and unsightly ornaments, the rude figures which are the objects of veneration, are as valuable to a correct knowledge of a people's life, as the highest expressions of its artistic skill. They are absolutely necessary to illustrate the circumstances in which a people lives, the various classes of its society, its material and intellectual wants, its power of inventing means to ends. Yet these were the very objects rarer to find in museums than others of more artistic finish, the travellers who brought materials home being blind to their significance. The large collections made in the past almost all labour under this defect. Even in Siebold's collection, methodical as it is in plan, and excellent as a picture of the upper classes and the arts and industries of Japan, it is vain to search for a complete representation of the life of the masses. Collections should be comprehensive, *systematic*, giving in every detail finished pictures of the various groups and races of peoples. Everything that can help us to understand some characteristic trait in the life of the individual, the family, or society, each object which in substance, form, ornamentation and use, differs from the rest, has its proper place in the collection. Only duplicates should of course be excluded, a rule which even now is not always sufficiently observed, though important to the question of space.

Except in the case of primitive peoples, museums are not likely to attain completeness. The sphere of natural man is so limited, his life in general so uncomplex, that he has comparatively but little to produce; and even to give a minute representation, the materials

properly sifted, will not be too bulky to find room. With the civilisations of the East it is otherwise; here we have a very complex state of society, highly developed industries and arts, and a peculiar spiritual life, which has produced many literary works. Fully to illustrate all this requires materials so vast and varied, that the task is beyond the power of the ethnographical museums. They can only sketch the chief features. Yet here too, as well as in the case of primitive peoples, system and care are just as needful, to pick out what really reflects the whole people, not merely some one class of society, or but one side of its development. The details of the picture must be left to technical museums. It is possible that owing to the progress of oriental studies, all collections of the Asiatic civilisations will eventually be removed from the ethnographical museums, and exhibited apart. They have already begun to do this in the *Orientalisches Museum* at Vienna, and the *India Museum* in London. But at present only the great countries can attempt this. Others must confine themselves to giving a picture in outline.

The apparently insuperable difficulties of solving so huge a task as that of giving an exhaustive representation of all peoples and all stages of culture dealt with by ethnography will hardly be felt practically. It is not, in fact, the task of any single museum. No collection could represent every branch of the subject with equal fulness. Even the largest is limited in its sphere of work, just because it cannot establish equally good connexions everywhere. But the end aimed at may be approached by the united efforts of all. They must, therefore, looked at from a scientific point of view, be regarded as a great international whole, the various members of which supplement one another. The aim of the great museums would naturally be to supply a complete representation of as many ethnographical sections as possible. Smaller collections, of more modest means, are obliged to limit their operations; important parts of the whole, just in so far as they possess sufficient, well-attested materials for scientific treatment. They should therefore concentrate their strength on working up single sections, such as the colonies of their country, or regions with which the museum happens to have formed special connexions. Besides this, they should endeavour to produce a general representation of the rest of the non-European peoples, the object being, not to give an exhaustive exhibition, but merely a broad sketch of each race, omitting no essential characteristic. With careful development in both directions, ethnographic museums, great and smaller, may solve their

twofold task, within the limits imposed by circumstances. They provide the specialist with materials for investigation, and to the ordinary spectator exhibit the characteristic developments which have taken place in the strange quarters of the globe.

As the sequel will show, large collections, systematically formed, have come to Europe in recent years. The most valuable materials are of course due to specialists, who have had opportunities for pursuing their studies on the spot, among the peoples from whom they drew their collections. But the main part has been brought together by men, who, being interested in ethnology, and understanding its object, have been commissioned by museums, or guided by them in their work. Travellers, who have gone forth by hundreds to explore unknown regions, sailors, ambassadors, consuls, and private men, all have worked together at the same task. That the results are so satisfactory is certainly due in no small degree to the elaborate instructions issued by museums and ethnological societies. These not only contain directions in careful detail, but serve to rouse attention to the acquisition of the full explanations needed to give the materials their full value.[8] The older collections often suffer from the want of accurate information as to the use and origin of their contents. It could not be otherwise, owing to the way they have been acquired, picked up a random in places where travellers came into contact with the natives, or in ports only, to which the objects had been conveyed from the interior. Often they had passed from hand to hand, and been acquired far from their natural home, owing to which they have often been incorrectly described. Even when the information was correct, it has usually been so vague and general, that nothing but critical investigations could sort the groups. Great systematic collections can alone possess proper authority, special care having been taken to note down on the spot where the objects come from all needful explanations. Thanks to this, it is not now usually necessary to fall back on the more or less correct communications of occasional travellers. Many doubts as to the real origin of the objects have now been solved, and, not the least among their services, the new collections have removed uncertainties on this important point.

Our present intention is to give a brief account of the most important contents to be found in the larger German, Austrian and Italian Collections, along with the *Musée Guimet* in Lyons, visited by the writer in 1885-86, on a tour undertaken at the expense of Government. He has not been able to see the museums in London

[8] *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, iv., p. 329.

and Paris since 1882.[9] As they have recently received large additions and alterations, and as the British Museum has since then been rearranged, it is impossible to describe them here with any degree of fulness or accuracy. Our review therefore will take only a passing glance at the French and English museums, and that of Copenhagen.

Among the collections of Germany the Ethnographic Central Institute in *Berlin* holds the first place. This owed its origin to the Art Chamber of the princely House of Brandenburg.[10] As early as the days of the great elector, Japanese weapons and other ethnographical curiosities had been purchased, to which large additions had gradually been made, as opportunity presented itself; so that when the "Kunstkammer" was broken up in 1S56, there was sufficient to form an ethnographic section in union with the collection of antiquities in the *Neues Museum.* In course of time this section grew considerably, partly with the produce of scientific expeditions, partly by several large purchases. The material, however, was still in every respect extremely deficient, and the uncritical determination of the objects, and the disorder which prevailed almost everywhere throughout the collection, rendered it of little scientific value. Its deficiencies became apparent, when the first scientific collection, that of Jagor, came to the museum. A model of its kind, it showed what the science requires of its materials, and what could be attained by systematic method. Clearly a Museum, to fulfil the ends of its being, would have to follow the way marked out by Jagor.

A turning-point was reached in 1876, when Prof. Bastian became director. True to his watch-word, that we are on the very eve of a time when it will no longer be possible to collect from primitive peoples, he began the work on a scale so grand, that the Berlin Museum has become the first in Europe. His extraordinary zeal, his power of setting many forces in motion, and his own extensive travels have brought together a huge mass of material, which will form an essential basis for ethnographic studies. The moment for making comprehensive collections was favourable for a country with the connexions and resources possessed by Germany. Numerous scientific expeditions have in the last ten years been despatched to every quarter of the globe, recent attempts at colonization have extended the empire's influence over vast regions hitherto unknown, and the fleets of the young and vigorous naval power have sailed on

[9] The writer is unacquainted with the great Museum in Leyden.

[10] cf. Bastian: *Vorgeschichte der Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1881, p. 47, and Voss: *Zur Geschichte der kön. Museen in Berlin.* Berlin, 1880.

distant seas. Bastian has the merit of having turned all these resources to the scientific development of the collections. The great interest he has succeeded in awakening is shown by the formation of the Hilfskomité (Committee of Assistance), a circle of wealthy men, who have given the museum valuable pecuniary support and active help, at a time of pressing need, for organising energetic work in a variety of spheres. Many of the museum's excellent publications have also been issued under the auspices of this committee.

For the Ethnographical and Archæological Collections a building has been erected, which, in its practical arrangements, is a model of museums. The collections are not yet fully arranged for inspection. Only the American, African, and Australasian sections, with the rich plunder of Jakobsen's travels in Siberia, are open. The rich materials from India will soon be on view.[11] But the arrangement of the collections from East Asia, Further India, and the Malay Islands has only just commenced.

The museum has its special periodical, giving information of its growth and the method of dealing with the material gathered in.[12] Besides this, several groups are the subject of a more detailed publication in the magnificently illustrated works issued by the general board of administration.

The rest of the German collections are grouped round Berlin as a centre. Though they cannot compare with the chief museum in point of universality, many of them have sections very rich in contents.

We turn first to HAMBURG. With its extensive connexions in trade, this town enjoys special facilities for an ethnographical collection. But these advantages were not used till less than thirty years ago, and then but scantily, only some few objects finding their way into the Natural-History Museum. The present MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE was founded in 1877, combining the then existing materials with the collections which the present director, Lüders, had brought home from Peru and New Granada. Since then the museum has grown rapidly, and now contains, besides a mass of scattered materials, including many good specimens, an excellent selection (700 pieces) of the MUSEUM GODEFFROY (broken up), Krause's important collection from the Thlinkit and Tschukt Indians, and the spoil of Fischer's expedition to Massai. These are the most important additions made to this museum. Unfortunately the collections

[11] Since this was written the Indian section has been opened.

[12] *Original Mittheilungen aus der Ethnologischen Abtheilung der Kön. Museen.*

in their present condition have not had fair play. The buildings are cramped, and unfavourable to any rational method of exhibition; and the ethnographical principle, which originally formed the basis of arrangement, has been by no means successfully carried out. Whole sets of things that belong to one another have been scattered here and there, while objects of wholly alien origin are united in suites. This is specially the case with weapons. In consequence, the museum fails to give a picture of the peculiarities existing among the various groups of peoples.

The MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE in LEIPZIG occupies a somewhat peculiar position among ethnographical collections. It is a private institution, founded by a society established in 1873, on the contributions of which it depends, with grants from the corporation, and, not least, aided by important donations from various benefactors and patrons. The plan of the collection is very comprehensive. In order to give a survey of the natural history and civilisation of mankind, it accepts not merely ethnographical, but also anthropological and prehistoric objects. Moreover, the limits of the ethnographical department are wider than in any other museum; for the collections from the primitive peoples and non-European races, which occupy the first position, are joined with considerable material gathered from such European peoples as have not yet adopted the mode of civilisation, *e.g.* the Finns, Russians, and Bulgarians. It is more than doubtful whether so huge a programme is successful. The task of an ethnographical museum, as it is generally understood, is in itself comprehensive enough; extend it, and a methodical system is well-nigh impossible. Some departments have to give way, and so cease to have any great value. Instead of concentrating every force on a definite practicable task, operations are scattered over so wide an area, that the museum is exposed to the risk of becoming a mere assemblage of many more or less homogeneous elements, which have chanced to find their way there.

The extent of the programme has not, however, injured the immediate objects of the museum. The ethnographical collection proper, young as it is, is next to that of Berlin, the largest in Germany, thanks to its energetic director, Dr. Obst, and its favourable financial circumstances. The *Klemm* collection, which forms the basis, has been largely added to from Africa, the Indian Islands, Peru, Columbia, and Japan. Besides this, it possesses the main portion of the Museum Godeffroy, with its excellent materials from Melanesia. But the importance of these collections cannot at present be estimated, owing to the miserable conditions under which they

now labour. Arrangement or systematic working of the materials gathered in is out of the question. Though there are means enough for erecting a building, no commencement had been made in the spring of 1886. The great bulk of the collections is warehoused, and it is matter for regret that this is not the case with all. The portion open to the public is exhibited in mean premises, exposed to extreme danger from fire, and continually threatened with destruction from want of care. We contemplate with dismay the neglect which prevails in the preservation of the many valuable objects, a remarkable contrast to the zeal with which the work of collecting is pushed on.[13]

In DRESDEN there is the Saxon ethnographic and anthropological museum, founded in 1875 by the present Director, Herr Meyer, Councillor of State, who combined the ethnographical objects which used to be in the HISTORISCHES MUSEUM with his own collections from Celebes, the Philippines, and New Guinea. This museum can scarcely compare in richness with that of Leipzig, but many of its sections are so well worked up that they are among the best in Germany. This is specially the case with the collections brought from the Malay Islands and New Guinea, with which the museum has good connexions, and from some regions in the South Seas, particularly the Pelew Islands and Easter Island, which are decidedly better represented than in any other place, Berlin excepted. There are also many things of interest from other ethnographical regions, notably from South America, the Congo Territory, and Siam; but many groups are in urgent need of supplementing.

In point of order, the Dresden museum is distinctly in advance of Leipzig and Hamburg. The arrangement suffers from overcrowding, and cannot be regarded as final; but each group of peoples is displayed by itself, and everything finds its right place in the collection. Moreover, the contents are handled thoroughly. Hardly in any other place are the catalogues drawn up with such full and careful explanations, and with such extensive reference to the literature of the subject, as those composed for the Dresden collection by Dr. Uhle. Works of this kind are among a museum's most important tasks for the future, and the Saxon museum has shown the right way. In other respects, too, it stands in the first rank, namely, in the publication of its materials. A number of the most interesting groups are already laid before students in a series of exquisitely illustrated works, issued by Herr Meyer and Dr. Uhle.[14]

[13] The whole of these collections have now been packed up.—*Note to Germ. Tr.*, 1888.

[14] *Publicationen aus dem kön. ethnogr. Museum zu Dresden*, I.-IV.

The museum at MÜNICH takes a high place among the remaining collections of Germany. In one respect it stands in the first rank: its chief section is composed of the rich collection brought home by Siebold from his second visit to Japan, and which was acquired in 1882 by the Bavarian capital. There are also good sets from India and China, numerous ethnological objects from South America, the result of Spix and Martius' travels, and a variety of rare specimens from the South Seas. Owing to financial circumstances, the museum cannot effect much, but some large additions have recently been made, especially a valuable collection from Borneo and Bali. In general, however, the ethnographical regions recently represented for the first time in other collections (*e.g.*, Africa) are very poorly represented here.

Unlike Germany, Austria has only one ethnographic museum, that of VIENNA. Here, too, there existed of old very valuable material for the formation of a museum. Besides the few but unique specimens in the Ambraser collection, a number of Cook's South Sea objects were at the beginning of the century bought up for one of the Royal cabinets. Travellers had brought home considerable collections from South America; and lastly, numerous objects had been gathered on the Novara expedition. But everything was packed away or swallowed up in one or other of the Royal Cabinets and aroused no interest. A change was effected in 1876, when Hochstetter became Intendant of the Royal Natural-History Museum. By his energetic efforts to unite and organise the scattered collections in the museum, the ethnographical department was founded in connexion with the archæological. With untiring activity he succeeded in overcoming many great obstacles to reform. At his death in 1884, the collection had grown considerably, with large additions from South and Central America, Central Africa, the Indian Isles, and many other regions. Undoubtedly the museum in Vienna, when fully organised, will be one of the most important in Europe.

But at present it is in a state of transition. The new and magnificent, but badly planned building on the *Ring*, which is destined to receive the collections of natural-history and ethnography, still awaits completion. Everything therefore is warehoused, and it is due only to the kindly and self-sacrificing courtesy of the Director, Dr. Heger, that strangers can pursue their studies.

Besides the "Hof-museum," Vienna has a special ethnographical collection for East Asia in the ORIENTALISCHES MUSEUM. Founded in 1874, after the Universal Exhibition of Commerce, it has since

been enlarged into a museum of Eastern Industries. Along with European products, such as command a sale in Asia, and such Asiatic raw material as plays a part in trade with Europe, it contains good collections of a variety of industrial products. China is best represented; but there are several things from Japan and India, important for the study in detail of questions which general ethnographical museums cannot treat fully.

The ethnographical collection in PRAGUE, which, like the archæological, is united to the zoological museum, is so unimportant and neglected, that it scarcely deserves mention. On the other hand the extensive Museum of Industry, founded by the Czech patriot Naprstek, contains ethnographical collections, which in some sections (the Indian Isles, Africa) are well worth inspection.

Italy has its chief museum in ROME. It is due to Prof. Pigorini that a taste for the study of prehistoric and primitive civilisations has been aroused by the side of the interest felt in classical archæology, which hitherto held undivided sway. On his suggestion the MUSEO PREISTORICO ED ETHNOGRAFICO was erected in 1875, in combination with a number of small collections in Padua, Bologna and the MUSEO KIRCHERIANO in Rome. From small beginnings it rapidly grew to be a collection of scientific importance, with active support from many quarters. The recent part Italians have taken in geographical explorations, has had a good deal to do with its development. Bove's expedition to the South Seas, and the share he had in that of the Vega, D'Alberti's travels in New Guinea, and various expeditions in East Africa have added extensively to the museum. Over and above these there are the interesting South American collections, made by Italian missionaries on the Amazon; Dr. Finsch's fine collections from Melanesia and Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, which have made the Melanesian section one of the best in Europe; the rich material gathered by Bove in the Congo-Territory; and a portion of de Brazza's Collection from Ogowe and the lower Congo, besides many smaller collections from other parts. Many groups of peoples are still somewhat imperfectly represented. But under Pigorini's energetic and careful management the various sections are being worked up with astonishing rapidity.[15]

In the periodical of the Italian Geographical Society many of the most important collections have been published by Dr. Colini,[16] who with Prof. Pigorini has made a special study of several groups and very valuable specimens.[17]

[15] *Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei*, April 1887, p. 295.
[16] *Bollettino della Societa Geografica Italiana*, 1883, 1886.
[17] *Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei*, cclxxviii., cclxxx., cclxxxii.

There is also a smaller ethnographical collection in the building of the PROPAGANDA at Rome.[18] Besides some unique American specimens and the well preserved Mexican Codex published by Kingsborough,[19] it contains a variety of good things from the Upper Nile and Central Africa. But as a whole, it does not rank among the first. The collection owes its origin and growth entirely to gifts from former pupils of the Propaganda, and cannot therefore follow any fixed plan of development.

The museum in FLORENCE, founded by Prof. Mantegazza, has, as an ethnographical collection, long been surpassed by its younger sister in Rome. Besides many excellent articles from Cook's voyages, it contains very instructive matter from Siberia, Peru, Nias, and New Guinea. But other groups are weakly represented throughout. In physiological anthropology however, it is of great importance, and the collection of skeletons and crania of races is undoubtedly the richest in Italy. The work in this section of the museum has so far been pushed on with the greatest energy, and many studies of its materials are to be found in the anthropological periodical connected with the museum.[20]

Though we cannot, in so general a review, take account of the private collections which exist in many places, the fine ethnographical collection belonging to Prof. Giglioli in Florence deserves to be mentioned. It was begun as a foundation for the study of the Stone-Age outside of Europe; and contains an extraordinarily rich number of stone objects from the most diverse regions, many rare and exquisite pieces of high value, and comprehensive sets representing every type within the various groups. By limiting the object he had in view, Prof. Giglioli has succeeded in bringing together a collection unrivalled by any public museum, and most instructive, not merely in the richness of its contents, but also in the accurate descriptions attached to every piece.

The remaining ethnographical collections of Italy are of little worth, and consist merely of small groups, in this or that museum, where they are out of place, and can only be enlarged by casual gifts. The most important is the collection of Nile objects presented by Miani to VENICE, where they are displayed in the MUSEO CIVICO. Of less interest is a small collection attached to the zoological section of the MUSEO CIVICO in MILAN. On the other hand, among the ethnographical objects in the MUSEO CIVICO in TURIN, there is a

18 See *Bol. della Soc. Geogr. Ital.* 1885.

19 *Antiquities of Mexico*, iii.

20 Mantegazza: *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia.*

fair collection from Mexico and Central America, containing many good pieces. In the ARMERIA REALE also we meet with some rare weapons from the South Seas and the East.

The MUSÉE GUIMET in LYONS will be treated more fully below.

We shall next turn our attention to the contents of these museums.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

PERMANENCE OF THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY UNDER SUCCESSIVE CONQUESTS.

INDIA, I suppose, will be generally considered the home of the village community in its most primitive condition, and it is instructive to note some of its characteristics with reference to questions raised upon the origin of the English village community. In the *Gazetteer of the Rohtak District*, 1883-4, p. 17, occurs the following important passage:—"We know that the hosts of many a conqueror must have carried fire and sword through the land before the southern plunderers and northern fanatics contended for the possession of it; that many a royal state progress must have taken place through the district to the hunting grounds of Hánsi and Hissár; that ever since Delhi became the capital of India, a tract lying so close to it must have been profoundly affected by the events of the dynastic annals; but not a trace of all this remains. Only the villages themselves, unbroken and unchanged, exist as they existed 800 years ago. To no tract in North India do the words of Sir C. Metcalfe, quoted below, more aptly apply than to the Rohtak district: 'Village communities seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty changes; revolution succeeds revolution; Hindú, Pathán, Múghal, Mahrattá, Sikh, English, are all masters in turn, but the village community remains the same.'"

G. L. GOMME.

Archæology.

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COINS AT THE HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG.

AMONG the places where, it may safely be asserted, Kaiser Wilhelm II. did not unduly linger, during his recent visit to Petersburg, the Imperial Hermitage occupies the most distinguished position. To the Pomeranian Grenadier 40,000 coins were naturally much less exciting than the 40,000 soldiers who paraded in his honour at Krasnoyé Selo. Yet to those who are not grenadiers the Hermitage is the most interesting,—I was going to say the only interesting—thing in Petersburg. Big quays, big churches, big palaces, long streets, and a splendid river are no doubt worth seeing, but once seen they do not compel a second view; and even the mysterious and fabulous associations of the prison-fortress of Petropaulovski lose some of their fascination when it is discovered that people have interviewed the political prisoners and smoked their excellent cigarettes. But the resources and attractions of the Hermitage are inexhaustible. You may go there daily for a month, and only feel at the end that you are just beginning to know something of its contents.

I do not propose here to attempt to describe its varied collections, but only that particular portion which it was my business to examine; nevertheless, it will be well to say a few words as to the building and the arrangement. And in the first place it may be necessary to disabuse the reader of the common impression that the Hermitage is one of the Tsar's palaces: it is not a palace at all, but a separate and distinct museum. The impression arose from the fact that the Hermitage is contiguous to the Winter Palace, with which a part known as the Old Hermitage is connected by a flying bridge. This Old Hermitage was built by Catherine the Great in 1765, and consists of a winter garden, partly covered with glass, with corridors round the four sides: the corridor next the palace contains rooms for the use of royal guests; that next the museum is filled with an extraordinary medley of Russian heirlooms and curiosities, from the life-size (7 ft. high) effigy of Peter the Great,

his stuffed horse and dogs, his droshky, and other memorials of Pultowa, to his tools and inventions, his snuff-boxes, and even the Empress Catherine's silver-wire wig; together with a gorgeous collection of pure gold plate, jewelled arms, and trophies, and the diamond-studded aigrettes of Suvorov and Potiemkin. This family collection fitly separates the palace from the museum.

The Hermitage itself would be a stately building in any other position. It possesses a magnificent portico, supported by six granite Atlantides 20 ft. high; but instead of fronting the Neva, the portico looks on to the narrow street of the Millionnaya, where it cannot be viewed from a distance, and is crushed by the huge proportions of the Winter Palace. Nevertheless it is a fine entrance, and the great staircase is imposing, and, to those who can admire veneered marble, handsome. The ground floor, consisting of a number of rooms and galleries surrounding an open court, is devoted to antiquities: a poor collection of sculpture, chiefly late Greek and Roman, a very fine series of Greek vases, and a splendid exhibition of the fruits of excavations at Kerch. These last are the special and unique feature of the Hermitage archæological collections, and no one who has not seen them can have the faintest conception of what the Greek goldsmiths could do.

Ascending the grand staircase, we find ourselves indeed in marble halls, surrounded by a garish profusion of gilt and ormolu, and attended by a group of obsequious lackeys in the very becoming livery of the Tsar's household. The business of these functionaries is not so much to instruct the visitor,—since they know only their own language, and the visitor, who is generally a foreigner, seldom speaks Russian,—but to see that no injury is done to the magnificent collection of pictures which is the chief pride and ornament of the Hermitage. My business, unfortunately, was not to linger here, but to pass into a side corridor, the Raffaele Gallery, where the collection of oriental coins is preserved in a long row of horizontal glass cases.

There is a prevailing idea that, though the foreigner is generally well received in the proverbially hospitable society of Petersburg, he is shackled in his study of the collections by endless official obstructions. Of course precautions have to be taken in every public museum against possible theft or malicious injury. We have all heard of certain scarabs which took leave of the British Museum in consequence of a little laxness in this respect; and of a distinguished gentleman who narrowly escaped being searched for a duplicate coin by the constable outside the Medal Room. Indeed there is a tradition that all visitors to the coin room of our national

museum are only permitted to inspect the coins through the glass lids of certain strong locked boxes. The boxes certainly are, or were, duly exposed to view, but in an experience of sixteen years I cannot remember ever having witnessed the interesting ceremony of their being put to their legitimate use. It is practically found sufficient to place an assistant in charge of the visitor and to confine him to one tray of coins at a time, in which a missing piece would be instantly detected. At the Paris Bibliothèque they are sometimes more rigid, and well known scholars have been searched on their entrance and exit. In Russia, much more serious precautions are supposed to be taken. I was told that two learned officials, probably both of them Excellencies of the Third Chin, would stand on either side of me, and break the seal of each drawer, while furtively watching each other to detect the least involuntary extension of finger and thumb towards the forbidden fruit. If such were to be the case, it became an anxious question how many thousands of Arabic coins were to be examined under these conditions, and how the official work of the Hermitage was to go on if the majority of its curators were detailed off on sentinel duty.

Whatever may have been the case in the past, I found no trace of such obstructive regulations in my visit to Petersburg. It is unnecessary to state that in a country so permeated by officialism as Russia, it is essential to place yourself in proper relations with your Foreign Office and Ambassador. I did not leave England until I had an assurance given by Monsieur Vlangali, the Russian Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to Sir Robert Morier, that every facility would be afforded me. I mention these details, at the risk of appearing egotistic, because it is really important that students wishing to use their opportunities to the best advantage in Russia should not trust to their own reputation or private introductions, but start from the proper official terminus, the Foreign Office, which is always ready to exert its influence on behalf of genuine research. Once this detail is satisfactorily arranged, no further difficulties will arise. The officials of the Hermitage allowed me access to the coins, both before and after, as well as during, official hours, with a freedom which would make the hair of a British Museum Keeper fairly bristle, and which, I confess, caused me a greater feeling of responsibility than I altogether relished, in spite of the considerable saving of time thus effected; while for courtesy, kindness, and readiness to help, no public department in Europe excels them. I speak particularly of my friend Baron von Tiesenhausen, Monsieur Iversen, the Curator of coins, and H.E. Monsieur Kunik, the sub-director. The ordinary

hours for the public are from 11—3, with no admission on Saints' days (a considerable deduction in Russia): I was always there from 10 till 5, and Saints' days were open to me. In other words, the work was done in half the usual time.

My object was to muster the Russian contingent for a *corpus* of Mohammedan coins which I have long been preparing for the Clarendon Press. Those who know Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* will understand what I mean, though in the case of oriental coins the application is somewhat different. In Greek coins the interest is largely artistic; in Arabic coins it is historical. The difficulty with Greek coins is often to determine their historical sequence; in Arabic coins the sequence is absolutely fixed by the inscriptions. On a Greek coin, the type or emblem is the main thing, the inscription is subordinate and conveys little beyond the name of a city or king; but on Arabic coins the whole surface is covered with inscriptions which are in fact the annals of the princes and cities of the Mohammedan world.

I venture here to quote what I have said elsewhere: "The coins of the Muslim East do not so much recall history as make it. The student is constantly meeting with a perfectly unknown king or even dynasty, which fills up a gap in the annals of the East. A Mohammedan coin generally gives not only the date and place of issue, and the name of the ruler who caused it to be struck, but frequently the names of his father and grandfather, his heir apparent, liege-lord, and other valuable genealogical data and aids to the due understanding of the inter-relations of different dynasties; while the religious formulae employed will enable us to tell the sect to which the ruler who issued the coin belonged, at least so far as the broad distinctions of Islam are concerned. If the complete series of coins issued by every Muslim State were preserved, we should be able to tabulate with the utmost nicety the entire line of kings and their principal vassals that have ruled in every part of the Mohammedan empire since the eighth century, and to draw with tolerable accuracy the boundaries of their territories at every period. Minting was ever one of the most cherished rights of sovereignty. The privileges of Kutba and Sikka, that is, of being prayed for in the Friday prayers in the mosques and of inscribing his name on the currency, were the first things the new king thought about on ascending the throne. It is this monetary vanity of Eastern princes that makes their coinage so valuable to the historian, and indeed compels him to regard numismatic evidence as the surest testimony he can obtain. The Mohammedan coinage, more than any other, abounds in his-

torical data; and when the as yet unwritten history of the East during the Middle Ages comes to be told, the author will find no surer check upon the native annalists than the coins.

"If the history of the Mohammedan East were comprised in the annals of a few great dynasties, the value of the coins would not be so considerable, for we should only learn perhaps some fresh dates or confirmation of dates already known, and the mints would be only the capitals and large towns of well-known provinces. But Mohammedan history is made up of the struggles for supremacy of hundreds of petty houses and thousands of petty dynasts, of whose very existence we should often be wholly ignorant but for their coins. These petty dynasts struck their money at towns of which next to nothing is often known, and thus the coinage is frequently our only means of establishing the position of the smaller towns of the medieval East. Sometimes these small towns preserve the names of cities famous in antiquity, but whose site, save for this numismatic evidence, was uncertain. Thus geographically as well as historically, Mohammedan coins have a high value."[1]

If every existing Mohammedan coin were published, we should be able to construct a skeleton history of the East: to place its dynasties, underlords, and governors, in their due relations, and to establish the political boundaries for each period. But in the first place a very large proportion of the public collections (to say nothing of private cabinets) are not published; and, in the second, when they are catalogued, there is what astronomers call the "personal equation" to be reckoned with—in other words, the cataloguer is not always accurate. As I have myself catalogued the British Museum, Bodleian, and Christ Church collections, as well as the *inedita* of every private collection that I can get hold of,—while necessarily unable to determine the personal equation, I may at least assert that we in England have nothing to reproach ourselves with on the score of concealment: all our treasures, so far as known, are published.[2] I wish I could say the same of other countries. In France there is a splendid collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, of which, until recently, no published catalogue existed; and though last year Monsieur Lavoix brought out a handsome scholarly volume, it describes only the portion of the series corresponding to the first of the eight volumes of the British Museum *Catalogue of Oriental*

[1] *Coins and Medals: their place in History and Art*, p. 162.

[2] Of course, additions are constantly being made to the national collection, but these are described in supplementary catalogues, one of which, bringing the additions up to date, is about to appear.

Coins. Private collections in France have an able expositor in Monsieur Sauvaire, who is constantly publishing rare coins from his own or other collectors' cabinets. Germany, once almost in the van of numismatic activity, is now sadly in arrears. The great collection of oriental coins at Berlin is a *terra incognita* to those who cannot personally inspect it, and of its 20,000 Mohammedan coins, few have been described. Jena possesses the Soret collection of about 5000 coins, the rarities of which were published long ago by Soret himself, and the beginning of a regular catalogue was made by the learned curator, Dr. Stickel; but of the additions made in the last twenty years we have no knowledge. The same neglect of keeping the catalogues up to date is seen at Gotha, where it is to be presumed that the collection has not stood still since Möller described it in 1826-31; Königsberg, not catalogued since 1858; Rostock, 1844; Dresden, 1856; to say nothing of other university or Grand Ducal collections which have not been published at all. There is no published catalogue of the royal cabinet at Copenhagen; the fine series at Stockholm was described by Tornberg in 1848, but its additions are to a large extent unpublished. Lund has a cabinet, only partly described. In Italy, the Milan collection was catalogued ten years ago; that at Padua, a hundred and one years ago; the rest is a blank, for no description of an Arabic coin by Adler will bear examination. The Spanish cabinets have been ransacked by Professor Don F. Codera y Zaidin with the best results, and Spain is the only country besides England that has kept up to the mark in oriental numismatics. The Sultan's Treasury at Constantinople contains a collection, chiefly of Ottoman coins; but they are arranged according to metal and size, like an ornamental flower-bed, in a darkened room, to which access can only be obtained by an Imperial Iradé. I saw enough to know that they were worth describing, but nothing will induce the Sultan to permit a gyawur to handle them. One of the Turkish ministers has a small collection, preserved in bags, which he kindly allowed me to look at; but the mode of arrangement did not facilitate a cursory inspection.

It is evident, then, that if every existing Mohammedan coin is to be published, there is plenty of work before us, and I would appeal to Arabic scholars abroad to look to their laurels, and not allow it to be said that their collections must go unrecorded unless an Englishman will come and describe them. With a little patience a fair Arabic scholar may soon learn to read coin-inscriptions with accuracy, and there are plenty of such scholars in Germany, who

ought to overhaul the various collections and take away this reproach from a nation famous for learning.

To return to my own share of the work, I resolved to begin by exhausting the Russian collections, not because they are the least known, but because they are very numerous, and contain special branches in which the British Museum is comparatively weak. As a matter of history, Russia formerly took the lead in oriental numismatics. In the earlier half of the present century, Fraehn, who may be styled the father of the science, catalogued most of the public and private collections all over the country with extraordinary diligence and unsurpassed accuracy. But the cabinets have much increased since his time, and though the late Monsieur Dorn and Baron von Tiesenhausen, now one of the most distinguished oriental numismatists, have published many of the additions, it was difficult to know exactly what remained undescribed. Moreover, until Fraehn's catalogues had been tested by a comparison with the coins, it was impossible to accept even so renowned an authority wholly on trust. I began with the Hermitage, because it has never been catalogued, though many of its rarities have been described from time to time in more or less accessible Russian "transactions." But the excavations which the Russians, much to their credit, continually conduct in various parts of the empire bring in numerous additions which the official staff (M. Tiesenhausen is the only oriental numismatist in Petersburg, and he is not attached to the Hermitage) is quite unequal to describing as quickly as they arrive. To give a detailed account of the results of my examination of the 8000 Arabic coins in the Raffaele gallery would be impossible here; but an example or two of the way in which the Hermitage collection supplements the historical data of the British Museum will be of some use to numismatists.

The contributions of the Hermitage (and it may be added of all the Russian collections) to the general *corpus* of Mohammedan coin data were, as might have been expected, somewhat limited in scope, though ample in detail. Of the dynasties of Egypt, the Barbary States, Morocco, and Spain, it contains comparatively few examples. It is when we come to the dynasties who reigned over countries bordering the present Russian frontier, and those which have been incorporated in Russian territory, that the wealth of the Imperial Museum becomes apparent. In the coins of the early Muslim dynasties of Khorasañ and Transoxiana, such as the Tahiris, Saffaris Samanis, Ilek Khans of Turkistan; in the long series of the coins of the Khalifs of Baghdad, in the Khanates of Jagatai, of the

Golden Horde, the Ilkhans of Persia, and other Tartar and Mongol lines, the Hermitage collection stands supreme. It is impossible here to give even a summary of the new dates, new mints, and new governors' names, which occur on the Hermitage coins, and are not in the British Museum. I will take but one dynasty as an example, and even of that I can give but a very small selection of the information which the Hermitage coins afford. The Samani family, according to the annalists, became local governors under the Khalifs early in the third century of the Hijra. Four sons of Asad the son of Saman received appointments in Khorasan and Transoxiana under the Khalif El-Mamun; but it was not till A.H. 279 that Isma'il the son of Ahmad and grandson of Asad acquired such power as to be practically independent and to securely found a dynasty, which reigned at Samarkand, Bukhara, Herat, Neysabur, and the surrounding districts, for over a century. In the British Museum the coinage of this dynasty numbers about two hundred pieces, which is a very fair representation. But it will be understood how much the Hermitage adds to the data supplied by the British Museum, when it is stated that it not only contains duplicates of almost every coin of our two hundred, but supplements them by three hundred other coins which are not in our Museum. Nor does the Hermitage collection merely fill up gaps within the limits of the period covered by the British series: it extends this period. Our national series opens with a dirham of Isma'il of A.H. 282. It is of some importance that the Hermitage carries this ruler's coinage one year further back; but this is not the chief addition made to our knowledge of the early issues of the Samanis. In the Hermitage I found coins (in *copper*, the mark of subordinate governorship, just as silver or gold is the sign of virtual independence) of Nasr, the elder brother and precursor of Isma'il, struck at the chief city, Samarkand, in the years 253, 254, 271, and 272 of the Hijra, dates which overthrow the records of some of the historians, who make Nasr begin his rule in 261. Further, the Hermitage coins take us back to Ahmad the son of Asad, who struck money at Samarkand in 244 and 245, and then must have been deposed by (or have abdicated in favour of) his son Nasr, for we find coins, again in the Hermitage, struck at Akhsikat (further away to the north-east) in 277, still bearing the name of Ahmad ibn Asad. The Hermitage thus carries us by two governors further back than the British Museum and supplies evidence that the earlier of the two must have given place to the later at the capital while still preserving something of his ancient authority at a border town. But it does more even than this.

In the drawers of the *Commission Archéologique*, (which occupies an upper floor of the Hermitage,) where the pieces discovered in recent excavations are examined, before they are presented to the Hermitage or other museums, is a copper coin of the year 239 bearing the name of Asad himself the son of Saman, the earliest member of the family who appears to have attracted any notice. By a study of the Hermitage series we are thus able to begin the description of the history of the Samani dynasty, as proved by coins, 43 years earlier than we could do if we had only the British Museum collection to work upon. Again, if we were to conclude from the latter alone, we should know nothing of the pretenders to the Samani throne who sprung up about the end of the third century of the Hijra; but in the Hermitage are coins of Yahya ibn Ahmad, of Mikail ibn Ja'far, and of Ishak ibn Ahmad, who all struck coins at Samarkand and elsewhere pending the establishment of the authority of Nasr ibn Ahmad. Finally, while the British Museum collection, as published, ends with Nuh II., the Hermitage continues the record with coins of Mansur II. son of Nuh, at the mints Bukhara and Farghana and the date 390, and ends with a specimen of Isma'il ibn Nuh.

Of my examination of the other Russian collections I need say but little. My experiences in the other institutions were precisely similar to those in the Hermitage. The constant kindness and attention I there received from Messieurs Kunik and Iversen, and in the *Commission Archéologique* especially from my friends Baron von Tiesenhausen and Count Tolstoi, found a parallel in the courtesy of the Director of the Asiatic Museum and his assistant, Dr. von Lemm, and in the amiability of H. E. Monsieur Gamazov, the director of the *Institut des Langues Orientales.* The latter allowed me to examine the collection in his charge on a *fête* day and gave me the readiest possible access. The collection numbers some four thousand coins, most of which are in unusually good condition. About half have been catalogued and published by the late Councillor Dorn, and my first duty was to see how that work had been performed—to determine the " personal equation." I was glad to find that Monsieur Dorn had shown the greatest care in his description of the coins, and my minute collation produced hardly any difference of opinion, and none of any importance. In the unpublished part of the collection (which is most strong in the Golden Horde, and the Persian and Ottoman series,) I found many interesting additions, but naturally my previous examination of the Hermitage cabinet

left comparatively few lacunae to be filled up by the *Institut des Langues Orientales.*

I next proceeded to the Asiatic Museum, where I was allowed to come and go whenever I liked, without regard to the ordinary hours of admission. This collection has been completely described by Fraehn and Dorn: there is not, so far as I could ascertain, a single addition of importance since the publication of their works. All I had to do therefore was to go carefully through the trays, testing their decipherments step by step, and reserving a specially minute examination for such examples as from experience I knew to be dangerous pitfalls or to be likely to afford peculiar information. I found Fraehn's work to be all that it is reputed to be: accurate and painstaking to a fault, if anything too cautious where there was any obscurity, and marked by a distinct genius for interpreting the difficulties of numismatic palæography. I was strongly impressed by the invincible patience and accuracy of this prince of numismatists, whose labours are nowhere so evident and pervading as in the Asiatic Museum, where the coins are of his arranging, and where his MSS. and library have found a permanent and appreciative home. Councillor Dorn followed carefully in his master's steps. His descriptions of the coins are marked by almost equal care and discernment, and I am glad to observe that he too erred on the side of caution, and if he hazarded hypotheses, the curse of numismatics, they were advanced in parentheses and qualified with a mark of interrogation. A student may take any of the publications of Fraehn or Dorn in sure faith that the coins are accurately described and that there has been no guess-work.

The last collection I visited at Petersburg was that of the University. This formerly belonged to the University of Kazan, where it had been described (more or less) twice over by Erdmann and by its present curator, Professor Bérésine. A cursory inspection, aided by a previous study of the catalogues, convinced me that the collection contained nothing of novelty and would not repay the time which a detailed examination would entail. Indeed it was my experience in Russia that all the collections were composed, as might have been expected, of very similar materials, derived from those dynasties with which the Tsars had most to do, and whose trade passed through Russia; and I found that a minute examination of one or two, such as the Hermitage and the Asiatic Museum, left very little that the others could supply. This was the case with the collection of nearly 5000 Oriental coins at the Rumiantzov Museum at Moscow

which I subsequently visited. They have been recently catalogued by M. Trutovski, but present no novelties.

In conclusion, I may remind the readers of this Review that if so much is to be learnt at Petersburg in an obscure branch of numismatics, much more may be discovered in other departments, not of coins alone, but of various classes of antiquities, Greek, medieval, and especially the little understood remains of Sassanian and kindred arts, which are only to be properly studied in Russia. Even Saracenic art has its ardent collectors in Petersburg: there are some good specimens in the Stieglitz Museum, and one of the finest examples of inlaid silverwork of Mosil is in the possession of the President of the Archæological Commission, Count Bobrinski. In short, those who study any department of archæology cannot afford to dispense with a visit to the Russian capital; and, when they go, they will be well received.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY AT ASTON AND COTE IN OXFORDSHIRE.

THE peculiar tenure of the lands in the manor of Aston and Cote is well known to students. It is quoted in text-books on real property law and in books dealing with the early history of land holding, but I do not find that the evidence it affords upon the history of the village community in England has ever been considered. This can only be done by a critical examination of the chief points in the history of the manor, and until this is done this famous example of an ancient system of society will not be properly understood and will not therefore receive its rightful place in the early history of English institutions.

The manor of Aston and Cote is a sub-manor of the manor of Bampton, and is situated in the parish of Bampton in Oxfordshire. Our first step will be to consider the evidence as to the earliest occupation of this district. There is but doubtful evidence of a British occupation at Bampton in "Lew Barrow," a mound about 15 feet

high and of proportional dimensions standing on the highest point of the Lew Hills,[1] and no Roman roadway or evidences of Roman occupation either exist or have been found near it. With this important negative evidence before us, we next turn to the Anglo-Saxon period. In 614, the Welsh, making a raid on the valley of the Cherwell, struck over the Cotswolds by Cirencester,[2] and were met at Bampton by Cynegils and Cwichelm, who slew three thousand of them,[3] and probably after this decisive victory the conquerors resolved at last to settle and build up a home for themselves.

This conclusion seems to be confirmed by the name of the town itself, which implies what modern tradition confirms, the tree-town, or "Bampton-in-the-Bush,"[4] that is, a settlement carved out of the unoccupied woodlands. There are other place names which unquestionably give evidence of its Anglo-Saxon origin. Thus among the names of the lands we have, as noted by Mr. Williams,[5] the Byttam = byht-hám, from byht[6] a corner or bend ; the "hucket" = a hooked field from hock or hó ; the Stew meads and the Steway, probably from stig a path ; the Edy-Garston or Gaston, Blechingworth, the Stathe (a bank), Stadge, Bosengay, Mallenge, Sinderworth, Sinbury Hám, and the Woo. Although, therefore, there may be traces of British occupation, and later on of Danish occupation,[7] we may fairly conclude that the predominant influences of the Bampton settlement were Anglo-Saxon.

The spot on which this Anglo-Saxon community settled was one well suited to them. It is perfectly flat except towards its most northerly portion, where there is a gradual rise towards a line of low hills. On these low hills it reaches its highest elevation at Lew Barrow and again falls gradually away on all sides.[8] Upon such suitable territory as this they settled, and how completely the community was isolated in its inter-village independence is witnessed by a fact which has gone far to preserve to this day the remarkable archaic

[1] Giles' *History of Bampton*, 110. The "Low Barrow" is most likely Saxon.

[2] Green, *Making of England*, 239.

[3] *Anglo Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 614.

[4] Giles, *loc. cit.* 15. It is marked as "Bampton in the Bush" in the map attached to Young's *Agriculture of Oxford.*

[5] *Archæologia* xxxiii, 269-270.

[6] Examples of this word in place names are collected from the *Codex Diplomaticus* and other authorities in Toller's edition of *Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s.v. byht.

[7] Traces of Danish influences are observable at Bampton—see *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 382.

[8] Giles' *History of Bampton*, pp. 17-18.

survivals we shall presently have before us, namely, that no stoned road of any kind led from Bampton to the neighbouring towns and villages, travellers of modern days even being compelled to strike across the common which surrounded the town, and thence to find their way to Witney, Burford or Oxford as best they could.[9] Scarcely anything could be more indicative of archaic village life than this absence of roads, and I wish to draw special attention to it. One other fact which has helped to preserve the archaic social group at Bampton is that, abandoning whatever chances that might have existed for carrying on a manufacturing occupation, the people almost wholly engaged in agriculture,[10] and agriculture was the basis upon which the village community of the early English was founded.

The initial facts in the history of this district are, therefore, all in favour of producing a good example of the village community, and we will now endeavour to ascertain whether the organization of the manor, as known to us in later times, may be taken to be a survival of the more archaic institution. Let me recapitulate what these initial facts are—there is no evidence of Roman occupation, there is isolation of the district consequent upon there being no roads, there is a very late and exclusive agricultural industry.

The superior manor of Bampton had under it several sub-manors, one of which was Aston and Cote; and to the facts of this sub-manor we shall now pay exclusive attention. I have made an extensive search through the calendars of the deputy-keeper of the Public Records and other MS. sources of information, and have not been able to light upon any information relative to Aston. We

[9] Giles, *loc. cit.* 17; cf. Young's *Agriculture of Oxford*, 1813, p. 324, for the general condition of Oxford roads. How remarkably parallel the state of things at Bampton is to the village community in India may be seen by referring to Sir John Phear's *Aryan Village Community in India and Ceylon* p. 4, "there exist almost no roads . . . only irregular tracks, sometimes traversable by wheels, along the balks which divide and sub-divide the soil into small cultivated patches."

[10] Giles, *loc. cit.* 72. Mr. Ashley, *English Economic History and Theory*, has sufficiently pointed out the nature of English trade and commerce down to the fourteenth century. "What existed," he says, "was scarcely more than a trade between certain towns, an inter-communal or inter-municipal commerce" (p. 102). Bampton carried on this feature of early English village life longer than other parts of the country. Plot, writing in 1677, says there are in Witney "a great many Fellmongers, out of whom at the neighbouring town of Bampton there arises another considerable trade, the Fellmongers' sheep skins after dressed and strained being here made into wares, viz., jackets, breeches, leather linings, &c., which they chiefly vent into Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, no town in England having a trade like it in that sort of ware."—Plot's *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, 230.

have, therefore, to rely for the principal evidence as to the organization of the village community at Aston upon a "case" which the lord of the manor stated to Sir Orlando Bridgman and Mr. Jeffrey Palmer, on the 30th of November, 1657, and which has fortunately been printed by Mr. Giles as a supplement to his *History of Bampton*. The importance of this document is greatly enhanced by its having been written for the purpose of getting legal opinion upon the lord's rights and the rights of the manorial courts as opposed to the organization of the tenants. It was, in point of fact, an attempt on the part of the lord to take over to himself the free institutions of the community. On the one hand, we have a statement of what were considered to be the lord's rights; on the other hand, we have a statement of what were considered to be the tenants' rights. While these two contrasting statements enable us to obtain a lurid view of the organization of the agricultural community in the seventeenth century, they also afford us very valuable evidence as to one of the modes of transition from communal rights to lord's rights—evidence which has never yet been brought to bear upon the important question of the origin of village-community in England. And when we consider how extremely difficult it is to meet with such evidence, it will be recognized that in this example we must be careful to note every step of the process, so as to gain a complete knowledge of details, which will serve as a guide to many phases of our local institutions, the origin of which cannot easily be established for lack of evidence. Not only does it afford an almost unique example of the process by which the lord of the manor sought to obtain rights that almost everywhere else we find him in full possession of; but by the successful resistance to this claim it affords a very late example of the village community in England with much of its archaic structure and archaic methods of government and cultivation of land left intact. If the lord had succeeded in his claim, the Manor of Aston and Cote would not probably have been distinguishable in its customs from other manors; that he did not succeed has preserved for us a type of archaic village organization not to be matched elsewhere in manorial history. In view also of the evidence brought forward in the last number of the *Archæological Review* by Professor Kovalevsky, as to the condition of manorial tenants at the time of the Commonwealth, it is not unimportant to note that at Bampton we have another Commonwealth law case which lays bare a most interesting and important phase of early English institutions—a phase which can only be understood by a minute study

of examples, and not by generalizations, however broad and ingenious may be their treatment.

The manor consisted of sixteen hides. To each of these hides were attached 4 yard-lands—making altogether 64 yard-lands belonging to the 16 hides. Confining ourselves in the first place to the structure of this social organism, it was stated by the lord of the manor in 1657, that "there hath been a custom time out of mind that a certain number of persons called *the sixteens*, or the greater part of them, have used to make orders, set penalties, choose officers and lot the meadows, and do all such things as *are usually performed or done in the Courts Baron of other manors.*" This is the free democratic assembly, and its title, the Sixteens, as well as its constitution, takes us back to primitive times.[11] Nor is this all. From the body of "the sixteens" are elected four of "the most influential persons" as grass stewards. These represented the manor of Aston and Cote at the superior court of the manor of Bampton, and are thus brought into close parallel with the four best men of the Anglo-Saxon township.[12] And as if to settle once for all the archaic nature of this village organization, its entire independence of political thought and action, we find that for the purpose of taking combined action, it met in the open air, like the assemblies of all early social groups before they have become associated with higher organizations leading on to the nation.[13] The meeting-place of the Aston and Cote Assembly was the cross situated in the centre of the village,[14] and though the custom had already fallen into desuetude in 1848, Mr. Horde, in 1657, sufficiently attested its importance by the assertion that its orders "if proclaimed from the Town Cross are binding upon the inhabitants."[15]

Over and above the extensive system of self-government which this community exercised upon it members, including all those numerous powers conveyed by the possession of pillory, ducking-stool, &c., it retained some functions which are of special significance to our present enquiry. The Sixteens were bound to provide at their joint expense four two-year-old bulls every season to run on the common pasture; at the end of the season they sold them for their own benefit, and during the season they claimed a fee for every cow

[11] See *Archæologia*, xxxiii. 269; Gomme's *Primitive Folkmoots*, pp. 119-120.

[12] Stubbs' *Const. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 90. The "four best men and the reeve are the full representatives. Still the analogy is curious enough to note.

[13] See *Primitive Folkmoots*, p. 119 et passim.

[14] Giles' *History of Bampton*, p. 78.

[15] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii., p. 274.

that fed on the common.[16]. Comparing this with the municipal custom at Marlborough,[17] the gild custom at Leicester,[18] and the manor custom at Hitchin,[19] it may appear that we have a clue to the origin of the lord's bull, without stepping outside the free village community of the Teutonic conquerors of Britain as Mr. Seebohm would have us do.[20] If the Sixteens and their powers had passed into the hands of the lord of the manor in 1657, the village bull would have been indistinguishable from that at Hitchin, and Mr. Seebohm's conclusions as to its origin could hardly have been shaken. As it is, we have clearly in this instance one of the duties of the community at large for the benefit of the individual members; and it is in the hands of the community, not in those of the lord.

The other function of the community to which special reference must be made in this place is the appointment of officers. These are made known by the names of certain "town-hams" set forth by Mr. Horde in 1657 as follows:—

In the Out-Mead:	Brander Ham.
	Bull Ham.
	Hayward's Ham.
	Water Steward's Ham.
In the Inn-Mead:	Water Hayward's Ham.
	Homage Ham.
	Constable's Ham.
	Penny Ham.
	Herd's Ham.
	Smith's Ham.
	Grass Steward's Ham.
	Another Grass Steward's Ham.
	Wonter's Ham.
	Worden Ham.

Mr. Benjamin Williams has investigated the titles of these officers, comparing them with the officers mentioned in *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, with some very useful results, into the details of which it will not be necessary to enter now.[21] But the points to which attention must be drawn are, that they are all Anglo-Saxon titles, and that they supply a very full complement of village

[16] Giles' *History of Bampton* p. 78.

[17] *Municipal Corp. Com.*, 1835, p. 83.

[18] Thompson's *English Municipal History*. pp. 51-52.

[19] Seebohm's *English Village Community*, 11; see also Nelson's *Lex Maneriorum*, 1726, app. p. 28.

[20] loc. cit., 261.

[21] *Archæologia* xxxiii. pp. 276-278.

officers exactly on a parallel with the village officers in the communities of India. Then there is the still more important custom of allotting land to them for their services.[22] With such a set of officers the village was independent of other villages with respect to all the labour necessary for the support of its members; and with such a method of payment, identical with that to be found extant in all early types of the primitive village community, it was independent of any fiscal considerations outside the most perfect village economy.

Then the Sixteens in their corporate capacity held lands for the benefit of the community. These consisted of "several leyes of greensward lying in the common fields two years mowed and the other fed, viz. Catmore leyes, other greensward, and bushes on Claywell hill, No-man's plot, Holliwell Green, the Ham ways, Trueland's plotts, and some other." Besides these were the Hams above mentioned, which were not allowed to officers, namely, the Homage Ham and the Penny Ham; and Mr. Horde in 1657 said that these hams "are disposed at the discretion of the Sixteens, some for the public use of the town, as for making of gates, bridges, &c., and some sold to make ale for the merry meeting of the inhabitants." Alike in the providing of the bull, the appointment and payment of officers, the possession of lands for public purposes, we find these "Sixteens" exercising important corporate functions as a self-governing community. And as these three several features belonging to the assembly at Aston and Cote are exactly parallel to what is known to belong to the assembly of the village community in India, it is idle to suggest that they represent only a late development. They are archaic and have survived to modern times.

Such is the evidence of the structure of the community and of its self-governing powers, which had not disappeared from legal observation in 1657. Mr. Horde, "for the better understanding the meaning of the sixteens" as they existed in his time, gave the archaic account of them which has just been described. Contrasting this description of the old state of things with their exact condition, as Mr. Horde himself observed around him, we must seek for some explanation of the changes which had come about; the changes are significant rather than sweeping, and from them, I think, can be ascertained a very important period in the history of manors.

The hide, in 1657, was no longer the unit of holding; but the yard-land had taken its place. Of the 64 yard-lands, the lord held 40. Of these 40, 12 were "estated out to several tenants

[22] Cf. Gomme's *Municipal Offices*, 34-35; Maine's *Village Communities*, 126.

for lives by copy of court roll, 22 yard-lands are let by lease to several tenants for 99 years if certain lives so long live, and 5 yard-lands are let by several leases to several tenants for several terms under rack rents, so as there is now no parcel of the said manor in the lord's hands." Of the remaining 24 yard-lands out of the total of 64, "*about* 12 yard-lands thereof was ancient freehold, not holden of the manor of Aston Boges, nor paying any rent to the lord thereof, or doing any suit to the courts there ; 9 yard-lands more were heretofore parcel of the manor of Shifford ; and 4 yard-lands residue do belong to the manor of Bampton Deanery."[23] How it came about that the yard-lands once belonging to other manors were included in the government of Aston manor, is far from clear. Shifford was a manor from an early date, as there is a charter giving its metes and bounds in 1005,[24] but it is certain that the 9 yard-lands said to have once belonged to it, were in 1657 locally situate in Aston and intermixed with the other lands there.[25] And the statement as to them originally belonging to Shifford advanced by Mr. Horde, does not obviate the very significant fact that the owners of these yard-lands took part with the other owners of yard-lands in the election of the "Sixteens" of Aston and Cote ; so that the true state of the case may possibly have been that at some time previously a re-arrangement between the lords and tenants of the several manors subordinate to Bampton had taken place, by which Aston still kept up its traditional constitution of the sixteens, and released or exchanged lands in return for the 9 yard-lands obtained from Shifford.

But, however this may be, and the point is not very material, it will be seen, upon examination, that the village organization, the rights of assembly, the free open-air meetings, and the corporate action incident to the manor of Aston and Cote in reality supply a very clear example of the village community in which the sixteen hides represent the original homesteads of the primitive society. These hides had grown in 1657 into a considerable tenancy. But, fortunately, as a tenancy they kept their original unity in full force and so obstinately clung to their old system of government when

[23] It will be observed that 39 yard-lands out of the 40 held by the lord are accounted for, and that for the 24 out of the lord's hands 25 are accounted for. I have no means of correcting this error in the figures, but it does not affect the argument.

[24] *Codex Diplomaticus*, No. DCCXIV. The place is called Scypforda in the charter, and it is not identified with Shifford in Mr. Kemble's *index locorum*, but I think there is no doubt that Shifford in Oxfordshire is meant.

[25] *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. 269.

they were a kindred or clan, that the process by which decay had set in is plainly observable. There came a time, it may be readily supposed, when the homesteads could no longer remain undivided and retain their holdings under the system obtaining in the archaic family group. The system of polity surrounding them was wholly against such a proceeding; and group-succession, prevalent in some parts of the country long after the disappearance of the archaic family, gave way to individual succession. But in so giving way it kept up by *representation* the once undivided holding of the family homestead. If the homestead had itself disappeared, it still formed the basis upon which the village government was organized, the sixteen hides still sending up their sixteen *elected* representatives.

How the tenancy grew out of the original sixteen homesteads may perhaps be conjecturally set forth. We have first the owners of the yard-lands succeeding to the place originally occupied by the 16 homesteads. Instead of the original 16 group-owners we have therefore 64 individual owners, each yard-land having remained in possession of an owner. And then at succeeding stages of this dissolution we find the yard-lands broken up until in 1848 "some farmers of Aston have only half or even a quarter of a yard-land, whilst some have as many as ten or eleven yard-lands in their single occupation."[26] Then disintegration would proceed to the other proprietary rights, which, originally appendant to the homestead only, became appendant to the person and not to the residence, and are consequently "bought and sold as separate property, by which means it results that persons resident at Bampton or even at great distance have rights on Aston and Cote Common."[27] And finally we lose all traces of the system as described by Mr. Horde and as depicted by the representative character of the Sixteens, and in its place find that "there are some tenants who have rights in the common field and not in the common pasture, and vice versa several occupiers have the right of pasture who do not possess any portion of arable land in the common field."[28]

Against what powers the original archaic organization had fought before the seventeenth century we have no direct evidence to tell us. Indirectly we know that it had fought against the feudal tyranny which came to a close with Magna Charta; against

[26] Giles' *History of Bampton*. p. 76.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid. 79. It is important to note that this explanation of the displacement of a few landholders in a community by a considerable number is to be found in another example of the village community which I discovered at Malmesbury. See *Archæologia*, L. 430-431.

the military tyranny which ended at Bosworth Field; against the Church encroachments which ended with Elizabeth; and above all against the system of taxation for state purposes which, while politically necessary, destroyed of course the old interdependence of village communities.[29] And in 1657 it fought the hardest of all battles against the lawyer-conceived rights of the lord which in most other places had been lost and which would have been lost here too had it taken place at any other period. But the year 1657 was favourable to democratic rights. Mr. Horde wishing "to put an end to the authority of the Sixteens and reduce the government of the town to the obedience of the courts of his manor, hath taken covenant from seven or eight of his tenants to whom he hath lately let several of his yard-lands in Aston and Cote, that they shall wholly submit to the orders of his court and not agree to any of the Sixteens' orders." He elected another Hayward in opposition to the Hayward chosen by the Sixteens, he impounded the horse of this Hayward when he let him out on the horse common allotted to him by the Sixteens in right of his office. And to all of these proceedings Sir Orlando Bridgman, to whom the case was submitted, returned the significant answer, "I conceive the custom [of the Sixteens] is good and the officers lawful officers," and gave the further shrewd advice that "it may be better for Mr. Horde to make use of his tenants for elections, so having the majority of voices rather than invade the custom." But even this was of no avail. The agreement subsequently drawn up "betwixt Thomas Horde, Esq., and the Freeholders, Leaseholders, and Copyholders of Aston and Cote 14th Car. ii.," seeking to absorb the free court of Sixteens into a Lord's manorial court, was not carried out, for when Mr. Giles in 1848 wrote his History of Bampton he was able still to describe the court of Sixteens existing free of the influence of the Lord.

As evidence therefore of the survival of the archaic community in the manor of Aston and Cote, we have very clear traces of (1) the original sixteen homesteads, (2) the assembly of the villagers held in the open-air, exercising corporate rights, holding lands for the benefit of the village, choosing officers who are paid out of the village lands, providing the common bull and exercising other functions of a governing body; and, as evidence of the mode of transition from this to the more general manorial practice, we have

[29] In that unsatisfactory work Ross's *Early History of Landholding among the Germans*, p. 66, is given a very good summary of the causes of the break-up of the archaic system and the reduction of proprietors into tenants owing to the fiscal operations of the state.

(3) the gradual attempts of the lord to assume these village rights to be lord's rights.

We now pass on to a consideration of the methods of holding and cultivating the lands. These are as archaic as the structure of the community, and they complete the remarkable picture of primitive times which the manor of Aston and Cote gives. It is not so surprising that the old methods of agriculture should have survived under the old system of society, because in many places throughout the country we know that there exist instances of such survival, but in these cases the old system of society which had given rise to it has completely broken up. But to find the two things together—archaic community and archaic economy—and in such completeness as we have it at Aston, is a phenomenon which will be difficult, outside the boundaries of uncivilized society, to meet with.

The whole district is divided into three parts—1, common field; 2, common meadow; 3, common pasture—the three parts, in fact, by which the economy of early agricultural society is almost everywhere represented. This is distributed as follows:—Each proprietor of a yard-land, or originally each member of a homestead, who, it will be remembered, owned four yard-lands, possessed about 30 acres which were divided among the three above-named sections of the territory. In the first place, he had twenty acres of arable land in the common field, from which he obtained wheat, beans, and other similar crops; then he had four or five acres in the common meadow which he made into hay for feeding his cattle in the winter; lastly, he had the right of feeding either eight cows or four horses, at discretion, on one part of the common pasture, and sixteen sheep on that part set aside for sheep.[30]

In the common field every occupant knew his own land. The whole of the field was divided by landmarks, and each strip always belonged to the same owner. All the owners adopted the same mode of cultivation according to the four-year course, leaving always a fourth part fallow. This fixity of ownership is only a development from one of the chief features of the common-field system, for in 1577, when a terrier was taken which is still extant, the land was intermixed in small portions of half an acre or less,[31] each yard-land thus representing a bundle of acre strips scattered over the common field.

[30] Mr. Williams adds that the right of pasture was for "8 rother beasts or 4 horses and 32 sheep, but formerly of 12 rother beasts and 40 sheep." Rother is from Ang.-Sax. hýrther, horned cattle. *Archæologia*, xxxiii., 271.

[31] *Archæologia*, xxxiii., 271.

The common meadow was laid out by boundary stones into thirteen large divisions technically called "layings out." These always remained the same, and each laying out in like manner was divided into four pieces called "sets"—first set, second set, third set, and fourth set. Recourse was then had to lots; and the following mode was practised. From time immemorial there have been sixteen marks established in the village, each of which corresponds with four yard-lands, and the whole sixteen consequently represent the sixty-four yard-lands into which the common was divided. A certain number of tenants therefore have the same mark which they always keep, so that everyone of them knows his own. The use of these marks was to enable the tenants every year to draw lots for their portions of the meadow.[32]

When the grass was fit to cut, the grass stewards and Sixteens summoned the freeholders and tenants to a general meeting, and the following ceremony took place. Four of the tenants came forward, each bearing his mark cut on a piece of wood, which, being thrown into a hat, were shaken up and drawn by a boy. The first drawing entitled its owner to have his portion of the common meadow in set one, the second drawn in set two, &c., and thus four of the tenants have obtained their allotments. Four others then came forward, and the same process was repeated until all the tenants had received their allotments. When the lots were all drawn, each man went armed with his scythe and cut out his mark on the piece of ground which belonged to him, which in many cases lied in so narrow a strip that he had not width enough to take a full sweep with his scythe. A single farmer might have to cut his portion of grass from twenty different places, though the tenants frequently accommodated one another by exchanging allotments when it was convenient for parties to do so.[33]

The common pasture has already been sufficiently described. Mr. Horde adds to his other valuable information about the state of things in 1657 that the manor had fishing rights as well. He says "it hath been long accustomed and known by repute that such a part of the fishing of the river belongs to such tenants, and in all or most part of the old deeds or leases of the several tenements are

[32] Mr. Williams, in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii., p. 275, gives a description of these marks as follows:—Each of the hides of land has its distinctive mark, as the one thwart over —, the two thwart over =, the three thwart over ≡, and Mr. Giles, in his *History of Bampton*, p. 79, adds the following examples: the "frying-pan," the "crane's foot," the "bow," "the two strokes to the right and one at top."

[33] Giles' *History of Bampton*, pp. 75-80.

granted the fishings thereunto belonging; those parts of the river called 'several waters,' and then there are other parts of the river called 'common waters,' though every man knoweth his part of the ridding thereof, in which is pretended a liberty for all to fish without control."

That the community, with all its principal characteristics of undoubted archaic origin thus placed before us as surviving in the middle of the seventeenth century, had an historical continuity from earlier times may be proved by the evidence of Domesday. Thus, both in the seventeenth century manor and in the great eleventh century taxing record, the terminology used in describing the lands is identical—in both we meet with "hides" and "yard-lands." It seems quite idle to suggest that this particular terminology can have been adopted capriciously without at the same time having a distinct historical connection with the system represented by that terminology. And therefore I conclude that the system just described at Aston and Cote is linked on without a break to the system described in Domesday. But from this arises a most important question. By contrasting with the Domesday record what existed in 1657 we shall not only see how much lies hidden in the terminology of Domesday, but shall be able to put to the test Mr. Seebohm's suggestion that the manors of Domesday contained within them the village community in serfdom. That the records of Domesday reflect a long past history and a long future history, taking our standpoint at the time of its compilation, is a fact which does not need confirmation; the very period with which it deals being a pivot point in English history to which archaic society in the past had been very slowly developing, and from which this slowly developed archaic society has since again progressed in more or less stereotyped stages. In some places, as at Bampton, the archaic has continued to within modern times as the living system of society; in other cases archaisms have survived in spite of obstacles, and oftentimes as the pet observances of small groups of people belonging to special institutions or unwittingly carrying out customs appertaining to ceremonies no longer political.

The community, as it appears in the seventeenth century after the events which had shaken it to its very foundation, and which had destroyed its old mode of group-succession in the archaic family, consisted of the following classes:

The lord.
The freeholders with 12 yard-lands.
The Shifford tenants with 9 yard-lands.

The Bampton deanery tenants with 4 yard-lands.
The copyholders with 12 yard-lands.
The lord's tenants with 27 yard-lands.
Cottagers with right of one or two cow-commons.
Tenants of the land held by the Sixteens.

The land was 16 hides, each hide having 4 yard-lands, of about 30 acres each, but varying in different places by about 2 or 3 acres, according to the nature of the ground,[34] and its occupiers in 1848, distributed in the above enumerated classes, numbered "between one and two hundred."[35]

There appears to be no Domesday record of Aston, but we will proceed to note the Domesday record of Bampton. We must first set out the following details of the acreage of the several manors within the larger manor:

Bampton,	4070	acres, or	34	hides (about).
Aston and Cote,	1870	„	16	hides.
Brighthampton,	410	„	3½	„
Chimney,	620	„	5	„
Lew,	1500	„	12½	„
Shifford,	860	„	7	„
	9330[36]	acres or	78	hides (about).

The Domesday record is as follows:

The King holds Bampton
There are 27½ hides
In the demesne are 6 plough teams and 6 servi
40 villani, 17 buri and 13 bordarii have 16 plough teams. In the time of King Edward they had 26.
Ilbert de Lacy holds ½ hide
Walter Fitzponz holds quandam particulam terrae. [Certain dispersed lands ?]
Henry de Ferrars holds a certain wood which Bundi the forester held.
The Bishop of Exeter holds of the King 6 hides. There is land for 6 plough teams. In the demesne are 2 plough teams and 2 servi.
10 villani and 7 bordarii have 3 plough teams.

[34] Giles' *History of Bampton*, 76.
[35] Ibid. 77.
[36] Young in his *Agriculture of Oxford* says Bampton and its hamlets contain *about* 6000 acres of arable and 4000 acres of grass—p. 13—which as it includes Haddon not included above may be considered as confirmation of these areas.

There are two fisheries and 48 acres of meadow.
There are 4 mills
From the fisheries there are 20s
From the meadows 65s
From the market 50s
From the pannage and salt works of Wic and other customary payments £9 13s
From the year's produce £15
In the whole it pays 80 pounds and 40s by tale.

I would venture to read this that Bampton contained 34 hides about ($27\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{2}+6$), which would be the same measure of its present acreage. It is clear, therefore, that these sub-manors have been at different times carved out of the waste,[37] and at the time of their first constitution they probably met for the moment the difficulty of providing for the increased population in the parent homestead of Bampton. But it is not at all likely that whether a post-Domesday settlement, or whether pre-Domesday, the constitution of Aston would differ from that of its parent, And taking into consideration that its relationship to Bampton was created by a process thoroughly archaic, and which is to be met with in the primitive villages of India and Russia, it seems all the more certain that the daughter-community settling in the forest would follow exactly the model of its parent, Bampton. If my reading of the hidage is correct, it may be that we get a glimpse of corporate life at Bampton —the community holding the 27½ hides, while the remaining 6½ hides had passed into private ownership. Of its methods of agriculture there is sufficient evidence that it was upon the communal system. The lands are now enclosed, and no record is known, though it doubtless exists, of its ancient customs, but there are some indications of the older system. The expression "quandam particulam terrae," used in reference to the lands of Walter Fitzponz, may perhaps be translated "certain scattered strips of land," and we find that the charity lands of Bampton were held on the common field system, as for instance "two acres, or more properly four lands in Bampton field, one lying in each field," thus significantly described in 1801 by a Mr. Hudson who published an account of the charities of Bampton. The common field of Bampton, containing 2000 acres, is also noted so recently as 1813 by Young in his *Agriculture of Oxford*, p. 39.

[37] Some evidence of this is given by Mr. Williams in *Archaeologia*, xxxiii. 272. There is a hamlet of Welde or Wealde in Bampton parish and a district of Cote called Claywelde, now Claywell, which possibly derived their names from the forest, that is from the forest out of which they were carved.

Taking the relics of the common field system as they actually exist, and the evidence of its daughter-community, it may be conceded that Bampton possessed the same constitution as we have found at Aston. But it will be seen that nowhere in the Domesday record are there any terms which would imply the existence of any such archaic organization as we find at Aston. It must therefore have been either non-existent, or else it was not understood by the commissioners, or, far more likely, it was not required for their purpose. To argue that such an organization did not exist until after Domesday brings us face to face with the comparative scientists; and it does not answer their most pregnant of all questions: How is it that in this instance at Bampton, as in other instances, we meet with a social organization, the exact parallels to which exist in India, where society has not developed at any rate of progress at all comparable to that of Europe? But if we suggest that the legal-minded commissioners of King William simply overlooked what they could not understand from their study of Roman law, it is only stating what is true of ancient Roman lawyers themselves with respect to the archaic organizations over which they ruled; and what is equally true of modern English lawyers when they first saw the village communities of India, and of Elizabethan lawyers when they first saw the tribal communities of Ireland. And we are able to suggest that underneath the uniformity of system expressed by the official terminology of Domesday existed a system which varied in each locality just as much as its descendants now vary, for the same kind of Domesday language which described Bampton described Hitchin, and yet the two manors as they appear in these later days are wholly different in organization and development.

This then is what an examination of the evidence about Aston leads us to. That the seventeenth century organization must have been derived from the archaic *free* village community; that the process of decay shows us how the lord gradually took upon himself the powers which once belonged to the community; and that if such an example exists so late in our history, it is difficult to believe that all other examples of communal rights having been absorbed by lords' rights are to be referred, as Mr. Seebohm suggests, to the epoch of the Roman civilizing forces.

G. Laurence Gomme.

NOTES FROM THE NORTH HIGHLANDS.

1. THE COLOUR ELEMENT IN GAELIC PLACE NAMES.

THE Fingalian braves are said, in common with the heroes of the Homeric ballads, to have had but meagre and confused ideas on the subject of colour discrimination; and there are obvious reasons, *a priori*, for expecting that a full, rich and critical colour sense should be one of the latest products of civilization and culture. But a glance at any good map of the Northern Highlands, or better still, a short run, map in hand, over the Highland Railway, will soon make it clear that those ancient Celts, who gave names to the bens, glens, and lochs of Badenoch and Strathspey, were familiar with a colour-gamut which, however defective in delicacy and precision, was possessed at least of fair compass and considerable variety. Within the range of half-an-hour's run over the height of land, from Dalwhinnie to Granton, I made a note of the following names: *Geal-charn*, the white cairn or mountain, occurs on both sides of the Spey, and there are several examples of *Geal-charn-beg* and *Geal-charn-mor*, the little and great Geal-charns. *Cairn-gorm*, the blue mountain, is one of the most conspicuous landmarks of the Grampian range; and there is also *Loch-gorm*, and *Tulloch-gorm*, as Highland heels to Highland reels do often witness with nimble tread and wild hurrah. Then there are *Carn-glas*, the grey cairn; *Creag-liath*, the grey rock, three of them at least; and the great *Mona-liath*, the grey moor, stretching away for miles on your left—a grouse moor of high repute, whose birds have grown so familiar with the iron horse that they will sit upon an upturned turf beside the line, and crow welcome or defiance to their natural enemy, as he comes and goes, whisked past with such speed that he can do them no harm. Akin to *glas* and *liath*, the green grey of grassy slopes and the white grey of quartz rock and the hoary head, is *odhar*, dun, which is found in *Lochan-odhar*, the dun lakelet, and *Coire-odhar*, the dun corrie. But our colour-adjective, dun, is itself a loan word from the Celtic, and is here represented by *Blar-donn*, the dun moor, and *Brae-donn*, the dun hillock or hill-top. In a land of dark pine woods, where nature too oft dons her gloomy mantle, we need not wonder if many things are *dubh*, black; as in *Carn-dubh*, *Creig-dhubh*, and *Blar-dow*. But as an offset we have *Carn-aluinn*, the hill beautiful. Of red we have but two shadings; though, so far as I can remember, our red deer are always characterised by a third shading in the special use, in

this connexion, of *donn*, which is translated above as dun. The two shades of red are (1) *ruadh*, often written *roy*, the fox-colour, (madadh ruadh, the red dog), as in *Carn-ruadh*, the red cairn, *Caistel-roy*, red castle; and (2) *dearg*, the scarlet of our British soldier, as in *Carn-dearg*, of which there are several examples, great and small, *mor* and *beg*. The dappled look of many a stretch of grassy mountain side, along which scudding cloudlets overhead make the pretty bars of light and shade play hide and seek, like the merry dancers of some sort of mundane aurora borealis, did not escape the eye of the old Celtic name-givers of our Highland bens and glens. And thus on the Spey, as elsewhere in the Highlands, we have more than once *Bein-bhreac*, the spotted mountain, and *Brae-riach*, the brindled brae. The snow patches of a late summer, and the brown withered bracken of early winter, may also stand sponsors for these place-names.

Another cluster of Gaelic place-names will be found in the Black Isle of Ross, to which, as I passed the time with those noted above, the well appointed train of the Highland Railway was rapidly speeding my way. *An t-Eilean dubh*, the Black Island, is a peninsula of some twelve miles by five, lying between the Firths of Cromarty on the north, and Beauly on the south. It is itself a good specimen of the Gaelic place-name. Sixty years ago the whole length of the back bone of this peninsula, from Muir of Ord to Cromarty, with two miles or so on either side, was a bare heathery waste, fringed round with a deep belt of gorse and broom, whose beautiful golden bloom was far and near a noted landmark. This old desolate moor, which was then the common grazing and turf ground of the whole Black Isle, has been greatly changed. The higher ground has long been enclosed and planted. Two " crops " of timber have been gathered from it in my day. And the lower ground, where bloomed so bright the gorse and the graceful yellow broom, has long been under the plough. But the old common is still known as the *Maol Buidhe*, the yellow moor. One of the Black Isle parishes is known as *an Cnoc Ban*, the white hill; another takes its name from the old castle of a once important branch, now extinct, of the great M'Kenzie clan. Many years ago the place passed by purchase to Sir William Fettes, the founder of Fettes College, the Eton of Scotland. From him it passed to the Bailles of Dochfour, its present owners. The red stone of the old Castle was a conspicuous landmark to the traveller by sea and land. Hence it was widely known as *an Caistel Ruadh*, the red castle, which gives its second name to the old parish of Killearnan,

or Red Castle. In this peninsula we have also the *Brae-donn*, the brown or dun height, a name to be met with all over the Highlands. We have also the Gaelic equivalents of Red-field, White-bog, Blue-mount, Grey-craig, Black-wood, and Red-nose.

2. A MODERN MEGALITH.

The raising of memorial stones is one of the oldest customs of the human race, ever at least from the first dawn on human consciousness of the sad truth that "man never is, but always to be, blessed." The so-called Druid circles and the sculptured stones of our north-eastern shores need not here be more than named. But up and down the land there are now and then to be met with huge monoliths whose history is known, or in regard to which tradition tells a self-evidencing tale. To one of these modern megaliths I made a pilgrimage during my recent visit to the Black Isle. It stands unfenced, in an open field, at Bennetsfield, in the parish of Avoch. Its site is on the top of the steep ascent which rises abruptly from where Munlochy Bay opens from the Beauly Firth, opposite Craig-a-how, and commands a wide prospect southwards across the firth to Culloden, and northwards to the ridge of the Maol Buidhe, with Ben Wyvis beyond. This monolith is of red sandstone, from the quarry at the shore, whence was taken the stones with which was built Fort George, some three miles east, on the opposite side of the firth. The monolith stands 8 feet 8 inches in height, clear of the summit of a small circular mound which surrounds its base; the breadth is 12 inches, and the thickness 7 inches. There is no fluting, or modelling of any kind on or near the edges, which are still sharp and regular. On the south face of the stone there is the following inscription: FUIMUS | Fac et Spera | I. M | E. M. K | 1755 | (stag's head, beautifully cut,) | JOHN | MATHESON | ELIZABETH | MACKENZIE | *Unal posta* | *Funem Virtus* | . This inscription was obviously intended to commemorate the marriage, in 1755, of John Matheson of Bennetsfield, then laird of Bennetsfield and chief of his clan, to Elizabeth Mackenzie of Belmaduthy. There is reason to believe that the inscription was his own handiwork; for it is on record that he wrote a beautiful hand and was a famous sculptor in wood and stone—accomplishments on the possession of which he boasted himself not a little. And certainly the workmanship is of exceptional beauty. It is partly in capitals, partly in the script hand of the time, and partly in a style of lettering not unlike Irish. The stag's head is

in relief, boldly modelled, and finely chiselled. That the inscription is the workmanship of this John Matheson no one acquainted with the family history will doubt. The tradition in my early days was that not this John Matheson, but John Mor Matheson, his grandfather, carried the monolith on his shoulder from the quarry to its present site, planting it there in memory of his marriage. This John Mor, as witness his name, was a man of mighty stature and great personal strength. That he should carry on his shoulder so great a burden would not be altogether incredible; but his dates do not agree with the inscription. His grandson was also a man of powerful build. At the funeral of his granddaughter, who died at Inverness, some few years ago, I was shown his thigh bone, which had been turned out of the newly opened grave in the old churchyard of Suddie. In thickness, and the great size of its trochanters and other prominences for muscular attachment, it was more like the femur of a horse than of a man. The tradition may, or may not, be true. I give it as, long ago, I got it. Since then, however, a strange and elaborate legend has gathered around the old Bennetsfield monolith. In this legend the monolith becomes the guiding pole with which the blind giant of the cave at Craig-a-how waded across the bay, to prey on the fat beeves of Bennetsfield. Methinks I can spot his prototype in a certain Blin' George, a noted fiddler at penny weddings fifty years ago, who at the rising tide in summer time used to set nets in the main channel of the bay; and into these nets, with a huge pole, usually grasped in the middle, and worked like the paddle of a modern canoe, the blind old man, up to his waist in the briny tide, was wont to "splash" the flounders, as it were, into his fish trap.

3. THE CURSE OF CULCHALZIE.

Here is a legend of the Black Isle, to which recent events give point and emphasis. Culchalzie first came to the Mackenzies through a clansman who married the widowed proprietrix. She prided herself on being "master" of her own house and wide domains. Her habitual after dinner toast was *Do shlainte, fhir-an-taighe 'na mo thaigh fhein,* "Your health, man of the house, in the house that's my own." This she was enabled to do as the dowager-mother of a son and heir, born of her first marriage. But the second husband took at last a terrible revenge. One day, when the dowager was absent, the son and heir was decoyed into the kiln, which then was a necessary part of an ordinary set of farm

offices, and there he was suffocated. That evening the husband, who so long stifled his wounded pride, was in haste to act upon his newly won domestic supremacy. As his wife was going to give her usual toast, he took the word from her mouth with *Do shlainte, a bhean an taighe, na mo thaigh fhein,* "Your health, goodwife, in my own house." Instantly the blood spot was on her cheek, and thunder on her brow. "The boy?" "Stifled in the kiln." In these fierce old days there was no time for copious dialogue and "the development of character." So the poor she-wolf, bereaved of her one cub, rose from the table and weirdly hissed the words, since then too often quoted, of the Curse of Culchalzie, *Cho fad sa bhitheas Maccoinnich ann an Culchalzie, cha bhith Culchalzie gun amadan 's gun bhantrach*; while a Mackenzie has Culchalzie, Culchalzie shall never be without idiot and widow. And so it was. But now the bitterness of the cruel curse is spent. Culchalzie knows the Mackenzies no more. The name has died out.

4. AN OLD GAELIC PROPHESY CONCERNING IONA.

The Catholic Pilgrimage to Iona reminds me of an old Gaelic Prophesy which was recited to me some sixteen years ago in circumstances of strange and unusual solemnity. It was in wintertime, under cover of night, and on the lone shores of Lake Huron, where, as indeed in most other parts of the new Dominion of Canada, many a little settlement of Gaelic speaking Highlanders may be found, dotted down here and there in the wilderness. From one to another of these lone homesteads I was being sleighed, under bright starry skies, on a round of missionary visits. My companion was a native of Mull, and his birth-place looked over to the sacred isle of the holy Columba. He knew the ruins well; but very many years had passed since last he saw them, and he knew that his eyes would never more rest on them again or on the graves of his people. We were both of us hushed and solemnised. It was an awful solitude around, and all but eternal silence, when a crashing, rushing, long drawn, terrible sound burst all at once on the ear. I thought it was the roar of the rending ice on the lake. But no. He told me it was some giant of the woods being split up by the freezing of its own sap. "That sound," he said, "roused me from a sweet reverie. I was thinking of home and of Iona; and there came back to me the words of an old prophesy which I heard long ago. Here it is:

> Hi, mo chridhe, Hi, mo ghradh
> M'an d'tig au saoghal gu crich,
> Bithidh Hi mar a bha.

Hi of my heart, Hi of my love, ere the world comes to an end, Hi shall be as it was." He was a good Protestant, and so am I. We had both assisted at a round of Protestant services in the woods, and we were going to be similarly engaged for the next week. None the less did we pray with a true heart that the day might soon come when the Holy Place of Columba, the Jerusalem to which this pious soul in his long exile, so tenderly looked back, should rise again in more than its ancient glory.

May we look to this pilgrimage as a sign that the old prophecy is going to be fulfilled?

DONALD MASSON.

QUARTERLY SUMMARY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES, &c., IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

Prehistoric Remains.—The remains of *Elephas Primigenius* have been discovered at Southall, Middlesex, at the 88-foot contour, associated with flint implements. They were imbedded in sandy loam underlying evenly stratified sandy gravel. The implements include a well-formed spear-head, nearly 5 inches in length, spear-head flakes, &c.—The fossil remains of an ichthyosaurus were unearthed in a pit of blue lias near Yeovil by some labourers, and it was found that its length was over 22 feet. The removal of the clay in which it was embedded caused the fossil to fall to pieces; but the fragments have been carefully collected.—During some excavations on the premises of Messrs. Walker and Sons, Otley, Yorkshire, a mass of human and other bones, bears' claws, flint, charcoal, and burnt slates or tiles was turned up with the sub-soil.—A Committee of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society has been formed for the purpose of exhuming the remains of an Irish elk which lie buried in the marl bed in the parish of German. Some years ago bones of three of these animals were found, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to remove those which now we hope will be exhumed scientifically.

British Remains.—Mr. H. Prigg has discovered some late Celtic objects near Elveden, Suffolk. The site of the discovery is the Broom Close Field, 3½ miles from Thetford. A quantity of burnt matter was found in excavating only 18 in. below the modern level. Three urns of fine wheel

pottery were met with, arranged in the form of a triangle. Among the remains, which were clearly sepulchral, were many fragments of metal bands, one of which had been covered with late Celtic ornament. Sufficient remained to show that they had formed part of a *situla* lined inside and out. — Limblow Hill, a tumulus between Royston and Litlington, has been destroyed by the owner. The height was 18 feet, the diameter about 42 feet. Below the centre a rectangular pit, 4 feet long and 2 feet deep, was found full of large flints, but no bones or other objects were found in it. It was composed entirely of surface mould and chalk rubble scraped together, and had a ditch surrounding it.—An Order in Council has been published, ordering and prescribing that the following monuments shall be deemed to be ancient monuments within the meaning of the Act of 1882: The Nine Stones, Winterbourne Abbas, near Dorchester; the Chambered Long Barrow, known as the Gray Mare and Colts, near Gorwell, in the county of Dorset; the Stone Circle on Tenant Hill, Kingston Russel Farm, near Dorchester; and five monuments in the county of Wigtown.

Roman Remains.—While draining a field about half-a-mile on the south side of Minskip, and about 2 miles from Boroughbridge and Aldborough, a workman discovered an urn of the dark slaty brown pattern. It is 13 inches high, 31 inches round the centre, and 15 inches round the bottom. There is an opening at the top, and a handle on each side. Another fragment of pottery, two millstones and a coin, undecipherable, were found with the urn.—A fine villa has been discovered at Tockington, Gloucestershire, not far from the course of the Roman road up to the Severn at Old Passage. The site is within the area of a modern looking farm-house, and the remains have been found at a depth of only a few inches beneath the modern level. Five tessellated pavements have been uncovered.—While some improvements were being made lately on the estate of Mr. A. Maudslay, Twyford, near Winchester, the site and remains of a Roman villa were discovered. The excavation is being carefully carried on under Mr. Maudslay's supervision. Some walls and coarse tesseræ have been uncovered, and it is thought that more extensive remains will be found in the adjoining field.—Mr. R. S. Ferguson reported the discovery of a portion of a sculptured slab in excavations on the site of the new markets, Carlisle. Two figures of the Deæ Matres remain on it in perfect preservation. A plain altar was also found, and the socket into which it had fitted.—While the gardener of the Rector of Ebchester was digging in the garden, at the end of June, he came upon a small regular building in the form of a square. The rector had the excavations carried on on the other side of the wall, and they came upon what he supposes to be one side of the northern gateway into the camp. It is intended to carry the excavations still further. In the discovered tower were found a piece of Romano-British pottery, a stone, supposed to be part of a mill-stone, and the bones of animals.

Anglo-Saxon Remains.—A Saxon cemetery of some extent has been discovered in the cricket field of St. John's College, Cambridge. Over fifty skeletons have been examined, and many objects including brooches, belt plates, pierced Roman coins, urns, have been excavated. There is evidence of the concurrence of inhumation and urn-burial.—Mr. H. W. Smith, of

Belvedere, Kent, reports to the *Antiquary* that during the week ending June 16, in putting down some large water-pipes at Crayford for the West Kent Waterworks, the workmen came upon some interesting remains, which may, perhaps, be identified as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon period, though in the absence of skilled examination, it is impossible to decide definitely. At a depth of about four feet beneath the present Dover Road a bed of peat was discovered, which was evidently part of the bottom of the shallow but broad waters of the ancient river Cray. Beneath, and in the peat, were found considerable quantities of human bones and bones of horses. Several buckles, pins, some spurs, a horse's bit and curb-chain, which latter had apparently been plated with silver, were found. There were also discovered five curious bosses or ornaments of bronze or some mixed metal, and these had evident traces of the silver with which they had originally been plated. Each boss was exactly an inch across at the base, tapering to three-quarters of an inch at the top, and half an inch high. At the top, within a circle, were four engraved hollows or indentations of a leaf shape, the base or stem end of the leaves converging on the centre of the boss. Extending round the sides, continuously, was a beautiful interlaced snake-like pattern. All were hollow, but strongly made, and at the base or back a plate was soldered, in which was a hole intersected by a cross piece to enable the boss or ornament to be fastened to the dress, or possibly on the outer side of a horse's bridle-rein.

Coins and Seals.—In breaking up the present road for water-pipes at Crayford two shillings of Elizabeth, dated respectively 1590 and 1592, a copper coin of Louis XIII. of France, dated 1636, a shilling of William III. dated 1697, and numerous copper coins of Charles II., William III., and the Georges, have been discovered.—Among the *débris*, during some excavations at Otley, Yorkshire, at a depth of nearly 8 feet from the modern soil level, six copper and bronze coins and a lead seal were found, several of the coins being in a good state of preservation. Seals like the one found were attached to Papal bulls, and as this specimen has the usual aperture through its diameter to allow of the connection of the bull with the seal being made, there is no doubt that this was so attached to a document of this character. In years past the archbishops had a palace at Otley, and it is conjectured that this is one of the many seals used in the manner indicated. The seal in question bears authority from Pope Innocent IV., who occupied the Papal chair from 1243 to 1254. On the obverse are the Roman capitals "SPA, SPE," standing respectively for St. Paul and St. Peter. Immediately below are the heads of those saints in relief, a cross in the middle dividing them. On the reverse are the letters "INNOCENTIVS PP IIII."

Abbeys, Churches, &c.—A discovery has been made at Rosedale Abbey, North Yorkshire. Whilst the grave-digger was making a grave he came in contact with a large stone, which impeded his progress. On being broken it proved to be the lid of a stone coffin, about 7 feet long, and very well cut. The skull and some other bones inside were in a good state of preservation. This is said to be the first stone coffin discovered at Rosedale, and is supposed to have some connection with the ancient abbey, the ruins of which adjoin the churchyard, and which was founded about 1190 by a De Stuteville, one of the family which owned Stuteville Castle, near Kirby-

moorside.—The ancient parish church of Northstoke, a secluded village under the south west brow of Lansdown, is being restored under the advice of Major Davis. The little church, "with square tower and every mark of hoar antiquity," stands on an eminence at the east end of the village. The indications of a very early church are the stair turret of the tower, a Norman buttress on the south side, marks of the existence of a rood loft in the chancel arch and a very early font. We regret that Major Davis has been selected for the work of restoration (?) because his action with reference to the Roman Baths at Bath does not give archæologists any confidence in him.—Excavations have taken place at Lilleshall Abbey, Salop, resulting in the laying bare of the foundation of the whole of the conventual buildings and other remains.—The *Builder* and *Athenæum* have, we are happy to say, resisted the proposition to restore Barfreston church near Deal, and we trust these powerful journals will fully succeed in their efforts.—The church of St. Martin's, Seamer, near Scarborough, has been restored. It contained some good Norman work, the chancel arch, the side windows, small door and nave, and we hope the vandal's hands have left these alone.—An appeal is going to be made for subscriptions in aid of preserving Crowland or Croyland Abbey, Lincolnshire. We trust this will be looked after by the proper authorities.—Vandalism was feared at Christchurch, Hants, but the Town Clerk has written to the *Daily News* to say that protection of the ruin and improvement of the surroundings are all that is aimed at. We hope this is so and that nothing even for these laudable purposes will be attempted without good advice.—On the report of the architect interested in the matter, it is proposed to expend on the restoration of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, the most interesting parish church in London, more than £5,500. Few metropolitan churches have richer history or contain more important monuments than St. Helen's. We hope, says the *Athenæum*, the fate of Salisbury Cathedral will not overtake it.—It is proposed to restore the body of the ancient but small church of Boxwell, which is the parish church of the village of Leighterton in Gloucestershire. It was frequently used by Prince Rupert during the wars between Charles I. and his Parliament, and contains many historic mementoes. The chancel, which is in decent repair, contains mural tablets of the Huntley family. The estate is for the present in the Chancery Court, and the church, which is used only on four occasions during the year (Leighterton Church being used generally for service), is in a most dilapidated condition.—In June last, a gravestone in the form of a coffin, and bearing a cross, was discovered at Strata Florida Abbey, where excavations have been resumed [see *ante* i. 283].—The remains of the old Castle at Guildford have been preserved, and the grounds laid out as a pleasure-ground. The *Builder* approves of the manner in which the work has been done.—The ancient church of the Augustine Canons at Worksop, founded by William de Lovelot in 1103, is to be enlarged.—The old house, No. 20 North Street, Exeter, is to be pulled down for the purpose of widening the street.—Excavations have been going on at Bothwell Castle, and the ancient foundations have been laid bare. There have been found a winding horn made of clay and enamelled, and a horse-shoe.—The fifteenth-century roof of the church of St. Brannock, near Barnstaple, has been restored. The well-known large boss of St. Brannock and his pigs has not,

we understand, been meddled with.—The church of St. Saviour at Dartmouth is being "restored."

Museum Work.—A museum association has been formed to consist of curators and those engaged in museum work. The association is to consider as to the possibility of compiling a compendious index of the contents of all provincial museums and other important matters connected with the practical part of museum work. — The *Athenæum* states that the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum has recently bought a highly interesting and beautiful statue of Diana, rather larger than life, and carved with great skill and care in that archaistic style which prevailed in the Empire from about 100 A.D. till the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, 80 years later. The figure is fully draped with the peculiar affectation of severity and the formal disposition of the delicately wrought folds which distinguish the revival of the characteristics of the archaic mode of sculpture. The face, which is perfect, and the contours of the figure, especially of the torso, have a *soupçon* of voluptuousness and somewhat florid charm, very different from that severe mode the sculptor affected to follow. On the head is a coronet, elaborately graved in imitation of goldsmiths' work. The right arm and hand, which are lost, probably held a bow. The left hand grasps a fawn. The iron clamps by which these limbs were attached to the rest of the figure have rusted, and burst the joints they were intended to secure. Several parts of the drapery exhibit traces of colours, a sort of rose, or pink, and green. Mr. Murray has made much progress in a very useful and intelligent re-arrangement of the collection of terra-cotta statuettes deposited in wall cases formerly occupied by Greek and Etruscan vases. These figurines and their allied bas-reliefs in clay amount to about five hundred, and are disposed in chronological order with geographical subdivisions, beginning with Sardinian and Cypriote specimens and other severe and primitive types, which exhibit Phœnician and quasi-Egyptian influences, and descend to Greco-Italian examples, including, of course, the well-known productions of Tanagra and similar schools. The collection exhibits an array of the loveliest and most elegant motives, quite unexpected by those who have not studied this comparatively recent subject.

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Petrie (W. M. F.), The treatment of small antiquities. *Roy. Arch. Inst.*, xlv., 85-89.
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History.

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THE PISAN GAME.

THE "Giuoco del Ponte" of Pisa, as played up to the middle of last century, was one of the most interesting and representative of all mediæval amusements of which accounts have been handed down to us. It generally took place once every year, on the occasion of some rich merchant or potentate placing a sum at the disposal of the directors of the game, for the costumes, the illuminations of the Arno and other requirements of the pageant. I have before me accounts of the game of the Bridge as played in 1608, when the Grand Duke Cosmo celebrated his nuptials with Maria Maddalena, Arch-Duchess of Austria, by giving a large sum towards this game. At a much fuller account given of the game on the occasion when the rich Marquis San Miniato paid 1000 scudi into the coffers of the directors, that unusual elegance might mark the performance when in 1740 he introduced his bride to the citizens of Pisa.

The origin of this game of war is lost in legends, but the one generally accepted by the Pisans as the most veracious of the 14 theories concerning its first establishment is given by Troncia,[1] who says that in the year 1154 Mushet, a Saracen, King of Sardinia, attacked Pisa in the dead of night, and penetrated into the southern portion of the city, which he reduced to ashes. A woman, Chiusica by name, roused the citizens on the northern bank of the Arno, a bloody battle was fought on the bridge, and the infidel put to flight, and every year after this a sham fight took place on the bridge between the southern and northern division of the city. Other theories speak of the Latin or Etruscan origin of the game, but I think the generally accepted one is the most poetical and sufficiently probable.

Several authors speak of this game as being a great outlet to the love of faction so rife in Italian towns at this period. Pisa, by her river, is divided into two nearly equal parts, the north and the south, and every opportunity thereby afforded for constant rivalry. However, the Pisans appear to have, in a great measure, discarded

[1] *Annali Pisani.*

politics and to have thrown the whole force of their rivalry into this one game. During all the middle ages, Pisans were brought up to look upon this game as the great event in life; young men looked eagerly for the time when at eighteen they might show their powers in the hostile ranks; the young nobleman's great ambition was to obtain rank in the mimic army; and the venerable colonels and generals were held in as high esteem by their fellow citizens as the heroes of Waterloo and Sedan.

Everything was done to carry out the idea of war between the contending armies. There were ambassadors, officers of every rank, and private soldiers; immense sums were expended in costumes and weapons, the only difference being that there were no casualties. Occasionally, before fighting on the parapets of the bridge was forbidden, a few men fell into the water and were drowned, but it was part of a Pisan's faith to believe, in accordance with the following legend, that no casualties could occur. St. Catharine of Sienna whilst playing in the church of St. Christian was disturbed by the sound of tambourines and drums, Sta. Christina appeared to her, and to calm the disturbed thoughts of her suppliant, explained that it was only the preparations for the annual game of war, "good for both mind and body." So St. Catharine continued her devotions and prayed fervently that for the ages to come no accident might ever occur, and regularly on the morning of the game, warriors in glittering coats-of-mail might be seen at Sta. Christina's church at the morning mass, so that the church was full of them, and those who could not get in, knelt piously outside.

The contending armies of the north and south each divided their forces into six squadrons, and each squadron had its distinguishing name, that of S. Antonio, of the Lions, of the Dragons, of the Satyrs and so forth; each had its colour, which its partizans flaunted in their hats. A Pisan was as jealous of the credit of his squadron as any soldier is of his regiment; the rich gave large sums to the treasury of their squadron, and bequeathed money to it when they died. As an example of this we may quote the will of Sergeant Domenico, who died in 1658, and left all his worldly goods to the hospital of St. Gregory with the injunction to provide "annually for the squadron of the Satyrs on the day of the general battle, seven helmets, three pairs of gauntlets, four pairs of padded shoulder pieces, a pair of steel amulets, and four lengths of ordinary silk for the shirts of the said combatants of the colour which shall seem best to the executors of this my will."

St. Anthony's day, the 17th of January, was originally the one fixed for the game, but in later years this was only looked upon as a rehearsal day, and the "general battle," as it was called, took place on some day during the summer when a prince or distinguished ambassador happened to be passing through Pisa.

Before the stone bridge which now spans the Arno was erected in 1660, the battle did not always take place over the river, probably for prudential motives, and we read in old annals [2] how the battle of the bludgeon and the buckler (mazza e scudo), as it is sometimes called, took place at the city-gates in the "piazze," and Troncia has a story that in 1167 the battle was fought on the Arno itself, which in that year was so thickly frozen over, that men walked across it for many days, and heavily weighted waggons passed over.

When it was decided that the game should take place the officers of the side that was last victorious held a "council of war," and having settled everything to their liking, they sent the "preliminaries" across the river, on receipt of which the officers of the other side convoked their council. Great preparations were made for the ceremony at which war was formally to be declared. A pavilion was erected on the centre of the bridge, streaming with banners and glittering with gold; in this the generals and superior officers took up their position, whilst around the citizens crowded, each wearing the ribbon or favour of his particular squadron, and the Arno below was covered with gaily decorated boats.

If the south had previously been victorious a herald from the north quarter of the town arrived; he was always a Pisan noble of comely mien, and, attended by his squires, he entered the pavilion and read the declaration of war, of which the following is a specimen:

"You conquered, knights of the south, so as to increase our glory in having generously fought with your power. It was but the fortune of war which was against us. Name but the day for a renewal of the conquest and we shall be prepared to triumph."

"You deceive yourselves," responded the herald of the south, "if you think to make nought of the glory of our victory by attributing it to chance. We accept your challenge as a means for adding further laurels to our crown. On the — day of — month we shall be in our accustomed camp, where, by defending our regime, we shall make you confess that the virtue and valour of our arms alone are the only sure guarantees of triumph."

These declarations were then nailed up outside the pavilion, that all might read, signed by the generals with fictitious names, as for

[2] *Roncini*, Lib. 7, and *Troncia*, lib. cit.

example: "I, the agile knight Lencippas, chosen by the common consent of the knights of the south, confirm the above."

Before the day appointed for the outbreak of hostilities, there was always a general holiday for revelry, on which the soldiers of each side, all armed with swords, with their standard-bearer and their captains, not without the beating of drums, passed over to the hostile side of the city and made merry in the enemy's inns, returning home late in the evening to a banquet prepared for them by their officers.

After this holiday, until the day appointed for the contest, Pisa was very busy. The officers were drilling their troops in the squares; the armour makers worked night and day at cuirasses, coats of mail, &c.; the tailors and milliners were overwhelmed with the number of shirts, banners, and gay trappings which were required of them; the guilders, the sign painters, the builders, all had more work to do than they possibly could manage, and all this while the experienced officers of either side were holding councils of war, and discussing by what cunning stratagem they might be able to secure victory for their side.

The list of officials who took part at this game is curious. First of all there were the four *deputies*, two from each side of the Arno, rich men, whose names appeared at the head of the subscription list, their duties were to summon the war councils, to give the signal for battle, and to look to the general good behaviour of the troops.

Then there were the two *Furieri*, one on each side, of necessity active, capable men, since their duties comprised the distributing of arms, the giving and receiving of orders outside the field of battle; they were, in fact, the Pisan ministers of war.

The *celatini* were officers appointed to watch the progress of the battle, umpires so to speak, who disarmed the prisoners, and saw that they did not again mix in the fray; they attended to wounds, and brought refreshments to the combatants. They wore on their heads a peculiar cap called a celata, and though they were non-combatants, yet their appearance was formidable enough with their gauntlets, cuirasses, and shields.

The squadrons were composed of men distinguished for their strength of limb and development of muscle, very fine men to look upon, and their surroundings excessively quaint. The squadron of "Winter," which took part in the fight in 1740 is thus described. It was led by one Signor Pietro della Seta under the feigned name of "Attilius Regulus Roman knight." It was composed of 30 men, dressed in long garments of green cloth from the neck to the foot;

above the elbows their arms were spangled with silver to represent frost and snow, whilst from the elbow to the wrist pink cloth to represent the nude covered their arms.

On their heads they wore many coloured helmets, and in their hands they carried shields, on which were represented all the animals of the chase and winter birds; their standard was of green silk, on which was depicted a gnarled trunk of a tree covered with silver to give the idea of snow, and their motto was "the winter legion," written on a scroll which encircled the leafless trunk. Behind them was drawn a representation of a lofty Apennine covered with snow, on the top of which lay an old man dressed in pink, as if dying in naked wretchedness, his hoary locks and long white beard being covered with snowflakes and icicles. On the slopes of the mountain were shrubs, pine trees, and evergreens, covered with snowflakes, and at the foot of the mountain were caves in which shepherds were seen feeding their flocks. Two screech owls dragged this mountain with cords, and behind it came "Spring" on a lovely car covered with leaves and various flowers, drawn by two light horses draped in peacock coloured cloth. Around Spring were grouped several masked figures covered with loose gold and silver veils, as if flying in the air. The vernal goddess was dressed as a comely damsel with a white satin dress down to her knees, one blaze of flowers, leaves, and golden tinsel. The driver who sat at her feet wore a green and yellow cloak with a cap of many colours. Near this car, two youths dressed in white cloth with crimson caps, flying veils and streaming banners, carrying baskets full of flowers, which they cast at Spring, as a madrigal was sung by 5 voices to the music of lute and spinette; the musicians were dressed in many coloured garments, green caps, and were encircled with garlands of flowers.

Squadron number eight of the Southern army had for its motto, "True Love," and announced that they came to maintain the well-known fact that the ladies in the South of Pisa were far superior to those of the North, and excelled in beauty those of any other Italian city. The brilliant display of design and rivalry in expenditure generally took place on the day preceding the contest—but on the actual day the soldiers of the squadrons presented a much more formidable aspect in their iron helmets (morione) with the vizor that could be raised and lowered at will. Beneath the helmet each wore a cap padded with cotton to protect his head, under his breastplate he wore a leathern corslet, he was also provided with armlets of iron, gauntlets and leg preservers, and over the

whole was cast a silk shirt of the colour of his squadron, which hung in shreds around him when he issued from the fight.

The shield or Targone was quite a speciality of Pisa, its dimensions were regulated by law, being 15 inches wide by a yard long, and fastened to the left arm by means of loops. A Pisan treated his Targone much as a good cricketer treats his bat, during the year he would repair from time to time to the armoury to oil it and see that it was all right. Every common soldier, of whom each squadron was supposed to contain from 25 to 40, was under the obligation of providing his own Targone and his own silk shirt, if the squadron was not rich enough to do so, and with these he was instructed to appear on the morning of the contest at his standard-bearer's abode.

None ever shirked the honour of partaking in the fight; if by chance such a coward existed the fair dames of Pisa would pelt him with toys and treat him with bitter scorn, and if a man gained a reputation for being a skilful soldier his position was most enviable. Instances are on record of convicts being let out of prison for three days to join in the fight, if they were soldiers of high renown, for the pageant on the day preceding the fight, for the fight itself and for the festivities on the following day.[3]

The standard-bearer was a man of great importance in each squadron, he was rich, for part of his duties were to give banquets to the troops from time to time, he must be quick-witted for jokes were expected of him, and on the election of a new standard-bearer the soldiers of his squadron carried him through the streets of Pisa, decked in the squadron colours with ostrich plumes nodding above his helmet, his sword at his side and two pages following him. Much also might be said respecting the captains, the corporals, the serjeant-majors, the lieutenant-generals, and the generals, each and all of these officers were held in great honour, and had to have unlimited purses. The general, for example, of the six squadrons had to provide 200 Targoni, 2 casks of wine, to give a grand banquet in his palace three days before the fight, to keep six knights as a body-guard, to pay the drummers and tambourine players, to provide illuminations, his own uniform and the livery of six pages who accompanied him wherever he went.[4] Though the office was no sinecure and a great expense to him, yet the rank and honour of the general of a victorious army were unequalled in Pisa. He took precedence of everyone at a public banquet, and a rich Pisan's

[3] *Poroni nat. mil.* lib. 4, cap. 1.
[4] Pellicciari, cap. B.

aim in life was to be elected to the post; he was for the time being almost like the king of the city.

The ambassadors also were prominent features in the game, they appeared on horseback in gay though curious habiliments. They too paid handsomely for the honour. So no wonder that the "Game of the Bridge" at Pisa, with all the money lavished on it, was one of the most gorgeous spectacles in mediæval Italy.

From earliest dawn on the day of the fight Pisa was a blaze of colour, squadrons passing rapidly to and fro with glittering banners on their way to the morning mass; those of the South to worship before the shrine of St. Catharine, those of the North before the shrine of St. Nicholas. The officiating priests would bless the banners and also the flags that ordinary individuals brought prior to putting them up on their housetops. The place of rendezvous for the Southern army was under the arches of the Piazza S. Sepolchro, whilst the squadrons of the Northern army met at the university.

Before the marching past (il far le mostre) was begun the general harangued his men in a spirited little speech. Two horses richly caparisoned, led by two grooms, and without riders, headed the procession for the use of the general if his own should fail. Then came six trumpeters on horseback with nodding plumes. Then followed the general himself with his six pages on foot carrying his weapons, his accoutrements were magnificent and sparkling with jewels, in his right hand he carried a gold mace, his badge of office, whilst his councillors, his ambassadors, and other officers followed behind.

The captain of the first squadron then followed on foot carrying in his hand a "bludgeon and a buckler" in honour of the ancient name, his four pages follow him, and then to the sound of drum the six squadrons march past in order, saluting any distinguished person they might pass on the line of route, and all the time heroic songs are lustily sung in which officers and men take a vigorous part.

To protect the combatants from any display of popular feeling, strict laws were passed. Such, for example, was one which rendered anyone who threw "stones, wood, or the like from roof or window, at those who were going to fight on the bridge, liable to a fine of 50 *scudi* and on the second offence to a flogging in the public square."[5]

The field of battle was the bridge, on either side of which a space was marked out on which the general disposed his troops. In front

[5] *Libro du Bandi.*

he placed 50 or 60 soldiers in rows of five or six deep. "So bound and protected by their shields, that they seemed as if sewn together."[6] Those men were generally the novices in the game, who were not intended to do more than withstand the charges of the enemy. As for the rest of the soldiers they were distributed in small bodies, to replace the others as they got tired. Behind each army the "*celatini*" were busy with their refreshment stalls, and preparing "*Targoni*," of which they had a large supply on hand, in case some might be destroyed in the contest. Then there were men with jars of white paint on their arms, very wily experienced fellows, whose duty it was, if they saw any combatant not doing his duty or fighting unfairly, to mark him with a dab of white paint in some conspicuous place, and render him an object of derision for the rest of the day.

The excitement in the neighbourhood of the bridge was intense, all windows commanding a view, were converted into gaily decorated opera boxes, stands were erected for the accommodation of spectators, and the Arno below was scarcely visible from the number of gay boats upon it. At the sound of the trumpet the hostile forces advanced towards the centre of the bridge, across which a bar the *Antenna* was placed, the "deputies" who had the ordering of affairs were in a boat below and gave the signal for the attack by letting off a pistol and hoisting the bar by means of a chain attached to it.

Then the ingenuity of the generals was taxed to the extreme, after the first violent shock had passed he hastily brought up reinforcements, or feigned a retreat so as to scatter the phalanxes of his opponents, and then he could out-flank them and perhaps take the vanguard prisoners, who would be consigned forthwith to the "deputies," stripped of their weapons and rowed across to their own side of the Arno, on giving their word of honour not to join in the contest again that day.

For three-quarters of an hour nothing would be heard save shouts and clashing of Targoni. The bridge over the peaceful Arno looked in good earnest the scene of a deadly contest, and then at the given time two shots would be fired to fix the time at which the contest was over. Sometimes the victorious would win only a few inches of ground; sometimes the chances of war would be more marked, and a complete rout take place, the vanquished being driven right out of their camp and forced back into the streets which led down to the bridge, but wherever they were, the soldiers all knew that at the given signal he must stop or he would be

[6] Brancaccio, cap. 8.

painted with white paint, put in prison, and not allowed again to participate in the game, and when all is over, one party returned home to triumph, the other to disgrace and shame.

The celebration of victory is one of the most conspicuous features of our game. After a rest, the victorious party, decked in the gay costumes they had worn the evening before, issue forth and parade the streets of their own quarter, and making merry till supper-time, when all the combatants assembled and feasted prior to tho triumphant entry into the enemy's country, which always took place at midnight, accompanied by the trumpeters, the tambourine players, and a host of merrymakers; whilst the vanquished remained indoors, with close doors and windows, sleeping, or pretending to do so, and making as if they heard not the insulting cries of victory going on in the streets below. It was generally dawn before the revellers returned home. The Arno was gay with the lurid light of bonfires and blazing tar-barrels. On the victorious side every house was illuminated, but on the vanquished side not a light appeared in any window. "The Triumph" always took place two days after the fight—the victorious general, borne in an ivory chariot and accompanied by the prisoners and men bearing the spoil of victory. A law obliged all those who had been captured in the fight to cross the Arno on the day of triumph and surrender themselves to the humiliating duty of decorating their opponents' triumphal cortège.

Two trumpeters on horseback led the procession; fifteen couples of knights on horseback followed, and two waggons full of banners, targoni, and helmets, spoils from the enemy; the prisoners, with hands bound behind their backs, followed, closely guarded by halberdiers; and then came a stupendous car of victory, with symbolical figures upon it of Valour, Fame, and Duty, lounging in easy attitudes of repose. Music played, heroic songs were sung; whilst the general in his ivory car brought up the rear.

The Doric *loggia*, close to the bridge, served as a temple for the celebration of the victory in case the Southerners were triumphant, and it was sumptuously decorated for the occasion; songs in honour of the general and his troops were invented for the occasion, and grandees from all quarters were provided with seats inside.

On rare occasions the victory was undecided, not an inch of ground being won by either party; so it happened in 1662, when both sides had their triumphal procession and poetic effusions. The Southerners said their right wing was exactly in the centre of the bridge at the signal for ceasing, whereas their left was a few

inches within the enemy's territory. The Northerners flatly denied this assertion, and the Archduke of Innsbrück, who happened to be the honoured guest on the occasion, on being appointed umpire, decided in favour of the Southerners, who forthwith proceeded to celebrate a triumph. But the Northerners would not accept the decision, and also prepared for a triumph. So, seeing that neither party was willing to give way, and fearing a disturbance, the Archduke proposed that both parties should join in one grand triumphal procession in which a gorgeously arrayed figure of Peace should be carried about hidden in bushes of olive branches; and thus in festivities the Pisan warriors on either side of the Arno buried their hostilities.

After the contest, in regular rotation and with relative splendour, the generals, the captains, and officers entertained their respective armies at banquets at different seasons of the year; military trophies and rich plate adorned the halls in which the entertainments took place, and a free ingress was given to all who wished to see the warriors at the meal.

"Verily," says Agostino Paradisi, in a quaint old Italian treatise on a nobleman, "this game is memorable not only for its antiquity, but for the talents displayed therein, and for the variety of colour, and must always be enumerated amongst the most celebrated spectacles of the world."

J. THEODORE BENT.

THE SUITORS OF THE COUNTY COURT.

MR. MAITLAND, whose editions of "Bracton's Note-Book," and of early "Select Pleas of the Crown," have won him the gratitude of all students of our legal and social antiquities, has recently raised in a paper on "The Suitors of the County Court,"[1] a very interesting and important question. He suggests that so far from all the freeholders of the county being suitors to the County Court (*comitatus*), suit "was not," in all probability, "an

[1] *English Historical Review*, July, 1888.

incident of freehold tenure, but had become a burden on specific lands." As this thesis is of wide bearing, and may lead to far-reaching results, I am tempted briefly to discuss it.

Broadly speaking, I am led, while agreeing with the main conclusion, to suggest that Mr. Maitland, if I may venture to say so, has perhaps scarcely distinguished with sufficient clearness between the suit due from freeholders and the suit due from the "vill." That anomalous and troublesome being, the freeholder ("libere tenens"), was repugnant to the genius of the feudal system and all but ignored in the Norman period. He is not among the constituents of the court described in the heading to the Ely Inquest;[2] nor is he found, as seems to be supposed, among the constituents described in the *Leges Henrici Primi.*[3] I even think that confusion has been caused by the Bishop of Chester's reading of clause VII., viz. that the hundred court was attended (before the Conquest) "by the lords of land within the hundred, or their stewards representing them, and (*sic*) by the parish priest, the reeve, and four best men of each township;[4] and that, under Henry II., "the full shire-moot consists, as before, of all the lords of land and their stewards, and (*sic*) the representatives of the townships, the parish priest, the reeve, and four men from each."[5] For the clause quoted by him,[6] distinctly states that (1) the lord may answer for his land, (2) his steward may answer for it in his stead, (3) *if neither of them could be present* then the reeve, and the priest, and four of the *homines meliores* of the township might answer for the "vill" themselves.[7] That is to say, the "vill" might be represented (1) by its lord, *or* (2) by his steward, *or* (3) by the deputation. Keeping still to the evidence of the *Leges*, we find the line sharply drawn between what we may term the feudal portion of the court ("barones comitatus,") and the country folk who formed the deputations.[8] We may trace, I think,

[2] *Inquisitio Eliensis.*

[3] Gneist, relying on these *Leges*, writes of the Courts of the County and the Hundred in the Norman period:—"The jurors are, as in the Saxon days, the freeholders of the County."

[4] *Const. Hist.* (1874), I., 102-3.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 605, so also pp. 114-5 and p, 393.

[6] *Select Charters*, p. 100.

[7] "Si quis baronum regis vel aliorum comitatui secundum legem interfuerit, totam terram quam illic in dominio suo habet acquietare poterit. Eodem modo est si dapifer ejus legitime fuerit. *Si uterque necessario desit*, prepositus et sacerdos et quatuor de melioribus villæ assint pro omnibus qui nominatim non erunt ad placitum submoniti." (VII., 7).

[8] "Regis judices sunt barones comitatus qui liberas in eis terras habent, ... villani vero, vel cotseti, vel ferdingi, vel qui sunt viles vel inopes personæ, non sunt inter legum judices numerandi." (XXIX).

the same distinction in that typical writ, *temp*, Henry III. (1231) from which, writes Dr. Stubbs, "we gather what was the exact composition of the shire-moot at this period."[9] In it the Sheriff is thus instructed:—

> "Summone per bonos summonitores (1) omnes archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, priores, comites, barones, milites et omnes libere tenentes, de tota ballia tua, (2) et de qualibet villa quatuor legales homines et prepositum, et de quolibet burgo duodecim legales burgenses per totam balliam tuam."[10]

Here the *personal* and the *representative* elements are clearly treated as distinct.

Now, of these two elements, we can scarcely fail to see in the deputations (*i.e.* the reeve, priest, and four men from each vill) an archaic survival from a past state of things. In principle they represented the general assembly of the people; in practice they were indeed "suitors," but not, as is pretended,[11] "judges." For the judges we must turn to the other, the *personal* element in the court. That element, we have seen, comprised "archiepiscopos, episcopos, abbates, priores, comites, barones, milites et omnes libere tenentes." Now observe, first, that this was obviously a wholly conventional formula; for to bid a mere Sheriff to summon all the "archbishops and bishops" within his bailiwick would, if taken literally, be absurd. Dr. Stubbs writes of this formula: "They are the very words in which the national councils of Henry II.'s reign are described."[12] In any case, they are those of the Forest Charter of 1220; "Archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, priores, comites, et barones, et milites et libere tenentes, qui boscos suos habent in forestis," etc. etc. This implies that the "freeholders" of the formula were a class superior to those whom the term suggests to us. Let us now collate Clause xxix. of the *Leges Henrici Primi* with Article 19 of *Magna Carta*.

LEGES H.P.	MAGNA CARTA.
"Regis judices sunt barones comitatus qui liberas in eis terras habent per quos debent causæ singulorum alterna prosecutione tractari."	"Tot milites et libere tenentes remaneant de illis qui interfuerint comitatui die illo per quos possint judicia sufficienter fieri."

[9] *Select Charters*, p. 349.
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Const. Hist.*, I., 115.
[12] *Ibid.*

It can scarcely be doubted that these "libere tenentes" who are included among the judges by *Magna Carta* can be traced back to those "Barones comitatus qui liberas in eis terras habent."

The conclusion then, to which I am led is, that the "freeholder" as known to us was not contemplated as a constituent of the personal element in the court. The "socage tenants" of the crown, or even of the tenants in chief, may have been so viewed, but the typical freeholder of later times was, as urged by Mr. Seebohm, and now by Mr. Scrutton and Mr. Maitland, a post-conquestual development, very limited in numbers till the 13th century.

This brings us to Mr. Maitland's thesis. My chief criticism upon it would be that it scarcely goes far enough. He suggests as a provisional hypothesis "that when Henry I. revived and enforced the duty of attending the local courts, that duty was conceived as being incumbent on all freeholders, or rather (and the exception is important) on all freeholders who or whose overlords had no chartered or prescriptive immunity; but that it was also conceived as being like the taxes of the time, a burden on the land-hold by those freeholders, so that when the land held by one of them was split up by subinfeudation or partition among heiresses, the number of suits due was not increased." I should myself rather hold that the duty of suit was incumbent on all *vills*, but could be discharged for each vill by (1) its lord, (2) or his steward, (3) or the deputation. The feudal principle of devolution was gradually adopted for "suit of court" as for military service, and tenants were enfeoffed for the specific purpose of discharging the duty. Thus we read of a "vill" which A received in feefarm in 1116:—"eum solum judicem invenit ad placita Regis in Staffordscira," while in 1181 we find a small freeholder in Essex, of 24 acres, who owes suit, for his vill, to the County and Hundred (Courts). This case is parallel to these quoted by Mr. Maitland from the hundred rolls (13th cent.) in support of his thesis. Those cases refer to the discharge of suit of court for specific vills. I venture, then, to think that such suit is traceable to the collective liability of the vill and not to any freehold tenure. And I further hold that finding, as we do, solitary freeholders entered as burdened with this suit, we must conclude that their fellows were not so burdened, and that no freeholders, *as such*, were suitors of the County Court.

J. H. Round.

Literature.

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REVIEW.

THE BOOK OF NOODLES: STORIES OF SIMPLETONS; OR, FOOLS AND THEIR FOLLIES. By W. A. CLOUSTON. London: Elliot Stock. 1888.

THE last quarter of a century has witnessed an unparalleled development in the study of folktales; and numerous works have been written upon the subject. But hitherto attention has been chiefly concentrated upon what may be called, for want of a better word, the serious stories. It is not that the jokes and drolleries current in the traditions of various nations have been wholly neglected. On the contrary they have been treated as part of the general subject, though with markedly less zeal and devotion than those stories which have been supposed to yield traces of primitive religious beliefs and early customs. It has been reserved for Mr. Clouston to supply the omission, so far, at all events, as stories of simpletons are concerned. That he should produce an amusing book was to be expected. Mr. Clouston has a keen sense of humour; and in giving an abstract of a comic story—which is, perhaps, not so easy to do as it looks—he knows how to bring the ridiculous points into relief.

The aim of the book, however, is beyond mere amusement. As stated in the preface, it is intended "to illustrate to some extent the migrations of popular fictions from country to country;" and like the author's other works, it is a valuable storehouse of information for the student of folktales. The first chapter discusses a number of stories in the old collection ascribed to Hierokles, the commentator on Pythagoras. The next three chapters are devoted to Gothamite Drolleries, of which many variants are cited. Indeed, it is a matter of regret that Mr. Clouston did not take the "Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham," and annotate them all in the manner proposed by the late Mr. Thoms. Following the Gothamite Drolleries we have a number of simpleton stories of different types collected under the title of The Silly Son; then the entertaining Tamil tale of The Four Simple Bráhmans, which is given *in extenso*. Follows this the story of the bridegroom who quits his bride in consequence of an exhibition by her and her parents of outrageous folly, and vows never to return until he shall have found three more fools as great as they. An appendix gives a short account of Jack of Dover and his quest of the Foole of all Fooles.

From this summary of the contents a notion may be obtained of the extent of the ground covered; and it need hardly be said that the author has brought to the task all the learning which illuminates his previous works. His chief service to the study of folktales is the use which he has made of oriental collections. The great problem of the origin and meaning

of folktales is by no means yet solved; and perhaps some of the advocates of the mythical and savage theories are apt to overlook the literary history of the stories with which they are concerned. This may be a very important factor in the determination of some of the questions involved. For it is conceivable that in many parts of the world tales may have been imported through literary channels, and, once introduced, may have become domiciled in the memories of the natives, and handed down by tradition. In these cases modifications may have taken place in course of time, until the tales in question may have assumed an indigenous form. The only way to arrive at a satisfactory decision on this point, is by patient investigation; and in this investigation the literary history of the tales is an indispensable element. Now it is precisely here that Mr. Clouston's wide reading renders essential help. He recalls our attention to facts which must not be overlooked, but which are not at all times easy to explain.

There is, however, one drawback to the usefulness of his book to students. We mean the vagueness, and often the utter want, of references. We have confidence in the accuracy of the citations, for wherever we have tested them we have not failed to find them faithful. But we do complain, and that seriously, of the difficulties arising from the absence in too many instances of exact references. If the book were merely one to while away an hour, we should have no right to grumble; but Mr. Clouston, as we have already seen, aims much higher than that. And in giving us a contribution to scientific study he is, in our view, bound to furnish us with the means of going ourselves to each of his authorities, testing his rendering, inquiring into the authenticity of every work quoted, following up any clues we may find, and drawing our own conclusions. We hope that a second edition of The Book of Noodles may be speedily called for, and that the author will then avail himself of the opportunity to remedy this defect. What authority has he, by the way, for the use of the word *wittol* in the sense of "noodle?"

In connection with stories of drolleries, there is one question to which attention should be directed: the relation of many of them to *märchen* and other tales. There is frequently a sort of correspondence which would seem to indicate that a given drollery is a conscious distortion of a "serious" tale, or that the serious and the comic tales represent two sides of the same idea. An apt example may be found in a story which, as Mr. Clouston says, does not quite fall within the scope of his work, but which he nevertheless mentions. It relates the trick by which a brace of sharpers dispossesses a simpleton of an ass which they find him dragging along by the halter. One of the rogues looses the ass and hands it over to his companion, and then puts the halter upon his own head unobserved by the countryman to whom the ass belongs. When his companion has got clear off with the animal he pulls up, and the rustic is astonished to find a human being in the halter in the place of his beast. The sharper then gravely explains to him that he was his ass, having been transformed into that shape in punishment of the sin for drunkenness, or, as it is in some versions, by magic, but that the term of his sentence has now expired. The simpleton, of course, lets him go.

It is impossible to read this story without being reminded of the familiar *märchen* of the Magician and his Valet, one of the types of the

group known under the general title of The Forbidden Chamber. And sagas, which are current in various parts of Europe, strongly suggest that the sharpers' trick is a late and comic version of a tale founded on the widespread belief in the possibility of such a transformation.

Again, the story of The Lucky Fool, who, by a series of follies, lights upon a treasure, is found in many forms, not all of which are as wildly ludicrous as that given by Mr. Clouston from Wortley Montague's MS. of the Arabian Nights. And if we may venture to express an opinion, it would seem as if the ridiculous side of the fool's character is a natural development—rather, perhaps, in the hands of men than of women—of the hint involved in the original conception of personages like the Youngest Son, who, though despised as a fool, a weakling, and a drudge, shows himself in due time as the true hero.

Works like the one before us may be of material assistance in tracing the links which bind these classes of stories together—a labour essential to the solution of the larger problems referred to just now.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

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

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Anthropology.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUMS.

Translated from the Danish of Dr. Christian Bahnson, with the author's additions and corrections (to May 1888), by H.F. MORLAND-SIMPSON, M.A.

II. The Contents of the Museums.

	PAGE
I. AMERICA—	
1. THE POLAR LANDS	74
2. THE NORTH WEST COAST ...	77
3. BRITISH AMERICA AND THE UNITED STATES	85
4. MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA	85
II. SOUTH AMERICA—	
5. NEW GRANADA AND PERU ...	88

IT should be observed that the following account does not profess to give more than a general review of the most important materials contained in the museums. A thorough treatment of the subject would far exceed the limits of this paper; and the time for such has not yet come. The work necessary to pave the way for this is in most respects wanting; and the objects themselves are not all as yet open to inspection. As the reader has already seen, several of the most important museums are still in a state of transition, portions of the collections being only temporarily arranged, or wholly packed away. A general description therefore is all that can be given; but this will not, we hope, be without interest at the present moment. The museums have made such vigorous and rapid growth, and their publications are so few, that even specialists as a rule know but little of foreign museums. This checks co-operation, desirable alike for scientific and practical reasons, and the man who wishes to pursue some special study is often in doubt where to

find his material. In what follows all will not be treated with the same fulness of detail. Those groups which are well known and represented in most of the great museums will be passed over with a few remarks and references; while those collections which are novel or unique demand a more thorough consideration.

I.

AMERICA.

In spite of the active communications maintained with America during recent centuries, a few Mexican antiquities were almost the only ethnographic objects from America, that had strayed to Europe till the beginning of the nineteenth century. The expeditions of Humboldt, Spix and Martius, Schomburgk, etc., brought home minor collections from several regions. Excepting these and a few private collections, the material was in general very scanty until the new harvesting began. Consequently all the groups of peoples are not equally well represented. Circumstances have not always been favourable to collections. Many peoples, long subject to the influence of Europeans, have become unproductive; and where they have left no monuments, or the earth has closed over their remains, materials are not particularly plentiful. But in the case of a few groups, by good luck collections have been made at the last moment, just as they were in danger of being swallowed up by European civilisation. The peoples also who have still preserved their original state have contributed largely. A few museums possess the main bulk of the materials, while many have nothing of importance from America.

1. THE POLAR LANDS.

Excepting in Denmark, the EASTERN and to some extent the CENTRAL ESKIMOS are very poorly represented. A little group of objects from the latter is preserved in the British Museum. But in this, as in other great museums, there are only a few articles from Greenland. The museum of Copenhagen alone possesses rich materials from this the greatest of Denmark's Colonies. The first place is due to the splendid collection from the EAST COAST OF GREENLAND, which Captain Holm brought back from his expedition in 1883-85. It is not merely unique of its kind, but altogether the best in the museum, undertaken with great care and a full understanding of what a Danish museum should have to show from Green-

land. Captain Holm did not confine himself to the illustration of the life of the Greenlanders by a more or less casual selection of their products: by systematic collecting in a single locality, Angmagsalik (65½° N.), he gathered together a mass of material, which gives a complete and exhaustive representation of the east coast population and their mode of life. The chief interest of the collection is that it illustrates a region hitherto almost unknown. Previously there had been nothing but a small group of objects, partly from Graah's travels;[21] yet even this was enough to show that there was a difference between the east and west coasts. This comes out more clearly in the new complete collection. Along with the general similarity of life and circumstances called forth by the conditions of nature, there are certain well-marked peculiarities in the products, which are not unimportant. The life of the dwellers on the east coast has been isolated, cut off from the colonies, except for a few occasional visits. They have therefore preserved their peculiarities to a greater degree and longer than the people of the west. To this day they live in a sort of Stone Age—acquainted indeed with iron, but possessing very little of it. Notwithstanding, they have developed, comparatively speaking, great artistic skill, shown especially in neat inlaid bone-work, and carved figures, in which the distinctive characteristics of various animals are well hit off. It is matter for rejoicing that the opportunity offered by the exploration of the east coast for collecting ethnographical objects was so admirably used. A collection like that from East Greenland it would perhaps be difficult hereafter to get together. For, quite apart from the difficulties of penetrating to such distant regions, the East Greenlanders will undoubtedly go the way of all other primitive peoples. Much of the native originality will be lost as soon as the connexion with Europeans has once been formed, and roused a stronger desire to own the fascinating novelties. With Capt. Holm's report these precious materials will soon be published.

The comprehensive collections in the museum of Copenhagen from the WEST COAST OF GREENLAND were gradually brought together during a number of years, chiefly by Danish officials and scientific explorers. Valuable as are the materials, they cannot compare in interest with the East Greenland collection. They have not been gathered in on the same systematic principles; and, moreover, European influences on the west have to a great extent changed the life of the inhabitants. Efforts are now being made as far as possible, to fill up deficiencies, as it rests with Denmark to

[21] In 1828-31.

exhibit Greenland fully and exhaustively. No other state has access for purposes of collecting; and Greenland is in quite a special sense the colony of Denmark.

In illustration of the earlier state of culture in Greenland, before communications were opened with the Scandinavian countries, the museum possesses a very rich and interesting collection gathered in explorations of graves and ruins of houses. Here we see the population of the west coast on the same level as those of the east coast in our own days, having nothing but stone, bone, and wood, to make utensils of, but employing much the same implements to satisfy the wants of life, as are still in use.

The other group of Eskimos, the WESTERN INNUIT, along Bering Straits and the great Ocean, were formerly poorly represented in museums. Accordingly, when Capt. Jakobsen was commissioned in 1882 to make ethnological collections on the north-west coast of America for the Berlin Museum, it was also his task, as far as possible, to penetrate to this remote people. He succeeded; and the unusually rich collections he brought home, embrace all the Eskimo races from Kotzebue Sound to Bristol Bay. The TSCHUGATSCHES in Prince William Sound, the INGALIK peoples, and the natives of UNALASKA are also very fully represented.

Although the Eskimos are scattered over so vast a territory as the whole north-west coast of America from Greenland to Bering Straits, yet more than any other people they have remained uniform in degree of culture. Nature has everywhere imposed the same mode, the same forms of life, and the same circle of ideas. In general, we find the same kayaks and implements of the chase, the same dress and utensils, in short, the same outfit among the WESTERN INNUIT, as in Labrador and Greenland. Varieties among the several tribes along the Bering Sea are comparatively slight. In development they stand on much the same level as the Westlanders in Greenland, previous to intercourse with Denmark—still in an Age of Stone. Among the northern races jade is used to a large extent for edged tools, and bone takes the place of wood whenever possible. Among the more southern peoples, in Norton Sound and Bristol Bay, schist and a heavy grey kind of stone are used, instead of jade, for implements of the chase, while wood is here so plentiful, that it is used for all ordinary utensils. Bone, however, still plays a considerable part, especially for ornaments, either inlaid in wood, as among the EASTERN INNUIT, or for carving, which fills up a great deal of the Eskimos' spare time. The Bering peoples have developed this primitive sculpture to a higher

degree than their kinsmen, and the collection in the Berlin Museum contains a large series of characteristic small figures and groups, and the curious pipes and drills, the surfaces of which are covered with pictures of daily life at home and in the field, executed with no slight elegance and skill.

These Bering tribes have in some respects been influenced by neighbouring Indians. This we see in a series of peculiar wood-work, the lid inlaid with a kind of snail *(pachysoma gibbrosum)*, but particularly in the use of masks at dances and Shaman performances, so universal among the Indians of the north-west coast, but not found among any other groups of Eskimos.

The masks are however very different from those of the Indians, and adapted to the Eskimo mode of thought. As a rule they are flat, and represent more or less distorted human features. Often they are put together in the most extraordinary manner. But they are neither so well carved nor so full of character as those of the Indians.[22] Great differences of type appear to exist between the northern and the southern tribes. The latter produce the grotesque fantastic forms; while the masks are simpler in Kotzebue Sound and on the Diomedes Islands, where they are mere representations of faces. Unfortunately the meaning of only a very few is yet understood, and the explanations we have of the several types must be accepted with great caution. But in any case it is clear that the great mass of them, like those of the Indians, express mythical conceptions, and represent beings that play a part in the sagas of the people.

2. THE NORTH-WEST COAST.

From the days of Cook and Langsdorff till quite recently the North-West Coast of America has often been visited by European travellers. But until a few years ago museums contained but few specimens to illustrate the peculiar development which has taken place among the Indians of this region. The collections of Krause, and especially Jakobsen's, on this coast, had brought a very comprehensive mass of specimens to Europe. The results of Jakobsen's expedition, undertaken for the "Hilfskomité," or Committee of Assistance, in Berlin, are displayed in the MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE. Both in richness and careful choice of specimens, this collection is of the greatest importance for a knowledge of the

[22] *Amerikas Nordwestküste*; Neue Folge, Tab. i.-v.

people of the North-West Coast. The southern tribes are most completely represented, especially the HAIDAS, QUAKUTL, and WEST VANCOUVER peoples; the more northern races less fully, Jakobsen's expedition not having reached the THLINKITS. But as regards this group, his collection is supplemented by Krause's, in Bremen and Hamburg. In what follows we shall mention a few of the chief features, but refer the reader for fuller information to the magnificent illustrated work issued by the General Board of Management of the Berlin Museum.[23]

The whole North-West Coast is now acquainted with iron. Whether the Indians knew of this metal before the coming of Europeans is matter for doubt. On the other hand, copper appears to have been known, at least among the more northern tribes, who used it for their peculiar weapons, which are now forged of iron. The lively intercourse which existed between the tribes renders it probable that the more southern too were once acquainted with metal. Copper is now brought south by traders from the Copper river, not as a raw material for manufacture, but as a precious metal. It is made into plates of a special form, decorated with peculiar faces and Totem marks; and in this form it serves as a measure of wealth. Among the Haidas wealth is estimated by the number and size of the copper plates a man owns, and the sums paid for them (from 200 to 500 dollars) show clearly what a high value is set on this dead capital. No wonder that the happy owner of such grandeur used to have them paraded before him, to exalt his dignity, and had the number of them carved upon his grave, as a record for posterity. But metal was not used to any great extent for practical purposes before the colonists came. On the other hand, a large series of stone objects in Jakobsen's collection shows that there was a time when stone (with the bones of whales and wood), was the only material used on the North-West Coast for implements and weapons. The Indians, however, could not apparently manage to shape hard stone into implements so well as light schist, wood, or bone. There is a striking want of variety and shapeliness in all the forms: always the same clumsy stone axe—an extremely imperfect and ponderous tool. A few specimens are an exception; and these have remained in use down to our own times. But the common stone implements have long gone out of use, and are looked upon by the Indians themselves as great rarities. The clumsy blunt axe of stone has yielded to the sharp

[23] *Amerikas Nordwestküste; neueste Ergebnisse ethnologischer Reisen.* Berlin, 1883.

European iron hatchet, set in a bent shaft, which makes an excellent edge-tool, and is, with the knife, their most useful implement.

The manufactures of the Indians show considerable development in many directions. Jakobsen has collected unusually rich specimens, which are all the more interesting, as probably such a collection can never again be formed. On the West Coast also, intercourse with Europeans has caused the native industries to decay, and good specimens are becoming more and more scarce.

Cedar plays a large part in their manufactures, having among the Indians much the same importance as the cocoa-palm for many of the South Sea peoples. "From the cedar tree the Indian makes his house, and the shaft of his weapon, his canoe, and his artistically carved dancing-masks, his boxes, rattles and paddles; with the wood he feeds his fire; the bast he plaits into artistic mats, blankets, baskets, and vessels; in cedar-bast his *papoose* is swaddled, when lying in the cradle; of the same substance many of the tribes plait rings for their head, neck, and arms; it is twisted into ropes of every kind; and, lastly, the cedar tree supplies the coffin in which the Indian's corpse is laid to earth."[24] A large number of objects illustrates the use of cedar-bast for various sorts of plaiting. Knives and axes of bones of whales, and clubs of the same, exactly like the Tapa-clubs of the South Seas, show the method of cutting and the process of preparing the bast. Examples of the raw material in various stages of preparation, and the implements used in plaiting, enable the student to follow the manufacture, until the finished product—the simple rope, stout cloth, or dainty mat—lies before him.

All their bast plait-work is made without any special finish. On the other hand, the woven stuffs of the mountain-sheep's wool, of which Jakobsen managed to obtain some specimens, are proof of great technical skill. Weaving is now by no means so important as the preparation of bast. It has fallen off very much, and the characteristic blankets or shawls, which were so highly prized on the coast, show only what skill used once to exist there. They were the work of the squaws, and prepared without a loom, on a loose pendent woof, through which the warp was passed by hand. With great intelligence the various coloured threads have been combined by the weavers into peculiar fantastic designs, the ground-idea of which was based on the separate parts of the animal Totem. Even though the designs were woven after certain patterns, such rude appliances demanded great dexterity and a very long time.

[24] Woldt, *Jakobsen's Reise nach der Nordwestküste v. Amerika*, p. 18.

These articles therefore fetched so high a price, that only chiefs and Shamans could afford them.

Of the industrial products of this people the most noticeable are a large number of carved objects—boxes, bowls, spoons, masks, totem posts, etc.—contained in the collection. Whether made of cedar wood, as is the case most frequently, or, more rarely, of slate and horn, the best specimens of carvings are made with an exactness unexampled among the Indians, except in ancient Mexico and Peru. In point of technical skill considerable differences exist among the various tribes. The northern peoples, THLINKITS and HAIDAS, stand highest. The lowest are the tribes in West-Vancouver, the so-called AHTS. But in point of style great uniformity prevails. The subjects and composition show only small shades of variety in this or that group, and in many cases even these disappear. Hence it is extremely difficult to distinguish the works produced by various tribes. Among the AHTS only we find great diversities from the common type both in decoration and colours.

A peculiar grotesque fantasy is revealed in this carving. The ornamentation overspreads the linear subjects and mingles merrily with figures, or rather parts and pieces of animals. The Totem animals form the main subject, more especially on the remarkable totem posts, of which Jakobsen has brought home a magnificent specimen from the Haidas. Whole villages work together in the production of these extraordinary pieces of composition, in which bears, eagles, ravens and whales are introduced, apparently in the most arbitrary manner. In reality, however, the composition is not mere fancy. The combination of the figures is dependent on the owner's origin, and displays his pedigree.[25] In all kinds of carved work we meet with these animals, either singly or in groups. Sometimes we find the head of this or that beast, treated naturally and well characterised, cut in strong relief on some utensil. But far more often they have suffered the same treatment as the well-known fabulous monsters on the ancient Chinese bronzes. They have been so long employed in decorative art, that the head is resolved into a system of lines, amidst which nothing but nose and eyes can be recognised. On the objects of wood, on woven stuffs, plaited hats and armour, everywhere we find the same head, of which nothing remains but a pair of round or four-cornered eyes, variously formed according to the animal they are meant for; the rest of the features have been transformed into ornamental lines. Often the eye forms the only "motive" of the decoration, but

[25] See *Amerikas Nordwestküste*, Pl. 7.

occurs also in conjunction with other subjects, most peculiarly in the curious and apparently quite meaningless groups of human and animal figures which adorn spoon-handles and pipe-stems. There is something striking in this wide-spread use of the animal eye in ornamentation. But the importance it appears to have to the Indians is intelligible, if it really, as Virchow has pointed out, besides its ornamental character, has a symbolic import, and is connected with the general animistic conception, that everything in nature is alive.[26]

The grotesque side of Indian imagination comes out most characteristically in the numerous masks. Here more than anywhere, they give free play to their sportive fancy, bodying forth the beings that people air, land and sea.

These masks are used by the coast tribes at their dances to an extent unknown among other Indians. More than all others, the QUAKUTL tribes, and their next of kin on the mainland, are remarkable for variety and multiplicity of types. Further north the masks are rarer and more uniform. Many of them are used at festal dances all the year round, but the largest portion only at the so-called winter dances, which are performed at a fixed time of the year, and represent episodes from the myths and traditions of the people. Each mask, therefore, has its special meaning, in reference to the mythological and traditional characters who appear in the dances. As yet the meaning of a large part of them is unknown, and cannot be fixed without a thorough study of the people's mythical conceptions. The most important of the chief types, have, however, been successfully explained by Dr. Boas.[27]

The known masks fall into groups, connected with certain traditions or institutions among the Indians. One series belongs to the wide-spread tradition of the Raven and the Sun, which originally was in the power of the chief, Masmasalanix, shut up in a box, but released by the craft of the Raven, brought forth by the chief's daughter. The story is represented in many dances, and a large number of the masks portray the Raven, Masmasalanix and the Sun. A characteristic specimen of this type from the Quakutl is figured in *Amerikas Nordwestküste*, Plate 3, Fig. 1-2. It is a double mask: externally we see a face, painted in green and red, representing Masmasalanix (Fig. 2a) who covers the Sun up. When the inner mask is bared in the course of the dance, the Sun appears,

[26] *Zeitschr. für Ethn.* xviii, (209).

[27] *Originalmittheilungen aus der ethnol. Abtheilung d. kön. Museum zu Berlin*, I., 177.

represented as a very whimsical human face, surrounded by a broad rim, which stands for the box in which he was inclosed. (Fig. 1-2.)

Another group of masks is used by the so-called NUTLMATL, a sect or society, not yet satisfactorily explained. All we know is that they take part in the winter dances as a separate society, which performs its own special dances. They are often very grotesque in meaning; but all appear to be connected with myths of man's original condition as beast, bird, and especially as fish. The masks used at the dances also indicate the same, representing fishes, among which the salmon and frog-fish play the chief part.[28] They seem intended to reproduce the appearance of primeval man. Besides taking part in the dances, NUTLMATL are also present at festivals, as a kind of provost-martial. Should one of the performers fall in the dance or even stumble, they throw themselves upon him, and strike him down with their sharp spears, which are carved in a peculiar manner, and even slay the devotee who in undergoing self-torture drops from the roof of the lodge.

A third group of masks is used by the caste called in the Quakūtl language HAMATSA.[29] According to the explanations given, their special position and estimation in the community is founded on the right and duty of eating human flesh. There can be no doubt that the initiated did formerly actually slay and devour human beings, and some of the tribes have clung so tenaciously to this religious act, that after the energetic interference of the English put an end to cannibalism, they had recourse to devouring corpses. In our own days cannibalism among this caste seems to be essentially a symbolical ceremony, the medicine-men confining themselves to biting a piece of flesh out of the arm or leg of their kinsmen, who, moreover, are well rewarded for their compliance. Probably the acts of asceticism which prepare the way for admission into this caste, and the mysticism with which it is surrounded, are the chief means by which its reputation is still maintained. The initiated must retire to the wilds of the forest, there to prepare himself by severe fasts and voluntary tortures for participation in the cannibal ceremonies and communion with the spirits.

28 *Amerikas Nordwestküste*, pl. ii., fig. 2.

29 Woldt. l. c. p. 47. According to the courteous communication of Dr. Grünwedel, the note in the *Originalmitth. aus d. ethnol. Abth.* I., Heft 4 (explanation of Pl. II., Fig. 4), rests on a misunderstanding of a communication by Dr. Boas. The word *Hamatsa* is not known to all the tribes, but is found among the Quakutl peoples, where it is derived from a word-root, meaning to "eat." For this caste see Dr. Boas in the *Journal of American Folk-lore*, i., 58.

The Berlin museum possesses a fairly large collection of masks, such as the HAMATSAS use in their dances. Two of these show the medicine-man officiating. In the one he appears with a large mask,—painted white, with red blood-stains round the eyes and mouth,—conjuring the spirits of the forest.[30] These are personated by the other members of the caste, who bear monstrous wooden masks with moveable chins and tufts of cedar-bast, covered with carved death's-heads, which represent the number of the cannibal meals of which the owner has partaken. The mask most commonly used represents the evil forest-demon ATLPSTA, who hovers over the tree-tops and slays all uninitiated who stray in the forest, and especially persecutes the women.[31] The HAMATSA displays his power over this dreaded spirit, forcing him by loud yells and violent movements of the arms to yield obedience. In the second dance is represented the critical moment when the initiated offers his sacrifice. To this a number of the characteristic flutes and wooden rattles belong. Their stirring noise produces and increases the exaltation of the performers and spectators, which seems necessary to bring out the full force of the ceremony. Both before and after the moment in which the symbolic act of cannibalism is consummated, an ear-deafening din is produced, to which the HAMATSAS, whirling round and round more and more wildly in a frenzied dance, contribute with a rattle, carved like the head of an owl, in the form of which bird the victims appear after death.[32]

Besides these NUTLMATL masks, there are many used in the winter dances. In one of them is represented the myth of the Thunder-bird, which plays so great a part in the imagination of the Indians.[33] Most of the other dances appear to treat of subjects from the myths, the details of which have as yet received no explanation. Only a few of them are ceremonial dances having no mythical meaning, such as the so-called chieftain-dance, in which the pretty masks with ermine skins are used.[34]

Among the most interesting acquisitions of the Berlin museum from the North-West coast, are the fittings of a dancing-house in East Vancouver, one of the most remarkable specimens in Europe from North America. On one of the wings of the three-fold screen which forms the chief object in the exhibition, is painted a picture

[30] *Originalmitth.* etc. i., tab. ii., fig. 4.

[31] Woldt, l.c. p. 56.

[32] All the dances mentioned above were performed by the company of Bella-Coolas which was in Berlin in 1886.

[33] *Originalmitth.* etc. i., tab. i., fig. 2.

[34] *Amerikas Nordwestküste.* pl. i., fig. 2.

of the voluntary tortures undergone by the Indians, in order to be admitted into one of the castes or secret societies, which give them special veneration in their tribe. Such have often been described as practised by other Indian tribes; but this representation is unique. In the midst appears the novice. In his left hand he holds a small wooden implement, ending in two beasts' heads;[35] in his right a knife, with which he pricks his forehead till the blood streams down over his eyes. His flanks and legs are pierced, and, to increase the pain, two men, who have themselves gone through a similar ordeal, drag at the cords fastened in the gashes. The picture shows only the preparatory stages in the voluntary torture, not the last act, in which the novice is hoisted up towards the roof by the cords passed through his flesh, that he may give proof of his courage to conquer pain. To fall is certain death, and he is despatched by the NUTLMATL.

The masks are the only representations of the mythical beings, who, according to Indian ideas, people the universe; idols or objects addressed as deities are unknown. Possibly, however, traces of ancestor-worship have been found in the large excellently carved wooden figures, if it be correct that some of them are grave monuments, erected over chiefs, or others, who have distinguished themselves for riches and liberality, or enterprise in trade.[36] But the meaning of these figures and our knowledge of the part they play in the Indian mind are far from certain.[37] On this point, as on so many others, we have barely begun to know anything of the Indian sphere of ideas. Great difficulties are experienced in understanding spiritual utterances so different from our own, and representations which are apparently so confused and disconnected. We are therefore constantly in danger of attaching to the ideas of these simple races meanings natural only to a high development of thought,—a common source of error. Collections like those of Jakobsen's are therefore of great importance. They not only bring us nearer to a right understanding of the mode of life and work among primitive peoples, but they bring us into touch with their sphere of conceptions, by

[35] Such an instrument of martyrdom is depicted l.c. pl. iv., fig. 5. Catlin, *North American Indians*, vol. i., letter 22, plates 43-46, gives a graphic description of a similar scene of self-immolation in a Mandan lodge. He has also several pictures of masks (vol. ii., p. 113, pl. 210½ g) as worn by the mystery men.—*Tr.*

[36] *Amerikas Nordwestküste* pl. vi., fig. 1-3. One of the figures is represented as holding a copper-bar, the sign of wealth.

[37] According to the explanation of Dr. Boas, one at least of these figures is not a grave monument. (Globus lii. p. 368.) [MS. note of the Author.]

means of objects, in which their ideas have, so to say, been embodied, so that we can approach their meaning with greater certainty.

3. British America and the United States.

Unfortunately we possess no materials from the rest of the Indian tribes of North America, at all to be compared with what we have from the North-West Coast. The North American Indians are everywhere the most poorly represented peoples in the collections of Europe. To study them one must go to America, where most important materials have been gathered into the museums in illustration of this section of ethnology and pre-historic science. The reason why the European museums are so poor is, that the conditions of existence among the Indians and their whole mode of life have been changed by the effect of long intercourse with Europeans. At the time when it was still possible to make collections among them, and a beginning had been made in America, little attention was paid in Europe to the subject: now that an interest is felt, it is too late. The pre-Columbian Indians have left proofs of their culture in antiquities and monuments; but their successors, in the transition to civilisation, have left but feeble traces of their original state. Except a few tribes in the far west, up in the Rocky Mountains, and partly in the South-West States, everything the Indians use is European, or largely modified by European influence. Here and there in Europe there are a few collections of Indian articles; but nothing sufficient for study. The best belongs to the Museum at Copenhagen. It is not very extensive, but represents the Blackfeets and many Dakota tribes quite fully. The Museum at Berlin has an excellent collection from the Zunis and an interesting set of pottery from Arizona. In the Trocadero and British Museums there are smaller collections from various tribes. But that is all. What else there is, are merely fragments of more or less value. The most interesting are the rare wampum belts, of which there are two at Hamburg, and two in the Trocadero.

4. Mexico and Central America.

In the case of the Central American peoples we are better off in materials. The civilisation annihilated by the Spaniards did not perish without leaving numerous memorials. The ruins of buildings, laid waste by the conquerors, or decayed by long

neglect, are now being dug out of the wilderness which buried them, and thousands of smaller antiquities have been recovered from the bosom of the earth. As records of a bygone age, and its peculiar culture, they have attracted greater attention than the products of peoples still existing. Large collections of Mexican and Central American antiquities have from time to time reached Europe and found a harbour in the ethnographical museums, many of which are now rich in materials for the study of these regions.

In the first rank stands the Trocadero, both in extent and universality of matter. The Mexican collection embraces the whole territory between Tula and Tabasco, as well as the interesting produce of excavations in Lorillard City and Yucatan.[38] The collection due to Pinart and Charnay, besides several extremely valuable sculptures—among them the well-known interesting statue in porphyry of Quetzalcoatl from Mexico City, and the excellent castes of reliefs from Palenque and Chichenitza—contains very rich sets of admirably carved and polished stone implements, amulets and idols, masks and vases of various kinds of stone, and especially of earthenware, moulds, monumental figures and images of gods in clay, mostly derived from Anahurac, Durango and Guanajuato. The collection derives special interest from the accurate *data* of the places in which the objects were found, which make it possible to draw the necessary distinctions between the various localities and styles. It appears that very diverse forms of culture existed contemporaneously among the various tribes composing the ancient kingdom of Mexico. In the sets, for example, of terra-cotta figures and earthenware we can trace a number of shades in style, from the primitive attempt at imitating the human form in clay figures, from Cerro de las Palmas, to the excellent heads from Estanzuela, and the statuettes from Teotihuacan. The collection, from the way in which it is grouped, is of great value for the comparison and determination of the Mexican articles in other museums, not so well provided with information as to the localities where they were found. This is not the place to enter fully into the details of these vast materials. As a point of special interest, we must mention that, as a broad basis for the study of Aztec mythology, the extensive sets of terra-cotta idols are unequalled. The

[38] In 1887 the Mexican collections of the Louvre, including among other things a number of the originals illustrated in Kingsborough's work, were handed over to the Trocadero. See concerning these collections: Longpérier, *Notice des Monuments exposés dans la salle des Antiquités Américaines de Louvre.* Paris, 1851.

meaning of a great many of the idols is still unknown, and much investigation of details is needed before any firm general results can be attained. But a beginning has been made by the determination of the most characteristic figures in the Aztec pantheon; and this we owe to Hamy.

By the side of the Trocadero stands the Berlin museum, where both Mexico and Yucatan are very richly represented. The basis of the Mexican section consists of the collection brought home by Uhde, which in richness of fine characteristic stone sculptures perhaps surpasses even the Trocadero. Like the latter, it contains extensive sets of small objects, (idols, masks, earthenware, stone implements, ornaments, etc.), which illustrate the life of the Mexicans, their industries and cult. Unfortunately the materials are not so well explained as one could wish. They were gathered at a time when the meaning of systematic collecting was not understood. No notice was paid to the possibility of varieties of culture-groups in the earlier Aztec kingdom: collections were therefore amassed without regard to the locality of the objects; they were all "Mexican Antiquities." The want of explanations, in a field of science so little worked as Mexican archæology, is felt all the more, as the individual specimens can only be assigned to their proper groups by critical comparisons, and for such there are not yet sufficient materials. Pinart's collection does something towards definition, but there is still need of trustworthy excavations to distinguish the special marks of the various peoples. For this purpose, much aid is given by the excellent collection now in the Berlin museum, founded by Strebel, a Hamburg merchant, and exclusively due to researches in the old Totonaka district, especially at Zempoala, not far from Vera Cruz. It satisfies all requirements for a thorough, accurate description of the surroundings in which the objects were discovered.[39]

Invaluable for the study of the Maya civilisation is the splendid collection from Yucatan in the Berlin museum. Of its kind it is unique, and its equal will never again be brought to Europe. It has raised many new problems; but there remains many a riddle to solve, before we understand the civilisation revealed in this collection. Its multifarious materials, extensive series of highly advanced stone implements—excellent in execution, and admirable in form—numerous ornaments, and comprehensive groups of characteristic pottery, ware figures and idols, constitute a basis for

[39] Strebel, *Alt-Mexico*, Hamburg and Leipzig 1885.

archæological studies in the most remarkable forms of civilisation in ancient America, and promise rich results.

Next to the collections from Yucatan come the interesting materials in Berlin from Central America, especially Guatemala, and the large sculptures from S. Lucia di Cotzamalguapan.[40]

Of other ethnographic museums the British Museum has at present the best representation of Mexico, especially now that the small but very interesting Christy collection has been added. The same want of information, noticed above, is felt here also; still the Christy collection is of great value for the knowledge of pre-Columbian civilisation. It contains several extremely rare specimens, and the largest number of mosaics to be found anywhere.[41]

Vienna also possesses a considerable collection of Mexican antiquities (800 specimens), due to the late Custos of the Museum in Miramara, Dominik Bilimek, but this is not yet on view. In the Royal Museum in Vienna is kept the remarkable specimen called "Montezuma's banner," a unique magnificent piece of feather-work, which is well known by means of Hochstetter's publication.[42] Besides these the museums contain nothing but solitary rare specimens, or small collections without any great interest. Of the former the best are the well preserved throwing-stick of gilded wood, with carved figures, in the museum at Rome, and an idol and two masks of wood in the little collection of the Propaganda.[43] Of small collections, the two groups of Mexican and Central American Antiquities in Hamburg and in the *Museo Civico* in Turin are the most numerous and valuable.

SOUTH AMERICA.

The collections from South America fall into two main groups, the one embracing the pre-Columbian peoples, the other the modern races of native origin.

5 New Granada and Peru.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards two great centres of civilisation existed in South America, the one having its seat on the table-

[40] Bastian, *Steinsculpturen aus Guatemala*, Berlin 1882.

[41] Of these mosaics, besides the English, there are 5 specimens in the Museo Etnografico in Rome, 3 in Berlin, 2 in Copenhagen: see *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xvii. (201); *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei.* cclxxxii.; Tylor *Anahuac*, p. 337.

[42] *Ueber Mexicanische Reliquien.* Wien. 1884.

[43] *Bollettino d. Soc. Geogr. Italiana*, 1885.

land round Bogota and Tunja, the other on that of Cuzco. These two districts each included smaller special groups, and beside them there existed other less developed small communities. The civilisation of New Granada is still the least known. Most of the collections are derived from the Chibchas, the most highly developed people of this country. But besides these there are groups of antiquities, entirely different from those of Tunja and evidently belonging to quite another people. In many museums there are small sets from this country; but large collections are to be found only in Rome, Leipzig and Berlin, the last of which possesses full series of idols, earthenware, gold and silver articles both from the Bogota and Tunja plateau and from Antioquia and Ria Cauca. Here too there is a great lack of descriptive explanations, and careful excavations are much needed, to form a firm basis for investigation.

The materials from Peru are far richer and better. Most of them have been obtained by excavations undertaken in a methodical way. The greatest part is due to Reiss and Stübel, who from the burial ground at Ancon exhumed the excellent materials now in the Berlin museum, and published in full in the magnificent work issued by the General Board of Management.[44] The dry calcareous earth, in which the corpses were laid and turned to mummies, has preserved almost all the objects bestowed on the dead, and, thanks to the conscientiousness of the Peruvians in depositing all the belongings of the dead in the grave, it has been possible to recover a vast number of objects, which give a vivid picture of the life of the Incas in many particulars. Even things so perishable as objects of wood and woven stuffs are well preserved. Perhaps the most interesting part of the whole collection is the rich sets displaying the highly developed textile industry of the Incas. The pottery is less richly represented; but in this respect Reiss and Stübel's collections are supplemented by the large and extremely valuable additions made to the museum, especially by the acquisition of Dr. Macedo's collection. This alone contains 1500 pieces of pottery, and is highly instructive from the accurate information it contains as to the place of finding. Among the numerous local groups it gives a complete picture of one of the most highly developed industries of ancient Peru, which was before only partly known. The bulk of the collection comes from the coast, which had already been the most productive of materials; but entirely new groups have been brought to light, both here and in

[44] Reiss and Stübel, *Das Todtenfeld von Ancon.*

the Highlands. Unique are the original vases from Reguay, with whole scenes of modelled figures on the upper portion; they denote in general one of the most peculiar developments of Peruvian pottery.

Next to Berlin stands the Trocadero Museum, the very rich and interesting Peruvian materials of which were for the most part brought to Europe by Wiener.[45] Most other museums own smaller groups of antiquities from the kingdom of the Incas, especially from the inexhaustible burial ground at Ancon. The most important are in the British Museum, Dresden, Leipzig, and Florence.

Finally we must add that Dr. Stolpe, who in 1883-5 took part in the voyage of the Swedish frigate "Vanadis" round the world, has brought back considerable collections from Peru, consisting partly of objects discovered in the burial ground at Ancon, partly of a large set of pottery obtained in Lima. As yet, however, they have been exhibited only temporarily in Stockholm.[46]

[45] *Notice sur le Musée Ethnographique des Missions Scientifiques.* Paris, 1878, p. 18.

[46] Stolpe, *Vägvisare genom Vanadis-utställingen.* Stockholm 1886.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

A FOLK TALE FROM NEW HEBRIDES.

THE following story has been written down for me by a native of Lepers' Island, and also by a native of Aurora, both in the New Hebrides. In Lepers' Island the story is told of Tagaro, in Aurora of Qatu. That from the latter island is in the fuller form, as follows:

"They say that the winged ones were women, seven in number, whose home was in heaven, and they had wings. They flew down to bathe in the sea, and before bathing they put off their wings. Qatu one day saw them bathing, and took the wings of one, went back into the village, and buried the wings at the foot of the main post of his house. Then he went down again to the beach and watched the winged women, who, when they had finished bathing, took their wings and flew back to heaven; all but one who remained weeping for the loss of her wings that Qatu had stolen.

Qatu went up to her, and pretending ignorance, asked her why she wept and she answered that it was because her wings were stolen. Qatu took her to his house, where his mother received her, and she became his wife. Then when Qatu took her to work in the garden, if the vine of a yam struck against her it became a yam just like one freshly dug, if a banana leaf touched her all the fruit on the tree was ripe at once. Qatu did not trouble himself about this, but went shooting birds; but his mother, thinking she was digging yams out of season, scolded her, and she went into the house and sat crying beside the post. As she wept her tears dropped at the foot of the post, and wearing away the earth, presently began to fall pattering upon the wings which had been hidden there. The woman noticing the change of sound scratched away the earth and found her wings; with joy she put them on and flew back again to heaven.

"When Qatu came back from his shooting and found his wife was gone, he reproached his mother for her folly. Then he killed all his pigs, and put fresh points on many arrows. This done he mounted upon the roof of his house and shot an arrow upwards to the sky. Observing that the arrow does not return, he shoots another after it and strikes the first; so he shoots again and again, and always hits the arrow he had shot before. After a while the connected line of arrows reached to the ground; and, behold, a banyan root followed the arrows. Qatu took a basket with flesh of his pigs and mounted to heaven by the banyan root to seek his wife. He finds her and prepares to take her down. Seeing someone there chopping with an axe, he tells him to watch the root, and when he sees it no longer shaking to chop it off. But as the two descended by the root, and had not yet reached the earth, he with the axe above chopped short the root, and Qatu fell to the ground and was killed; the woman flew back again to heaven."

Supposing that no version of the story of winged women coming down from heaven to bathe is likely as yet to have reached England from Melanesia, I have ventured to send the above for the *Archæological Review*.

Aug. 6th, 1888. R. H. CODRINGTON.

LUCAYAN REMAINS IN BAHAMAS.

THE Consul reports in a last year's Blue-book that he has "found but few traces of the original inhabitants. Some curiously carved wooden stools, discovered in caves, a small quantity of fragments of rude pottery from Andros, a small 'totem,' or breast idol from Birnini, and specimens of stone hatchets and chisels from almost every island. They are made of hard polished grey or green stone, and are identical in material and make with the stone 'celts' found in Ireland."—*Reports for 1884, 1885 and 1886* (c-5071 of 1887) p. 165.

J. FLEMING.

Archæology.

—:o:—

ROMAN REMAINS

NO. 5, ESSEX.

Abbreviations chiefly used:

Cam. Brit.—*Camden's Britannia*, Gough's Ed.
Morant.—*Morant's History of Essex*, 1768, 2 vols.
Salmon.—Salmon's *Survey of England*, 1728.
Arch.—*Archæologia*, vols. i.-l.
Arch. Journ.—*Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vols. i.-xliv.
Assoc. Journ.—*British Arch. Association*, vol. i.-xliii.
Coll. Antiq.—C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, 1843-80, 7 vols.
E.A.S.—*Essex Archæological Transactions.*
Price's Rom. Ant.—*Roman Antiquities, Mansion House.*
Proc. Soc. Ant.—*Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries of London.*
G.M.—*Gentleman's Magazine.*
N. and Q.—*Notes and Queries.*
Brit. Mus.—*Roman Antiquities British Museum.*
Col. Mus.—*Roman Antiquities Colchester Museum.*
Jos. Coll.—*Private Collection of G. Joslin, Esq.*
Hübner.—*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*.
O.S.—Ordnance Survey (six-inch and twenty-five-inch sheets).

From the above publications I have endeavoured to record the localities which provide illustrations for the History of Roman Essex. There will, no doubt, be some omissions, but these will certainly not be important. The range of inquiry is wide, and the county is one exceptionally rich in evidence of a lengthened occupation. In extent it ranks tenth in the list of English Counties, and in its boundaries no less than six Roman stations may be identified, Camulodunum, Canonium, Cæsaromagus, Iceanum, and Othona. Among these Colchester stands pre-eminent. Its identity with Camulodunum is now undoubted; indeed, it would have hardly been ever questioned but for the decided opinions expressed by Camden in favour of Maldon, although authors of less repute had supported the claims of such distant places as Castle Camps, Cambridgeshire, Doncaster, Pontefract, and even others in far off Scotland. Modern researches have, it is to be hoped, decided the

controversy.[1] The earthworks at Lexden and Lexden Heath, when taken in connection with the coins of Cunobeline, probably point to the locality as being the stronghold of that native prince, while Colchester represents the site of the Roman Colony, occupied by veterans and their families from the fourteenth legion in the time of Claudius, with a view to overawe the natives—a very powerful tribe—and induce them to subjection. Tacitus records their insurrection and its consequences in the time of Nero, and likewise speaks of the temple of Claudius—possibly the site of the present castle—as being an object of detestation. At this time the colony was unprotected by either walls or ramparts, which were erected at a later time. There is no Roman city where the evidence of such protection is so complete, not even excepting Lincoln, York, Exeter, or Chester. The walls were erected at a period between the invasion of Boadicea and the incoming of the East Saxon Settlers, and their foundations are all on Roman lines. Additions of course were made as time went on, but the walls of Colchester are as essentially Roman as are those of Servius Tullius at Rome in the days of the kings, or at its last circumvallation in the reign of the later Emperors Aurelian and Probus, A.D. 270-282.

It is possible that Colchester enjoys an unbroken history. It is a town which has been influenced less than many others by the effects of those alterations and improvements rendered necessary by the requirements of a modern age. All is classic ground; even the modern streets and byeways, with no early buildings save the churches and the ruined priory of St. Botolph, indicate in their unchanged lines the plans laid down by the surveyors and architects of Roman times; and it is rare, should a building be removed and excavations rendered necessary, that some discovery is not made which adds in some way to our knowledge of the public and private life of the Roman occupants. For a complete acquaintance with its antiquities a visit to the town itself is indispensable. A large number of unique and valuable relics have been described, and in many cases illustrated in the various Archæological Journals, &c., but there are many others, which, though found in the locality, cannot be associated with any particular site; objects of this class abound in the Museum recently re-arranged within the castle walls. In the new MS. Catalogue, with the preparation of which I was

[1] The following inscription with no other evidence would be conclusive: it appears in Gruter's collection and in those of Orelli and others. It records a "Censitor" *Civium Romanorum Coloniæ Victricensis quæ est in Britannia Camuloduni.* This interesting memorial was found in Spain.

entrusted, I could but group the series under such general headings as Coins, Glass, Personal Ornaments, Pottery, Sculpture, &c., giving the locality where such could be stated. A large number of valuable relics discovered in the town and its vicinity were, years ago, suffered to be scattered in various quarters, thus dislocating and disturbing deposits once complete, and of far deeper interest, if retained in their integrity and preserved with kindred groups in the local museums, than they now are. A considerable number found their way to Scotland, and are preserved in one of the museums there. Others are in the British Museum, but can be identified through having formed a part of the collection made long ago by the Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, and being so recorded. Mr. Joslin's Museum is for the present happily intact, and each object with its locality has been carefully chronicled in his MS. Catalogue recently prepared. It is to be hoped that it may never be permitted to leave the town, and that sufficient funds may be obtained for the purpose, if purchase is the only means of securing it. Some few important objects found their way to the museum of the late Joseph Mayer, and are now at Liverpool.

So unique in character are some of the objects found at Colchester that they deserve especial mention. The Sphinx—the fabled monster of Thebes, referred to by Statius—has been discoursed upon by several writers of eminence; so also the magnificent Durobrivian Urn known as the "Colchester vase," containing cinerated bones, and having upon its sides figures in relief of gladiators with their names inscribed above. This was found at "West Lodge," and references to full descriptions and engravings of it will be seen under this heading in the Index. Mr. Joslin's "Centurion," a magnificent piece of classical sculpture, is likewise unsurpassed by anything of the kind yet noted. It may be compared, though of far superior work, with a similar monument to the "Signifer" or Standard bearer at York, also with one of kindred character found in London and now in the Museum at Guildhall.

The Centurion, whose memory has been thus preserved to us, was an officer of the twentieth Legion, a body of troops closely identified with the fortunes of Roman Britain, whose honourable title *Valeria Victrix* and the familiar symbol of the boar are both well known. Transferred to the province of Britain at the direction of Claudius A.D. 43, inscriptions record its presence until recalled at the death of Allectus A.D. 297. The rank of this officer is attested not only by the magnificence of his uniform, every detail of which has received attention from the sculptor, but from the fact recorded in the

inscription of his having freedmen in his service, two of whom, Verecundus and Novicius, erected the monument to his memory.[2]

The references to the roads are, I trust, exhaustive. As one of the principal stations mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary, the highways radiating from Camulodunum possess an exceptional interest, second only to London itself. In addition to information gathered from the Ordnance Maps, the researches of Dr. Henry Laver of Colchester, have proved of considerable value. The results he has kindly placed at my disposal, and thus provides a report which, correcting many errors, gives such additional information as he has been enabled to collect up to the present time. Such references as exist in connection with the Legions or Auxiliary troops associated with Colchester, are taken, and will be found in full, from the exhaustive papers of the late Mr. Thompson Watkin, entitled the *Roman Military Forces of Britain*, published in the Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

In studying the roads, stations, distances, &c., the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester may be consulted. It is well known to be spurious, but if used with caution it deserves a little consideration, inasmuch as in all traditions there is usually *some* element of truth. Moreover, as Gibbon remarks, "he shows a genuine knowledge of Antiquity, very extraordinary for a monk of the 14th century." This Itinerary contains eighteen journeys which Richard says he compiled from certain fragments written by a Roman general, from Ptolemy and other authors. He mentions 176 stations, Antoninus only 113.[3]

We may in conclusion allude to the story of Henry of Huntingdon, to the effect that the walls of Colchester owe their origin to the famed King Coel, father of St. Helena, the Empress.[4] The town has boasted for many years that it was her birthplace, and it is said that the inhabitants testify their traditional veneration for her memory by having for their corporate Arms "the knotty cross which she discovered between four crowns, as Camden takes notice."

[2] See my *Bastion of London Wall*, p. 54. Many illustrations have been published, but with the exception of photographs, the one to be found at this reference is, I think, the most accurate.

[3] Horsley's *Brit. Rom.*; *N. and Q.*, ix. 326.; General Roy's *Military Antiq. of Great Britain and Ireland*, published by the Soc. Ant., London; also Transactions of the Architectural Soc. of Scotland, Sess. 1854, by A. Thomson of Banchory.

[4] Alban Butler's "Life of St. Helena, Empress," *Arch. Journ.*, xxxiii., 430. *N. and Q.*, 5th Ser. iv. 67, 234; v. 94.

ALRESFORD, coins, pavements, pottery, tiles, walls, and other traces of occupation. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* N.S. x. 178.

ARKESDEN, early furnaces for smelting metals utilised in later days, bronze celts, weapons, &c. *See* Elmdon.

ASHDON. *See* Bartlow Hills.

AUDLEY END (Museum of Antiquities at, formed by the Hon. R. C. Neville, afterwards Lord Braybrooke.) *See* Chesterford and Saffron Walden. Remains of villa discovered in a field called Chinnels in the parish of Wenden, coins, personal ornaments. *Arch.* x. 170, 357 ; xi. 78.

BARTLOW HILLS, grave mounds on the borders of Essex and Cambridgeshire in the parish of Ashdon, sepulchre of brick, numerous relics, bronze locks, enamelled vase, prœfericulum or ewer, glass lamps, and pottery. *Camden* ii. 46 ; *Arch.* xxvi. 303, xxviii., 1-6, xxix. 1-4 ; *Arch. Journ.* xxi. 86, 92, 97, 162, 174 ; *Brit. Mus.* : *G. M.*, 1832, i. 162. [Railway projected, precautions taken for the preservation of the mounds.]

BILLERICAY, at Bluntwalls in this parish, earthworks, ditch, and ramparts enclosing four acres ; 1100 copper coins discovered in the last century at a farm called Tiled Hall.[5] Amphoræ, urns and pateræ, traditions as to Roman watchfires on the Union Hill, Basildon and Rayleigh, coins of Trajan, Hadrian, Germanicus, Constantine, Licinius, &c., down to those of the Saxon Heptarchy, Samian ware [potter's mark PACMVS.] *Arch. Journ.* xxxvi. 70, 77 ; *E. A. S.* ii. 70, v. 208, N.S. i. 276, ii. 221 ; [*See* Roads] ; *G. M.*, 1847, ii. 411 ; 1852, ii. 221, 295.

BIRDBROOK, in a field called Oxley, sepulchral remains, burials by inhumation, pottery and urns. *Arch.* xiv. 70 ; *Morant*, ii. 348.

BRADWELL-JUXTA-MARE, excavations near to the chapel of St. Peters on the Wall [the position determined of one of the previously unidentified castra on the *Littus Saxonicum* or Saxon Shore.] *See* Othona. *Arch. Journ.* xxii. 64, xxiii. 62 ; *G. M.*, 1865, ii. 403, 408.

CANEWDON, urns in gravel pits. *Morant*, i. 331.

CANFIELD, bronze ornaments, fibulæ, hairpins, &c. *Arch.* v. 137 ; *Arch. Journ.* xxvii. 213, xxxv. 81.

CHELMSFORD (Cherry Garden Lane), coins, one of Vespasian, pottery, and urns. *G. M.*, 1840, ii. 258-259.

CHESTERFORD [ICEANUM, Camboricum of Stukeley)] Camp with trench, enclosing about thirteen acres, bronze figure of a river god, patera or ladle, coins, ranging from Caligula to Commodus, A.D. 180-192, Silver denarius of Saloninus also of Septimius Severus, Elagabalus, plated coins of Allectus, Carausius, and Maximianus ; Cemetery, human skeletons, bracelets, personal ornaments, rings, &c., and bronze box,[6] anvils, axes, hinges, hoops, knives, one with bone handle carved with a figure of Hercules, saws, scythes, shears, pails, chariot wheels, shackles.[7] Pottery of various kinds : Samian, potters' marks PAVLL, M. MACCIVS, F. MINAIT, CARETI, VACIRO ; Upchurch ware, VARRIATVS. Steelyard weight, ornamented with a figure of Diana, shafts containing miscellaneous objects, glass vase moulded in relief, initialed A.P. Rings, Intaglio on cornelian, an eagle with wreath in its mouth, symbol, Jupiter Victor ; also one Cupid and Psyche ; another subject *Lætitia Autumni*, a figure with ears of corn in right, and an apple in the left hand ; sundry others. *Assoc. Journ.* i. 155, xxii. 453, xxv. 273 ; *Arch. Journ.* vi. 188, x. 233, (Potters' Marks) xii. 109, 126, xiii. 1. 15, xiv., 63, xv. 84, xvi. 358, xviii. 117, 127 ; Gough's *Topography*, i. 368 ; *E. A. S.* ii. 61, 68 ; *Morant* ii. 553, 596 ; *Sepulchra Exposita*, (privately printed by the Hon. R. C. Neville, 1848), 95 : Stukeley *Itin. Curiosum*, pl. xlv. lix. ; *G.M.*, 1848, ii. 633.

CHESHUNT FIELD, villa or public building (external walls 285 feet, internal 265 feet), coins of Titus, Carausius, and Helena. *G. M.*, 1842, part ii. 526.

CHISHALL, Furnaces for smelting metals. *See* ELMDON.

COGGESHALL, on the high road from Colchester to Cambridge identified by Mr.

[5] The finder sold them in London. He was afraid to go to bed, lest, oversleeping himself, he might be detected before he could dispose of them.

[6] Similar to one found at Little Wilbraham. *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. xv.

[7] Compare with figures of mechanical tools, *Römische Alterthümer in Neuwied*, by Dr. W. Dorow, Berlin. 1827.

Drake as CANOVIUM? Traces of occupation, camps and fortified positions, coins ranging from Antoninus to Theodosius, Samian ware, Potter's mark, COCCILLI, M. *Arch.* vi.; Cromwell's *Hist. Colchester* i. 23.

COLCHESTER, (CAMULODUNUM, COLONIA VICTRIX, CLAUDIA OR CLAUDIA COLONIA) one of the nine colonial cities established in Britain—its site the stronghold of the British Prince, Cunobeline, contemporary with Augustus. Coleceaster and Colneceaster of the Saxons. In addition to special localities given below, see for SITE OF CITY: *Arch.* xvi. 143, 145; *G.M.* xcvii. 623; Cromwell's *Hist. Colchester* i. 29. For COINS, MINTS: established by Carausius and suppressed at the death of Allectus, *Num. Chron.* N.S. vii. 324; Copper coins of Maximinian, rare, *ibid* 37; *Cat. Rom. Family Coins*, W. H. Smyth, 15; *Morant* i. 14, 24, 26, 28, 33, 183; *Col. Mus.* For INSCRIPTIONS: *Hübner* vii. 35-36; *Col. Ant.* v. 115. For POTTERY: Aretine, Durobrivian, Samian and Upchurch Ware, in all varieties; pottery of local manufacture from the district, which was extensively occupied by potters on the line of the high road to Londinium; potters' marks, many yet unpublished; glass medallion ornamented with imperial busts; vase inscribed; tesseræ or theatrical admission tickets, a unique series undescribed, apparently genuine though their authenticity has been disputed, but upon no evidence; illustrations of Jewish residence; sculptured ivories now in the Mayer Collection at Liverpool: *Col. Mus.; Proc. Soc. Ant.* N.S. ii. 143, 247, iii. 165, 381, 422. For CUP of moulded glass[8] ornamental design a chariot race, the names of the charioteers inscribed round the edge; perfect glass vessels, plain ewers, drinking cups and bottles, others of a rich cobalt blue and bright green glass: *Slade. Coll. Brit. Mus.* For INSCRIBED STONES, one now in the Disney Collection at Cambridge: *Arch. Journ.* xxxi.; *Arch. Assoc.* vi. 446; Cromwell's *Hist. of Col.* ii. 374; Wright's *Hist. of Essex*, i. 295-6, see also, *Assoc. Journ.* i. 53, 238, ii. 29, 268, iv. 60-63, 400, 401, v. 85, vi. 446, 451, vii. 82, xx. 344-5, xxi. 168, 171, 231.

——— ANGEL LANE, Tessellated pavement near the Moot Hall, wheat beneath it. *Arch.* ii. 287; *Assoc. Journ.* iii. 318.

——— BALKERNE OR BALKON HILL AND LANE, Bastion of city wall, original facing. The Decuman gate, Guard room for use of sentry. Inscribed altar. *Assoc. Journ.* ii. 33; *Arch. Journ.* xxxviii. 431, xxxix. 356; *Col. Mus.*; *E. A. S.* N.S. ii. 266, 283.

——— BEAR LANE, Mosaic pavement, long since destroyed. [In Sparrow's Plan of Colchester, Bear Lane is called St. Martin's Lane.] *G.M.* 1842, p. 526.

——— BEVERLEY ROAD, Cemetery at right angles to the Lexden Road. Cist composed of tiles containing fine specimens of glass. Bronze patera, and a unique series of fictilia in white clay, comprising seated figures with books before them, caricatures doubtless of learned men, also recumbent figures, animals, &c., and a bust of pleasing appearance; portrait of the youthful Cæsar of the time, yellow glazed pottery of rare description, Coins of Agrippa, Claudius. Inscribed stone to the memory of a centurion, human bones in leaden cist adjoining the tomb. *Arch. Journ.* xxxiv. 81; *Coll. Ant.* vi. 228, 239; *Col. Mus.*; *Hübner*, vii. 35-36; *Jos. Coll.; Proc. Soc. Ant.* N.S. iv. 271, viii. 543; *G. M.* 1866, ii. 336.

——— BOROUGH FIELDS, Silver ring set with gems. *Morant*, i. 195.

——— ST. BOTOLPHS GATE, Coins of the lower Empire [road issuing to Mersea Island.] *E. A. S.* i. 34, N.S. iii. 123.

——— BUTT LANE, Bead of vitrified porcelain, leaden coffins. *Arch.* xxxiv. 47; *Coll. Ant.* iii. 52-53.

——— CASTLE, occupies an area of 21,168 square feet, nearly twice that of the White Tower, London. Antiquity much disputed though its foundations were clearly laid by the Romans; by some authorities considered to be the Temple of Claudius, known to be at Colchester, by others to be the work entirely of Norman architects. *Arch. Journ.* xxxiii. 403, 436, xxxix. 239, 256; Rev. H. Jenkins, *Colchester Castle;* Rev. E. A. Cutts, *Colchester Castle not a Roman Temple*, 1853; Grose. *Ant. Eng. and Wales*, i.; *Salmon*, 137.

[8] Glass like earthenware was among the manufacturing industries of Colchester. It survived through the Middle Ages. Robert le Verrer, 1295, and Matthew le Verrer in 1300, were inhabitants of the city and taxed for their stock in trade. Rot. Parl, i. 228, cited by A. Nesbitt, Slade Cat. Intro. p. xxxii.

COLCHESTER, CLOACA, the great drain or sewer, constructed on a similar model to the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, or that at Marta in Tuscany, relics in quantities. Bronzes, coins, glass, iron implements, &c., Samian ware, tiles, the iron objects of interest, such being rarely found at Colchester owing to the nature of the soil being against their preservation. *Col. Mus.; E. A. S.* i. 34, 210.

——— CREFFIELD ROAD, lead coffin 6 feet long, with a pipe inserted in the lid just over where the head would have laid, depth 3 feet. *Col. Mus.*

——— CULVER STREET, bronze patella, mosaic pavements, at a depth of five feet, urn of red ware. *E. A. S.* N.S. iii. 195 ; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* N.S. xi. 195.

——— ESSEX STREET, cinerary urn. *Col. Mus.*

——— GENERAL HOSPITAL (site of), the celebrated "Sphinx" now in the local Museum,[9] originally attached to some important sepulchral monument. Building materials, red and white tiles, coarse unhewn stones. Bronze statuette of a similar figure found in the year 1820. [As an emblem the Sphinx appears on the coins of Cunobeline, associated often with an abbreviated form of the word *Camulodunum* ; Suetonius records how such a symbol was adopted by Augustus on his private seal.] Pottery, many potters' marks. *Assoc. Journ.* ii. 38 ; *G.M.* 1822, 107, pl., 1854, ii. 70-71 ; *Hübner* vii. 35.

——— HEAD GATE AND STREET, site of cemetery, leaden coffins, tessellated pavement. *Coll. Ant.* iii. 53 ; *E. A. S.* N.S. iii. 139.

——— MALDON ROAD, glass bottle, 5 in. high. *Col. Mus.*

——— NORTH HILL, remains of buildings, rooms, walls and concrete floors, with mosaic pavements, tiles and pottery. *E. A. S.* ii. 53, 61.

——— NORTH STREET, steelyard weight, bronze representing Cupid, tessellated pavement near the Victoria Inn. *Col. Mus.* ; *E. A. S.* N.S. ii. 189.

——— PRIORY TERRACE, leaden coffin. *Col. Mus.*

———ST. JOHN'S STREET, (at back of Salvation Army Barracks) lead coffin of a child, 3 feet long, containing a few bone-fragments, depth 3 feet. *Col. Mus.*

——— ST. MARY'S LODGE, bones in urns, bronzes, head of Silenus, bust of Pan, Jupiter and a fine portrait of Caligula, also figures of Mercury and Hercules. *Arch.* xxxi ; *Assoc. Journ.* iii. 57 ; *Col. Mus.*

——— TURRETS, Armillæ, bronze medicine stamp with handle, inscription R. F. HYGINI, bronze keys, statuette of Mercury. *Col. Mus.*

——— WEST LODGE, excavations in the year 1848, important discoveries, beads, coins, glass, lamps, locks and keys, personal ornaments, pottery, Samian ware, sepulchral deposits, tile tombs, &c. The unique example of Castor or Durobrivian ware known as the "Colchester Vase," and now in the local Museum was obtained from this cemetery. Inscribed stone. *Assoc. Journ.* iv. 400, vi. 447 ; *Col. Mus.; Coll. Ant.* iv. 82, 90. [Visit of London Antiquaries to the treasures at West Lodge, remarks thereon. *Assoc. Journ.* v. 91, 94.]

——— WEST TERRACE, vase of inferior pottery, glass lachrymatory injured by fire. *Col. Mus.*

——— WINDMILL FIELD, Armillæ, coins, hairpins with other personal ornaments and trinkets, leaden coffin containing human remains. *Coll. Ant.* iii. 52.

DANBURY, furnaces for smelting purposes. *See* Elmdon.

DUNMOW [assumed to be CÆSAROMAGUS]. *Arch. Assoc.* iii. 318. *See* Roads.

EASTHAM, cemetery, leaden coffins site adjacent to the position of the Roman forces stationed at Uphall Camp. Glass, Samian, and other ware, Potter's mark, MERCITVS, F. *Arch. Journ.* xxi. 93, 95, xxii. 334 ; *Coll. Ant.* vii. 190 ; *E. A. S.* ii. 110, 116 ; *G.M.* 1864, i. 91, 92 ; *Brit. Mus.*

ELMDON, coins, large brass of Hadrian, others defaced, associated with bronze implements and weapons of early date and native origin, masses of unused metal, with debris of smelting furnaces utilised doubtless by itinerant workmen travelling from camp to camp, [interesting discoveries here in 1847, illustrating the practical knowledge possessed by the Romans, in rivetting metals.] *E. A. S.* ii. 56, 58.

[9] *See* Pamphlet by E. A. Hay, *Letter to the Committee of the Essex and Colchester Hospital*, 1821.

Epping (Theydon Grove), pottery six feet beneath the surface. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* N.S. iv. 446. *See* Roads.

Fifield, furnaces for smelting metals. *See* Elmdon.
Fryerning (Mill Green). Portions of amphoræ, and other pottery. *E. A. S.* N.S. ii. 357-358.

Gosback (near Stanway), coins of Vespasian, Tetricus, Carausius and the Constantine family. Villa, walls with flue tiles, frescoes &c. *Arch. Assoc.* ii. 45 ; *Coll. Ant.* ii. 41. 42.
Grays, bronze figure of Jupiter. *Arch. Assoc.* iv. 80.
Gray's Thurrock, sepulchre containing bronze armlets, with horses' teeth, glass, pottery, &c. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, N.S., iii. 406, iv. 11.
Grymes Dyke at Stanway, the rampart marks the boundary of Camulodunum, triangular space enclosed by the Dyke, River, and the Colne, site of the British Oppidum. The size of this fortified position is sufficient to account for it having required, as is recorded, a force of some thirty or forty thousand men to capture it.

Hadstock, villa, bath, hypocaust, rooms, &c. Bronze ornaments. Coins of Gallienus, A.D. 253-268 ; small brass of Victorinus, Allectus, Constantine, and Valerian. *Arch.* viii. ; *Arch. Journ.* viii. 35 ; *E. A. S.* ii. 62.
Hallingbury (Great), ampullæ, cinerary urns near to the so-called Roman encampment. *E. A. S.*, N.S., i. 201.
Harlow, bronze figure representing a Roman boy, probably a youthful charioteer. *E. A. S.* ii. 139.
Hatfield Broad Oak, in the parish of Takeley. Sepulchral remains. Box fastened with bronze hasp. Glass vessels, with "pillar moulding" on fluted sides, lamps, Samian ware, potters' marks, OF. PONTI., MARTIALI, M. Coins of Vespasian and Domitian. *Arch. Journ.* xii. 197, 198.
Hazeleigh, stone coffins containing human bones. *E. A. S.* ii. 112 ; *G. M.*, 1838, ii. 433.
Heybridge, bronze patera. *Col. Mus.*
Heydon Hill, bronze bracelets, coins of Constantius, Samian pottery, walls, small room nearly square. *Arch. Assoc.* iv. 76 ; Price *Rom. Antiq.* 41.
Hull Bridge, now a ford, see Roads.

Kelvedon (Donvards Hall), coins, fibulæ, urns containing bones. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, N.S., v. 30.

Lexden Road, near the river Colne. Potters' kilns containing urns perfect and fragmentary ; coins, pottery in quantities in close proximity to the kilns. One of the most perfect of the latter has been saved, is now enclosed, and can be seen on application to Mr. Joslin. It is an interesting relic in connection with the potters' craft. From this locality has been likewise obtained a wooden casket containing personal ornaments of all kinds—beads, rings, bronze bracelet with fine coin of Nero attached, Speculum or mirror, tweezers, &c. The kilns and their contents afford evidence of local manufactures. *E. A. S.*, N.S., iii. 123 ; *Jos. Col* ; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, N.S., iv. 433 ; *Coll. Ant.* vii. 1. xi. ; Earthworks surveyed by Stukeley, *Itinerarum Curiosum.* 1759.

Marks Tey, Armillæ, bronzes, fibulæ and rings in the Mayer collection at Liverpool. *E. A. S.* ii. 58.
Mersey, mosaic pavements near to West Mersey Hall. Coins, buckles, hasps, styli, &c. *Morant*, i. 425.
Messing, glass bottle containing cremated bones. *Brit. Mus.*
Mount Bures, amphoræ, andirons or fire dogs, glass, personal ornaments, glazed and other pottery. *Coll. Ant.*, ii. 25, 36 ; *Col. Mus.*

Ockenden North, Cemetery, sepulchral relics, animal bones, pottery. *E. A. S.* ii. 238-240 ; *G. M.*, 1859, i. 174.
Old Ford, leaden coffins, coins, pottery, and relics, Oolitic Sarcophagus, cover

slightly coped, contained a skeleton, position east and west. *Arch. Journ.*, xxii. 173; *Trans. Lon. and Midd. Arch. Soc.*, i. 192.

ONGAR. *See* Roads.

OTHONA, one of the nine castra catalogued in the Notitia Dignitatum, &c., the military survey of the Roman Empire, in the last stage of its existence. They flourished from about A.D. 289 to 409, just 120 years. Southern wall of the castrum disclosed. Bede styles it Ythancæster the castrum of Ithona (*Hist. Eccles.*, lib. iii. 22) garrisoned by a force of auxiliaries, *Numerus Fortensium*, but no inscriptions have as yet been discovered. The weapons to which these troops were accustomed were "sword, spear, and buckler," of which examples have been found, also bracelets, fibulæ, and rings; coins of Gallienus A.D. 260 to Honorius 395; combs and various accessories to the toilet, bone implements, spindle whorls, knives, styli, strigils, tweezers, and garden tools. *Camden* ii. 123; *Arch.* xli. pl. xx.; *Arch. Journ.* xli. 259; *Coll. Ant.* vii. 155; *G.M.* 1865 ii. 403-8. [The origin of the name Fortenses doubtful, reasonably presumed to be taken from some legion with the surname of *Fortis* such as *Secunda Trajana* which was honoured with the title of *Fortis*.]

RAMSDEN BELHUS, stone coffins. *E. A. S.* ii. 112.

RAYLEIGH, coins, denarii, &c. *Assoc. Journ.* v. 355; *E. A. S.* ii. 72.

RIDGWELL, BIRDBROOK AND STURMERE, military way, coins, pottery, villa, walls, &c. The road is mentioned by Dr. Salmon in his *Survey of England*, p. 143, as running from Camulodunum to Camboricum, distance 35 miles. *Arch.* xiv. 61-62.

RIDGWELL, coins of Domitian, Otacilia Severa, Nero and others down to Arcadius, buildings, hypocaust, tessellated pavements, tiles, pottery, personal ornaments. *Camden*, 47.

RIVENHALL, coin of Probus, tessellated pavement, tiles. *Assoc. Journ.* ii. 281; *G.M.* 1847, i. 185, 339.

ROCHFORD, coins and other relics, locality fixed by Camden as the site of the battle of Essendun or Aschendune, at Assingdon near to the town. Morant places it at Ashdon. *Arch.* xxiii. 17. [*See* a paper by the late W. Henry Black, upon the constitution, present stile, and probable origin and significance of the "Lawless Court" held at Rochford, wherein he speaks of the "King's Post" where the meetings of the Court are periodically held as being a "Roman Land Mark" belonging to the series of measures connected with "London Stone" and other uninscribed monuments. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd ser., iv. 172, 182.]

ROMFORD [Durolitum ?] tiles found while making a new road near to Nokes Hill. *Arch. Assoc.* iii. 318; *Iter. Britanniarum*, Cambridge, 1799; *Geog. der Greichen und Romer.*, Leipzig, 1788, 1829.

SAFFRON WALDEN [Camboricum] earthworks known as Battle Ditches, bronzes, coins, glass, Durobrivian, Samian and Upchurch Ware, sepulchral remains. *Arch. Journ.* i. 158, 161; *E. A. S.* ii. 166, N.S. ii. 284, 287, 311, 334; Braybrooke *Hist. Audley End*, 148, 149.

SHOEBURY, near to what is known as the Danish Camp, ancient well, pottery. *E. A. S.* i. 77.

SIBLE HEDINGHAM, Mirror of mixed metal, very brittle. *Arch. Journ.*, xx. 181.

STANWAY, Villa (vide Gosback), Pottery. *Arch. Assoc.*, ii. 45. iv. 391.

STRATFORD, Globular Amphora containing small urn with calcined bones, leaden coffin. *Arch.* xxxi. 308; *Arch. Journ.* vi. 76, x. 7.

STURMERE (Ford Meadow), Urn containing gold and silver coins of Julian, Valentinian the Elder, Gratian, Magnus Maximus, Arcadius, Honorius; brass vessels. *Museum Saffron Walden.*

THAXTED (on the dairy farm), Gold Pennannular ring of crescent form, weight 240 grains. *Arch. Journ.*, vi. 57. [Compare with one described in Sir R. C. Hoare's *Ancient Wiltshire*, i. 201, pl. xxv.]

THEYDON MOUNT (Ad Montem), Sepulchral relics, urns containing human bones. *N. and Q.*, 4th ser., v. 357.

TILBURY WEST, Pateræ with potters' marks, small Samian bowl inscribed DACMA, Cinerary Urns and Pottery adjacent to the Roman ferry. Dene Holes or Caves for extracting chalk of the finer kind for use of silversmiths, &c.,

and agricultural purposes. *Arch. Journ.* xxix. 187, 274 ; *Coll. Ant.* vi. 244 ; Pliny. *Nat. Hist.* lib. xvii. 8 ; *Rom. Lond.* 103.

TOLLESHUNT DARCY, Urns near the New House or White House Farm. *Morant*, i. 399.

TOLLESHUNT KNIGHTS, Pavements near to the Manor House of Barnewalden. *Morant*, i. 399.

TOPPESFIELD, near to Bradfield Farm, Coins, Pateræ, Samian Ware. *Arch.* xiv. 24-26 ; *Assoc. Journ.* iii. 318.

TOTHAM (Little), Gold Ring inscribed. *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, N.S., v. 217.

WAKERING (Great), Coin of Carausius, Samian Ware, Urns. *E.A.S.* ii. 279.

WALTHAM, Coins. *E.A.S.* ii. 54.

WALTHAM (Little), see Roads.

WANSTEAD, Coins, Pottery, Tessellated Pavements. *Morant*, i. 28.

WENDEN, Furnaces for smelting purposes. *See* Audley End, Elmdon.

WHITE NOTLEY, Cinerary urns, bones, &c. *E. A. S.* ii. 240.

WITHAM (Terling Place), Gold rings, elaborate ornamentation, vases with other pottery, gold, silver, and bronze coins, ranging from Valerian to Honorius, shield and swords, one of the latter inscribed. *Arch.* iii. 162.

WIXOE (Ensford Field), Coins of Nero and Constans. *Arch.* xiv. 71.

WORMINGFIELD, Cemetery, Urns in hundreds. Salmon's *Survey*.

ROADS radiating from London. One from Stratford skirting the Thames valley, identified by the names Great Cold Harbour[10] and Little Cold Harbour near Aveling. It crossed one from East Tilbury and Higham Causey in Kent, went on through Thundersley and Hadleigh to South End, and probably to Shoebury. From here a way led across the sands to Foulness, where numerous remains have been discovered. The road from East Tilbury ferry joined the London road, passing through Billericay where indications are present of an important station. Another way still fairly straight leaves this Thames road at Hadleigh and proceeds through Rayleigh where remains have been identified. Hull Bridge is now a ford, but there are still the remains of piers in the river having timber uprights or their remains in them, the stone piers standing on wooden platforms, just as in the bridge discovered in the Trent some three years ago. Crossing the river and going north, where the raised road is called the Causeway, we come in a straight line or nearly so to Danbury—many antiquities have been found there—thence to the London road at Toppingho Hall; this way is open to further exploration. There does not appear to be any indications of a road or way from Othona except across the marshes. Leaving Stratford, the London road runs through the county to Colchester and Stratford in Suffolk (*ad ansam* of the ninth iter). Near to Chelmsford a branch went off to Braintree giving another at Little Waltham to Dunmow: here these branches both crossed Stane Street, the one through Braintree clearly going on through Gosfield to Hedingham and possibly Sudbury. The road to Haverhill from Colchester was crossed somewhere near Castle Hedingham, but this Haverhill road has not yet been traced between Ford Street and Yeldham. The next road from Stratford went through Epping, Latton, Bishop Stortford between these places in Hertfordshire. Portions of the road from Quendon Newport to Chesterton, are undoubtedly Roman. At Epping it sent off a branch through W. Weald, Cole harbour and Ongar to Writtle or Chelmsford. At Ongar this branch probably sent off another to Dunmow and a continuance of this branch southward through Chigwell to Stratford is also probably Roman ; it was by this route St. Edmunds' body was conveyed to Bury St. Edmunds on the occasion of stopping at the wooden Church of Greenstead. From Dunmow through Thaxted to Saffron Walden is a very distinct Roman way, the portion from "Green Harbour" (cold harbour) to Thaxted being a raised causey with ditch. This road running along the crest of the Chelmer valley is most distinctly Roman. Upon the Ordnance map another road may be identified ; it passes through Hempstead marked "High Street," a name sufficiently indicative of its origin. There are

[10] A term applied to Roman situations as is "Hunger." It is sometimes in the form of Cole, prefixed to *borough, hill, green, town, oak, ridge*, and other terms. It is often applied to *ridge*, a Roman road, as to *harbour*, a camp, or castle. On the much disputed etymology of this term, *see N. & Q.* i. 60, ii. 159, 340, vi. 455, xii. 293.

in addition traces of an ancient way through Strethall, but as yet this locality has not been thoroughly explored.

ROADS radiating from Colchester, Balkerne Hill, Lexden Park, Stanway Church and Bridge on past Stane Street, Marks Tey to Bishop Stortford through Dunmow. Horkesley Causey a direct way running through Elmstead Market to Harwich. Peet Hall and Peet Tye. *Assoc. Journ.* iii. 317, 323; *E. A. S.* N.S. iii. 123; Antonine Iters to and from, *E. A. S.*, xix 275, 285, 325.

JOHN E. PRICE.

NOTES ON CUP-MARKED STONES, OLD BURYING-GROUNDS, AND CURING OR CHARM STONE, NEAR ST. FILLANS, PERTHSHIRE.

I EXPECTED the district of St. Fillans to be rich in cup-marked stones but was disappointed, as any which may have been on the low grounds were no doubt utilised for building purposes, when the present village was formed about seventy years ago,and,as I have usually found elsewhere, the old people had never seen or heard of such things as cup-marks. Being in Comrie, however, for a day, a local antiquary there directed me to a stone with cups, on the hill above the mansion-house of Dunira; and on going to the spot, about a hundred yards east of the shepherd's house at Drumnakill, I came upon a group of seven stones, none of them standing. They may at one time have formed an enclosure of some kind. On the stone second from the eastmost of the group there are eleven beautifully formed cups, varying from 2¼ to 4 inches in diameter and from half-an-inch to an inch in depth. They are the deepest and best formed cups I have yet met on one stone. The stone in this case is a large water worn block of coarse whinstone, 5 feet 9 inches long, 5 feet broad, and 3 feet above ground, pointing eastwards. The cups are grouped in an oblong form—the largest cup, 4 inches in diameter, being in the centre, and the extreme length of the group of cups is two feet four inches.

West from the group of stones and nearer to the cottage, there is a raised enclosure 25 to 30 feet in diameter, with a turf-covered wall or rampart three or four feet high surrounding it, which in former times was used as a burying-ground for unbaptised infants,

and no doubt gave the name of "Druim na Cille" (the ridge of the burying-ground) to the place. It is within living memory that a burial took place here, and the tradition is that people came from long distances, such as Loch Tayside, Glendochart, Balquhidder and Strathyre, to bury the "wee unchristened bairns." These burial-places are common in the southwest of Ireland and are called *Kills* and *Killeens*, but in Scotland we have been in the habit of associating the word *Kil* or *Cille* with a cell or chapel. There is no evidence to mark that there has been any such near this spot, so that the conclusion is that the term *Kil* in Scotland may also have been applied to a burying-ground as it is in Ireland.

About a mile south of the bridge over the Earn at Comrie, on the moor of Dalginross, and on the left side of the road going to Glenartney and Braco, there is a well-known standing stone, popularly named after Samson. It is one of a group of three. The other two are lying to the east, and on the upper side of the eastmost one, there are twenty-six cup marks. The stone is partly buried, and slants upwards from west to east where it reaches 18 inches above ground. It is of a coarse granitic rock, with masses of quartz at the east end, and has a thin vein of quartz running across it from north to south. The stone is a travelled boulder, 5 feet 3 inches long by 4 feet broad, and by exposure to the weather and passers by, the cups are very shallow but perfectly distinguishable as artificial. They vary in size from about two to three inches in diameter.

About five hundred yards southwest from the farmhouse of Kindrochet, on the south side of the Earn, and about two miles from St. Fillans, there is a disused burying-ground of an oblong form, enclosed in a rough way, with several large trees standing in it. This is duly marked on the Ordnance map but without any name. It is simply known as "The Old Burying-ground at Kindrochet." There are a few rude head-stones still remaining upright. The enclosure is sixty-five paces in length by thirty paces broad, and more than one tomb or cist is exposed, bearing evidence of having been opened, one especially, formed of two large flags of unhewn stones for the sides and two for the ends. It measures five feet long inside by two feet three inches broad, and the large stone 6 feet long which formed the cover lies at the side. This grave is of the same construction as those in two ancient burying-grounds, of the Pagan period, at Pitreavie.

I regret to say that the ancient burying-place has been for a long time a receptacle for the stones and rubbish gathered from the

adjoining fields, and unless steps are taken to prevent the vandalism and desecration, all trace of the place, and that at no distant date, will be obliterated.

A chapel might have stood at one time within the enclosure but it is difficult in its present condition to trace any foundations, and tradition as well as "place names" are silent on the subject.

Curing Stone.

An oval water-worn stone of white quartz which was used as a charm to resist the evil eye, was kept over the lintel of the byre door at the small croft of Cachladhu, a mile east from St. Fillans on the south side of the Earn. The croft was merged in the adjoining farm some twenty years ago and the buildings were cleared away. The charm stone had been in the family for generations and was supposed to protect cattle from all kinds of trouble. Other appliances had in addition to be resorted to when a cow was ill. She had to be supplied with water from a stream that was commonly crossed by "the living and the dead," and two or three pieces of silver money along with the stone were placed in the coggie. The water was taken from the burn or river, usually under a bridge, "in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" and then given to the cow which sometimes recovered and sometimes did not, but faith in the stone was never lost. I was told that it is still the custom in the district to place a branch of the mountain ash or rowan tree over the byre doors to keep the cattle free of disease.

James Mackintosh Gow.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DERIVATION OF PLACE-NAMES.

[*Ante*, Vol. i. pp. 430-434.]

THE mischief wrought by Edmunds' *Traces of History in the Names of Places* is, according to my experience, slight in comparison with that for which Dr. Taylor's *Words and Places* is responsible. It is not surprising that unsystematic workers at local etymology should have unquestioning faith in this work. They cannot fail to be impressed by the great literary position of its versatile author, and when they find exhaustive lists

of books in English and other languages at the end of each chapter, they are bound to conclude that the work is scientific and trustworthy. This conclusion will be strengthened when they read in the preface that the book "has already been adopted by many teachers, and is prescribed as a text book in the Cambridge Higher Examinations for Women." Yet the book abounds in the grossest philological errors and in blunders that a little care would have obviated. I have here collected a few examples in the hope that they will warn local antiquaries of the uncritical character of the book. That there is need of such a warning is proved by the fact that so eminent an antiquary as Dr. Cox speaks of this as an "inimitable" work (above page 159).[1]

After laying down the wise principle at p. 312 that "the earliest documentary form of the name must be ascertained" before speculating upon the derivation of a local name, it is somewhat startling to find this principle constantly ignored by the author himself. A slight search for the earliest documentary form of *Saltaire* would have led to the discovery that this name is only a few years old and that it is compounded of its founder's name and that of the river upon which it stands. This would have prevented the derivation of *aire* from the O. Norse *eyjar* "islands"—which is, moreover, condemned by the fact that Norse words in English local names are declined as English words, not as Old Norse.

We are twice told (pp. 142, 170, note 1) that *Hertford* is derived from the Welsh *rhyd*, a "ford." A glance at the English Chronicles proves that the name is derived from *heorut*, the O. E. form of *hart*. At p. 202 *Lichfield* is derived from O. E. *lic*, "corpse." The early forms (*Lyccid-felth*, etc.), which might have been easily discovered, wholly forbid any such derivation. If his search after the early forms of the name *Rendlesham* had led Dr. Taylor only so far as Beda's great work, he would have found that this name is derived from the personal name *Rendel*, and not from *Rǽd-weald* (p. 211). It is easily discovered that the early forms of *Worcester* are *Wigeran-ceaster*, *Wiogeran-*, etc., which plainly preclude the derivation from **Hwic-wara-ceaster* (pp. 46, 49). As the *people* of Worcestershire were called *Hwiccii*, they cannot have been called *Hwic-waru*, which would mean "inhabitants of the Hwiccii." No evidence is adduced of the existence of any such impossible compound. Again, the early forms of *Shotover* forbid the derivation from *Château Vert*, as is pointed out by Mr. James Parker in his *Early History of Oxford*.[2] The name is purely English, representing an O. E. **æt Scottes ófre*.

Dr. Taylor would do a service if he would give an authority for any

[1] Dr. Cox would do a real service to local history if he would, in the next edition of *How to write the History of a Parish*, strike out the works on local etymology therein cited, state that there is no scientific treatise on this subject in the English language, and advise the incipient local historian to forswear etymology, or to restrict the etymological portion of his work to collecting the early forms of the name of his parish. It is high time that local historians surrendered the delusion that they are, by some virtue inherent in the study of local history, ready-made etymologists who need no philological training.

[2] We have here an excellent example of the evil effects of such reckless guesses as the above, which is stated in *Words and Places* as a fact ("*Château Vert* . . . has been converted into *Shotover* Hill"), in the fact that so learned a philologist as Prof. Sayce has adopted it as an illustration in his *Science of Language*.

English words that could make *Osyth* mean "water channel," and *Badecan-wylla* = "bath well" (pp. 261, 319). There is no record of any such words in the O. E. dictionaries, etc., for the simple reason that both the above are personal names (O. E. *Ós-gýth* and *Beadeca*). This failure to recognize these personal names accounts for the circumstance that local names derived from O. E. personal names are dismissed in a few lines. One would never suspect from this manual that the O. E. and Old Norse personal names are by far the most important factors in English local etymology.

Contradictory derivations of the same name sometimes occur. Thus, p. 48, the Isle of *Wight* is said to preserve the name of the "Goths or Jutes," whilst at p. 208 it is correctly derived from "Vectis, the Roman name of the Island." At p. 238, the termination of *Henley* is said to be *íeg*, "island," whilst at p. 322 the first stem is derived from "A.S. *hean*, poor." Thus the *l* is left unaccounted for. The suffix is, of course, *léah*. This derivation is one of several proofs of the author's slight knowledge of O.E. grammar and of the early charters. This *hean* is merely the weak dat. sing. of *héah*, "high,"—just the case we should expect to find in a local name.

To use Mr. Atkinson's words, one would think that some of the derivations given in this book "were too nonsensical and inconsistent to obtain a moderately thoughtful person's regard." One can hardly believe (p. 320) that "Brokenborough in Wilts, anciently *Broken-eber-egge*, is explained as *badger-boar*-corner"! This is merely a late form of the O.E. "æt (thǽm) brocenan beorge," at the broken hill [3] It is not easy to believe that the English termination *well* is derived from O.H.G. *wîlâri* or the French *ville* (pp. 109, 332), and that *Winchilsea* is a compound of Welsh *gwent*, O. E. *céosol*, and O. E. *íeg* = plain + gravel + island! The brilliant idea that the "Pig and Whistle" sign is a corruption of "*Pige washael*, or the Virgin's greeting," (p. 273) is worthy of a place in a museum of etymological curiosities. The author does not explain why an English innkeeper should adopt as his sign an impossible compound of Danish and old English.

But reckless as is this etymology, it is beaten in this quality by the statement at p. 269 that "the legend of the victory gained by Guy of Warwick, the Anglian champion, over the dun cow, most probably originated in a misunderstood tradition of his conquest of the *Dena gau*, or Danish settlement in the neighbourhood of Warwick." This suggestion is condemned on historical grounds; it is equally condemned on philological grounds. First, we have no proof of the use of the word *gau* in England. Secondly, this modern German form is derived from an original *gaujo* or *gawjo* (Goth. *gawi*, gen *gaujis*), which would have yielded in O. E. **géa* or **gíeg*.[4] Thirdly, even if the O. H. G. form of this word had been specially imported into Warwickshire in the 10th or 11th century, it could not have been confused with *cú*, "cow," which is a very different sound from O. H. G. *gëwi*, [5] the old nom. of *gau*.

[3] Compare an original charter in Sweet's *A.S. Reader*, xiib, 91, A.D. 944: "oth thone tóbrocenan beorge the thǽr is tóclofen," to the 'broken' hill that is there cloven. There is a Wiltshire "tó brocenan beorge" in *Cart. Sax.*, iii. 297, 28.

[4] Dr. Taylor, p. 89, says that the *gay* of *Framlingay* and *Gamlingay* is derived from this *gau*. But the *g* is not part of the suffix, which seems to be *hay*.

[5] O.H.G. *Gouwe* is a refashioning of the nom. on the analogy of the oblique cases.

The Celtic portion of the work is even worse than the Teutonic. The prevalent and persistent delusion that nineteenth century Welsh is the same tongue as it was 1800 years ago is the chief cause of this. There is no word more popular with the unscientific local etymologist than the Welsh *dŵr*, "water," and probably more absurd etymologies have been founded upon this word than upon any other. Naturally it plays a large part in *Words and Places*. Thus, p. 133, it is made to explain, besides a host of other names, the *Deruentio* of the Itinerary. I have the unquestionable authority of Prof. Rhys for the statement that this *dŵr* is purely a modern Welsh colloquialism, being a contraction of *dwfr*, the old form of which must have appeared as *dubr-* or *dobr-*,[6] as in the well known case of *Dubris*, Dover. The word is naturally preserved in English local names in its early form of *dover*, *e.g.*, the *Dover*beck, Notts, which Dr. Taylor, pp. 133, 140, wrongly calls the *Durbeck*.

I have hardly left myself any space to deal with Mr. Atkinson's note. He seems inclined to over-rate the Norse influence. At all events he regards as undeniably Norse, words that were in use in O. E. place-names before the Scandinavians arrived. For instance, *ergum*, *hergum* may just as well represent the O. E. dat. pl. *heargum* as the O. N. *hörgum*. The original meaning of this word seems to have been merely "grove," as is evidenced by the O. H. G. form *haruc*, and by the O. E. form *hearh*. As the pagan temples were in groves, this word acquired the meaning of "temple" and even that of "altar," as in O. Norse. Again, *thorpe* is not so trustworthy a test of Scandinavian settlement as the Danish advocates would have us believe. This doubt occurred to the great Norwegian historian and philologist Peder Andreas Munch. He wrote, nearly forty years ago, that "it was uncertain whether *thorpe* [in English local names] could be regarded as exclusively Norse, for it may have been of Anglian origin." In support of this he points to the frequency of the termination *dorf* in North German local names (*Norske Folks Historie*, pt. 1, i. 631). *Thorpe* is correctly given by Prof. Skeat as English. It occurs in local names in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and other counties that show little or no trace of Danish influence. Moreover, we find it in *Ægeles-threp*, one of the earliest of English local names, and, finally, *throp* is given as an equivalent of *tún* in the Epinal Glossary, the earliest English M.S., which was written long before the Danes settled here.

W. H. Stevenson.

[6] So the German river *Tauber* appears in the Ravenna geographer as *Dubra*. Whilst explaining the purely English *Appeldore* (from O. E. *apuldor*, *apuldre*, "apple-tree") as derived from this modern Welsh *dwr*, Dr. Taylor, p. 91, suggests that the purely Celtic *Dover* is really of Teutonic origin!

THE OLD GAELIC PROPHECY CONCERNING IONA.

[*Ante*, p. 49.]

Of this interesting old Gaelic Prophecy it should be known that more than one version is in circulation. In the last number of the *Archæological Review* I gave the words of the prophecy as recited to me seven-

teen years ago by a pious Highlander on the lone shores of Lake Huron. It was the version that best fitted in with the yearnings of his exiled soul He thought of the desolation of this, the chiefest of all our Celtic holy places, and in that sad desolation he saw and sorely felt the utter hopelessness of his own exile. But the old glory of the Iona of Columba would one day be restored. He saw that blessed day afar off, and in the midst of his hopeless yearning for home, he could piously rejoice in it. And this other thought had, I think, a sure place in his heart. He, and many like him, died an exile. But he died for his people; the peace, and joy, and plentiful abundance of whose new homes had already more than dawned around him.

The other versions of the old prophecy have each its own point of view, and they are all more or less enigmatical. Here, for instance, is the version commonly current in the West Highlands:—

> Hi mo chridhe, Hi, mo ghraidh,
> An aite guth Manaich bithidh geum ba;
> Ach mun tig an saoghal gu crich
> Bithidh Hi mar a bha.

In this version it is Columba himself that speaks. While Hy was yet the joy of all the land, he foresaw the desolation that saddened the heart of so many later ages. But the hope of restoration palters with us, if not in a double, yet still in a doubtful sense.

> " Hy of my heart, Hy of my love,
> In place of monk's voice shall be lowing of kine;
> But ere the world comes to an end
> *Hy shall be as it was* "—

shall be as it *was*, not as it *is*. Does that mean that Hy shall revert to its old, pre-Columban, heathen desolation? There lie the crux and mystery of the prophecy, if taken as from the lips of the old Gaelic saint. Of this bitter element of doubtful disputation my fellow-traveller, in the old forest primeval, knew nothing. He spake for himself, out of his own heart, as he prophesied that this desolate and sorely wounded Iona, which we see, should again be the Iona of Columba in his best and its holiest days.

DONALD MASSON.

Edinburgh, September 11, 1888.

INDEX NOTES.

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Literature.

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CELTIC MYTH AND SAGA—A SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE.

THE HIBBERT LECTURES ON THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF RELIGION as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom, by JOHN RHYS, Professor of Celtic in the University of Oxford. 8vo, 1888, viii. 808 pages.

KELTISCHE STUDIEN. 5. Ueber den compilatorischen character der irischen sagentexte im sogenannten Lebor na hUidhre von H. Zimmer. 8vo. 1887, iv. 689 pp. (Zeitschrift für Vgl. Sprachforschung. xxviii., 5 and 6.)

REVUE CELTIQUE. Vol. IX. Nos. 1-3.

THE HERO TALES OF THE GAEL. Nos. 1-6. *Celtic Magazine.*

THE study of all that relates to the life-history of the Celtic races has been revolutionised within the last 30 years. From the moment that Zeuss' great work laid a firm basis for philological research, the examination of Celtic speech has progressed steadily and rapidly, with the result that the main outlines of its phonetic and syntactic development have been definitely traced. Much of the lumber of the older Celtologists has been discarded for ever, and a generation of scholars has been trained capable of utilising to the full, and in the most scientific spirit, the rich remains of Celtic antiquity. The publication of material has gone on *pari passu* with the perfecting of philological criticism. The heroic age of Celtic research, the age of the editors of the Myvyrian Archæology in Wales, of O'Donovan and O'Curry in Ireland, had accumulated much material, and, in the case of the Irish scholars, had produced an enormous amount of explanatory comment the value of which is not always recognised as it should be by the present generation. But their work had the defects of the pre-critical age, though this stricture applies with little force to O'Donovan, perhaps the greatest Celtic scholar whom Ireland has produced. The more recently published texts are free from all suspicion in this respect. The issue of fac-simile editions of the oldest Irish MSS.; of the critical Irish texts which

we owe in England chiefly to Mr. Whitley Stokes, in Germany to Professor Windisch and his pupils;[1] of the critical Welsh texts for which the world is indebted to the learning of Professor Rhys, and to the heroic perseverance and accuracy of Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans;[2] of the rich stores of Celtic folk-fancy collected by J. F. Campbell—provides for the student of Celtic thought and imagination matter which he can use with absolute confidence in its genuine character.

The study of Celtic craft and of Celtic history, using the word in its narrower sense, has not been slow to profit by this advance in knowledge. It is sufficient to call attention in the one department to such works as those of Miss Stokes on Irish art and archæology, in the other to Mr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland* and to Professor Rhys' *Celtic Britain*. But it is a peculiarity of much that has come down to us from the earliest Celtic antiquity that its historical is outweighed by its sociological value. It *may* be contended that its trustworthy information concerning the record of actual events is of the scantiest description; it *must* be admitted that what it tells us about the social condition of the race is extraordinarily full and varied. Yet it is this latter side of Celtic study which had of late attracted the least attention. The most comprehensive work on the subject was till lately, and in some respects still is, O'Curry's *Manners and Customs*. The author, of whom no one who values the study of Celtic antiquity should ever speak save with respect and gratitude, left his work unfinished; herein too may most plainly be seen the inevitable results of his lack of rigorous critical training. Thus it is only as a collection of materials, to be used with caution, that this work retains its value. Since O'Curry's death many texts have been published. It was time that some of the harvest should be gathered in.

One of the most important branches of the sociological history of a race is that of its religious beliefs and practices. Up to within a recent period the new Celtic scholarship had neglected this branch, with the result that when four years ago one of the ablest and best informed students of the history of religions, Professor Tiele of Leyden, wrote a handbook to the religious systems of humanity, he was obliged to leave out any reference to Celtic mythology on the ground that the preliminary work of collecting and sifting the

[1] Notably *Irische Texte mit Uebersetzungen und Wörterbuch*. Vols. I., II. i. ii. 1880-87.

[2] Diplomatic reproductions of old Welsh texts: The Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest; Photographic fac-simile of the *Black Book of Caermathen*, 1887.

materials had not yet been performed.[3] Before proceeding to discuss attempts recently made to supply this want, it may be well to see what are the sources of Celtic mythology, and to examine the different opinions held respecting their age, origin, and nature.

These sources may be grouped under four heads:

(1) The testimony of Classical Antiquity, comprising
  (a) the writings of Greeks or Romans who came in contact with Celtic races,
  (b) epigraphic and archæological testimony.
(2) The testimony of the earliest Irish sagas,
(3) That of the earliest Welsh Poems, Tales, and pseudo-historic traditions,
(4) That of living folk-tradition, especially as preserved in the Highlands of Scotland.

In the first class the testimony noted under sub-heading *b*, is necessarily the most valuable. It has only been digested and put into shape for the student in comparatively late years; much indeed has come to light quite recently, and large additions to our knowledge may be looked for with confidence. It is on the almost exclusive testimony of this first class that Mons. Henri Gaidoz, the founder, and for many years the director of the *Revue Celtique*, has based his excellent studies on Gaulish religion.[4] It is from this class also that Professor Rhys draws the materials for his chapter on the Gaulish Pantheon, that one of the Lectures which is most likely to command the undivided assent of other Celtic scholars.

The second class of sources, the fullest of the old ones and in many respects the most important of all, has been used by Mons. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, the present director of the *Revue Celtique*, as the basis of a work to which frequent reference will be made in the course of this article, *Le cycle mythologique Irlandais et la mythologie Celtique*.[5] In regard to this and to the next class of sources, questions arise of the utmost complexity and perplexity, questions which involve moreover the fundamental problems of comparative sociology, under which term are comprehended the studies of myth, cult, custom, and fancy whether plastic or literary. Let us first consider the third class of testimony noted above.

The Welsh evidence is contained in Poems extant in MSS. of the

[3] The second edition of the French translation, by M. Maurice Vernes, is dated 1885. Mr. A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, likewise declines the discussion of "Celtic Developments" (p. viii.).

[4] *Esquisse de la religion des Gaulois*, 1879; *La religion Gauloise et le gui de chêne*, 1881. cf. also Macbain *Celtic Mythology*, 1885.

[5] Paris, 1884. Cf. my review *Folk-Lore Journal*, June, 1884.

12th-13th centuries but traditionally ascribed for the most part to the 6th-7th centuries; in Tales extant in 13th and 14th century MSS., concerning whose date and origin tradition is silent; in the pseudo-history of Geoffrey and those Norman-French and Welsh versions of his chronicle which may be conveniently classed together as the Bruts; and in the Triadic literature, traditionally connected with remote antiquity, but demonstrably belonging largely to the late Middle Ages. The tradition as to the Poems is shown to be false in part by the fact that many of them refer to events of the 10th-12th centuries. Up to the present the test of philological criticism has not been applied to this literature, so that works which present linguistic, metrical and stylistic phenomena of the same nature are yet assigned to periods of time differing one from the other to the extent of hundreds of years. Historical criticism has been the only touchstone used; the most ingenious and far-reaching mode in which it has been applied is seen in the theory independently originated by Mr. Skene[6] and Mr. Stuart Glennie,[7] but chiefly elaborated by the former. This theory looks upon many of the early Welsh poems as genuine battle-chants or ballads written during or shortly after the struggles they describe or commemorate, the struggles of the Celtic inhabitants of southern Scotland and northern England against the Teutonic invaders throughout the 6th and 7th centuries. When the British Kingdoms of Strathclyde and Cumbria finally disappeared, these poems found a refuge in Wales, and their present obscure and fragmentary condition is largely due to their divorce from the historic conditions which gave rise to them. For Mr. Skene, the most eminent representative of this theory, the Welsh Tales are the outcome of a much later and more purely romantic impulse; indeed the theory may be said to postulate the actual-historic or the romantic-fanciful character of the largest part of the Welsh sources, rendering them in either case an unfit basis for mythological speculation. Though Mr. Skene's opinions have won a large measure of acceptance, the consensus of non-Celtic scholars has on the whole been that in the absence of texts, critically constructed and explained, the subject-matter is too obscure to admit of profitable treatment, let alone to allow of hypotheses possessing claims to finality. Almost as much uncertainty prevails as to the traditions handed down by Geoffrey. These evidently stand in a definite relation to Nennius,[8] as well as to the tradition preserved by the

[6] *Introduction to the Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols., 1868.
[7] *Arthurian Localities* (Merlin, E.E.T.S. vol. iii. 1869.)
[8] The fullest discussion is to be found in "*L'Historia Britonum attribuée à*

Triads, and to the scanty hints afforded by the Poems and Tales; little light has, however, as yet been thrown upon these points. The present writer believes he was the first to essay fixing a date for some of the Tales by a critical examination of the subject matter.[9]

In these circumstances, results based upon Welsh evidence may be deemed altogether illusory, and the determination of the true nature and relation one to another of these classes of tradition may be held the first requisite in this field of study. The same opinion with regard to the Irish evidence would also be justified. But this is so infinitely richer, and the traditions respecting it are so much more precise, that it has compelled an attention denied to Welsh literature. The problems connected with it, though essentially of the same order as those suggested by the latter, are far more complex, whilst the better preservation of the subject matter makes research more fruit ful.

Irish heroic tradition falls into three great and well defined cycles:

(1) that dealing with the pre-Christian invasions of Ireland, and the history of the island down to a period shortly preceding the Christian Era;

(2) that dealing with the exploits of a group of chiefs and warriors whose age may be roughly stated as contemporary with that of Christ. The most prominent personages are Ulstermen, notably the Ulster chief Conchobor, and the Ulster braves, Fergus, the sons of Uisnach, and, above all, Cuchullain, the Celtic Achilles or Siegfried. This cycle may conveniently be distinguished as the Ultonian cycle;

(3) that dealing with the exploits of a high king of Ireland, Cormac mac Art, said to have lived in the third century A.D., and of a band of braves who flourished throughout his reign under the headship of Find mac Cumhail. This is the Fenian or Ossianic cycle.

There are, furthermore, a number of historic tales relating to events ascribed by the annals to the 3rd-9th centuries, tales in which supernatural personages often appear, who figure in the first cycle as historical pre-Christian kings of Ireland.

The MS. authority is the same for the first two classes, partly the same for the later historic tales, and, to a less extent, for the third class.

Nennius et l'Historia Britannica avant Geoffroi de Monmouth, par Arth. de la Borderie, Paris, 1883. cf. *Y. Cymmrodor*, vi. 227, vii. 155.

[9] "Mabinogion Studies, I. Branwen the Daughter of Llyr" in *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. v.

The oldest Irish MSS. are mostly of an encyclopedic nature, the nearest analogue to which may be found in such Icelandic MS. compilations as Flateyjarbok. Foremost among them are the two great vellums, the Leabhar na h-Uidhre (LU) written down at the end of the 11th century, and the Book of Leinster (LL) written down in the middle of the 12th century. All these encyclopedic MSS. describe themselves as compilations from older MSS. The first two cycles of heroic tradition are found almost entire in LU and LL, the third cycle on the other hand is scantily represented. The annalistic activity of Ireland which can be dated back with certainty to the 11th century (Tighernach the greatest of the early Irish annalists died in 1088), presents, as a rule, both the pre-Christian and the Ultonian cycles as genuine history. Tighernach alone raises doubts as to the historic nature of the record prior to the year 289 B.C., to which he assigns the foundation of Emania by Cimbaoth. On the whole, modern scholars have followed him and have looked upon the earlier annals as fabulous. One reason perhaps is simply modern distrust of anything that pretends to a remote antiquity. But this view has been determined chiefly by the fact that the existing texts enable us to trace the formation of the annals in their present shape. We can note the progress of the euhemerising process in the poems of Eochaid hua Flainn, who died in 984, and in those of Flainn Manistrech and Gilla Coemain, Irish translator of Nennius, who died in 1056 and 1072 respectively, until it culminates in the Leabhar Gabhala or Book of Invasions, and we know that it was mainly the work of Flainn Manistrech who had the reputation in his day of being the most learned of native historical and antiquarian scholars. His attention was largely directed to chronology, and the elaborate synchronism of the Irish annals with the events of sacred and profane history is due to him more than to any other man. The non-historic character of these annals is fairly transparent, and but little objection has been raised to the way in which Mons. d'Arbois de Jubainville has resolved them into their mythologic elements. It is otherwise with the Ultonian cycle. Here the record is so full, precise, detailed, and hangs together with so much coherency that at first blush it seems impossible to take it for other than what it professes to be, an account of persons that have actually lived and of events that actually took place. The acceptance of this portion of the native annals by Tighernach, who had proved his independent and critical spirit by the rejection of the earlier portion, has also told in its favour. At anyrate four of the scholars best qualified to express an

opinion, Professors Windisch, Zimmer, Kuno Meyer, and Mr. Hennessy, have declared unhesitatingly in favour of the substantial accuracy of these sagas. They hold that a real High-King of Ireland, Connaire Mor, a contemporary of Julius Cæsar, was slain by oversea pirates as is told in the tale of Bruden da Derga; that Conchobor did dispossess his uncle Fergus of the chieftaincy of Ulster, slew treacherously the sons of Uisnach, and had to sustain a war against the whole of Ireland headed by Aillil and Medbh of Connaught, who were helped by Fergus and other Ulster exiles, in which war Cuchullain took a prominent part, as is told in the tales of the Fate of the Sons of Uisnach and in the Táin bó Cuailgne or the Raid for the Kine of Cooley; and that the many other tales relating to Cuchullain and his compeers which have come down to us contain a reflex of actual fact. In answer to which it may be pointed out that the testimony of Tighernach merely goes to show that the euhemerising process was applied to the god-tales of the race at a much later date than to the hero-tales, a fact which could easily be parallelled from the mythology of other races; moreover that the present annals run on without a break so that it is impossible to lay the finger upon any set of events prior to the fourth century A.D., and say "here fable ceases, here history begins." The partisans of the historic credibility of the Ultonian cycle look, as a rule, with an unfavourable eye upon the Ossianic sagas. The larger part of these are found in MSS. much later than those which contain the Ultonian cycle, and it is contended that they are mainly the product of late romantic fancy working frequently upon themes and situations borrowed from the older heroic tales.[10]

Criticism has been applied to the pre-Christian annals with the result of discrediting them as history, whilst restoring to them a far more important place among the mind-products of the race as material for the national mythology. Criticism is also being applied to the way in which the heroic tales have come down to us. This must be examined to see if light is thrown upon the position taken up by most Celtic scholars with respect to the two great cycles of Irish heroic tradition. Professor Zimmer's study, the title of which appears at the head of this article, is the most important contribution yet made to this branch of Irish scholarship. It is worth the close attention of everyone interested in Celtic antiquity, were it merely that it contains detailed summaries of all the more important sagas,

[10] See more particularly Prof. Windisch's "L'ancienne légende Irlandaise et les poésies Ossianiques." *Rev. Celt.* v. 70. and Prof. Kuno Meyer's *Introduction to Cath Finntraga*, 1885.

Bruden da Derga, the Táin bó Cuailgne, the Conception of Cuchullain, the Wooing of Etain, the Sick-Bed of Cuchullain (which tells how the hero was wooed by the Queen of Faëry, etc.) These summaries should be read by anyone desirous of forming an unprejudiced opinion about the historic nature of these tales, and also of appreciating that kinship of tone and feeling between the Irish sagas and the mediæval Arthurian romance which the present writer has insisted on elsewhere.[11]

The special object of Professor Zimmer's inquiry is the nature and immediate origin of that version of the Irish sagas found in the Leabhar na h-Uidhre or LU. An analysis, minute and exhaustive, such as German scholars have the secret of, reveals the following interesting facts. LU always presupposes two if not more accounts; it does not simply juxtapose, but essays to fuse these into one, an attempt, luckily for us, carried out with little skill and less care. One of the versions thus used by LU is closely akin to that which the copyist of the book of Leinster or LL had before him, but it can nevertheless be asserted that the portions common to these two MSS. are not derived from the same immediate source. MSS. of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, which present the same version as LL, are shown not to be copied from that MS., but to be closer to the hypothetical source from which LU derived its LL version. LL and the younger MSS. akin to it frequently present the story in a purer, more genuine form than that found in LU. LL itself shows traces of having embodied varying redactions of the legends into its version. The compiler of LU edited as well as harmonised the earlier accounts he had before him. He interpolates scraps of antiquarian information; he glosses archaic words, thereby proving in many instances that he did not clearly understand the text he was dealing with; he inserts stage directions, so to say. This editorial matter was frequently foisted by copyists into the text, giving rise to instructive corruptions. By a comparison of the passages in which LU mentions its authorities and of numerous hints scattered throughout the MS., Professor Zimmer makes it well nigh certain that the compiler in question was not the scribe of the present MS., Moelmuire (slain in 1106, "on the floor of the cathedral of Clonmacnoise by a robber band"), the last representative of a family of clerics and scholars which flourished at Armagh and Clonmacnoise throughout the 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, but was no other than Flainn Manistrech himself, who died, as we have seen, in 1056. Thus not only LU and LL, but a whole series of much later MSS. are carried

[11] *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1888, ch. x.

back to the beginning of the eleventh century, if not to an earlier period,[12] and the principal sagas are shown to have been extant at that date in redactions varying greatly one from the other. The approximate date of composition of the longest and most important of these sagas, the Táin bó Cuailgne, in a shape agreeing substantially with that derived from comparison of the extant versions among themselves, can be determined with some degree of certainty. A late mediæval legend tells how the great epic had died out of the memory of the story-tellers of Ireland, so that not one *Ollamh* was found able to repeat it, and how Fergus, the Ulster hero who fled to Connaught and shared in the invasion of his land, was raised from the dead at the intercession of the saints of Ireland to dictate the tale. Professor Zimmer traces this legend back to the ninth century, but shows that in its earlier form it was entirely pagan, and that its object was to account for a tradition which connected the Táin with Senchan Torpeist, a bard of the early seventh century. On philological grounds, Professor Zimmer sees no reason to doubt this tradition. Every time the story was copied and rearranged, the phonetic and grammatical forms of the day were introduced, but there still remains much belonging to the oldest stratum of the language,[13] as is evidenced by the fact that the greatest Irish scholar of the eleventh century not unfrequently misunderstood his texts.

As an instance of the way in which this analysis of the texts bears upon the question of their nature—whether historic or mythological—the tale entitled the "Conception of Cuchullain" may be cited. This is extant in three versions, one in LU, one in a fifteenth century MS. agreeing with LU as far as the latter goes but fuller and a second fifteenth century one. The story tells how the god Lug carried off Deichtire, sister to Conchobor, and became by her father of Cuchullain in a similar way to that in which Zeus fathered Metis, or Gwion, Taliessin. The fifteenth century version, which differs from LU, presents the facts in a fuller and more coherent form, and with far greater insistence on the supernatural element. In com-

[12] One of the MSS. used by Flainn was the "small book of Monasterboice," and it is pathetically recorded "a student took it with him oversea; not a trace of it ever was found."

[13] These archaic survivals are chiefly found in the long descriptions of the hero's dress and accoutrement, and in the set formulas in which the single combats are related. The same phenomenon obtains to the present day in the Highlands. All the best story-tellers introduce passages of measured prose or verse, "runs," as Mr. Campbell calls them, which are frequently quite unintelligible to the narrators themselves, and which belong to a period of the language hundreds of years older than their ordinary speech. The characteristics of Celtic story-telling are the same to-day in Gaelic Scotland as they were 1200 years ago in Gaelic Ireland.

parison with it the LU account may be called rational. But there are traces in LU, and still more in the fifteenth century form tallying with it, which show that the other, let us for argument sake say more archaic, account was known to its compiler, who obviously preferred the version which had the most historic aspect, but was unable to eliminate all vestiges of the older, more mythic form.[14]

We thus see that the great body of Irish saga literature belonging to the Ultonian cycle dates, in its present shape, back to the tenth century, that there is a MS. tradition for part of it reaching back to the seventh century, that different forms of the same saga can be distinguished as far back as we have the means of tracing, and that these sagas have been subjected to the same harmonising, not to say euhemerising process as the earlier annals, the same mediæval scholar being prominent in the one as in the other case.

We are denied, save to a very inconsiderable extent,[15] one means of testing the real nature of the Ulster Sagas, that of viewing them in living folk-tradition. Whether or no it be held a proof that the Ossianic cycle is more or less historical than the Ultonian, it is certain that it has lived on tenaciously in the folk-mind down to the present day. Comparatively little attention has as yet been given to the comparison and analysis of the texts of this cycle, their almost entire absence from the oldest MSS. and the *a priori* views held as to their origin being the cause of this neglect. But by one, and that a most instructive instance, we can tell that this cycle has gone through, at as early a period as the other, the same euhemerising process. A 15th century tale, the Boyish Exploits of Finn MacCumhail, presents him as a hero of adventures analogous to those of Cyrus, of Perseus, of Romulus, of Siegfried, and of some twenty other Aryan heroes. This same tale is yet told by Highland peasants.[16] It is also found in LU divested of supernatural accessories and presented as a sober matter of fact chronicle. Which is the more probable—that the 10th century version is genuine history and has been turned into a romantic tale on all fours with the above quoted hero-legends, and this by an Irishman who probably never heard of these latter, and certainly knew nothing of them beyond the names of the heroes; or

[14] This story has been analysed by Mons. L. Duvau, *Rev. Celt.* ix. I., as well as by Prof. Zimmer.

[15] What there is has been brought together by Mr. MacBain in the *Celtic Magazine*, under the heading "Hero Tales of the Gael." By far the most interesting remnants of the Ultonian cycle in living folk-tradition are the version of Deirdre (the Fate of the Sons of Usnech) noted in the Highlands 20 years ago, and the popular version of Táin bó Cuailgne, noted some 30 years ago.

[16] *Oss. Soc. Transact.* iv. 289. The living folk-versions are Campbell, lxxiv., "The Great Fool," and lxxxii., "How the Een was set up."

that it is the rationalised, euhemerised form of a current tradition which was not noted in its popular shape until some centuries later? Put in this way the question admits of but one answer.[17] It so happens, however, that this tale involves a considerable portion of the Ossianic saga which is thus seen to have been extant in a popular form not later than the 10th century, and to have been euhemerised not later than the 11th century. The fact, moreover, that much of this cycle portrays the struggle of the Celts with Norse invaders and cannot have assumed its present shape before the 8th-9th centuries, may prove its lateness as compared with the Ultonian cycle but in no way proves its dependence upon the latter, or the third century historical character of its heroes.

It was pardonable before the rise of the comparative method in mythological study for Irish antiquaries to hold fast by the historic character of their heroic literature. Such a view can hardly be justified at the present day. Reference to Greek mythology shows that the very same incidents or incident-groups may and do figure in different strains of tribal tradition, although only connected in the original tribal unity. Comparison of the Celtic Heldensage with that of all Aryan and many non-Aryan races, shows that it is largely made up of similar scenes and situations, which again are closely allied to scenes and situations found on the one hand in god-tales, on the other in folk-tales all the world over, and that a common element can be disengaged from all such tales the marked characteristic of which is the supernatural. Even if this latter were not the case, it would still be absurd to urge that heroes always do the same things and possess the same attributes—human life even in its most unsophisticated stage is of a richer and more varied texture than a hero-tale—and when it is seen that these invariable feats and attributes are supernatural in their essence, the conclusion is obvious. The similarity in question does not arise from these tales being everywhere the reflex of historic events which were everywhere alike, but from their being products of the human mind in a definite stage of culture through which most races have passsed, and which may be called for convenience sake the mythic stage. That these tales are hero-tales, not god- or folk-tales, is due to the influence exerted upon them by actual historic facts, and it is always legitimate to attempt to ascertain the extent and scope of such influence. But the real interest of these tales lies elsewhere—in their testimony concerning the culture-growth of the race which has

[17] Cf. for a full discussion of this point my "Aryan Expulsion and Return Formula among the Celts," *Folk-Lore Record* iv.

shaped them, in their evidence to fixed and general laws of mental development for the whole of mankind.

On *a priori* grounds the Irish hero-tales should be as mythical as those of other races, and an analysis of the forms in which we have them strengthens this assumption. What has Professor Rhys to say on this and on the kindred subjects alluded to in the foregoing pages? We must gather his opinions from his mode of using the sources, as he nowhere discusses their nature and origin. He evidently looks upon the Irish heroic cycles as mythical; he accepts the Ossianic saga as genuine tradition and not as second-hand romance; he treats as mythical many Welsh poems which Mr. Skene's school would declare historical; he holds the Welsh Tales to be genuine echoes of native myth; finally, he does not scruple to use much of the Triadic literature, and he detects mythical characteristics in a class of Welsh poems not hitherto spoken of, one that owing to its well-nigh impenetrable obscurity has hitherto repelled all sober investigators, and has attracted with proportionate force the whole tribe of "bardic" and "neo-druidic" fanatics, serving them as a basis for their fantastic imaginings.

The present writer holds Professor Rhys' omission to state clearly his views concerning the sources to be the gravest defect of his work, and he expresses this conviction with the less hesitation that he is on the whole at one with Professor Rhys concerning the nature of the older Celtic literature, and that he yields to no one in admiration of the learning, ingenuity, and stimulating charm of these lectures. But it cannot be denied that Professor Rhys' views stand or fall by whatever opinion be held about the Irish and Welsh tales and poems; if these are either distorted reminiscences of actual fact or productions of the individual fancy, all Professor Rhys' hypotheses go by the board. What the latter has done is to construct a highly plausible mythologic system out of his materials and thereby to afford strong evidence of their genuine mythic character. But adversaries of mythologic interpretation are hardly likely to disarm before a theory, however telling and ingenious, the basis of which, according to other eminent Celtic scholars, is radically unsound. It is thus to be feared that only those who are willing to take Professor Rhys' treatment of his materials on trust, or who have been led by independent study to similar results, will accept his hypotheses as even a working basis for future research. It is strongly to be hoped that Professor Rhys will before long repair this omission, the more so as he is perhaps the only living scholar capable of throwing light upon some of the Welsh evidence.

In his sketch of Irish mythology, Monsieur d' Arbois de Jubainville had restricted himself almost exclusively to one set of documents, the euhemerised pre-Christian annals. Thanks to this restriction, and to the French gift of clear and orderly exposition, he was able to resolve Irish mythology into a series of variations upon one theme—the struggle of the gods of light, life and learning against those of death, darkness and storm, from whom they nevertheless proceed, and whom they never entirely overcome, as the latter retain their sway in that other world to which heroes go after their death, and to which they sometimes penetrate in this life. He illustrated this theme, outside Celtic myth, chiefly from the oldest stratum of Hellenic cosmogonic belief, and the system constructed by the parallelism of these two forms of Aryan myth is coherent and rational. No such impression of plan or order can at first be gathered from Professor Rhys lectures; the range is far wider, every possible source of Celtic myth being examined and discussed. The field of parallelism with other Aryan mythical systems is proportionately widened, Norse and Vedic literature in especial being freely laid under contribution. A clue is however provided to the labyrinth in the shape of a hypothetical reconstruction of the earliest Celtic, or rather common Aryan creed in the pro-ethnic period the gist of which is as follows: [18]—All things spring from a primal pair, Heaven and Earth, who lay for ages interlocked in close embrace, till they were violently thrust asunder by their children. Heaven was mutilated, or mangled, and of his limbs the universe as we now see it was fashioned. The offspring of this first pair fall into two classes: light beings, gods; dark beings, Titans. A Titan took the leading part in the separation of Heaven and Earth, and ruled until dispossessed by the gods, headed by his youngest son; but although driven from the throne of supreme power, he still held sway in the kingdom of the dead, and over the produce of the earth. Earliest lord of the universe, he was thus the first father of the creation, animate and inanimate, and it was ever a matter of piety to reckon darkness before light, night before day, winter before summer. Meanwhile the new king had conflicts to wage in which we may see pictured forth the victories of light and warmth in the summer, their reverses in the winter. In these conflicts, he and his kin were aided by the Sun-Hero, no true god, but son of a mortal so wise and bold that he won for mankind from the gods and from the rulers of the nether-world many boons, such as the domestic animals, the strong drink that cheers and inspires man,

[18] Pages 669-674

in fact all the means of wealth and comfort. This was the Culture-Hero, who became in some lands more famous and beloved than even the king of the gods himself. This substitution of godlike mortals for earlier purely elemental gods is regarded by Professor Rhys as a sign of progress[19]. The advance of civilization as well as the course of Nature became henceforth matter for mythical speculation.

It will be seen that this hypothetical sketch tallies in many respects with that of Monsieur d'Arbois de Jubainville. Readers of Mr. Lang will not require to be told that this assumed pro-ethnic Aryan creed has parallels among well nigh all the known races of the world.[20] The novelty of Professor Rhys' views lies chiefly in his conception of the relations between the Culture-Hero and the Sun-Hero and of both to the Immortals, as well as in the theory that the worship of the former marks a distinct advance in the history of human religious belief.

These Lectures may be described in brief, as an attempt to fit into the above frame, all the scattered indications, no matter how obscure or fragmentary, that can be recovered from the literary remains of Celtic antiquity. What has been noted above as the first class of testimony to Celtic mythic belief, naturally comes first under consideration. Starting from the well-known passage of Cæsar, (vi. 17), that the Gauls worshipped Mercury above all other gods, and after him Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva, Professor Rhys identifies this Gaulish Mercury, the Ogmios of Lucian with the Irish Ogma, the god of eloquence and, according to a later legend, the inventor of writing. Of Apollo, says Cæsar, they (*i.e.* the Gauls) entertain much the same opinion as other nations, namely, that he drives away diseases, and it is indeed as a patron of medicinal springs that he is chiefly known to us from the inscriptions; among his many appellatives is one, Maponos, that permits of his equation with a personage of Welsh tradition, Mabon the son of Modron who figures in the Mabinogi of Kilhwch and Olwen. Another appellative of the god gives rise to one of the boldest and most fascinating conjectures of the work. An inscription found near Wiesbaden gives a fragment of dedication to *Apollini Toutiorigi*. This title of *Toutiorix*, king of the people, recalls the ἀρχηγέτης, κτίστης, οἰκιστής, applied to the Hellenic Apollo. Likeness of name between this Celto-Teutonic Sun-god and the historical Theodoric the Great, is conjectured to have brought about that fusion of a Sun-hero myth

19 Cf. more especially, p. 303.

20 *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, ch. vii. viii.

with the history of the Gothic emperor to which we owe the Mediæval Dietrichsaga. If this conjecture be well founded, it would be hard to find a more striking instance of the service which the studies of epigraphy and heroic tradition can render one to the other.

Cæsar's mention of the Gaulish Mars, to whom he seems to assign a more important position in the Celtic Pantheon than to any other god save Mercury, raises interesting questions. Inscriptions and other evidence are adduced to show that the war-god had originally the same supremacy among the Celtic as Zeus among the Hellenic Immortals. Thus alone can the Irish name of his consort, the war-goddess, be explained, Morrigu, the Great Queen. But by Cæsar's time he had already begun to yield in popular veneration to the departmental deities of trade and eloquence (Mercury), and of healing (Apollo); hence his position, third on Cæsar's list. None among the personages of Celtic mythic literature can be positively identified with him. The Jupiter of the Roman represents a deity akin rather to the Norse Thor than to the Hellenic Zeus, a sky god conceived of mainly as a wielder of the thunderbolt, hence the friend of the husbandman whom he aids by dispelling the blights and storm clouds that vex and harry the earth. Here again no definite personage of Celtic myth as we now have it, can be set over against this Gaulish Æsus. It is otherwise with the fifth figure of Cæsar's Pantheon, Minerva, with whom the Irish Brigit can be identified on good grounds.

Another being mentioned by Cæsar as an object of worship on the part of the Gauls, although not formally included in the list of their gods, is the Chthonian deity, Dis Pater, from whom it is recorded that the Gauls believed themselves descended. He is figured on the monuments as horned, and is paralleled most suggestively with the Norse Heimdall, the ancient god whom early genealogic myths make the ancestor of all the races of man. In the consort of this Gaulish Pluto, Professor Rhys sees the Irish Danu, Welsh Don, mother of the whole clan of the Irish Immortals, the Tuatha de Danann or Tribes of the Goddess Danu, to whom correspond in Welsh myth Gwydion and his brethren, sons of Don, the protagonists in the oldest stratum of Welsh Tales. Celtic mythology tells us nothing of Danu's husband, and but little more than the name, Beli, of Don's. In this insistence on the mother in the collective name applied to the Celtic Olympus, Professor Rhys sees a trace of primitive matriarchalism, but the fact does not imply that the insular Celts paid greater worship to the goddess than to the god

of the nether-world. Parallels to the latter are found in Bran and in Lomna, both of whom figure the deity as a wonder working or magic *head*. A light is thus thrown upon those monuments which represent the Gaulish Dis under the shape of a monstrous head.

So far the analysis of the Gaulish sources. It will be noticed how few figures in this Pantheon can be profitably equated with personages of Irish or Welsh mythic literature, and how little such equations as are fairly certain advance us. When we step out of the world of Gaulish religion into that of the insular Celts new names and new aspects of the divinities confront us. Professor Rhys lays little stress upon this point which might easily be urged against him, but which, if examined closely, bears out his general theory. The religion of the Continental Celts is known to us almost solely in a hierarchical and ritual shape, that of the islanders in an heroic shape, in which the deities, even when recognisable as such, have almost entirely lost all theologic connotation. A glance at the insular Olympus makes this evident. In Ireland this is formed by those descendants of the nether-world goddess, known collectively as the Tuatha de Danann, chief among whom are the Dagda Mor, Nuada of the Silver Hand, Ogma, Dian Cecht, Lug and Lir in the first generation, Manannan mac Lir and Oengus, son of the Dagda, in the second generation. As already stated, Welsh myth sets over against these the children of Don, Gwydion, Gilvaethwy, Amaethon, Govannon, Arianrhod, in the first generation; Lleu, son of Gwydion and Arianrhod, in the second generation. Another immortal family of Welsh myth is that of Llyr with his children Bran, Manawyddan and Branwen. The identity of Manannan and Manawyddan is evident and has far-reaching consequences. In Irish, as in Welsh tradition, the father's name is indifferently Llyr-Lludd or Lir-Alloid.[21] The form Lludd, there is every reason to believe, is equal to Nudd, the permutation of the initial consonant being due to the alliterative analogy of the epithet *Lamargentjos* (silver handed) applied to him. The Welsh Lludd (Llyr) is thus the equivalent of the Irish Nuada of the Silver Hand and his family, with that of Don, is the Brythonic counterpart of the Tuatha de Danann. The presumably older form, Nudd, is likewise known to Welsh tradition as the name of the father of beings,

[21] Prof. Rhys seems to look upon Llyr and Lludd as originally distinct (p. 562), but this view involves needless difficulties. Thus Creiddylad is sometimes daughter of Llyr, sometimes of Lludd, and a Triad makes Llyr one of the three supreme prisoners of the Isle of Britain instead of Lludd who generally occupies this position (p. 577). It seems easier to admit original identity than that the Welsh scribes were always making mistakes.

chiefly associated with the nether-world, such as Gwynn ab Nudd. Now in no one single case do any of these mythic beings come before us straightforwardly as gods, the nearest approach being in the case of some of the Tuatha de Danann, to whom such godlike attributes as immortality, invisibility at will, and power over the fate of man are given. But, as a rule, these immortals have descended from their high estate and become pre-Christian kings and warriors. If the romance of Euhemeros were our only source of information about Zeus we should have some difficulty in reconstructing his real figure.

It is in this Nuada, this Lludd, this mythic silver-handed king, that Professor Rhys seeks a representative of the Aryan sky-god whose brightest manifestation is the Hellenic Zeus. Nuada derives his epithet from the hand manufactured to replace that lost in battle against the powers of darkness, the Fomori. Even so the original Teutonic sky-god Tiu, the Norse Tyr, lost his hand, bitten off by Fenri's Wolf, and Zeus was hamstrung by Typho and healed by Hermes. Admit these equations and read the Irish and Welsh accounts together, then Nuada (Zeus) is father of Bran, who has already been compared with Dis (Pluto), and of Manannan, whose appearance throughout Irish legend stamps him as a sea-god, and we thus obtain a Celtic parallel to the Hellenic trio, Zeus, Poseidon, Pluto, with this difference that the Celtic sky-god fathers the two remaining personages of the trinity. This seems inconsistent with the position claimed for Bran as representative of Dis, and hence of the original Titan ruler of the universe banished by the sky-god, but this inconsistency is but one of many of which Professor Rhys frankly admits the existence in his reconstruction of Celtic myth.

The account of Nuada's struggle against his monstrous enemies is far less circumstantial than that of Zeus against the Titans and Giants. The Welsh record of Lludd's threefold conflict with the Coranians, the food-plundering giant, and with the demoniac steed of Malen supplements usefully the Irish evidence, and enables us to reconstruct a Celtic parallel to the Norse war of the Anses against the Wanes, against the Fenri Wolf, and finally against Swart and his hellish allies; as well as to the Hellenic sequence: the conflict of the gods of Olympus, first against the Titans, then against the Giants, and lastly against Typho. The weakness of the Nuada-Zeus parallel lies in the fact that there is no trace in Nuada-Lludd's career of any such transaction as that by which Zeus wrested the headship of the gods from his father Kronos. But Professor Rhys is far from holding Nuada to be the only Celtic representative of the Aryan sky-god;

Conchobor, the Ulster king, is such another, and he only won the kingship by dispossessing his uncle Fergus. Another Irish Zeus is Oengus the Mac Oc, son of the Dagda, who throughout Irish legend, of which he is one of the favourite personages,[22] appears as lord of a mysterious land of Cockayne, akin to those Isles of the Blest over which Saturn-Kronos reigns. This is the Brugh of the Boyne, the favourite dwelling seat of the Dagda, from which Oengus drove him by guile. This substitution has led to Oengus taking over most of his father's characteristics, so that instead of being the youthful Zeus of the Goidelic world he figures rather as the king of the dead in nether dusk. He retains however one of his sky-god attributes, a glass *grianan*, or sunbower, which he carries about with him, image of the sun, "centre of a vast expanse of light which moves with him as he hastens towards the west." This leads to a comparison with Merlin whom the Romances describe as prisoned within unseen impalpable walls, sometimes within a translucent glass tower, and whose relations to Vortigern are set over against those of Zeus to Kronos. Again there is a famous Irish story which tells how the Mac Oc was visited at night by the vision of a most beauteous maiden, for desire of whom he fell into grievous sickness from which he might not be healed until he found out and wedded the maiden. A very similar story is found in Welsh with Maxen Wledig, the historical emperor Maximus, as its hero. Professor Rhys suspects a euhemeristic substitution of Maxen for Merlin, a conjecture in favour of which he adduces a curious bit of side evidence: the Nennian genealogies make Maxen descend from Constantine the Great in defiance of history, this seems to be because Merlin Emrys is commonly represented as son of Constantine.

This Merlin-Zeus equation raises afresh the question of sources. Professor Rhys relies here to some extent upon the Norman-French Arthurian romances. Now, many competent scholars, *e.g.*, Förster, the editor of Crestien de Troies, are inclined to minimise to the utmost the Celtic element in these romances, and to treat them as part and parcel of the great romantic literature of the Middle Ages, as workings of the individual poetic fancy upon themes derived from the East or from Classic antiquity. The present writer by no means shares this view which he mentions to show what effect the acceptance of Professor Rhys' views on Celtic mythology would have on the study of mediæval romance.

Another adumbration of the Aryan sky-god is the Irish Cumall representing an original Celtic *Camulos* equivalent to the Teutonic

[22] In living folk-tradition he appears as the Slim Swarthy Champion. Cf. Campbell No. xviic, and K. v. K., *Erin*, Vol. ii., p.105.

Himmel. We know of him almost solely as the father of Finn, the pseudo-historic third century leader of the Fenian militia. Cumall, father of Finn, thus corresponds on Irish ground to Nudd, father of Gwynn on Welsh ground. The latter certainly, and Finn in part, are, despite their name signifying *white*, treated as dark divinities, although the difficulties which this raises are frankly admitted. Finn appears namely in many Irish legends as a Celtic Siegfried and as an Irish Gwion, in other words with unmistakeable solar characteristics, whereas *ex hypothesi* he is a ruler in the dark realm of faëry, and as such figures in antagonism to the fair-haired Diarmaid, the most beauteous of the Fenian heroes, a representative of the Sun Hero. Professor Rhys suspects a confusion of two Finns of incompatible characters under one name. This is a hazardous resource, and indeed Professor Rhys would be the first to allow that in this case his hypotheses are more than usually conjectural.

To return to the Celtic Zeus. He is one of the few Celtic divinities of whom we are permitted a glimpse in his ritual aspect. Cenn Cruaich, the Head of the Mound (the idol said to have been overturned by St. Patrick), and the cult of which he is known to have been the object, seem to be connected with this god, as also the rites of Druidism. The oaks sacred to Zeus are important in this connection, and Professor Rhys' claim for the sky-god that he was the especial object of Druidic Veneration seems well founded. We can thus understand his frequent appearance in Celtic myth as the greatest wizard of his race, Merlin, Oengus of the Brugh, or Math ab Mathonwy.

The traces of purely elemental divinities are, it will be seen, scanty in Celtic mythology, and it is only in the light of other Aryan mythic systems that their significance can be recognised. We are in somewhat better case with what Professor Rhys holds to be a secondary stage in the development of mythic belief, that in which the chief part is played by god-like men rather than man-like gods. Mr. Lang and mythologists of his way of thinking would certainly hold this stage to be an earlier and not a later one, and if Professor Rhys had more fully set forth his views on this point it would be of the highest importance to mythological study to determine which of the two conflicting hypotheses is the right one. At present it is not easy to see why Professor Rhys lays so much stress upon this theory of the supersession of anthropomorphic deities by deified heroes, nor what support he conceives to be afforded to it by the Celtic evidence. The most prominent repre-

sentatives of the Culture Hero and of the Sun Hero are found by him on Celtic ground in Gwydion, the son of Don, and in Lug. Now, both of these personages are as decidedly members of the Celtic Olympus as any of those to whom such a character is assigned in these lectures. If they are not of the race of Immortals it is hard to see by what criteria the latter are to be distinguished. Indeed it is only by recourse to the better preserved Hellenic mythology that the theory can be set forth. Herakles[23] who aids the Olympians in their strife against the giants was certainly conceived of as different in nature from the gods; in the complex Herakles-Myth the solar elements have long been recognised as the most important, so that Herakles may be said to be the typical Hellenic Sun Hero. But his career shows unmistakeable parallelism with that of Cuchullain, who is moreover a reincarnation of Lug, the Celtic sun-god *par excellence.* Cuchullain should then, to fully correspond to Herakles, appear as a mortal aiding immortals. At first blush there is nothing to distinguish him from the other Ulster warriors save his immensely exaggerated heroic attributes and his more obvious connection with the supernatural world. But the Ultonian Court lay under a strange disability from which alone Cuchullain and his father were free; at stated times they had to lie abed powerless to defend themselves against their enemies. Irish sagas attribute this to their being *en couvade,* or else treat it, according to a legend alluded to in these pages,[24] as the result of a curse laid upon the Ulstermen in punishment of a wicked exercise of the kingly power. Prof. Rhys treats the exemption of Cuchullain from this strange disability as evidencing a radical difference between him and the other Ulster braves. It seems rather an Irish way of characterising humanity to free it from the limitations of godhood. *Ex hypothesi* too, we should expect to find something similar in the case of Lug, of Lleu, of Diarmaid, and of the other Celtic adumbrations of the Sun Hero instanced by Professor Rhys. This is not so, and the present writer would urge that it is far simpler to look upon the myths about Herakles or Cuchullain as belonging to a later stage of development than those about Apollo or Lug, a stage in which the elemental nature of the supernatural being had been almost entirely obscured, and he had assumed more human characteristics, the most marked of which was that he was not treated as an object of worship.

[23] With Prof. Rhys' view that the cult of the Sun and Culture Heroes is an advance upon that of the elemental deities, may be compared Michelet's noble chapter on Herakles in the *Bible de l'Humanité.*

[24] *Ante,* Vol. I., p. 151.

Professor Rhys having thus established the human nature of the Sun Hero, that of his father, the Culture Hero, seems to be tacitly assumed by him. The relationship is only vouched for by Welsh Tradition which makes Lleu (the Welsh equivalent of Lug) son of Gwydion, supported also by Norse mythology, which gives Woden as father to Balder the sun god. The parallel between Gwydion, Woden and Indra, is indeed one of the most suggestive and important in the book, especially noticeable being the result that in this particular, Brythonic (Welsh) myth is far closer to Teutonic than to Goidelic (Irish) myth. The comparison with Indra, held to be a deified man, enables Professor Rhys to carry back, so to say, this semi-human nature to Gwydion. Vedic mythologists are at such hopeless variance one with another, that the present writer does not venture to express any opinion as to the soundness of this view, but he would point out that the parallel with Woden gives it little, if any support. It seems probable that the elemental features, which have lived on in the folk-conception of Woden as the leader of the Wild Hunt, are the oldest part of his complex personality.

Be this as it may, it detracts nothing from the interest of Professor Rhys' examination of the Culture-Hero legend, as set forth in the career of Gwydion, of Cairbre, of Aitherne and of numerous other personages of Celtic myth. Chief among the incidents of this legend are the winning of the domestic animals from the terrene deities, the harrying of Hades for the purpose of despoiling its lord of the magic cauldron of renovation and inspiration, the acquisition of poetic and magic craft by sufferings voluntarily undergone in the prison house of the netherworld god, also, tho' but dimly alluded to, the creation of the present race of men. One extremely significant omission from this list will be noticed at once; there is apparently no Celtic version of the Winning of Fire which in most other mythologies, Aryan and non-Aryan, is the central, often indeed the only incident of the whole culture-legend.

Equal interest attaches to the examination of the Sun-Hero myth. It is impossible within the limits of this article to do full justice to the way in which indications scattered throughout the whole range of Celtic literature are woven into a continuous strand of mythic narrative. The parallel between Lleu and Balder, as that between Gwydion and Woden, is worked out with convincing ingenuity; so long, indeed, as the argument is confined to the older cycle of the Tuatha de Danann or their Welsh congeners, little opposition is likely to be raised to Professor Rhys' views. It is when he lays " solar " hands upon such personages as Cuchullain or

Diarmaid that protest is certain to be made. Whether with reason or not, a glance at the facts of Cuchullain's career, as we gather them from the oldest texts concerning him, will show. He was a reincarnation of the god Lug, conceived by his mother as a virgin, through the swallowing of an insect in water; at the age of five he overcame all the Ultonian youths at their games in the play field; at seven he set out alone on the war-path, and returned laden with trophies; when the battle fury was upon him he became distorted, so that his calves would twist round to where his shins should be, one eye would sink deep in his head, the other would thrust itself forward, his size became gigantic, and a spark of fire stood on every hair; to cool this fury, it was necessary to plunge him successively into three baths of cold water, the first two of which would instantly boil over; he slew his enemies by fifties at the time; single handed he held all the warriors of Erin at bay, whilst the Ulstermen were *en couvade;* he was beloved of a Queen of Faëry, in bird-shape, with whom he passed a year, and from whom he was separated by the direct intervention of Manannan mac Lir, the Celtic sea god; he was brought up by an amazon whose island home could only be reached by the aid of friendly beasts and magic talismans, and on whose daughter he begot a son, whom he was afterwards to slay unawares, as Rustem slew Sohrab; he fought with and overcame the Irish war goddess, the Morrigu or great Queen; he released, Perseus-like, a maiden exposed to the powers of the deep. Take away from him adventures such as these, and the supernatural attributes by which he is enabled to perform them, and what remains?—the bald fact of his having lived and overcome a number of hostile braves and died—something of little, if any, more historical moment than the statement of the nursery tale "that once upon a time there lived a king and a queen, and they had a daughter." Quite true, but what interests us is to learn that after the queen's death the princess hid herself from her father's pursuit in disguises given her by her dead mother transformed into an animal, all of which is certainly not true. That which is of moment in the Cuchullain saga is the part which *is* not because it *can* not be true, the part in which he achieves the same supernatural feats and possesses the same supernatural attributes as heroes all the world over achieve and possess. It is simply begging the question to look upon these as later legendary accretions; on the contrary, we have already seen that Professor Zimmer's analysis of the oldest texts shows how, instead of having been amplified in a romantic sense, they have rather been harmonized and rationalised in a euheme-

ristic sense. And, be it remembered, Professor Zimmer is a believer in the historical character of the Ultonian cycle, he doubts the existence of its heroes as little as he does that of Arminius.[25]

The view that Cuchullain "is the sun but the sun as a person about whom a mass of stories have gathered, some of which probably never had any reference to the sun, and in some of which he is merely an exaggerated warrior, and a distorted man," [26] is thus in the present writer's opinion a correct one, if it be borne in mind that Cuchallain never was the sun in the same sense as Lug, *i.e.* a being, the object of a ritual cult. One of the most interesting chapters of these Lectures is that which discusses the nature of the great religious festivals of which Celtic antiquity made Lug the institutor. Foremost among these is the festival of the first of August, celebrating the defeat of the mythic beings who by blighting chills and fogs war against the farmer's crops. The Irish name of this feast Lug-nassad is explained as signifying Lug's wedding, so that in reality what was celebrated were the espousals of the sun-god and the kingdom. With this August feast of Lug, Professor Rhys connects the festival known to have been held every first of August at Lugdunum (Lyons), one of the many towns dedicated to the god. A traditional survival of this great feast may possibly be found in the *Gwyl Awst* of Wales.

The other great Celtic festival, *Samhain*, Allhallows, is likewise connected with the sun-god whose power gradually falling off since the great August feast, now finally gives way before his enemies, the powers of darkness of winter. The mythic expression of this conception is found in the death of Diarmaid, the Sun Hero of the Fenian cycle, slain by the boar through the wiles of Finn who here represents a dark divinity, at first robbed of his wife Graine by Diarmaid, and afterwards avenging himself upon the hero and winning back the faithless one to be his consort during the winter months. Welsh folk-lore again furnishes a parallel in the bonfire customs of Allhalloween, and in the allusions to the mysterious black sow whose power was then to be dreaded. To this Celtic feast an Hellenic analogue seems to exist in the Chalceia, the festival of Athene and Hephaestus, with its torchlight procession recalling the Welsh kindling of bonfires and the Irish custom of distributing fire to the hearths of Erinn at Samhain. A counterpart of the Lug-nassad may be found on Hellenic soil in the *Panathenaea*, whilst the Athenian *Thargelia* and the Delian *Delia*

[25] *Kelt. Studien*, Vol. ii. p. 189.
[26] Rhys, p. 435.

approximately coincide in date with the third great Celtic festival, that of Beltane or the first of May. There is a further coincidence of custom; both Beltane and the Thargelia were marked by human sacrifices, intended apparently to win the favour of the god, during his period of power. It is somewhat remarkable that the Sun-god Saga as reconstructed by Professor Rhys from Irish sources, contains a record of no such feat connected with Beltane as the slaying of the Python by Apollo, commemorated in the *Thargelia.* The Welsh account supplies the deficiency in a measure. The third of the three scourges from which Lludd freed the isle of Britain, was a shout raised over every hearth in the land on the eve of every first day of May, and the shout went through the hearts of men so that they lost their colour, and their strength wasted, and the fruit of women perished in their body, and all things became barren. There are conflicting accounts as to the cause of this plague, the Mabinogi ascribing it to a dragon of foreign race, and a triad to Mallen's steed. As we have seen, Professor Rhys equates this feat of Lludd's with the most famous one of the Hellenic Sun-Hero, the destruction of the giants by Herakles, so that there is no essential difference between the Hellenic and the Celtic myth.

The treatment of Diarmaid as a Solar Hero involves the whole question of the genuineness, mythically speaking, of the Ossianic cycle. Professor Rhys never alludes to the difference between this and the Ultonian cycle which may be briefly stated as follows: There is no fundamental disagreement between the mythical and the pseudo-historical account of the Ulster heroes as there is in the case of Finn and the Fenian warriors. The historical conditions under which the latter appear in the Annals are not only quite different from those under which they appear in by far the larger part of the Fenian Sagas, but it is extremely difficult to see how the one account could have developed into the other. It is hard to find an exact parallel, but if we can imagine the slight hint of Theseus' aid to the Athenians during the battle of Marathon, developed so that the earlier hero has superseded Miltiades and Themistocles, and become the chief leader of the Greeks during the Persian war, we obtain something equivalent to what has actually taken place in the Ossianic legend, whether we assume the account of the annals to be genuine history or euhemerised mythology. One instinctively turns to the Charlemagne Saga for an analogous example of legend development, but without success. In the case of the Frank emperor we can trace how the accretion of legend has gone on, and how the facts of history have shaped and modified

the traditional Saga-forms, but this is just what we cannot do in the case of Finn, Oisin, and their compeers. It may be suggested that the Fenian Saga belongs to a ruder and less crystallised stage of development than the Ultonian, that it was not like the latter an heroic Saga woven into the traditional history of one particular tribe or family, but was common to the whole race in much the same way as Jack the Giant Killer or any other of what may be called the heroic folk-tales; hence that it hardly lent itself to the euhemerising methods of the 9th-10th century scribes, who thus had to fall back upon a forced identification of a third century chief with the great wizard and warrior who was probably then, as he still is, one of the favourite figures of Celtic folk-tradition.

If there be anything in the foregoing conjectures, some unexpected light is thrown upon the Ossianic controversy. Not, of course, upon the authenticity of Macpherson's poems in their present shape—*that* question has been definitely settled against the charlatan with a streak of genius who revealed Celtic antiquity to Europe—but upon the genuineness of the traditions which he worked up. Irish antiquaries have always assumed that whenever Macpherson differs from the orthodox native account he must be inventing. But then Irish antiquaries have always gone on the assumption that Finn is an historical personage with as accurate a record as any of the third century Roman emperors. If once this superstition be discarded, there is no intrinsic reason why the Irish-Gaelic version of a mythic Saga common to all Gaels should be preferred to a Scotch-Gaelic one. From a mythological point of view a tradition picked up yesterday in the Highlands may be more accurate, more "true," than one written down in Ireland in the ninth century.

This digression has carried us somewhat away from the Hibbert Lectures. The foregoing summary will, it is hoped, have brought into prominence one fact, the small amount of positive evidence respecting Celtic mythology and ritual which Celtic tradition, considered by itself, supplies. The pro-ethnic Aryan creed sketched by Professor Rhys has to be constructed from the systems of other Aryan races, such fragments of Celtic myth as can be fitted into the hypothetical framework only assuming their rightful significance by the light of Hellenic, Norse or Vedic parallels. This may arise from the fact that Celtic mythology was never so thoroughly systematised as that of other Aryan races, but it is more likely that the early acceptance of Christianity by the Celts is responsible for the loss of those ritual and cosmoginic elements which are of

such importance in other mythologies. This explanation may seem at first sight to militate against the value of the Celtic mythic record, but it is not so in reality. Christianity in Ireland contented itself with sweeping away the outward and visible signs of heathen cult, and with the transformation of as much of the systematic heathen mythology as lent itself to the purpose into pseudo-history; the heroic traditions and those beliefs in the supernatural which underlay and were older than the systematised mythology were left almost untouched. As Professor Rhys says: "The Goidel's faith in Druidism was never suddenly undermined. . . . Irish Druidism absorbed a certain amount of Christianity; and it would be a problem of considerable difficulty to fix on the point when it ceased to be Druidism, and from which onwards it could be said to be Christianity in any restricted sense of the term."[27] Whilst, therefore, we have no court circular, so to say, of the Celtic Olympus or Walhalla, we have what is perhaps of greater value, an immense body of genuine Sagas in which the mental and social state of the insular Celts during the first centuries of the Christian era, and probably for some centuries preceding that era, is faithfully pictured. If these Sagas also reveal to us, as Professor Rhys and the present writer believe, that the Celts had substantially the same body of mythic conceptions as their fellow Aryans, so much the better, but even if this belief be ill founded, if the Irish Sagas have nothing mythic about them, they are still of incomparable value for the recovery of other than the religious elements in the civilisation of the ancient Celts. This statement indeed underrates their importance; except the Hellenic, the Irish Sagas are the only considerable mass of Aryan epic tradition almost entirely uninfluenced by Christianity. As evidence of the most archaic side of Aryan civilisation the Táin bó Cuailgne is only inferior to the Iliad or the Odyssey.

Celtic studies cannot, therefore, but be of supreme interest to the archæologist, to the scholar who seeks to recover the past of man under all its aspects, and who investigates with equal curiosity the record of speech and custom, of myth and handicraft, of ritual and literature, comparing and controlling the one by the other. On the plastic side remote Celtic antiquity has been comparatively barren; Celtic soil has yielded up no example of a war chariot, like the one described by Professor George Stephens in the *Academy* for July 7th. But descriptions of such chariots are frequent in the

[27] Page 224.

sagas,[28] and thus the testimony of the Danish peat moss and that of the Irish Vellum complete one another. These Lectures afford, indeed, a striking instance of the way in which one side of archæological enquiry may be used to advance the study of problems with which it has little apparent connection. The theory of Schrader and Penka that the origin of the Aryan race must be sought for in Northern Europe rather than in Asia is supported according to Professor Rhys by the evidence of Celtic mythology, and especially by the great importance attached to the winter sleep of the gods, and to the consequent triumph for the time being of all the powers inimical to them.

Apart from their bearing upon archæology at large, these Lectures have a special interest for all concerned in the systematisation of the studies of comparative mythology and folk-lore. The extravagancies of the solar theory, and the blindness with which its chief advocates endeavoured to restrict its operation to the Aryan mythical systems aroused legitimate distrust; the convincing brilliancy with which the anthropological school, under the leadership of Professor Tylor and Mr. Lang, demonstrated the substantial unity of Aryan and non-Aryan myth, and exposed the inadequacy of a theory constructed in view of only a few of the facts, seemed finally to discredit it. But it may be doubted whether the "anthropologists" have not gone too far, and whether there was any necessity for overwhelming the whole system of nature myth interpretation with the ridicule rightly poured out on extreme and fanciful applications of it. There is no fundamental disagreement between the two methods of investigating and explaining mythology; this Professor Rhys has seen, and he has indifferently made use of both. He himself can hardly hope that his work will be treated as an *Eirenicon*; rather will he be prepared for the fate which certainly awaits him of carpings and belabouring from either side. But his attempt will be welcomed by all those who think there is some measure of truth in every system.

The quarrel of "anthropologist" and "mythologist" is the more unfortunate, as both are in most respects at one regarding the nature of the facts they deal with, and both are menaced by an enemy who holds an entirely opposed opinion concerning these facts. All the myths, legends, ritual and legal customs, and traditions which form the subject matter of the studies both of comparative mythology and of folk-lore, may be regarded, not as the fossil remains by which the sequence of strata in mental and social evolution of

[28] Cf. the description of Cuchullain, *ante*, vol. i., p. 71.

mankind, otherwise unknown to us, can be traced, but as the distorted and degraded fragments of religious and social systems with which we are familiar at first hand. This view may be called, using the word in no theological sense, revelationist, in opposition to the rival evolutionist theories. Its partisans hold with Professor Bugge that the Norse mythology is in the main a retelling of classic fable and Christian legend; with Dr. Gaster that Folk-tales are mostly later than Christianity; with W. Förster that the Arthurian romances have nothing Celtic about them, but are simple exercises of the individual fancy upon well-worn romantic themes largely derived from the East; and, to quote a recent and extreme instance, with Mr. Newell that Voodoo rites are not African in their origin but are a simple echo of European witch superstitions imported into Hayti in the seventeenth century.[29] On the sea shore we may pick up fossils from which we can reconstruct the history, reaching back into a past incalculably remote, of lands and seas with their distinctive floras and faunas; we may also pick up worn and rounded bits of what we with difficulty recognise as fragments of ginger beer bottles flung away perhaps only six months before. According to which of these two analogies are we to classify the items of folk-lore?[30] Mr. Leland has recently told us[31] that the gipsies all over Europe and in many parts of Africa have a superstitious regard for the Maria Theresa thaler; are other wide spread superstitions of equally recent date? In answering these questions the importance of Celtic tradition cannot be over-estimated. No other Aryan civilisation has developed itself so independently of the two great influences, Hellenic and Hebraic, which have moulded the modern world; nowhere else is the course of development less perplexed by cross currents; nowhere else can the great issues be kept more steadily in view.

The foregoing pages were already in print when Professor Zimmer's article, *Germanen, germanische lehnwörter und germanische sagenelemente in der ältesten überlieferung der irischen heldensage* (Zeitschr. f, deut. alterth. xxiii. 2) came into my hands. The article itself is dated June, 1887, but the number containing it was only sent out last March. Why did not the author instead of

[29] *American Folk-Lore Journal*, vol. i., 16-30.

[30] In one instance the "revelationists" seem to have right on their side. The interesting studies of Mons. Anatole Loquin now appearing in *Mélusine* go to prove that there is no such thing as French popular music, that those tunes which have hitherto been held of folk-origin are simply more or less corrupt recollections of tunes the origin of which had been forgotten by the cultured classes.

[31] *St. James' Gazette*, July.

hiding it away in a periodical where no one would expect to find it issue it as a part of his Keltische Studien ? It would have appeared sooner, and could not have failed to elicit Professor Rhys' opinion on the views therein expressed. After this preliminary grumble I may be allowed to commend this article to the careful attention of all Celtic students. It deserves, and will doubtless obtain, a more searching notice than I can here give it, but I feel it necessary to supplement the foregoing article by a brief statement of the far-reaching conclusions at which Professor Zimmer has arrived. If emphatic dissent from some of these seems the dominant note of my criticism, it is chiefly that time and space fail me to adequately set forth the most valuable, because least controversial side of his argument.

Professor Zimmer points out that early Irish history falls into three periods, the first reaching from pre-historic times, to about the year 350 A.D., the second to the end of the 7th century, and the third to the beginning of the 11th century. No external activity on the part of the Irish is recorded, during the first period; the second, on the contrary, witnesses the harrying of the coasts of Britain, the establishment of the kingdom of Dalriada and the settlements in North and South Wales; whilst the third period is filled by the wars with the Northmen invaders. These historical periods are reflected in the heroic sagas, the oldest of which are concerned solely with intertribal conflicts, the heroes of which do not leave Ireland, the topography of which is coherent and accurate. The bulk of the sagas took shape, however, in the second, the Irish viking period as it may be called. The heroes sally forth out of Ireland especially to the western seaboard of Scotland, colonised as we know by the same Ulster tribes to whom we owe the oldest heroic tales. The third or Norse period has also left its mark on the sagas; allusion is made to Norway, Norse warriors appear as foes or allies of the Irish chieftains. Nay more, a close examination of the sagas show that they are in part corrupted by an admixture of elements derived from the Teutonic hero-tales.

As a whole Professor Zimmer thinks the Ultonian cycle was definitely fixed and committed to writing prior to the third period (p. 156), the influence of the latter being chiefly restricted to small alterations and to the introduction of incidental episodes which can readily be separated from their context. But to judge by the numerous instances he gives, accompanying each text by a translation according to his laudable practice, his onslaught upon the genuineness of the Irish heroic tradition is far more thorough

and damaging than could be gathered from the words just quoted.

The major portion of the article discusses episodes in which additions of the Norse period are detected. The proof is of two kinds: numerous Germanic loan words are adduced, whilst passages are cited in which Norse allusions undoubtedly occur, such passages being acutely analysed with a view to showing their inconsistency with their context. The philological argument must be left to experts, one of whom remarks, "il n'est pas certain que les étymologies de M. Zimmer soient admises toutes sans exception" (*Rev. Celt.*, July 1888). With regard to the historical and literary aspect of the question Professor Zimmer has done good service by his proof that the written form of most of the sagas *as we now have them* cannot be older than the 8th-9th centuries, altho', as we have seen, he still maintains that the form was *substantially* fixed prior to the 8th century. It is indeed only in some cases that he holds that the presence of Norse elements in an episode proves its introduction as a whole into the native saga during the Norse period, and in these cases his argument is open to serious objections. One such claims detailed notice, the more so as upon it Professor Rhys bases far-reaching mythological argument which is obviously without substance if the German Professor's view be correct.

Cuchullain's fame must have penetrated to the North, says Professor Zimmer, as we may learn from the fact that a Northern damsel fell in love with him. This was Derbforgaill, the daughter of the King of Lochlann. In swan shape she came to Ireland with an attendant damsel, and was wounded by a sling cast of Cuchullain's, healed by his sucking the stone out of the wound, and bestowed by the hero upon his friend Lugaid. Now, once the men of Ulster made a great snowheap, and the 150 queens amused themselves in the endeavour to reduce it by "a Rabelaisian application of natural hydraulics." Derbforgaill alone was successful, whereupon her jealous rivals blinded her, and cut off her ears and nose and tresses. In revenge Cuchullain pulled down the palace roof and slew them all.

Professor Zimmer hesitates to say that the swan maid incident is conclusive proof of Teutonic importation, but he evidently treats the story as a production of the 8th or 9th century, tho' his words leave one in doubt whether he holds it to be the Irish version of a Norse tale, which could only have come into existence after the Norsemen had heard of Cuchullain, or the reflex of some historical amour between a Viking's daughter and an Irish brave transported back into the national saga. The extremely archaic character of the

tale, which he notes, does not stagger him, yet is it conceivable that this tone of pre-historic savagery can be that of the Norse period. How does Professor Rhys deal with the tale? It is certain that the scribe to whom we owe our present version thought of Derbforgaill as a genuine Norway princess, *i.e.*, that *he* lived in the Norse period. But Professor Rhys points out that Lochlann has an older meaning than Norway, it denotes a mysterious country in the lochs or sea (p. 355). The swan-maid damsel thus hails from the nether world, she is daughter to the Fomori king, the lord of the powers of darkness, and the story easily resolves itself into a nature myth. The two methods of treatment are, it will be seen, diametrically opposed. But Professor Rhys' theory merely postulates the substitution by the 9th century scribe of the familiar Norway for the mythic "lochland," about which, good Christian monk as he was, he probably knew nothing, whilst Professor Zimmer's contention that the mention of a Norse princess necessarily implies the reference of the whole tale to the Norse period raises insuperable difficulties.

If, however, every passage in which a distinct trace of the Norse period is found were wholly referred thereto, the genuine nature of the Irish sagas would be comparatively little affected. But Professor Zimmer is vastly more ambitious. He makes bold to prove that much of the sagas has been remodelled under the influence of Teutonic heroic tradition, and he attacks the most famous incident of Irish story, the climax of the great epic, the combat of Cuchullain and Ferdiad. The two had been comrades under Scatha, the Amazon Island fostress of heroes; blood friendship had been sworn between them, but Ferdiad, overcome by the insistence of Medbh, takes arms against his old comrade. At the outset they fight unwillingly, and at the close of the first day's strife, either sends food and medicine to the other. But gradually the battle fury overcomes all other feelings, and after four days' combat Cuchullain slays Ferdiad only to fall weeping, overcome by woe and remorse, on the friend's dead body. Now it is told of Ferdiad that he was *conganchnessach*, translated by Professor Zimmer "horn skinned," which reminds one that Siegfried had a horn skin; moreover Ferdiad means "man of the mist," *i.e. Nibelung*, and Siegfried became a Nibelung by marriage; moreover, Hagen slew Siegfried in spite of his horn skin, as Cuchullain did Ferdiad; moreover, only the Germans knew of "blood-brothership," and the pathos of the struggle between the two friends is "echt germanisch," the Celts have nothing like it; moreover, Cuchullain has to fight against four

other blood-friends of his, and Siegfried, besides Hagen, had Hagen's three brothers to contend against; moreover, one of Hagen's brothers is Giselher, the youngest, sometimes called the *tumbe* commonly *der junge, daz kint*, and one of Cuchullain's adversaries is Ferbaeth which means the foolish, headstrong (young) man. Therefore all this portion of the Táin bó Cuailgne has been reshaped upon the lives of the Nibelung saga. Q. E. D.

It is somewhat difficult to keep one's countenance over this amazing instance of perverted ingenuity. Why, let us ask Professor Zimmer, should a ninth century Irishman, listening to the Siegfried story, not have boldly retold it in his own way, but have hidden little scraps of it all over his own national hero-tales; why should he have transferred the role of the villain of the piece, Hagen, to his great national heró Cuchullain and made the foreign hero the representative of the beaten side; why should he have discarded the foreign names, and been at the trouble of elaborately Irishing them; why should he invert the facts of the German story which opposed the four sons of king Aldrian to Siegfried, and make *his* Siegfried (Ferdiad) the ally of Hagen's brethren against *his* Hagen (Cuchullain)? Was it that he foresaw the exceeding cleverness of the nineteenth century German professor and was anxious to provide a field for its display? If I venture to speak disrespectfully of this theory it is partly because Professor Zimmer himself provides us with a *reductio ad absurdum* of it. The tale of Mac Datho's swine mentions namely another *Conganchness Mac Dedad* "Hornskin Mistson," slain by the Ulster hero Celtchair. Professor Zimmer is at some pains to establish that the chronology of this Saga differs from that of the Táin bó Cuailgne, a fact already noted by the scribe of LU, and that *this* Irish rendering of Siegfried cannot be due to the same hand which introduced the Teutonic hero into the Táin. There were thus two Irish bards, struck independantly by the very same feature in the foreign saga, and adopting the same eccentric means of foisting it into their national traditions. Professor Zimmer triumphantly cites the fact as clinching his argument!

Starting from this basis Professor Zimmer instances other points of contact between Cuchullain and Hagen with the evident intent of proving dependance, in these instances, of Irish upon German heroic tradition. We are in fact face to face with our old friend the borrowing theory. Where there is kinship between the myths or sagas of two races the one must have borrowed from the other. I am so far from denying the possibility of borrowing that I have

referred to the likeness between the Mabinogi of Branwen and the Nibelung cycle as most probably due to the direct influence of the latter upon the former.[32] But I must point out to Professor Zimmer that if he makes war in the name of the borrowing theory upon the authenticity of Celtic tradition he had better look to his rear. Professor Bugge's contention that Teutonic tradition (which has reached us almost exclusively in a Norse dress) is in the main a reminiscence of classic or Christian fable is far better supported than is Professor Zimmer's theory, and the amusing part of the matter is that the Norwegian Professor looked upon the Celts as the medium through whom the Teutons got the subject matter which they worked up into the Eddaic mythology.[33] Neither learned scholar seems willing to admit the independent development by allied races of common mythic conceptions. We, who hold this, the evolutionist view, and turn to Celtic tradition in support of our belief, may console ourselves under Professor Zimmer's onslaught upon its authenticity when we recollect the memorable failure of Professor Bugge's more formidable attack upon the authenticity of Teutonic tradition.

ALFRED NUTT.

[32] *Folk-Lore Record*, vol. v.

[33] *Studien über die Enstehung der nordischen Götter-und Heldensagen.* Parts 1, 2. 1881-82.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES AMIS DES LIVRES DE LYON.

WE must all hail with satisfaction the foundation at Lyons of a society whose object is the application of art to literature.

Although the art of book printing, illustrating, and ornamenting is by no means on the decline in France, as may be seen by the exquisite volumes which proceed yearly from the presses of the great French publishers, yet the influence of literary publishing societies, from whose objects gain is absolutely excluded, must always be efficacious in proportion to the taste and talent with which such publications are produced.

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September 10, 1887, under the auspices and presidence of M. Gustave Rubattel.

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1. Neither rank, nationality, nor sex, is a disqualification for membership, the sole requirement being "une parfaite honorabilité."

2. The society is limited to 50 members.

3. The president is elected for 2 years only.

4. At a general meeting of the society, in February each year, all the volumes which have not found owners are burned, and the plates, sketches, proofs, rejected designs, &c., destroyed.

5. The original designs which have been engraved, are disposed of by auction among the members of the society.

6. Lastly, the number of copies to be printed of each volume, is determined at the annual general meeting, but the issue cannot exceed 55 to 60 copies, *i.e.*, one for each of the members (supposing the society to be complete) and a few for the "dépôt legal" and gifts.

From the above it will be seen that the society seeks to produce exceptionally beautiful books in very limited issues. As the copies cannot be purchased, or, to borrow a neat French expression, "ne sont pas dans le commerce," their value must necessarily be enhanced by their scarcity, the possession of that which is rare and difficult to obtain being always dear to the soul of the bibliophile.

The first volume produced by the society: *Trilby ou le Lutin d'Argail nouvelle écossoise par Charles Nodier*, is before me; its issue is 45 copies only, and the quality of its paper, clearness of its type, and beauty of its illustrations, fully bear out the society's aspirations.

The illustrations, designed and engraved by M. Paul Avril, consist of a frontispiece, nine full page illustrations, one head-piece, and one tail-piece, the latter being the portrait of the author; each engraving is struck off in two states—the etching pure, and the finished engraving, a custom much reverenced by French book-lovers, although thought little of by us.

Of the book itself little need be said. It is a fairy tale, the scene of which is in Scotland, "Argail" being the French equivalent for Argyll. In spite of this *Trilby* is, I believe, little known in England, although its reputation is firmly established in France, where it is looked upon as the "chef d'œuvre" of its author. Nor am I aware that *Trilby* has been translated. It is not so much in the strength of the tale or the truth of the "couleur locale" that the charm of *Trilby* lies, but rather in the purity of its style and the simplicity of its imagery—these once ruffled by the translator's hand little would be left—certainly not enough to satisfy the more solid British requirements. A first acquaintance with *Trilby* should be made in the original, and if possible, through the medium of the beautiful edition of the *Société des Amis des Livres de Lyon*.

H. S. ASHBEE.

DILUCIDATING.

I have noted the use of this word in Coke's *Complete Copyholder*, 1673, p. 71, "and therefore, not to insist any longer in dilucidating this point."

J. V. Jennings.

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.

The Title-page, Index, &c., to vol. i. will unavoidably be delayed until the October number.

THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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Anthropology.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUMS.

Translated from the Danish, with the author's additions and corrections (to May 1888), by H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A.

II. The Contents of the Museums—(*continued.*)

PAGE

II. SOUTH AMERICA—(*continued.*)

6. BRAZIL 145
7. PATAGONIA AND TERRA DEL FUEGO 151

III. AFRICA—

8. NORTH AFRICA AND THE SOUDAN 153
9. SENEGAMBIA AND THE GUINEA COAST 155
10. THE NILE LANDS 155
11. THE CONGO TERRITORY ... 158
12. THE GABOON TERRITORY ... 161
13. THE LOANGO COAST 162
14. SOUTH AFRICA 162

6. BRAZIL.

IN vain one searches among the natives for sure traces of a connexion with the ancient civilised races. The culture which flourished on the high table-lands of Bogota and Cuzco perished entirely with the people to whom it belonged. The degenerate successors of the Incas still preserve memories of the past in a few songs. But that is the only remaining reminiscence of bygone grandeur. The Incas and Chibchas do not seem to have extended their civilisation beyond the region over which they held immediate sway. Perhaps the conditions of nature, or the short period during which their empires flourished, prevented them from exercising an influence on the neighbouring peoples. One would naturally expect to find its effects on the peoples living on the eastern slopes of the Andes, who have preserved a tradition of having once been subject

tó the rule of the Incas.[44] But traces of this are extremely doubtful and insignificant.

This is evident from an investigation of the objects we have from the *Upper Marañon*. There are two interesting collections from this district, a large one in the Museum at Rome, due to Cav. *Lucioli*, and a smaller one in Berlin brought back by *Standinger*. Both comprise the peoples along the rivers Huallaga and Ucayali, but are chiefly representative of the great *Amahuaga*, *Caschibo*, and *Conibo* tribes. The influence of European missionaries is unmistakable in many places. Even hunting tribes, living outside of the missionary stations, but friendly to the Christians, have exchanged their stone axes for iron knives, and adopted the white cotton tunic with ornaments painted on it. Besides these, however, we find a large number of hunting tribes entirely unconnected with Europeans and untouched by foreign influence. The only dress of the women consists of the well-known small three-cornered lappet, usually embroidered with bead-work. The men go stark naked. Both sexes, however, ornament their neck and arms with numerous rings of monkeys' teeth, fruit stones, and feathers. The last are a proof of the hunter's dexterity, as he wears only the feathers of birds brought down by his own hand. The feasts are the time for displaying their full finery. At these they wear the dainty crowns of plait-work, trimmed with parrot and arara feathers, breast-ornaments of beads with pendants, etc. European weapons they have not yet learned to use. A polished stone axe, the blade of which is tied and fastened with rosin to a branch or thin haft of wood, is used to fell trees and shape their weapons. Birds and small mammals they hunt with the favourite weapon of all South American peoples, the long blow-pipe, which some tribes skilfully contrive out of two hollowed bits of wood. With this they shoot out thin poisoned darts, cut half-way through, so that they snap when drawn from the wound. For war and hunting larger game the blow-pipe is replaced by bows and arrows, varying as they are meant for bringing down man or beast. On the other hand their peculiar elegant clubs are merely weapons of state at their festivals. Most of the manufactures of this group of peoples show considerable skill. This is true of their woven stuffs, manufactured by the women, their deftly constructed feather work, their weapons, and, above all their excellent pottery, made of fine clay and richly decorated with red and black lines on a

[44] Colini, *Note geografiche e collezioni etnografiche del Cav. Bart. Lucioli.* p. 30.

white ground. These are among the best of the kind produced by South American peoples. The ornaments are the same as on their tunics, and on the fine work of cotton-thread twisted round their clubs, bows, and arrow-heads. A tunic with painted figures, in the museum at Rome, is adorned with naturalistic representations of lizards and snakes. But this is the only known instance to be found in our museums of the use of animal figures. Otherwise the ornamentation consists exclusively of linear subjects. In this one may perhaps be inclined to see reminiscences from the times of the Incas: various traits in the composition of the meander-pattern, of broken lines and rectangular and three-cornered figures, which characterise this mode of ornament, remind us not a little of decorations on stuffs and earthenware brought from Peruvian graves. But the influence of Peru is very doubtful, as the simple linear ornaments alone offer any point of resemblance with the peoples of the Andes; whereas we never meet with the characteristic figures of beasts and men, which play so large a part in the decorations of the Incas. Moreover, we must remember that the ornamentation is very rude, and that very similar subjects appear among a large part of the natives in the Amazon district and northern parts of the continent. More probably they are a common heirloom of all the tribes; and their resemblance in use and composition to the Peruvian mode of ornament probably depends on a co-ordinate development from a common source.

To *Lucioli's* collection we must add the admirable ethnographic materials, which the museum in Rome owes to the missionary *Pozzi*. During thirteen years of work on the Upper Amazon, Pozzi gathered from about 20 tribes on the rivers *Napo* and *Pastazza*, that is to say, a district near the Ucayali and Huallaga region. The two collections therefore supplement one another, and, with a number of valuable objects previously to be found at Rome,[45] they give the best idea of the peoples in Northern Peru, Equador, and Western Brazil that can at present be obtained. In particular the collections from the *Jivaros* on the eastern slopes of the Andes, whose remarkably prepared heads have long been objects of wonder, are very comprehensive, and give an interesting picture of this wild and cruel people.[46] In other museums they are represented only by smaller groups of objects.

The museum in Rome owns a third collection from the Upper

[45] Pigorini in the *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, cclxxviii.

[46] See Colini's careful study in *Atti d. R. Accad. dei Lincei*, cclxxx., with pictures of some of the most interesting articles in the collection.

Marañon, brought back by *Coppi*, who laboured as a missionary for a long time among the tribes on the river *Uaupes*.[47] Though perhaps not the largest and best from this district, it contains very good materials for the study of the groups of peoples who bear the same name as the river. Of special interest are two articles connected with the wide-spread belief in the evil spirit *Jurupari*, which were obtained by Coppi only with great difficulty. One is a flute called *pachiuba*, the sound of which is meant to imitate the voice of the spirit; the other is a curious hood-shaped mask, representing the spirit himself. Both are used by the *Pajes*, the medicine-men, at their feasts, and are kept carefully veiled from all the uninitiated. Strangers, therefore, very rarely can obtain them.[48] They are characteristic of the tendency to represent mythical beings in mimic dances,—especially the demons who affect man's destiny,—a tendency found elsewhere among so many native races, but otherwise unknown in the case of South America. The kind of carnival mask festivals, celebrated among the *Ticunas*, are a purely ceremonial pageant, though possibly they also were originally mythical in import. The grotesque masks used at these are quite different from the *Uaupes* masks and not at all rare. Sets of them may be found in the museums at Berlin and Münich.

Unfortunately the excellent Brazilian collections in the *Vienna* Museum are not yet unpacked. Even the most obliging courtesy on the part of the officials can render them only partly accessible to students, and only the catalogue enables one to get a full impression of their multifarious completeness.[49] So long as the materials are broken up into sets of uniform objects, it will be difficult to get a connected picture of the various groups of peoples. This is precisely what the Vienna Museum will, in a special degree, be able to produce; its ethnographic materials from Brazil evidently surpass in extent and comprehensiveness, as well as in scientific definition, everything possessed by other ethnographical museums.

The main portion consists of a model collection, due to the zoologist *Johann Natterer*, who for seventeen years (1817-34) lived among the people he studied and collected from. The collection he brought home contained 2400 objects, derived from 76 different tribes between the river *Paranahyba* and *Guiana*, between the coast and the

[47] For a more detailed treatment of this collection v. Colini in the *Cronaca del Museo preistorico ed etnografico*, I. p. 40 ff.

[48] The Propaganda collection and the Münich Museum possess a few masks of this kind.

[49] They are now on view and nearly fill a large room of the new National History Museum. Note to Germ. Tr.

Upper Marañon. It therefore embraces a very vast region. Consequently, all tribes are not represented with equal completeness. With some of them the collector only came into chance contact; others he lived among for a longer period. This applies to the *Puris* on the R. Paranahyba, the *Bororos* in Goyaz and Matto Grosso, the *Mundrucus* on the R. Tapajoz, the *Uaupes* people mentioned above, the *Banivas* on the R. Içanna, and the *Macusis* on the Branco. Other peoples are grouped round these, but the materials from them are not so full, though still sufficient to exhibit their peculiarities.

The great value of the collection depends not merely on its extent, but also on the care with which it has been gathered in and explained. Throughout one observes the method and systematic work of a man of science. Each class of objects includes everything that gives light and shade in the smallest degree to the picture, everything that can illustrate some individual trait in form, ornament and use. Each specimen has been examined and defined with the thoroughness and care with which the zoologist handles his subjects. The particulars as to the origin of the specimens, their materials and mode of manufacture, given on the labels and in the detailed catalogue, are all that one could wish.

Such collections are much needed in ethnography to define and arrange scattered and uncertain materials. In few regions is the need so urgent as in the case of Brazil. The confusion as to the relations of tribes, which is caused by the endless number of small tribes and sub-tribes, renders any classification according to origin and kinship a matter of extreme difficulty. Smaller collections, with their incomplete and often vaguely defined contents, gathered usually among various tribes, cannot form the basis for such a classification. Even such admirable and interesting collections as the Italian, and those of *von den Steinen* and *Rhodes*, throw light only on smaller groups of peoples. We gain, it is true, some firm points to hold on to; but only a complete and systematic collection like *Natterer's* can form the basis for the much needed division into ethnologically connected groups. When Natterer's collection is fully accessible, as we hope it soon will be, the museum at Vienna will supply one of the most important contributions to the study of ethnological conditions in South America. It possesses materials to which the ethnographer will always turn to study the various stages of development and groups of civilisation found in Brazil.

Besides this, as a basis, there are a number of smaller collections from South America. They contain some individual points of

interest, and in several respects supplement *Natterer's* collection. The Vienna museum also owns good sets of objects from the *Botocudes* and tribes along the R. Tocantin, brought home by *Dr. Pohl.* Münich possesses a large number of valuable things, among them a set of *Ticuna* masks and good feather articles, picked up by *Spix* and *Martius* among the peoples along the river Amazon. But these travellers did not undertake large systematic collections in the territory they were the first to explore. The Trocadero also derives its Brazilian materials from Guiana and the Amazon district. The *Mundrucus,* and especially the little known *Caingangs,* a *Coroada* people in the province of Paraná, are fully represented in the Copenhagen museum. At Dresden we find various interesting ancient specimens from Guiana and Brazil. And lastly the Berlin museum contains, besides a number of good things, especially from the *Mundrucus* and *Jivaros, Schomburgk's* rich collections from the peoples of Guiana, and the interesting ethnological plunder gathered by *Rhodes* and *von den Steinen* on their expeditions. The former collection, from the *Terenos* and *Cadiocos,* between Miranha and the Bolivian frontier, is interesting for the picture it gives of the most characteristic forms of transition from native to foreign culture. The last-mentioned collection is important, chiefly because it is drawn from some of the most primitive and most untouched peoples in Brazil.

On his journey along the river *Schingu* [Xingu], *von den Steinen* visited a number of hitherto unknown peoples, still living in an Age of Stone, a period of civilisation of which very few traces are now found in Brazil. Before the coming of the Europeans, articles of stone were in common use among the tribes dwelling along the coast and the great river valleys, or on the highlands of the interior; whereas the peoples who wandered in the primeval forests knew no other materials for their implements than wood and bone. The museum in Berlin and many other ethnographical collections possess considerable sets of axe heads and arrow points of quartz and basalt, chiefly from the provinces of St. Paolo and Rio Grande do Sul, which had been buried in the earth, and show that these kinds of stone were in early times used in the same way and in the same simple forms as in the earliest culture periods of Europe. But after iron had expelled stone from use among the peoples of the coast, the Indians came to regard stone objects as fallen from the clouds, as thunder-stones. Many of the tribes in the interior are still in the same primitive state; comparatively few have yet at-

tained to a Stone Age. Wood and bone suffice for the manufacture of their simple utensils. Among the tribes on the rivers Ucayali and Huallaga, as above mentioned, poor stone implements are in use. Similar implements are found here and there among the tribes on other tributaries of the Amazon. In a few places stone is used as the emblem of chieftainship. The *Arowaks* in Guiana till quite recently used axe heads in their clubs. But nowhere do we meet with a Stone Age so distinct as among the Schingu-peoples. The series of well polished axes,—a flat oval blade, set in a clubby haft of wood—which *von den Steinen* collected among the *Suyás* and *Bakaïris*, show that they were familiar with the way to deal with stone.

The objects of stone are without doubt among the most interesting in this admirable collection. The contents are indeed so novel and peculiar, and explained so well, that one is much tempted to describe them here at greater length. Their great importance, ethnologically, is that, besides representing a peculiar state of culture, they throw a sharp light over the differences of culture existing between the chief groups of peoples on the Upper and Lower Schingu, and among the numerous smaller tribes, compared with one another. But we must content ourselves here with a reference to the thorough treatment with which von den Steinen himself has repeatedly dealt with his collection[50].

7. Patagonia and Terra del Fuego.

Turning from Brazil to the southern portion of the Continent, we come first to the tribes in Patagonia. These are very fully represented in Berlin and Rome. We can only mention them here cursorily, partly because they are so well known, partly because so much of their individual stamp has vanished under the influence of long connexions with the colonists. We shall merely make a few remarks on the collections from the most southern island-groups of South America.

The man who wants to know the people of *Terra del Fuego* must turn to Rome, where *Bove's* collections give a comprehensive picture of these primitive and low-standing tribes. A glance at the objects *Bove* brought back teaches us better than any description to know the few miserable resources with which this people satisfies the simplest necessities of life. Everything belonging to

[50] *Durch Central-Brasilien*, Leipzig, 1886. *Originalmittheilungen etc.* I. S. 187.

them is as rude and undeveloped as well could be. A short thin bow of poor wood with a string of guanaco sinew, and arrows with a short three-cornered head of flint or glass, are the weapons with which the *Onas*, the people on the chief island, are equipped for the chase, on which a great part of their existence depends. The *Jagan* and *Alucaluf* tribes are slightly better off; they hunt fowl and fish with a harpoon, or a lance pointed with bone of whale, or with slings of guanaco skin, which they use with great skill. But what of the boats in which they put to sea so daringly, to take the prey that forms a full half of their subsistence? A series of models in Bove's collection shows them. A piece of bark tied together at both ends, and stretched out with short wooden cross-pieces, like the river boats of the inland tribes, or, when extra fine, a slender frame of bent boughs, covered with bark, forms the primitive canoe, looking as though it might at any moment be smashed by the waves. Besides these, they have some mussel-shells tied to a haft of stone, which do duty as knives, some very well plaited baskets to hold sponges and fish, some water-butts of bark, and the Terra del Fuegian's miserable outfit of necessaries is complete. Clothes are unknown, although the climate might seem to require them. A small shred of skin, tied on the breast or back, as the wind blows, is their only covering. In all this there is not a trace of artistic skill, excepting at best a slight dexterity in basket-work, not even in the manufacture of the few articles with which these primitive creatures deck themselves. Their body is usually painted with colours, and round their neck and breast the men as well as women hang rows of shells or beads made of birds' bones, strung on a band. The warrior binds a small triangular piece of skin round his head. The medicine-man adorns his hair with feathers, before he begins operations. But everything is simple and poverty-stricken. The Terra del Fuegians have not yet learned even to prize the glass beads so much affected by all other primitive races.

Bove's is certainly the most instructive collection, accessible for study, in our ethnographical museums. Excellent materials from the *Alucaluf* tribes have been, to judge by the catalogue, brought back to Stockholm by *Stolpe*. But what else there is in the museums from Terra del Fuego, are merely scattered specimens, which can give no general picture of this the lowest people on the face of the earth. The set of objects contained in the British Museum is the most considerable.[51]

[51] According to a communication from Herr Hansen, M.D., a considerable collection from T. d. Fuego has of late years been added to the Trocadero.

III.

AFRICA.

While the Europeans in America have expelled and uprooted the original inhabitants, extending their sway over larger and larger areas, in Africa they have come into contact with the natives only in the coast colonies. From time to time travellers have ventured into the interior; but only in the last generation, and especially in the last ten years have we learned to know the greater part of the dark continent. From the days of *Barth* and *Livingstone* one expedition after another has pushed its way into regions where the natives have never set eyes on other foreigners, except perhaps Arab slave-dealers. From investigations in South Africa and the Soudan, attention has been turned to the peoples of the Nile and round the great lakes, and has gradually been concentrated upon that most interesting territory, the upper regions of the Congo. All these expeditions have added very largely to ethnographical museums. In respect of quantity, African sections have grown more than any other, and rich materials are now available for the study of various groups of peoples. As regards Africa, Berlin again stands first. Other museums are better in some special details, but none of them is so comprehensive as the chief museum of Germany.

8. North Africa and the Soudan.

The *Musée des Colonies* in Paris and the *Trocadero* have large collections from Algiers, both from the *Kabyles* and the "Arabian" population in town and country. But other museums are but scantily furnished with objects from this and other North African states. On the whole the oriental culture, in the form it has taken in the countries round the Mediterranean, that is, strongly coloured with European influences, is only slightly represented in the museums.

From the central states of the Soudan (*Bornu*, *Wadai*, *Baghirmi* and *Darfur*), Berlin contains the collection brought home by Dr. *Nachtigal*—the first, and assuredly the best from these states. Mahomedan influence from the east and north has changed the original culture in the Soudan, in much the same way as it has affected the European in North Africa. No great originality is perceptible in the products of this region. The beautiful embroidered silk draperies are Arabian, no less than the Toba,

made of thin strips of cotton stitched together; and the artistic straw-plaiting and stamped leather work, which are specially native to Darfur, take their patterns also from Hedjaz. *Nachtigal's* collection contains many fine specimens, especially costumes, which give excellent illustrations of the native industries; but they are far from systematic and comprehensive enough to furnish a complete representation of civilisation in the countries they come from.

On the other hand the Berlin Museum is rich in materials from the western Soudan, especially *Haussa* and *Adamaua*, collected by *Robert Flegel* on his expedition along the Benuë.[52] Unfortunately it is as yet impossible to take full advantage of this wealth of material. So long as it remains unsorted and the objects are not arranged in groups according to their localities, it will be very difficult to combine things that belong to one another into one whole. This is precisely the point where there is the most urgent need for such distinction, since great differences are apparent. Thus, while all the products from Haussa as well as the articles from Bornu are entirely Tuaregic and Moorish in stamp, *Adamaua* is strongly influenced by the negroes to the south. How far this influence reaches from either side cannot under the present arrangement be determined. Even after a division into local groups has been effected, it will be hard to assign everything correctly to its native place, since it appears that a large number of objects from various places in the interior have flowed into the general current setting along the caravan route of the Benuë. But meantime a few well ascertained specimens suffice to show the connexion with neighbouring peoples. There can hardly be a doubt, for instance, that the numerous wicker shields and *pingahs*, of which there are many specimens from *Mbum*, *Mombila* and *Baya*, are modelled on those of *Niam-Niam*. That they are not articles of trade from this people is shown by their form, which is not found again in the original native place of these weapons. Among the most peculiar specimens in the collection are some fetish-costumes made of plait-work, with the masks belonging to them, from *Dyuku*. They are exactly similar to those already described by *Cameron*, which are used to represent the mock devils, intended to drive out the real demons from the region which they haunt.[53]

[52] *Originalmittheilungen*, i., 139.

[53] Cameron's *Across Africa*, ii., 162.

9. Senegambia and the Guinea Coast.

Though these districts belong to the best and longest known, they are not particularly well represented in museums. From Senegambia the French museums contain a quantity of material, especially from the *Mandingos*, of which there are also smaller collections in Berlin, Dresden and Copenhagen, and an interesting set of weapons in Hamburg from the *Bissagos Islands*. But in point of completeness they leave much to be desired.

As regards the Guinea Coast, the state of matters is somewhat better. The collection in Copenhagen from the old Danish colonies on the Gold Coast is certainly not only the best from the whole of this extensive coast, but also contains a very full representation of the now seriously decimated *Akra*-negroes and *Fantis*. It has, besides, the advantage of being derived from a time when the influence of the European colonies had not yet overwhelmed native development. In this respect it contrasts favourably with later collections from the Guinea Coast. A few characteristic and good specimens, especially from the *Ashantis* (weapons, dresses and masks for fetish-dresses) are preserved in London, Hamburg and Berlin. But all other objects are either stamped with Moorish influence, which is also very strong in Senegambia, or fashioned under European influence. The leather-work and poorly hammered copper and bronze vessels are modelled on the same patterns as the Haussa and Bornu articles; while the numerous frightfully caricatured groups of metal and wood, clumsily fashioned and hideously painted, are due to an unsuccessful effort to imitate Europeans. They are of very little interest as evidence of the early culture among these tribes.

10. The Nile-Lands.

The peoples in the eastern Soudan and on the White Nile with its tributaries, live beyond the region touched by the great caravan route northwards. A striking contrast to the products of the central and western Soudan is therefore perceptible in the collections from this territory. The people here are still productive, and all their manufactures are stamped with well marked characteristics. This is true in a special degree of the *Niam-Niam* and *Monbuttu* peoples, whose smith-work is surpassed only by that of the Congo peoples. But the more northerly peoples round the White Nile present so many peculiarities, that they demand fuller discussion.

But as their mode of life and products have become so familiar through *Schweinfurth's* thorough and instructive work,[54] we shall confine ourselves to a brief review, as a guide to the various collections from this territory.

The main portion of the collections at Berlin consists of the materials brought home by *Schweinfurth*, which principally embrace *Djur, Bongo, Niam-Niam*, and *Monbuttu*. As the first that has come to Europe this collection is one of peculiar interest. But owing to the unfortunate fire, which destroyed the greater part of the traveller's baggage, it is not very rich. Besides this there are the additions due to Dr. *Junker* and the Italian traveller *Piaggia*. Over and above the peoples already mentioned, these additions represent the *Bari, Shilluk, Dinka*, and some smaller tribes on the Upper Nile. The materials from these various peoples are fairly full, with many excellent and rare specimens, instructive as evidence of their industrial status. But they are far from being so comprehensive and complete as several other of the African collections in the museum.

The best and richest material for the study of the peoples in the Nile territory is to be found in the Hof-museum at Vienna. The collections from this district are indeed among the best in the museum. The main portion consists of two large presents sent by *Emin Bey*, which embrace pretty nearly all the more important tribes round the White Nile and its tributaries right down to the Central African lakes (*Unyoro* and *Uganda*). The sets contain such a wealth of types, and are in every way so complete, that the special stamp of each tribe comes out clear and definite. The various branches of industry also, which among the Nile races have reached such a peculiar development of their own, smith-work, wood-carving, and pottery, may here be studied in every detail, as they can be in no other place besides. Very considerable additions have also been made by others. The chief material results of *Marno's* and *Buchta's* travels on the Upper Nile are owned by this museum, supplemented by handsome collections sent by *Hansal*, the Austrian consul in *Kartum*. The most valuable, however, are the collections presented by *Emin Bey*, not merely for their completeness, but also because they came from a man who understands how to collect, and has had the best of opportunities, living for a long time among the Nile tribes and entirely familiar with their circumstances. His gifts were accompanied by full explanations and definite trustworthy information,—a matter of great importance as regards the

[54] *Im Herzen von Afrika*, Leipzig, 1874; *Artes Africanæ*, Leipzig, 1875.

territory in question, as the peoples are closely allied to one another in culture, but still distinguished in many respects by fairly marked variations. In the other collections at Vienna the tribes are often confused; whereas *Emin Bey's* form a firm basis for classification in this region.

In the Italian museums also we find considerable collections from the Nile lands. Thus *Miani*, the artist, has presented his collections from *Niam-Niam*, *Bari*, *Dinka*, *Bor*, *Shilluk* and the *Gallas* to the *Museo Civico* in Venice. *Miani* picked up whatever came to hand, or attracted his notice. No plan is here to be found, no attempt at giving even an approximately complete picture of the people among whom he sojourned. Many sets, however, especially of weapons and ornaments, are very full, and the real interest of the collection lies in special details. Very important is the classification of objects, due to the missionary *Beltrame*, who spent many years among the Dinka tribes, as it entirely confirms *Emin Bey's* sub-division.

The museum at Rome possesses rich and good materials from this region. The chief part is formed by the collections due to *Gessi*, *Santoni* and *Cecchi*. Except some few pieces from Unyoro and Uganda they include almost all the larger tribes on the White Nile, as well as *Niam-Niam* and *Monbuttu*. The best represented are the last mentioned, the *Bari*, *Dinka*, and *Latuka* tribes. *Gessi's* collection is especially rich in rare remarkable specimens from these. Besides sets of smith-work, ivory horns, musical instruments, and household utensils, which are among the best products of this people, we find from the *Niam-Niam* and *Bongo* peoples a pair of the rare ancestor-images of wood, set up in the huts in remembrance of the dead, and some of the no less rare dance-masks. Unluckily *Gessi's* explanations have been lost, which is all the more to be regretted, as many of the pieces are not to be found elsewhere, and are still imperfectly explained. But the classification of them is not so seriously affected by this loss; it may be undertaken with confidence on the basis of the other collections mentioned above. The little museum of the Propaganda also owns not a few objects from the Nile tribes and the lake country of Central Africa, and in many directions happily supplements the collections in the *Museo Preistorico ed Etnografico*.

The last named group of peoples is entirely distinct, both as to origin and culture, from the three peoples, the *Danakil*,* *Somalis* and *Gallas*, who dwell in the east of equatorial Africa. These also have

* Otherwise written *Dankali*, S.E. of Massowah, along the coast.—[Tr.]

in recent years been fully represented. In all the larger museums their weapons and straw-plaiting, set with cowries, their carved wood-work and ornaments of silver and brass are easily recognised and quite common. But large and complete collections exist only in Rome and Vienna. The two collections in this region supplement one another, the former being best as regards the *Gallas*, while the *Somalis* are most completely represented in the latter.

The peoples of the east coast have been considerably affected by oriental civilisation. It prevails everywhere in *Abyssinia*. Here we have no longer to do with a primitive culture, but a semi-civilisation, with a history of its own, and dominated by Arabian influence. The collections from Abyssinia are in general a mere reflection of this, and are peculiar from the fact that they consist almost solely of articles of magnificence, presented by princes in *Kaffa* and *Schoa* to European princes, or brought back by the English from their Abyssinian campaign. They offer very little of general interest to the history of civilisation. The largest collections of this kind are to be found in London and Rome.

11. THE CONGO TERRITORY.

The most peculiar region of culture in Africa is, beyond doubt, that which lies between the middle and upper Congo and its tributaries, from *Kassai* westward, to *Tanganyika* in the east. Here the peoples are in a marked degree undisturbed by foreign influence. Only in the last ten years have travellers succeeded in penetrating this hitherto unknown territory; and trade among the tribes themselves has not carried European products from the coast colonies up into the interior. In the Berlin Museum ample access to the study of the Congo peoples is afforded by the large and excellent materials brought back from the expeditions led by *Pogge* and *Wissmann*, *Buchner*, *Wolff*, *Reichard*, *von Mechow* and others, who were the first to make their way inland. Each of these collections contains in itself matter of exceptional novelty and interest. The best is that of *Pogge* and *Wissmann*, both in point of completeness and excellence of illustration.[55] Very considerable materials from the middle Congo, collected by *de Brazza* and *Bove*,[56] are to be found in the museum at Rome. A fair col'ection

[55] *Originalmittheilungen* I., 133.
[56] *Atti della R. Accad. dei Lincei* 1887, p. 295.

has also been brought back to Stockholm by Swedish officers in the service of the Congo Company.[57]

In several ways the peoples of the Congo have attained a comparatively considerable height in their products. The art of ironwork, developed in several parts of Africa, has here reached its highest pitch. Even the *Monbuttus'* excellent axes, missiles, etc., and the fine spears and arrows of the Nile tribes are surpassed by the weapons forged by the *Bakuba* and *Balunda* peoples. No primitive people has in fact exceeded them in iron-work. In the large sets of weapons we find the greatest richness and diversity of forms. They give evidence of a long course of development. The most singular composite types of swords, knives and axes—as remote as possible from the simple primitive form—in which the smith has almost made a sport of his skill, are rivalled by the ell-long lance heads, made to attract attention. The longest, from *Arawimi*, reaches the goodly length of 170 *centimetres* [about 5 ft. 8 in.] The multiplicity of forms is not more surprising than the technical skill shown in their manufacture. In one group of weapons half of the finely forged, thin beaten blade is ornamented with longitudinal stripes in relief; in another the sword blades and axe heads have a broken pattern; while in a third the pieces are adorned with zig-zag lines, horizontal bands and serpentine devices, inlaid with copper-wire, so as to form patterns in relief on the upper surface—a style of art peculiar to the Congo Territory. And all this work is produced with the same scanty means, the simple stone hammer and tongs and the primitive bellows, which are to be found all over Africa.

How far this iron-industry extends into the interior can hardly yet be determined. *A priori* it seems probable that it is connected with the same industry among the *Monbuttus* and *Niam-Niams;* but with the present materials it is impossible to draw any conclusion to this effect. Both in technique and form the differences are great. It does not, however, appear to extend so far east as Tanganyika or so far west as the upper course of the Kuango and Kuanza. *Reichhard's* collection from Wamarungu, and *Buchner's* from the country round the two rivers mentioned, contain at most only a few of the iron articles brought back in such large numbers by *Pogge* and *Wissmann.*

On the middle Congo a peculiar development of weaving has

[57] Ymer, 1886, p. 308. Add to these the collection made by the Austrian Congo expedition under Prof. Dr. *Oscar Lenz* and Dr. *Oscar Baumann.* (Note to Germ. tr.).

taken place. Many ethnographical museums have long possessed very characteristic pieces of work, woven of vegetable fibres, with raised patterns, the origin and mode of manufacturing which have given rise to the most conflicting explanations. The new collections from the Congo Territory assign these stuffs to their proper place, and have set the question at rest. From the Middle Congo, *Bakuba* and *Balunda*, they can be traced across the Kuango territory to Angola, exactly uniform in technique and ornamentation.[58] They are not however manufactured in all the places where they are found, but form an important article of trade from the interior. *Wissmann's* collection contains an unfinished piece from *Bakuba*. The pattern is merely drawn upon one portion of the stuff, and the needle is still fixed in it, just as the weaver left it. The specimen is interesting from the light it throws on the technique. It shows that the pattern, composed of figures in checks and meander lines, is not woven along with the stuff, but stitched on, after the weaving is finished.

An extensive cult of fetish and ancestors appears in a series of idols and grave-images. In these the mode of production characteristic of the Congo peoples has received its most peculiar expression, without disturbance from external sources. In the best of them there appears a skill in execution and a fine sense for characterisation, which is unique in Africa. How different, for instance, is the remarkable grave-figure from *Bakuba* in *Wissmann's* collection, a warrior, fully equipped, with his helm-like style of hair, plaited beard and tatooed neck and arms, from even the best of the figures we know of from any other part of this Continent. These are as primitive as they well can be; whereas the Bakuba figure not merely reproduces what is typical in the negro physiognomy with great exactness, but we may even recognise in it a certain individuality in the traits. By the side of this figure there are a few others—the figure of a man standing, from *Kioko*, which also appears to be a grave-figure; a fetish from *Luba*; and, especially, a string of wooden beads, carved like human heads, in which we also observe a naturalistic treatment of types, which is very remarkable as occurring among a primitive people. Only a few of the Mexican terra-cotta heads offer any analogies to this. The best of the figures from the Congo are not so naturally treated; but still they show an effort to reproduce a definite type, and are well carved in quite a special style. To these belong the numerous

[58] The museum at Rome contains a number of these cloths, dating from the xvii. and xviii. centuries, and marked with labels which assign them to Angola.

group of grave-figures which *Reichhard* brought from *Warua* and *Wamarunga*, east of Tanganyika, and the fetish drums with carved human figures, from *Bakuba*. Poor in execution, but of great value to the history of culture, are the masks which are used among the *Baschilunges* by the professional dancers, *Mukishi*, as well as the fetishes and grave-statues from Upper Kassai.

12. The Gaboon Territory.

The trade routes along the Gaboon, from the interior to the coast, like those on the Niger, bring a great stream of objects together from the most various tribes. But among these there is one group, derived from the *Fan* tribes, easily recognisable by its wholly distinct marks. It is the richest in contents and also the most peculiar. The characteristic short sword, in a sheath covered with lizard's hide and hung with amulets, the large clumsy skin shields, well forged spear heads and axes, and the carefully carved woodwork are regularly to be found as the most essential part of all collections from the Gaboon. Whatever the origin of the rest of the objects, it appears certain that this group belongs to the interior of equatorial Africa. Thence the *Fan* tribes in the course of a comparatively short time have pushed down to the Ogowé and out coastwards, to get their share of the coveted fineries from Europe. What was the original home of this energetic race of wanderers is a question not yet fully cleared up; but it can hardly have been far from the upper Nile region. The opinion has often been expressed that the *Fan* peoples are possibly allied to the *Niam-Niam*. In any case they seem to have been influenced by them. Their mode of forging metal, as well as various weapons and implements, indicate a connexion with the Nile tribes, and many circumstances in customs and forms point in the same direction. A peculiarity among the *Fans* is the use of the cross-bow, not elsewhere found in Africa. Evidently it must be derived from a time when this was the weapon commonly used in Europe, and must have penetrated to the interior from the Portuguese colonies on the coast.[59] On the coast it has been superseded by fire-arms, but has held its ground in the interior, where in course of time it has degenerated into a poor weapon, fit only for shooting thin poisoned darts.

Objects from this portion of West Africa are by no means rare in museums. One of the largest collections from it—perhaps at

[59] *Führer durch die Samml. des Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin*, p. 103.

this moment the most considerable—is certainly the one we owe to *De Brazza's* mission to the upper Ogowé and the region between this river and the lower Congo. In 1886 it was temporarily exhibited in Paris,[60] and has now been handed over to the Trocadero. Considerable groups of *Fan* objects are also to be found in the *Musée des Colonies* at Paris, and the British Museum, as well as in Perlin and Leipzig.

13. The Loango Coast.

Large collections have been made within the last ten years among the population on this stretch of coast. The German expedition, despatched in 1874 to Western Africa, brought back considerable materials, now to be found in Berlin. The Leipzig Museum owns a very comprehensive collection, due to the African Company. Many museums besides possess small collections from the Loango Coast, so that the products of this country are well known. They differ in a very marked degree from those of the Congo, and are far from being so peculiar. The fetishes, for instance, which are found in such large numbers in Berlin and Leipzig are roughly carved and uncharacteristic, inlaid with clumsy glass-work, and in general marked with the same absence of character as the figures from the Guinea Coast. The weapons for the most part are not original, but spring from the Gaboon territory, especially from the *Fans*. To this we must add European influences, which contribute still more to weaken the special peculiarities of native production. The most interesting are the plait-work and the woven stuffs, among which the most conspicuous are the fine mats of yellow and black raphia fibre, with representations of animals, the well-made baskets, and the very carefully woven stuffs, with patterns in relief, reminding us of those of the Congo peoples. In metal work we also find a few original things, especially a number of heavy copper rings, decorated with human figures, animals and geometrical devices, in high relief. According to the present arrangement of the materials, they seem to belong to a number of various races. The special peculiarities of each people cannot be assigned to their right source, till the materials have been thoroughly overhauled, as they soon will be.

14. South Africa.

The peoples south of the Zambesi have, for the most part, long

[60] See *Revue Scientifique*, 1886.

been in contact with European civilisation. The *Hottentots* long ago abandoned their own characteristic traits. On the other hand the *Bushmen* and *Bantus* still preserve their individual mode of life and products. But recent political revolutions in S. Africa appear to have made the Kaffirs also unproductive,[61] and trade connexions with the colonies on the east and west coasts will soon destroy the originality of the *Betchuanas* also.

We may therefore congratulate ourselves on already having a very considerable quantity of materials from the *Bantu* peoples, fully representative of the various groups. Most museums contain collections, great or small. The most valuable are the materials in Copenhagen Museum from the *Ama-Zulus* and *Ama-Tembos,* the Berlin collections from the *Betchuanas* and *Hereros,*—the latter also well represented in Leipzig,—the British Museum *Basuto* collection, and the very fine sets of *Kaffir* articles in *Naprstek's* Museum at Prague. And lastly very comprehensive additions have just recently been brought from South Africa to the museums in Vienna[62] and Rome. For a detailed account of these materials the reader is referred to Prof. *Fritsch's* exhaustive treatment of the conditions of culture among the *Bantu* peoples, in his well-known work.[63]

[61] Joest in *Originalmitth.* i., p. 147.

[62] The collections in Vienna and Prague are due to Dr. Holub. (Note to Germ. Tr.)

[63] *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas,* Breslau, 1872.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

HEIRSHIP OF THE YOUNGEST AMONG THE KAFIRS OF AFRICA.

WHILE regretting my insufficient acquaintance with the literature of, and the evidences for, the custom or law that in earlier ages—at least in some parts of the world—the youngest son enjoyed the heirship afterwards considered the birthright of the eldest, I would bring before the investigators of old customs a similar law of inheritance now existing, and the reasons for such a law, the more so, inasmuch as both the law and its reasons may perhaps in some degree modify the views now held on this

subject. Stationed for over nine years in British Caffraria among the tribes of Caffreland, partly through circumstances into which I need not now enter, partly through the necessity for interesting myself in something, where it was difficult to interest oneself in anything requiring any mental effort, I was led to make myself in some degree acquainted with Caffre ideas, customs, and laws. Material and sensuous savages at present, these tribes show various evidences of having fallen from better things. Ask them how man came into being, or what becomes of him after death, or who formed the world and the skies, and they will look unconcernedly at one, as it were shrug their shoulders, as though these were questions and matters which did not concern them, and to which therefore they gave no thought. Yet they have a now all but obsolete word for a supreme Being, and had another now altogether obsolete for a Creator. Neither have they, nor apparently have they ever had, any form of polytheism, properly so called, while they have beliefs and customs inconsistent with the ignorance and indifference of which I have spoken. They "funga" or swear, sometimes by the almost obsolete name of the Deity, more frequently "in accordance with their pride of birth and former] veneration for the spirits of the dead, and in accordance with Arab and other Eastern customs, by their ancestors. They also take to witness their Chief, or some great deceased Chief of his line." They seem thus to believe in the solemnity of such oaths over an affirmation, though they have no judicial oaths, and though neither does their sense of truth nor an oath prevent them as a rule from preferring to make an untrue statement. The truth is, or may turn out to be a disadvantage to them or to their side, and once it has been affirmed it is difficult to deny it: a falsehood on the contrary may, if it turn out inconvenient, be explained away or retracted. There appears also, in a more tropical tribe, speaking a language of the same class as the Caffre, to be an etymological connection between the words for swearing, and the number seven, which seven is perhaps still unwittingly denoted among Caffres, by holding out the right hand in swearing with the fore and middle fingers extended, *i.e.*, two plus the naturally first counted fingers of the left hand. They also believe in ghosts, and in witchcraft, and in cases of the latter do sacrifice to the ghosts of their ancestors. Their wizards, or rather witch-doctors, are only admitted to that position after they have shown certain known signs of their fitness for it, and then after a secret initiation. So too before uttering their supernatural deliverances they fall into the time-known epiliptic or epiliptoid fit, that is of course they pretend to fall into it, for one thought better of it, and stopped it when on the first symptoms I unclosed his eyelid, peered into his eye, and then made it plain by my looks and gestures that I thought him a sham. Lastly, they practise circumcision as a rite requiring six months in its full estrangement from the rest, and as one on no account to be omitted, it being that which—as among the Arabs—marks the passage from boyhood to puberty, and carries with it the privileges of manhood. Faku, a then astute and very old Chief of the Amapondos, higher up towards Natal, kept his heir uncircumcised, though he was certainly over five and twenty, if not older, that there might be no inducement, on the part of that son, or on the part of others in his behalf, to rebel against or make away with Faku himself

A Caffre has also two other racial characteristics; he is avaricious, his riches being cattle, and, as just noticed, he is so far like the Scotch, that he is a great believer in and a great upholder of ancestral descent and rank, and of the blue blood of their race. Hence, the young man of the commonality, who being a young man has had but little or no means of displaying his sagacity—a quality with them most frequently synonymous with cunning—commences for himself in a small way. Hence too being polygamous, and his wives being bought with cattle, his first wife is taken from a position accordant with that of a young, untried, and poor or comparatively poor man. Hence also it happens that his wives increase in number, and in—so to speak—position, in accordance with his wealth, and with his reputation for wisdom and sagacity, which may have raised him to the rank of headman of a district, and one of the Chief's counsellors. It is therefore only when old in years that he takes to himself his "great wife," one of greater social and racial position than were his previous wives, and her son, that is, her eldest son, who is consequently the father's youngest or nearly his youngest, becomes his "great son," and par excellence the heir. If the father be a Chief, this son becomes the Chief at his father's death.

As subordinate heirs, however, the father after some consultation and ceremony chooses out of his other sons, secondly, "the son of his right hand," and thirdly, "the son of his grandfather." If the father be a Chief these two are after his death accounted as Chiefs in the tribe, subordinate to the "great son," and even if through their superior energy, the size of the tribe requiring emigration to pastures new, or other causes, one or both of them break off, and with their respective inheritance or following form a separate tribe or tribes, yet they are federally bound to their great brother, and their successors to his successors, and recognise him as their supreme or national Chief. Thus Krili, the Chief of the Amagcaleka tribe across the Kei, was also paramount Chief of all the Amaxosas including his own tribe, and those this side the Kei, who are divided into the two great divisions—each of which includes several tribes—of the Amangquika and Amandhlambi, which latter has among it the Amagqunukwebi, a tribe of Caffre intermingled with Hottentot blood and therefore rather looked down upon.

It is, I know, said that "the son of the grandfather," is only a late institution introduced among the border Caffres by the Chief Gaika, see "A compendium of Kafir Laws . . . compiled by direction of Col. John Maclean C.B. Mount Coke, 1858," pp. 12-13. It may, however, be a question whether this were not the adoption among the frontier tribes of a Tembu —another Caffre race—custom, for among these a third son inherits under the title of "the son of the left hand."

The custom then of the heirship of the youngest, appears to me to have not unlikely grown up among a polygamous race, and to have arisen both from considerations of self security, and from those of race and rank. When either monogamy became the rule, or when monogamous tribes adopted this custom, either for the same reasons, or through the influence of a conquering or otherwise superior polygamous race, this heirship of the youngest would naturally survive its origin, not so much from the natural fondness of the father for the Benjamin or Solomon of his old age, though this also probably had its effect, as from the survival of an ancestral habit,

and from probably that more cogent reason self security. Not only would a youthful son be less likely to try and supplant his parent, but he would be led to side with and take care of that parent, the influence of the latter being a preservative against the machinations of his elder brothers.

Since writing the above I have learned that Mr. Gomme had drawn attention to this similarity of these two laws of inheritance in a pithy and excellent letter in the *Athenæum*, 29th December, 1883, and then in the fiftieth volume of Archæologia. To him, therefore, belongs the merit and priority of having discovered this similarity. In my case, a communication in this year's *Athenæum* called back my knowledge of Caffre customs, and seemed to prove to me, as it had to Mr. Gomme, that the origin of the heirship of the youngest lay in polygamy. But the present independent reiteration of the same may so far strengthen his views since it shows that two workers of different literary tastes and pursuits have noticed the similarity, and have been so far impressed with it, as to believe that it is not a mere casual likeness. In further support of this, it may be worth adding that the veneration for their ancestors on the part of the Caffres, their belief in witchcraft, the secret rites with which a neophyte is received into, and then acknowledged as one of the wizard fraternity, and the rite of puberty-circumcision, all point to the Eastern origin of their race. So also do their differences from the two other African races, the one the negro, the other the Hottentot, Copt or ancient Egyptian. From the negro they differ not only in colour and physical make, and in features, though naturally they show some evidence of intermixture, nor merely in the words and roots of their language, but in the principles of its grammatical formation. From the Hottentot they differ even more. These latter differ in size, make, complexion, and feature, in their practice of depicting occurrences, in appearance and style identical with those of the ancient Egyptians, a faculty wholly wanting in the Caffre, and in especial by the structural difference of their language, the Hottentot having not merely, as has the Coptic, the masculine and feminine genders only, but having the very same postfixes to denote the two, as exist in the Coptic, besides one or two other structural likenesses. Possibly also the almost lost tradition amongst the Caffres as to the place whence they migrated points in the same direction. This states that they came from the "Uhlanga," a word generally with them meaning "cave," but one which Natalwise also signifies "reed," and is so understood by some at least among the frontier Caffres when speaking on this subject. I say this also possibly points in the same direction, for one of the Hebrew names for the Red Sea is the Sea of Sedges.

BR. NICHOLSON, M.D.

Archæology.

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THE ORIGINS AND EARLIEST DEVELOPMENTS OF GREEK SCULPTURE.

THE striking discoveries made during the last eight years on Greek soil have thrown more light on the earliest period of Greek sculpture than on any other: but their proper value, and the exact contribution they make to our knowledge of that period, have yet to be estimated. The chief object of this paper is to show how, in the presence of the recently acquired facts, the question as to the origin of the statue in Hellenic art stands on an altered footing, and we are no longer left to caprice or prejudice for choosing between an Egyptian, Assyrian, or native origin. The conclusion to which the new evidence leads us is that the free statue was a native Greek development, slowly evolved from the earlier Aniconic object.

At the outset it is well to note what were the elements *in pari materia*, among which we can look for the germ of the statue. Abundant record of the aniconic age of Greek religion is supplied us by ancient writers,[1] and the passages have been sufficiently collected by Bötticher in his Baumcultus,[2] and by Overbeck,[3] who criticises his theory; some of these only it is enough for the present purpose to quote here. Pausanias (2. 9. 6) speaks of an Artemis Patroa *κίονι εικασμένη* and of Apollo Ἀγυιεύς represented as a *κίων κωνοειδής*; (9. 24. 3) an *ἄγαλμα* of Heracles *λίθου ἀργοῦ*; (2. 27. 1) of the most ancient Eros at Thespiae, a *λίθος ἀργός*. We are told also by Clemens Alexandrinus that the earliest emblem or *ἄγαλμα* of Hera at Samos was a *σανίς* or wooden board, replaced in later times by the anthropomorphic image.[4] We can gather from the fragment of the Phoronis, mentioned by Clemens,[5] that the ancient emblem of Hera at Argos was a *κίων μακρός*, and from a passage

[1] See especially Dio Chrysostom, 406, 2: and Arnobius vi., 11.

[2] Vide chapter, entitled Umriss des Hellenischen Baumcultus, and pages 16, 40, 104, 38, 39, 215-217.

[3] Overbeck, *Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften*, 1864, p. 15, etc.

[4] Protreptica, p. 40.

[5] ibid., p. 418.

from the "Europeia" of Eumelos,[6] that the same emblem was possibly used for Apollo at Delphi. We hear also at Sparta of two stocks of wood joined together by a cross-piece to represent the twin-brethren, of a three-cornered pillar at Cyzicum representing Athena, and of a pillar at Thebes which symbolised Dionysos.

Moreover, Bötticher has collected much evidence—and in this lies the chief merit of his book—showing how many of the rites and forms of this aniconic age are derived from tree-worship, a worship which explains such titles as Ζεὺς ἔνενδρος, and such legends as that of Daphne and Helene Δενδρῖτις. With the special stages of progress that he finds within this period we are not concerned: what is interesting to note in his whole theory is his thesis, that the later anthropomorphic image of the divinity is gradually developed from the tree, and that the connecting link was given when the tree or stock began to be decorated with anthropomorphic attributes. This theory of development in which the free statue is evolved from a kind of wooden Herme is opposed strenuously by Overbeck in the above-mentioned periodical, and by Feuerbach. It is convenient to take the classification which Overbeck gives of the earliest objects of Hellenic cult, according to the following scheme.

A	*a.* Unwrought objects	stones	trees or stocks.
	b. Wrought objects	polished or wrought stones, *e.g.*, the ομφαλος	κίων κωνοειδής. σανίς, *delubra*, etc.
B	*c.* The Herme	*d.* The full human statue.	

He maintains then that *c* and *d* are both effects of the same tendency, and that *c* is not the embryo of *d*—also that there is no development necessary to suppose of B from A: the impulse towards the iconic object breaks away altogether from the tradition of the past. On the whole this is also the view of Anselm Feuerbach, as expressed in his *Nachgelassene Schriften:* "the Herme has nothing in common with the stocks and stones; the leap from these to the Herme with the human head is as great as to the full and human image of the God," that is, the gulf between the aniconic and the iconic period cannot be bridged over: the Herme or something midway between the pillar and the statue cannot form such a link, because when men once could carve the head they had plastic power over the whole body and might as well have carved it. What they might have done we do not know, but we have reason for concluding that as a matter of fact they did compromise between the forms

[6] Protreptica, p. 349.

of the pillar and the fully anthropomorphic figure, although Overbeck's theory appears to be still a point of orthodoxy.

Before reviewing the archæological evidence that has been acquired, it may be shown that against Overbeck's position are, (1) certain ancient records, (2) much *à priori* argument.

We are informed by Pausanias concerning the Amyclaean Apollo, whose throne was wrought by Bathycles of Magnesia, that the statue itself was not by Bathycles, but in his opinion, much older than his date—αρχᾶιον κὰι οὐ σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένον: οτι γὰρ μὴ πρόσωπον αὐτῶ καὶ πόδες εἰσὶν ἄκροι καὶ χεῖρες, τὸ λοιπον χαλκῷ κίονι ἐστιν εἰκασμένον· εχει δε 'επὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κράνος, λόγχην δὲ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τόξον. We have here then a work which may go back to the seventh century in which the human form was only indicated at the two extremities of a pillar. Again, Pausanias (1. 27, 1.) records a Hermes carved of wood and half covered with leaves, and an image of Aphrodite (5. 13, 7.) πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθηλυίας. We can thus understand the striking statement of Themistius, Πρὸ τοῦ Δαιδάλου τετράγωνος ἦν οὐ μόνον ἡ τῶν 'Ερμῶν ἐργασία ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνδριάντων:[7] and we may find some truth in Tzetzes' antiquarianism,[8] who says that the sculptors before Daedalus carved figures without feet, hands or eyes, that is, that the εἰκών was not far removed from the form of the pillar. The first half-conscious impulse towards quickening the old lifeless form is quaintly shown in the Dioscuri's twin blocks at Sparta: the fetish-object is no longer of purely meaningless shape, but is wrought in some way to suggest the nature of the divinity that dwelt within it.

Something may be said also concerning the *à priori* probability. Both the aniconic objects and the earliest iconic had the same religious function and significance. The view as regards the former —so far as the ancient records are sufficient guide—is more advanced than the view of primitive fetishism. The sacred κίονες, σανίδες, and λίθοι ἀργοί were rarely or never revered by the Greek in recorded times as objects of independent efficacy, of nameless divine power, producing, if properly dealt with, miraculous effects. This may well have been their aboriginal character[9]—but they have been adopted by the higher polytheism, and the omphalos at Delphi becomes the stone of Hestia, while another sacred stone is holy because it was the stone that Kronos swallowed: and the λίθοι ἀργοί

[7] *Orationes*, 15., p. 316, *a*.

[8] Chil. 1., 537.

[9] The danger of concluding from certain signs to a stone-worship pure and simple has been clearly noted by de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religions-geschichte*, p. 62, but vide Paus. vii. 22, and Theophr. Charact. 18, περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας.

of Pausanias' narrative are all appropriated by some defined divinity. Of this divinity they were in most cases regarded probably as the ἕδος: for though, unfortunately, the legends and other records that might explain the character of the sacred stones and stocks are vague and scanty, yet the significance of such divine epithets as ʼενδενδρος, καρυᾶτις, φηγοναῖος, and the legend of Artemis' hare and the myrtle tree seems clear.

Again, generally speaking, these aniconic objects seem to have little or no influence to the worship of the heroic ancestor, or to the commemoration of the dead, still less of the living,[10] so that if Greek idolatry in the proper sense of the term takes its origin from these it by no means follows—as has been maintained—that ancestor-worship is the ground from which the worship of idols, in this case at least, has grown. In fact, we have no proof that the cultus of the dead was so rife in this early period as it came to be in the 6th and 5th century B.C.

On the other hand the record is equally conclusive concerning the earliest iconic objects. From all that we are told and can infer we can maintain without hazard that these are representations of divinities: including under this group, of course, such figures as Phoebe and Hilaeira the daughters of Apollo worshipped at Sparta and honoured with ancient ἀγάλματα.[11] It is also possible that some few of the figures of the earliest sculpture belonged to the cycle of heroes and δαίμονες; but where the cult of these is recorded and mention made of the statues, the latter are certainly not of the most ancient; there was a worship and perhaps an ancient statue of Lycurgus at Sparta, but we cannot say how ancient, and of the monument at Schiste of Laius we know neither the date nor the form. But did more of these statues exist than are chronicled, they will also naturally fall under the head of the divine. On the whole therefore the subjects of the earliest iconic and the pre-iconic period are the same.

But also the relation of the idol to the divinity is partially the same as that of the κίων σανίς or ἀργὸς λίθος: of course a new element has been added, the divine likeness in whole or part, while it is very unlikely that even the most backward Greek supposed the stone or the board to be the real form of his divinity; but he supposed it to be the ἕδος in which divinity dwelt or the τέμενος about which it lurked. On the other side, while no passage that I have been able

[10] The sacred plane-tree of the house of Pelops, and the spear of Agamemnon Paus, 9. 40. 6, worshipped at Delphi, do not tell against this rule.

[11] Pausanias, 3, 16, 1.

to find establishes the exact identity of the deity and the image in ancient belief, some certainly come very near it, and show the statue to be in the most intimate sense the ἕδος. The statue of Hera turned aside when the blood of the Sybarites was shed at her altar (Athenaeus 12, p. 521), and the Palladion was no less sympathetic, when the suppliants of Siris were dragged away to slaughter from its feet (if it had feet) and the Goddess closed her eyes."[12] (Strabo, p. 264.) The practice, of which we have a few notices, of chaining statues to prevent them going away from their votaries illustrates the same conception. We may believe then that the more philosophic view of the idol, as expressed for instance by Lucian (Imag. 23), that it is merely a symbol bringing home to the senses the idea of an invisible and remote divinity was by no means the original, probably never the popular, view.[13]

Therefore as the λίθος ἀργός or ξεστός and the εἰκών referred to the same personage and were regarded partially at least under the same aspect, it seems *à priori* probable that the primitive ἀγαλματοποιός did not exclude from his mind, when he began his idol, the form of the sacred pillar; rather that he took the latter as his *point d'appui* and timidly and reverentially allowed the face and extremities of the divinity that housed within to look forth. And the probability of this view of the first iconic process grows when one reflects how easy it was; for, as de la Saussaye (p. 53) observes, the boundary-line between fetish (*i.e.*, the aniconic object) and idol is hard to fix precisely, and a slight cut in the surface of the stone or a stroke of colour converts the former into the latter. If merely the head was at first added, of all the human members, then the later statue is a development from the primitive Herme; or we may suppose that head, feet and hands were given as soon as ever the pillar began to assume iconic form; but this is a matter of indifference, for in either case the statue would be developed out of the aniconic object of cult. As a last argument for the *à priori* probability of this theory may be mentioned an interesting passage in Pausanias' description of Arcadia, which mentions an ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον of Ζεὺς Τέλειος and the curious fact περισσῶς δή τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονταί μοι χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες. Pausanias may mean that the Herme pure was the favourite form of the Arcadians or the foursquare columnar and inorganic body with human extremities attached. Now as we have

[12] The legend is possibly an ætiological legend to explain the ὄμματα μεμυκότα of the archaic image.

[13] Vide a passage in de la Saussaye's Lehrbuch, p. 54, for the less advanced people "ist das Wesen und die Kraft des Abgebildeten im Bilde anwesend."

other indications of the primitive character of the Arcadian cult, we may be allowed to explain this attachment of theirs to the σχῆμα τετράγωνον as an attachment to the most primitive form of idolatry.

Turning from *à priori* reasoning, we can now deal with certain monumental evidence which was lacking when Overbeck wrote his criticism of Bötticher's theory. If we wish to find a link between the two periods it is supplied by the statue found at Delos and published by the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1878, Pl. i. and well described by M. Homolle. The inscription declares that it was dedicated by Nikandra, the daughter of Deinodokos the Naxian to "Ιοχέαιρα," and is, therefore, a representation of Artemis. As the epigraphy is very interesting and bears on its date, the first line is here given:—

ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΗ ΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΗΕΚΗΒΟΛΟΙ
ΙΟΧΕΑΡΗΙ

There is no human likeness except at the extremities, and the faint indication of breasts and hips and of the hair, which falls in broad strips on the shoulders. The head is so defaced that we can say nothing of the features except that they appear to have been wrought in very low relief, as the throat also is; and we cannot decide whether the eyes are open or closed; the type of the countenance would appear to be round and rather fleshy. The arms are riveted to the side with a slight interval for ¼ of their length, and the hands are almost formless, being clenched but perforated as though holding something. The clothing is indicated merely by a line that marks the end of the chiton by the feet, which wear sandals. The forms are so crude and inorganic that if the trunk had been found alone without the head and the arms and feet it would scarcely have been supposed to be part of the human figure, and the back is even more inorganic than the front. The shape of the pillar still so far prevails over the iconic that M. Homolle himself remarks—*à propos* of the work—"Avant Dédale on se contentait de dégrossir les ἀργοὶ λίθοι primitifs:" but he does not work out the theory of development which his words might seem to suggest.

He supposes the work to be not quite so old as it appears, because in certain details he finds a comparative power in handling the surface of the marble: "La facture de certaines parties est la preuve qu' à l'époque où elle fut executée on savait déja faire mieux:" yet he ascribes it vaguely to the 7th century, supposing

that marble was first used for statues in place of wood about 700 B.C. Whether there is a certain intentional preservation of very rudimentary forms in this, as we know was the case in other instances, is not a question that need be discussed now. The model or type is the most primitive that has yet been discovered in marble work. Before discussing any question of date some works that are closely akin to this may be mentioned:—

(*a*) A fragment of a female figure found at Eleusis, and described *Eph. Arch.*, 1884, p. 3. and published *ibid* πίναξ, 9; the head and feet are wanting, and possibly the latter were never indicated at all. On the breasts which are faintly marked are traces of the long curls which fall down over the shoulders. From the waist downwards no organic forms are discernible at all beneath the talaric chiton, which is not the only garment, for at the side and about the middle of the body are traces of a tightly-drawn peplos. The arms, which are missing, must have been glued to the side. The waist is extremely pinched. The whole appearance, though we can note a certain advance, may be called τετράγωνος or columnar.

(*b*) Probably of very similar type to this was the statue of the Ptoan Apollo of which a fragment of the lower part has been discovered with the inscription:—

....ON ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΤΟΙ ΑΠΟ

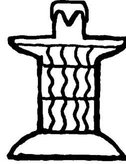
ΛΟΝΙ ΤΟΙ ΠΤΟΙΕΙ

·ΟΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙϜΕΣΕ

i.e., ων ἀνέθηκε τῳ Ἀπόλλωνι τῳ Πτωίει . . οτος ἐποίϝεσε.

The inscription has been published by M. Holleaux in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 1886. The fragment is about 2 feet 3 inches high, showing the lower part of both legs enveloped in drapery so that no organic form is recognisable at all. One can see the left toes with a sandal and a small portion of the right toes, and the statue was evidently standing. There are faint lines before and behind indicating an upper garment, which was found also on the figure above mentioned. The very archaic scheme is here undoubtedly a comparatively late survival, for the type of the writing, which, as M. Holleaux has pointed out, is very like to that of the Dermys and Kitylos monument, belongs to the later period of the 6th century.

These are the only marble works with which I am acquainted that can be considered to represent this earliest stage of free sculpture: but some small terra-cotta figures belonging to the British Museum from Tangra may illustrate for us the same style in another material. The accompanying sketch[14] will just serve to show the crudest form of them in outline.



A pair of stump-like arms, a few zigzag vertical lines to hint at the drapery, features worthy of the art of the South-sea islands, are the only marks that distinguish this figure from a mere fetish-object; and the great breadth and thinness of the trunk suggest that the form of the *σανίς* or wooden board has been rendered into terra-cotta with a few iconic details added.

As regards marble work at least, it seems clear already that the pillar is the actual starting-point from which the process begins that ends in the free articulated statue; and this becomes clearer still when we trace the various points in the development of the human organism from the inorganic germ. This blending or meeting of the two forms may be paralleled by the process which prevailed at Camirus of working the *εἰκών* of Aphrodite upon the alabastron.[15] And another instance of a similar transition would be obtained, if the ingenious suggestion of Mr. A. Evans,[16] in regard to certain sepulchral or Chthonian figures found among recently discovered Tarentine terra-cottas, be admitted—namely, that the gable-like crowns that rise above the heads of some of those figures are adapted from the form of the summits of some early Greek sepulchral stelae: that is, the tombstone itself may have been regarded as possessed by the dead person, and one of its forms may have survived in the *εἰκών* of the dead.

The proof so far advanced holds good, if admitted, properly of the marble figure only; for although a parallel development of the wooden idol from the aniconic wooden object is extremely probable, we have no direct archæological evidence for this, as the earliest

[14] A similar figure is sketched in Murray's *History of Greek Sculpture*, p. 73.

[15] Instances of this may be seen in the first terra-cotta room of the British Museum.

[16] *Hellenic Journal*, vii. No. 1, p. 18.

wooden idols have not been preserved. And another theory has been held concerning these, that they were carved under the immediate influence of the wooden Phœnician idols. But we may have resource to the same *à priori* evidence in favour of the same development for them that was put forward as regards the development of the stone αγάλματα.

A clear distinction must be maintained between the process and origins of free sculpture and those of relief-work, of which the history is quite different and in which considerable freedom was probably acquired at a comparatively earlier date. Confining our attention to the former, we may draw certain deductions from the conclusion already arrived at. First, it will be unreasonable to suppose that the nascent Greek Sculpture, attempting to attain to a human image in marble, took its cue from the art of Egypt or Assyria. The iconic impulse, the desire to substitute something more real and lively for the old almost shapeless blocks, may have been communicated to Greece from the East: but neither Egypt nor Assyria supplied the earliest form of the representation. Perhaps later, when we are estimating the style of such a work as the Apollo of Tenea, some account must be taken of Egyptian influences, though even here these have been exaggerated and misunderstood, as Professor Brunn has ably pointed out.

But the type of Nikandra's statue of Artemis cannot have been given by the art of the older countries. The barbarous semi-articulate forms of the Delian figure would be inexplicable if the primitive sculptor had been attempting, however falteringly, to reproduce the severe conventional and mathematical scheme of the ordinary Egyptian statue.[17] It shows rather a childish, helpless, independence, and what M. Dumont says[18] of early Greek Sculpture in general "ce que le caracterise à ses débuts c'est l'audace: il cherche, il ne copie pas" is only partially true here; the sculptor does not copy, it is true, and perhaps the first step was audacious in a certain sense; but we are more struck with the timorous reverence that superstitiously cleaves to the now incongruous form of the older cult-object; for though no doubt the mechanical difficulties that beset the first workers in marble explain much of the crudeness of the figure, yet some effect must also I think be ascribed to the religious reserve.

[17] Diodorus Siculus, i., 98, notices the resemblance of the Samian Apollo, a comparatively advanced work of Rhoecus and Theodorus, to the Egyptian typical form ὡς τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἔχον παρατεταμένας, τὰ δὲ σκέλη διαβεβηκότα: the latter part of this description is inappropriate to the earliest Greek sculpture.

[18] *Monuments Grecs.* 1878.

Nor have we any more right to refer the Delian xoanon to the influences of Assyrian style, for the monuments supply us with no real analogies. We find, indeed, in a few free statues of Assyrian sculpture a rendering of the drapery which bears a slight resemblance to that of our figure: for instance, the statues of Nebo and Assur-Bana-Pal, in the British Museum, are enveloped in a robe that falls down to the feet, and is drawn tightly in at the waist. But the resemblance even in this single point is merely superficial and accidental: the Assyrian sculptor only desired to reproduce a certain fashion of apparel, and though the effect is that the organic forms of the lower part of the body are almost concealed, yet it would be unnatural to see in this a process at all akin to that above described. To this fashion of Assyrian drapery, rather than to the influence of the aniconic object may be ascribed the forms of some of the statuettes of Cypriote stone belonging to the Cesnola collection at New York (*e.g.*, pl. lx. of the Cesnola Collection Curtius). We may, indeed, maintain the theory that certain special types of free Greek sculpture have been developed under the influence of Oriental relief-work; for instance, the winged Artemis from Olympia holding the lions, the flying Nike from Delos in the Central Museum of Athens, certain motives found in archaic terra-cotta work, such as Bellerophon slaying the Chimaera, Eos carrying the body of her dead son, Perseus riding by the slaughtered Medusa; the scheme of all these compositions, except the first, suggesting that the figures have been, as it were, detached from a background. Oriental relief-work must be borne in mind in tracing some of the origins of Asia Minor art; but to say that the free statue in general is a development from the relief, is an unproved paradox.[19]

A second corollary that can be drawn from our main conclusion is that the influence of carving in wood does not count for the origins of free stone-carving. No doubt the former was earlier in time, for the material was of course easier to work, and we have Pliny's express statement concerning the greater antiquity of the wooden idol—a statement corroborated by the use of the term *ξόανον*, which Pausanias usually applies to the very archaic figures which he mentions.[20] But previously acquired practice in wood-

[19] Semper's remarks (*Der Styl* 1, p. 336) have been wrongly understood to contain such a theory. He is there saying nothing at all about the origin of the free statue in Greek sculpture.

[20] It is useful to note that the broader significance of the term *ξόανον*, which in Strabo and other writers applies to a carved image in any material is not found at all in Pausanias: he uses ἄγαλμα for the general term, *ξόανον* always

carving reacts on marble work only in the second and more developed stage of the latter, not at all in this first period in which the primitive sculptor works a certain shape upon the stone pillar without any habit of expression or style gathered from work in other material.

Thirdly, it would seem probable that the draped figures—if not the earliest εἰκόνες—were earlier than the naked: existing monumental evidence is in favour of this, and certain *à priori* reasons; for it is clear that the figure muffled in drapery, which need only be indicated by a border-line at the feet, or a line at the waist, or by certain markings in very low relief on the surface, is much nearer to the columnar form than the naked and more or less organically articulated figure. And among the recorded archaic figures that were ascribed to a pre-historic age I can only find mention of one that was nude—the ξόανον γυμνὸν Ἡρακλέους at Corinth, that Pausanias mentions as the work of Daedalus (Paus. 2. 4. 5): but the "Daedalid" style is not of the first era of Greek sculpture.

Before touching on any questions of chronology as regards the first and later stages of Greek sculpture, it would be well to mark first the points of progress, and the illustrations of them. But it is necessary to premise that the date of any particular work is always distinct from the date of its type—for certain crude types may be preserved long after they have become obsolete, perhaps to satisfy the impulse of religious conservatism. Thus, according to Pausanias' account of the images of Phoebe and Hilaeira at Sparta (3. 16. 1), of very archaic work, the face of the one had been more or less modernised, but a pious dream forbade a similar change in respect of the other. The first step of advance was probably, in the case at least of the draped figures, the freer rendering of the arms; for, as the legs were enveloped in drapery, the need was not likely to be so soon felt for finding a more iconic expression of them. Gradually more and more of the length of the arm will have been freed from the side, until one at least was disengaged altogether, and then the forearm could be extended at right angles to the body, the upper arm remaining still attached to the trunk. The immediate advantage of this change was not only the heightened impression of freedom and life, but also the greater facility for displaying attributes and personality: the arms riveted to the side, with clenched palms, could do little to express the personage repre-

for the wooden figure: vide 2, 4, 1: 3, 25, 3: 4, 34, 7: 7, 23, 5: 8, 31, 5: 8, 4, 2: 2, 31, 6.

sented, but the outstretched hand could display the appropriate emblem. The following are instances of this advance upon the original scheme.

(*a*) The Hera of Samos in the Louvre, of which the head and left arm are lost: the lower part of the body has no human likeness, the talaric chiton falling down with fine fluted lines, while the upper garment is tightly drawn over this. The right arm is riveted to the side without any interval at all, but there are indications that the left arm must have been raised. This work may well be a reproduction of the very archaic statue that was ascribed to the semi-mythical Smilis, who first carved for the Samians an anthropomorphic representation of Hera.

(*b*) A statue found on the Acropolis 1886, published in Les Musées d' Athènes Pl. X, wearing talaric chiton and a short upper-garment. From the waist downward the form is aniconic and the feet do not appear; the right arm is held down by the side but partly disengaged, but the left forearm which is missing was evidently extended forward. The life-like rendering of the breasts and the very advanced treatment of the features shew that this very archaic scheme of body is here an intentional anachronism.

(*c*) A small bronze female figure found at the Ptoan temple of Apollo in the course of the French excavations, published by M. Holleaux, Bull. de Corr. Hellénique, 1888, (Mai-Novembre) pl. XI. The lower part of the body disappears as usual below the drapery, and the waist is drawn in by a girdle. The breasts are excessively developed and the arms are extended: the treatment of the face is comparatively advanced. M. Holleaux is wrong in regarding this figure as an instance of the transition from the earliest aniconic objects to the representation of the living human form, for we have seen that the stage of transition is earlier than this. But his suggestion has much weight that this *σχῆμα τετράγωνον* was retained longer for the female figure, for as soon as the male figure had to be represented as nude, this scheme must soon have been abandoned for it.

(*d*) The very archaic statue of the Amyclean Apollo described by Pausanias in the words already quoted. The hands—if not the arms—were most probably detached from the body, as they appear on certain coins that are a more less accurate reproduction of the ancient figure.[21] We are here dealing with a very primitive bronze work, an achievement rather of the art of metal-soldering than of

[21] *Vide* Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias, Hellenic Journal*, vol. vii. No. 1 p. 63.

metal-casting, as is indicated by the nails which can be detected according to Professor Gardner in the coin representations, and which served to secure the beaten plates. Now it is obvious that the earliest works of this art may have shown somewhat more freedom than the earliest figures carved in the stone: for it was almost as easy to disengage certain plates, those for instance that served for the arms, from the main body, as to solder them upon it without interval. It is possible indeed that the earliest bronze-works also adhered to the traditional semi-iconic type with the imprisoned arms and limbs, but there was less mechanical necessity for such adherence as there was in the case of marble-carving.

(*e*) The bronze statuette found at Olympia, representing a winged goddess with drapery treated in the traditional primitive fashion, and with arms brought obliquely across the breast. The figure has a generic resemblance to those of this group, but the type may be Oriental and of quite different descent. (*f*) A terra-cotta female figure in the British Museum from Polledraria near Vulci, with the right forearm stretched out and the left held across the breast.

Instances might be multiplied, but these already noted are sufficient to show that the same modes of development prevailed, and the same progressive experiments were made in very different localities; it is likely that the stages of progress were on the whole the same in different places, although of course by no means contemporaneous.

A more striking and fruitful advance was made in the development of the above type, when some life and iconic form was given to the lower limbs. These were gained by separating the legs and advancing the left, or else by gathering the drapery in one of the hands and drawing it tightly across the legs so as to reveal the forms. An instance of the first method, belonging still to a very archaic scheme, is a Cypriote statuette of a female figure with the arms close to the side, and with the left leg slightly advanced beneath the drapery; of the second, a bronze statuette from Olympia showing a goddess with the left hand on her breast, and gathering a fold of her drapery in her right hand. It is clear that by working out either of these motives more and more freely the bondage to the old aniconic σχῆμα is most effectually broken through: the combination of the two in a period of ripe archaism produces that graceful effect that is found in the figures recently discovered on the Acropolis.

Turning to the representation of nude figures, we may try to trace corresponding stages of development in them, but among

existing works it is difficult to find any that can be taken as the earliest point. The small almost shapeless idol published in Müller's Denkmäler (1 Tf. ii. No. 15) may not be Hellenic at all; nor in dealing with the origins of Hellenic sculpture need we refer to that naked idol of a Goddess with the hands pointing to the breast, possibly Istar, of Mesopotamian origin, a type found frequently in Cyprus and diffused even as far as Sardinia;[22] this figure may have supplied a motive to the later Greek representation of Aphrodite, but it never served as a model for any other Greek representation whether primitive or advanced. In marble sculpture we have no nude statue of style so primitive and crude, so near to the aniconic form, as the draped figure of Artemis Ἰοχέαιρα of Delos: this may be an accident, or it may well be—as above suggested—that the earliest ἀγάλματα, being the divine idols, were draped, and that the undraped figure was not attempted until a certain plastic power had been obtained. At all events, the earliest naked statue that I am aware of is a fragment (*a*)—unpublished as far as I know—in the first room of the Central Museum at Athens. The surface is much disfigured, and the lower limbs are wanting, so that one cannot decide whether the legs are yet separated or not. The arms are glued as it were to the side without any interval at all, and the hips are very faintly indicated. But for the first time we have a serious attempt, however crude, to give the organism of the torso; the parts of the breast, the abdomen, and the pelvis are shown with a certain distinctness, but the muscles appear flaccid, and the flesh of the pelvis is far too deciduous, as in fact we find it also on the Apollo of Tenea. The features are barbarous and coarse, the nose thick and protruding, the outline of the eyes almost triangular, as it is in the Apollo of Orchomenos.

Slightly more advanced than this in one respect is the earlier of the two *torsos* from Actium (*b*) in the Louvre,[23] which shows us the arm still close to the side, but with an interval of about $\frac{1}{5}$th of their length, a diaphragm scarcely articulated at all, the muscles of the shoulders hardly indicated, and the same triangular shape of the body and the same incorrect sinking of the breast bones which we see in the "Apollos" of Thera, Orchomenos and Tenea.

The next stage (*c*) in which differences of local work begin to make themselves felt, in which the effects can be traced of the forms of wood carving and metal work, may be represented by the last-

[22] Terra-cotta in the British Museum, First Terra-cotta Room.

[23] *Vide* description of Torsos from Actium, *Gazette Archéol.* 1886, by Collignon.

named works, which are too well known to need description here· This is the first point in the development at which it is legitimate to speak of Egyptian influence, to which M. Collignon in the article mentioned in the preceding note unreservedly refers the works of this type. But we shall not refer the whole scheme of the type to any Egyptian model, if we accept the theory that the Greek εἰκών has been developed step by step from the Greek aniconic κίων. Yet the Egyptian canon may have lent certain details to Greek sculptors of the latter part of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century; for instance possibly—as Perrot maintains—[24] the long plaited mass of hair that falls down on the back of the neck of these figures is an imitation of the Egyptian Klaft. Possibly also the proportion of the thin hips to the broad shoulders is Egyptian, though this form may arise quite independantly from the desire to emphasise and exaggerate those parts of the body, such as the thighs and shoulders, which can best give the impression of strength. What remains to assign to Egyptian influence is the pose of the left leg which is always held in advance, though the same mechanical reasons of convenience that probably explain this in Egyptian sculpture may explain it also in Greek. The expression of the face, so far as it has any, and the forms of it have nothing whatever to do with Egypt or the East. As regards these forms it has not yet been possible to give any definite account, for we have not material enough to trace any regular development in the works of these earlier stages. We find no fixed method of handling, no conventional type of features, but rather irregularity and helplessness of hand. The one point of agreement discoverable in the heads carved in these earlier stages of sculpture is the foursquare shape, the back of the head, the front, and the cheeks forming four separate planes, a shape which betrays the aniconic original, and which is preserved more or less disguised down to the last period of archaism. We find it in the Athena's head from the west pediment of the Aeginetan temple, but not in the Athena's head of the eastern nor in the head of the Strangford Apollo.

Hitherto, also, we have not been able to classify works by any inner distinctions of style, but only by a principle of mechanical arrangement, and according to the less and greater advance they exhibit from the aniconic form, and by the distinction between the nude and the draped. It becomes possible to speak of style first in regard to the forms of the last mentioned group (*c*), and from now

[24] *Revue des deux mondes*, 1885, p. 302.

onward the development is not merely external and mechanical but inward and spiritual.

In the next stage we may look for external advance in the freer movement of the arms, such as we may conjecture was shown by the statue of the Delian Apollo who held the three Graces in his hand, a work of the middle of the 6th century by Tectaios and Angelion pupils of Scyllis and Dipoenus. In this stage also or at the close of the last we have the beginnings of expression in the face; the archaic smile becomes prevalent, which is a purely Greek form first found on the face of the Apollo of Tenea.

As regards these and the works of more advanced archaism, the question of their logical arrangement becomes very difficult. It no longer serves us much to group them according as they exhibit the same scheme of figure, for among those that may be thus grouped together there will be found many great intrinsic differences of style. We may distinguish in the marble works the distinct influences of the processes of carving in wood and bronze-casting; but this will lead to a superficial classification in which much that is essential is omitted.

A method that some archæologists have followed is to distinguish works according to the places in which they are found or from which they are known to have been brought, and thus to define local schools. But this plan is likely often to be very illusory, for the inscriptions on archaic works that prove them to be imported and to have nothing to do with any native art of the place of their dedication are very numerous. Thus the recent attempt which has been made by M. Holleaux in several numbers of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* to establish an Archaic Boeotian art is on the whole a failure. All the works that the Ptoan excavations have brought to light, which show any real style or disciplined schooling or any appreciable manner are, as he himself admits, of foreign import. What remains is a sculpture style-less and in certain forms almost as rude as certain savage work, lax and undisciplined and most difficult to date. The well-known monument of Dermys and Kitylos shows Boeotian helplessness rather than Boeotian freshness and naiveté, and, as the style of its inscription refers it to the beginning of the 5th century, is altogether an anachronism.

The most scientific and satisfactory classification yet advanced appears to me to be that which Lange has given in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen Instituts* 1882, p. 193 (Zwei Köpfe von der Acropolis in Athen). He distinguishes on the grounds (1) of the

greater or less emphasis laid on the fleshy parts or on the bone-structure, (2) of the shape of the bone-structure, (3) of the varying physiognomical expression. He finds thus the following two groups, (1) figures of sharp tense forms of body and face, with thin features, prominent cheek-bones and chin, showing as he thinks Egyptian leanings: (2) figures of "Ionic" style under Assyrian influence, a style influenced by metal-work and showing soft round and full modelling and in the face a more or less sensuous expression.

In the instances he gives of the two groups he may be sometimes mistaken, and his account of the influences under which the groups arose is questionable in parts. But there is no doubt that the distinction is vital and far-reaching. To the "Ionic" group are closely related the newly discovered female statues on the Acropolis that show the "island" manner; and to this group belong the heads from Ephesus in the British Museum and the head from Rhodes.

Is it possible to give any dates for the origins of Greek sculpture and for these various stages we have just noted? To discuss fully the chronological question is impossible in the present paper, and, as new monumental evidence of the archaic period is every day accumulating, would be perhaps ill-timed. Nothing satisfactory as regards this question has at present been attempted. M. Dumont[25] has indeed attempted to give dates for the earliest periods, but his theory is vitiated by the fundamental error of regarding the period of Archermos as represented by the Delian statues of the quasi-aniconic σχῆμα. It is well to note that the question when the divine objects of worship began to be iconic, and the question when the earliest iconic marble sculpture arose, are separate. As regards the first of these questions, there is little doubt that the wooden εἰκών is at least as early as Homer's period, and while a certain artistic record is found about the end of the 7th century, the works of Daedalus belong to the prehistoric age and may roughly be assigned to the close of the 8th. But the ancients were aware that the wooden idols attributed to Daedalus were not the most primitive in form: we are, therefore, referred further back still, perhaps to the 9th century, for the beginnings of iconism. As regards the origin of marble sculpture the records fail us, and probably there never was any record. The Chian school whose oldest name is Melas belongs to the beginning of the 6th century, and soon after this, marking evidently an advance, come the names of Scyllis and Dipoenus (*Pliny*, 36, 9.)

[25] *Monuments Grecs*, 1878.

of Olympiad 50. Now the type to which the Delian Artemis belongs is probably much older than this century, for the progress from it to such figures as the winged victory of Archermos and the Apollo of Tectaios and Angelion is very great, and a considerable interval must be allowed, and this primitive type in marble may be thrown back to the very beginning of the 7th century. I have pointed out already that the draped marble figure is probably earlier in origin than the undraped: and for dating the earliest representation of the nude male figure, it is scarcely fanciful to take as the "terminus a quo" the 15th Olympiad when the fashion began to compete naked at the Olympian games.

Thus the last quarter of the 7th century will be the period in which we may place such a work as the above-mentioned male statue in the Central Museum of Athens, and a little later then, as regards style, will fall the "Apollos" of Orchomenos and Thera. We learn from Pausanias' description of the statue of Arrachion at Phigaleia (8. 40), the date of which was about 560, that while progress may have been made in other directions, this type long survived for the representation of the nude athletic figure; and we find it in so advanced a work as the Strangford Apollo, upon which there still rests, as it were, a shadow of the σχῆμα τετράγωνον, with which Greek sculpture started, and which in many forms it retained till the period of transition to the perfected style of the 5th century.

L. R. FARNELL.

WIDOWHOOD IN MANORIAL LAW.

IT is singular that little or no attention should have been drawn to the status of widowhood in manorial law; while the part it plays in the history of the rules of succession has been wholly ignored. As a matter of fact the conditions of widowhood in manorial law show something more than a probability of widow-succession to family property having obtained in this country, and if this can be made out by a study of comparative custom, there

will be few portions of manorial law so indicative of the archaic origin of the manor than this.

In no treatise on succession rules in England which I have read has it ever been noted that widow-succession here and there obtained instead of the more generally known rules, primogeniture or borough English. Even Mr. Elton passes by one of the best known examples, with the remark that the manor in which it occurs, "is perhaps best known for its strange exaggeration of the law of dower." [1] The fact is, as it appears to me, that the law of dower has usurped under its comprehensive terminology an undue proportion of local customs appertaining to the status of widowhood, and it will be the first, and most necessary, step in our enquiry to clearly understand the rightful plan of the law of dower. Sir Henry Maine clearly enough explains that it is one of the results of the power to regulate the descent of property according to the individual wishes of a testator, which is not older than the latter portion of the middle ages. "The provision for the widow," he says, "was attributed to the exertions of the church, which never relaxed its solicitude for the interest of wives surviving their husbands—winning perhaps one of the most arduous of its triumphs, when after exacting for two or three centuries an express promise from the husband at marriage to endow his wife, it at length succeeded in engrafting the principle of dower on the customary law of all Western Europe."[2] We get from this, the conception of a constant, not an uncertain, law, and accordingly, wherever we meet with the law of dower, whether in practice or as it is expounded in legal treatises, the one characteristic which it appears wholly to possess, is that of uniformity.

But when we leave the law of dower as it is known to lawyers, and turn to the rights of widows under manorial custom, we are on quite different ground. In the first place, it is known by a different name, that of freebench, and it will be convenient to bear this distinction in mind when speaking of the two classes of widows' rights, the right to dower and the custom of freebench. A passage from Watkins, explains where we may look for a further distinction than that of mere name only. Freebench, he says, "differs from dower at the common law, in that the former, unless the particular custom declares it to be otherwise, does not attach even in right, till the actual decease of the husband, whereas the right to dower

[1] *Origins of English History*, 194.
[2] *Ancient Law*, 224; cf. *Early History of Institutions*, 338.

at the common law attaches immediately on marriage."[3] This distinction between dower and freebench brings out the important fact, that the latter is really *a rule of succession to property* wholly independent of the husband's rights and powers. Examining further the characteristics of freebench, we find that "a widow can only claim her freebench by virtue of a special custom,"[4] which proves that it does not obtain as a general, but as a special, custom, is therefore independent of, and distinct from, general customary law. Finally the custom of freebench is not uniform. "Thus in some manors," says Watkins, "the widow shall have the whole lands of which her husband died seized, and in others only a portion of them as the moiety, or a third, or a fourth, part"[5]—conditions which prove the dependence of the custom of freebench upon *local* practices and not upon general law.

If we summarize the facts thus set forth on the law of dower and the custom of freebench, they appear to present the following conditions for our consideration :—

(1) *Law of dower*—

(*a*) The right of a *wife* to a certain portion of her husband's property.

(*b*) The portion is fixed at one-third.

(*c*) The law is general.

(2) *Custom of freebench*—

(*a*) The right of a *widow* to succeed to her deceased husband's property.

(*b*) The portion is uncertain, according to local practice.

(*c*) The custom obtains only in particular manors, and is not general.

It seems certain from this, that it is only an arithmetical, and not an historical, conclusion to state that the rights of widows to more than one-third of their husbands' property, is "an exaggeration of the law of dower," and that we must therefore turn to some other source to ascertain the true origin of the rights and status of widowhood in manorial law. To do this effectually we will first examine some examples which occur in the ascertained customs of certain manors, and it will suffice if we note those instances only where the widow succeeds to the whole of the deceased husband's

[3] Watkins *On Copyholds*, ii. 59-60.

[4] Ibid. ii., 69. Coke says even more significantly, "Dowers of copyhold are warranted by special custome only and not by the common law or by the general custome."—*Complete Copyholder*, 151.

[5] Watkins *loc. cit.*

manorial holding. The points to which these instances will at once direct attention are, that the custom though strictly local is far from being isolated, and that unless we admit the theory of one manor borrowing from another manor, the points of likeness and unlikeness in details can only be explained by descent from a common parentage.

At Taunton Deane, in Somersetshire, the custom is set forth as follows: "If any tenant die seized of any customary lands or tenements of inheritance within the said manor, and having a wife at the time of his death, then his wife ought and hath used time out of mind to inherit the same lands *as next heir unto her husband*, by the custom of the said manor, and be admitted tenant thereunto to hold the same unto her and her heirs for ever, according to the custom of the said manor, and in as ample manner as any other customary tenant there holdeth his lands, under the rents, feus, heriots, customs, duties, suits, and services, for the same due and accustomed."[6] The significance of the expression, "next heir unto her husband," must be at once recognized as differentiating this example as one peculiarly important to the view of the case which seems to me to explain the origin of the custom.

At Merdon in Hampshire, the custom was that "if any tenant of any copyhold die seized of any copyhold, his wife living, then she ought to come to the next court or Law-day, to make her claim and election whether she will pay a penny and hold for her widow's estate or pay half her husband's fine and to keep the copyhold tenement during her life."[7]

At Braunston in Northamptonshire, the widow succeeds to her husband's "copyhold lands for life" upon attendance regularly every court day.[8] At Orleton in Herefordshire, the widow is admitted to all her husband's copylands during her life.[9] At Southwell in Nottinghamshire,[10] at Stockwood in Dorsetshire,[11] at Cuckfield, Ditcheling, and Rottingdean in Sussex,[12] at Dawlish in Devonshire, Littlecot in Wilts, Marden in Hereford, Weardale in Durham, Yetminster in Dorsetshire, Balneth in Sussex, and Balshall in Warwickshire,[13] the widow succeeds to all her husband's

[6] Shillibeer's *Customs of Taunton Deane*, 42.
[7] Imber's *The Case and Customs of the Manor of Merdon*, 1707, p. 47.
[8] Blount's *Tenures*, by Hazlitt, p. 37: Watkins' *Copyholds*, ii., 569.
[9] Blount, *loc. cit.*, 236.
[10] *Ibid.*, 289; Watkins' *Copyholds*, ii., 506.
[11] Blount, 298; Watkins, ii. 533.
[12] Corner's *Custom of Borough English*, p. 11.
[13] Watkins' *Copyholds*, ii., 436, 497, 540, 544, 573, 575. In his supplement Coke twice mentions, without giving the name of the manor, that a wife succeeds

·ands in the manor, and the geographical distribution of these customs do not leave much doubt about the existence of an ancient custom from which the later manorial custom must have descended.

We next pass to examples of widow succession which supply certain details not possessed in common by all, but which are of importance for the purpose of identifying the source from which the custom must have been derived.

The manorial customs of High Bickington in Devonshire include the following items as to widowhood:

(2) A widow has a life interest called a widowhood in the whole of the copyhold lands held by her deceased husband *at his death or at any time previously*, unless the widow has released her right.

(3) The widowhood can be forfeited by the act of the widow alone.

(4) The widowhood is held by the widow whilst single and chaste.

(5) The widowhood is irrevocably lost by remarriage; but if forfeited for unchastity it may be regained by the unchaste widow attending at the Court Baron held next after the presentment of unchastity, bestriding a ram with her face to the tail, and, holding the tail in her hand, repeating aloud a certain form admitting the offence, and praying to be admitted to the lands again.[14]

An exactly similar custom obtained at Torre in the same county.[15]

The last provision of the Bickington example will strike many readers as familiar, and indeed, its exact parallel will be found recorded of the Berkshire Manor of East and West Enborne in the *Spectator* of 1714. Its appearance among the lighter productions and in the lighter language of the school of Sir Roger de Coverley, has created some doubt as to the genuineness of the custom; but, apart from the independent existence of the Devonshire example, we find that the Berkshire custom is recorded by legal authorities in 1607 and 1704.[16] The special feature of this custom is that it

to all the copyhold of her husband. "The custome of a manor was that if a copyholder died seized, his wife should hold his lands as her freebench, and be admitted tenant, and that the son should not be admitted tenant during the life of his mother."—*Complete Copyholder*, pp. 34, 35.

[14] *Devonshire Association*, xvi., 176, contributed by Mr G. Doe, the information being obtained from Mr George Stawell, solicitor, Tornington, grandson of a former rector of High Bickington, who, as rector, was lord of the manor.

[15] *Ibid.*; also Blount's *Tenures*, by Hazlitt.

[16] Cowel's *Law Interpreter*, 1607, the *Dictionarum Rusticum*, 1704, s.v.

gives a kind of rhyming formula, by which the widow has to re-enter into her possession if she forfeit it by the custom, and although it is more than probable that the near approach to nonsense which these rhymes convey may at first sight dispose us to dismiss them from further consideration, I do not think that a closer examination will detract from their archaic value, taking into consideration how often it has been proved that so called nonsense-rhymes are the traditional renderings of forgotten legal or constitutional formulæ. The custom is "that if a customary tenant dye the widow shall have her freebench in all his copyhold lands, dum sola et casta fuerit, but if she commits incontinency she forfeits her estate: yet if she will come into the court, riding backward on a black ram, with his tail in her hand, and say the following words, the steward is bound by the custom to readmit her to her freebench. [We omit the words, which are well known and rather free. They are in a kind of doggerel rhyme.]

At Kilmersdon in Somersetshire, we have another example of this curious custom with a slight variation in the formula. "The widow succeeds to the estate, which she loseth if she marries or is found incontinent; but to redeem this last if she comes into the next court riding astride upon a ram and in open court do say to the lord if he be present or to his steward these words [These words are also in rhyme, and differ from the Enborne formula in being perhaps still more free], she is by custom to be restored to it without further fine doing this penance."[17]

In these examples it will be observed that while emphasis is laid upon the condition of chastity of the widow, a condition which is included in many of the previous examples we have noted, there is also, what in other examples is not to be found, a means by which the condition of chastity may be overcome. And it will be further observed that the ceremonial is marked by a formula in a rude kind of rhyme or rhythm.

I turn from these points of detail in order to draw attention to

"Freebench;" Watkins' *Copyholds*, ii. 492; the *Saturday Review* made merry over my accepting it as a veritable custom in my *Primitive Folkmoots*, but it is a pity that so great an authority did not know of the evidence for its genuineness before denouncing it.

[17] Blount's *Tenures*, by Hazlitt, p. 182. Hasted's *Kent*, i. 314, supplies us with a curious rhyme connected with widow-succession to half the lands, which is worth quoting here. The passage is as follows: "The wife, after the death of her husband, has for her dower a moiety of his lands in gavelkind for so long a time as she shall continue unmarried and in chastity; after which, saith the custom,

"'He that does turn or wend her,
Let him also give unto or lend her.'"

some important aspects of this custom in its general relationship to manorial law. The early history of the manor undoubtedly takes us back to a time when all lands were held upon some kind of village tenure. As Mr. Seebohm puts it, "there were manors everywhere;"[18] contrariwise, and taken in connection with the fact that all men were in some degree attached to the land, the only land estate which a man could hold was in connection with a manor. Pushing the question still further back when the manor was a village-community, it will be noted that we have the proposition before us that the widow of modern manorial custom, succeeding "as next heir to her husband," succeeded in early times, not to a portion of a large landed proprietor's estate, but to the possession of a villager who was in intimate relationship to his co-villagers of the community—a proposition which is borne out by that significantly archaic passage in the marriage service, "with all my worldly goods I thee endow," which does not in any way quadrate with the ordinary law of dower, but which might very well be an old formula adopted by the church along with other parts of the marriage service, from that older English usage which only just parts from the usages of Aryan society.[19] If, then, we can prove this manorial custom to be older than the age of manors, we shall prove that it is a case of pure widow succession to a husband's possessions in the primitive unit of Aryan society, the village community.

Let me next note that the examples of partial succession, one half, a third, a fourth, appear to be the result of the operation of the modern influences of the law of dower upon manorial custom in *reducing* the archaic rule of widow succession to the whole homestead; and not, as suggested by Mr. Elton, that the succession to more than the dower portion of one-third is an increasing of the ordinary law of dower. The general tendency of mediæval custom was to throw all power into the hands of one male representative, and it is hardly conceivable that this general tendency could have been upset in special manors by throwing all power into the hands of a female. Further, Mr. Elton's explanation does not cover the examples where the widow succeeds to less than one-third. This can hardly be considered an "exaggeration of the law of dower," and yet it must be accounted for somehow.[20][The only way by

[18] *English Village Community*, p. 82.

[19] Sir Henry Maine has pointed out the significance of this formula in *Early History of Institutions*, p. 337, but I am not quite clear whether he is of opinion that the church adopted it from Germanic usage, though it is difficult to suppose he could mean anything else.

[20] It is proper to point out that the "Morgengabe" of the German codes is

which we can account for the whole phenomena of the manorial custom of freebench is to take the examples of complete succession to be the oldest and most perfect form, and to consider the succession to smaller portions than the whole to have been brought about by all those influences which tended to reduce special custom to general feudal custom. This appears to me an explanation warranted by the facts as they are placed before us in manorial history, and if it fits in with the facts which I shall presently adduce from archaic custom, I do not think we can very well escape from it as adequate to meet all the requirements of scientific observation.

Thirdly, we have to note that in many of the examples of manorial custom where widow succession takes place, the succession after the death of the widow is by junior-right. Indeed so intimately connected with so-called borough-English is this custom that it was early recognized by lawyers as incidental to all manors in which borough-English obtained. Thus it is laid down in Bacon's *Abridgements* (i., 531), as a general rule, that by the custom of borough-English the widow shall have the whole of her husband's dower. It may well be that the succession of the youngest son necessitated the succession by his mother as the natural guardian, and that hence, from such rational causes, arose the custom which we now interpret as widow succession. But, in the first place, this sweeping definition of the law of borough-English is objected to by the best legal authorities, and is said to be derived from a too narrow examination of the examples of borough-English.[21] In the second place, there is not wanting evidence to prove that junior right itself arose from an earlier custom of reckoning kinship through females,[22] from which it appears to me we may also trace the origin of widow succession.

I think it may be taken as proved that this essentially local custom of England cannot have originated from any such general rule as that of the law of dower. There is only one other *general* source, other than tribal custom, from which it could have originated, and that is of course Roman law. How far the principles of Roman law have influenced the common law of England is a subject which

sometimes a half, sometimes a fourth of the husband's property; Laboulaye, *Condition civile et politique des femmes*, 125. But if the examples of freebench, where less than the whole estate goes to the widow, be examined, it will frequently be found that she takes *all of one kind of lands*. Thus at Framfield, Sussex, she takes all the yard-lands; and it is perhaps needless to point out that this title of the lands points to their origin in the village community.

[21] Robinson *on Gavelkind*, p. 391, note a.

[22] *Archæologia*, L., 213.

has been partly discussed by Sir Henry Maine, and he includes the law of dower as one of the principles won from that domain. I am not quite sure whether the remarks of Sir Henry Maine on the origin and influence of Roman *dos* do not convey his opinion that the special customs with which we are dealing might have originated from the same source as the law of dower.[23] But he admits a partial Germanic origin, and with this, coupled with Laboulaye's important opening to his chapter on "Du Douaire (dos),"[24] I am content to go forward to explain the special local customs of widow succession as survivals from tribal custom. It is important to bear in mind that they are special local customs, and it is this characteristic which, parting them from the general customary law of Europe, demands attention. Laboulaye shows clearly enough that all the well-known leges barbarorum have been influenced by Roman law in the question of widows' rights[25], and it is just because certain places are not under the sanction of these laws that we may turn to something older than them for an explanation of the local phenomena. No one, I think, who has paid any attention to the significant survivals of primitive usage and belief which are to be obtained from a study of local custom in civilised countries will fail to see that manorial customs, which are thus exceptions to general manorial law, have some right to be considered as local survivals of older institutions than manors.

Sir Henry Maine has observed that "a custom of which there are many traces in the ancient law of the Aryan races, but which is not by any means confined to them, gives under various conditions the government of the family, and as a consequence of government the control of its property, to the wife after the death of her husband, sometimes during the minority of her male children, sometimes for her own life upon failure of direct male descendants, sometimes even, in the last contingency, absolutely;"[26] and he goes on to show how in India this old Aryan custom has been gradually broken in upon by Brahminical influences. Except to point out how my suggestion, that the old manorial custom of England has been broken in upon by feudal ideas is paralleled by this feature of the Hindu law, I do not wish to follow up the later history of the status of the Hindu widow. The point to prominently bring forward is Sir Henry Maine's statement as to primitive usage showing the influence of widows.

[23] *Early History of Institutions*, p. 338.
[24] Laboulaye, *Condition civile et politique des femmes*, 117.
[25] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 144-150.
[26] *Village Communities*, 54.

It may be worth while noting an instance or two of the non-Aryan custom of which Sir Henry Maine speaks, because we do not yet know how far the non-Aryan races of Europe have influenced the progress of institutions, and it is becoming more and more a question of historical importance as we gather up the records of prehistoric races. Among the totem tribes of North America, we have recorded a sufficiently remarkable instance of widow succession about which much might be said. All personal property, "all the interior of the wigwam, seems to be under the control of the woman, and on the death of her husband, the woman remains in possession of the lodge and all it contains, except the medal, flag, or other insignia of dignity, which go to her son or male relatives. The corn she raises and the maple sugar she makes she can always dispose of as she thinks fit, they are hers." [27] In Central Africa, Mr. Du Chaillu has noted: "It is curious how seldom a husband interferes with that property which he has given to his wives. The women jealously guard their rights in this respect; and so long as they feed their husbands and make them comfortable, they are not in many things subject to male rule at all." [28] Among the Karens of Northern India the widow is entitled to the use of the property until her death.[29] Among the Andaman islanders we are told that "the widow disposes of everything of her deceased husband's property which she does not require for her personal use among his male relatives." [30]

Turning next to Aryan races it seems certain that philological evidence supports that derived from comparative custom. Speaking of the early Aryan, Professor Rhys says "socially he seems to have been the master of his house on a footing of equality with his wife, who was mistress of the same and not a slave." [31] According to the Thesawaleme, a description of the customs of the Tamil inhabitants of Jaffa on the island of Ceylon, "where the father dies leaving children the mother takes all the property and gives the daughters their dowry, but the sons may not demand anything as long as she lives."[32] Mr. Mayne who quotes this law goes on to say that "an indication of such a state of things having once existed [in India] may perhaps be found in the text of Sancha and Lichita which after forbidding partition without the father's

[27] Jameson's *Sketches of Canada*, ii. 292.
[28] Duchaillu's *Equitorial Africa*, 403.
[29] *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxxvii., 142.
[30] *Journ. Anthropological Institute*, xii., 141.
[31] Rhys' *Lectures on Welsh philology*, 11.
[32] Thesawaleme i. 9, quoted in Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, 194.

consent, goes on to say sons who have parents living are not independent, nor even after the death of their father while their mother lives, and similarly Narada makes the dependence of sons, however old, last during the life of both parents, and in default of the father places the authority of the mother before that of her first-born."[33]

The exact position of English manorial law is here reproduced in Hindu law, and the conditions surrounding the enforcement of the latter may well be supposed to indicate some of the lost surroundings of the former. To account for the position of the widow in the Hindu law, Mr. Mayne sets forth some facts in the early history of property whereby partition of the homestead is prevented. Every obstacle was put in the way of partition, and Mr. Mayne says that "there seems to be no doubt that originally the right of brothers to divide the family estate was deferred till after the death, not only of the father but of the mother."[34] In seeking for a reason why, after the death of the father, partition should be barred during the lifetime of the mother, Mr. Mayne, following Dr. Mayr, draws attention to a very old custom, namely, that by which the widow was authorised to raise up issue to her dead husband by a relation. "A passage of Gautama," he says, "is by some translated so as to indicate that a widow was only entitled to succeed if she raised up issue for her husband, in which case her right could not be personal but as guardian for her son. The author of the Mitakshara explains this passage, not as making the raising up of issue a condition precedent to inheritance but as offering her an alternative. In either view it is clear that she had an alternative. The male relations would have a strong interest in inducing the widow to refrain from exercising her right, and she would have a specially strong interest in availing herself of it, if she at once became manager of the property. An obvious compromise would be to allow her to succeed at once to a life estate in the property, provided she waived the privilege of providing a new and absolute owner. Hence the condition of chastity which the Brahman lawyers engrafted upon her right of succession, a condition which is wholly unsupported by the early texts of the Vedas."[35]

We seem to have proceeded some distance from English manorial law in arriving at this extremely archaic custom, but I

[33] Mayne, *loc. cit.*

[34] ibid.

[35] Mayne's *Hindu Law and Usage*, 447; Sir Henry Maine, upon different grounds, points out how Brahminical influences opposed widow-succession and as a bar thereto instituted the horrible sacrifice of the suttee, *Early Hist. of Institutions*, 335.

think there are two rather remarkable points of contact between the Hindu and English customs which will again bring us close up to the subject. Assuming, as we may well do, that the manorial condition of chastity was an outgrowth of christian influences, we have exactly parallel conditions for the English and Hindu custom of widow-succession. And surely we may again bring into prominence, as a parallel to early Aryan custom, the position of guardian to her husband's heir which the connection of widow succession with junior right has already suggested. In the meantime we absolutely get behind all christian influences and come directly upon the earlier influences of archaic custom when we consider the methods by which even the bar of unchastity could be got rid of. These are sufficiently barbarous to suggest a primitive origin, and the rhythmical formulæ accompanying the barbarous acts tend still further to strengthen such an argument. At this stage, too, I wish to draw attention to the remarkable provision of the Bickington example, by which the widow succeeds to all her deceased husband's property, even if he has parted with it, unless she has also released her right. This when compared with a passage from the early historian of Cornwall goes far to suggest an extremely primitive condition of society indicated by the position of the wife, and hence of the widow, in relation to succession to property. Carew says: "They alwayes preferre lives before yeeres, as both presuming upon the countries healthfulnesse, and also accounting their family best provided for, when the husband, wife and childe, are sure of a living. Neither may I (without wrong) conceyle the just commendation of most such wives in this behalfe; namely, when a bargaine is so taken to these three, it often falleth out, that afterwards the sonne marieth and delivereth his yerning-goods (as they terme it) to his father, who in liew thereof, by his wives' assent (which in many auncient deeds was formall) departeth to him and his daughter-in-lawe, with the one halfe of his Holding in land. Now, though after the father's decease, the mother may, during her life, turne them both out of doors, as not bound by her owne word, and much lesse by her husband's; yet I have seldome or never knowne the same put in practise, but true and just meaning hath ever taken place."[36] The widow succession under such an arrangement would be one-half of the whole property, and this may perhaps supply a clue to the way in which in some localities this apportionment originated. But we have in this case a glimpse of the archaic family before it broke up, father, son, and grand-

[36] Carew's *Hist. of Cornwall*, p. 38.

children forming the family unit; and when it broke up, partition being demanded, we have the powers of the widow, just as in India, barring the way. The wife's power is shown also by her consent being necessary to any disposition of the property, just as at Bickington, and it occurs to me that in the quaint language of the old local historian there lurks unquestioned evidence of a system of society in which widows and wives had a very strong position within the family unit.

Summarizing the various points in our argument we have the following state of things: (1) that widowhood in manorial law presents in its local examples all the characteristics of survivals from primitive usage, (2) that some of the details of these examples are not explainable by any of the historical features of European law, (3) that these unexplainable details are parallel to details in ancient Hindu usage; the final argument to which seems to be (4) that in these manorial customs of widow succession in England we have the imprint of the oldest tribal usages.

It is possible to carry the question a little further. If, as I suspect, the Hindu usage, as explained by Mr. Mayne in the passages quoted above, is due to the influence of the non-Aryan races of India when the Aryans first settled there, we may be tempted to enquire whether the manorial usages are not relics of the non-Aryan races of Britain, to be placed alongside of other such relics noted by Mr. Rhys and Mr. Elton. Such a question cannot well be discussed without considerably enlarging the area of inquiry and without treating of matters outside manorial law; but I am aware of much that may be urged with considerable force in this direction. At first sight it might seem that the failure of M. De Coulanges in his *Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'histoire* when treating of the "droit de succession chez les Germains" (cap. v.) to note any traces of female succession would point to a case of pure Aryan custom uninfluenced by contact with non-Aryan custom. But he confines himself exclusively to the statements of Tacitus and to the codes of barbaric law, the effect of which is to exclude all possibility of considering the question of survival in local practice of customs which did not come under the notice of Tacitus and which did not afterwards become incorporated in the leges barbarorum. Modern observers of barbaric tribes armed with much better materials than Tacitus cannot be trusted to have recorded a *complete* account of the tribes they describe, and I think no scholar will be disposed to assert that the leges barbarorum make up a complete code of ancient Teutonic custom. Hence it appears to me

that the researches of M. De Coulanges fall short of the requirements of the case. If they cannot be accepted as negative evidence, it seems to be equally impossible to accept the main conclusions which M. De Coulanges seeks to prove. But even without going into this important and far-reaching matter there remains one important observation to make, namely, that it seems impossible to exhaust the history of the English manor by tracing it up to the Teutonic village-community, if that village-community commences its history at the time when Romans and barbarians fought out the question of supremacy in Europe. At some period of its development it has become possessed of primitive characteristics, other than those relating to agricultural economy, and it seems to me to be possible to account for this only by the theory of inheritance from primitive tribal custom. If this conclusion be justified the advocates of the historical origin of the English village-community must reconsider their position.

G. Laurence Gomme.

CORRESPONDENCE.

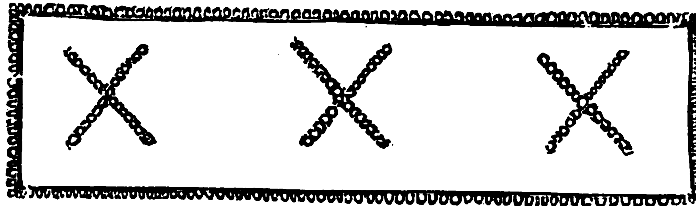
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT COLCHESTER.

The following articles are now in the Museum, having been deposited since the completion of the catalogue by Mr. J. E. Price :—

1886, Sept., In Culver Street at the entrance of Messrs. Mumford & Co.'s Foundry, at a depth of 5 feet, a fine piece of Tessellated Pavement of great variety of patterns in black, white, red, and yellow, measuring about 6 ft. 4 in. by 3 ft. 4 in.

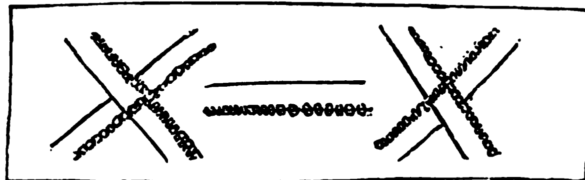
1887, Aug. 4, Lead Coffin in good preservation, 6 ft. long, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, and 12 inches deep, found on the property of Mr. Lee in the Creffield Road at a depth of 3 ft., and remarkable for having a leaden pipe of about 2 in. diameter let into the lid above where the head of the corpse formerly rested. The pipe was broken into three pieces, perhaps by a plough; but when joined, would be long enough to reach to the surface. The few remains, viz., teeth, fragments of the skull, and small bones of the feet and hands, were those of a woman and there was also the neck of a broken lachrymatory, or tear-bottle. On the lid were three crosses of leaden bead-work, probably from their form, simply for ornament, and there was a like beading round the edge of the lid. An outer case of wood had originally enclosed the coffin

fastened by large iron nails—these were found at intervals round the outside on the decayed remains and dust of the wood.



There had been no *solder* used, but the edges and lid had been joined by fusion of the extremities.

1887, Dec., The Lead Coffin of a child 3 ft. long, 12 in. wide, and 8 in. in depth, found about 3 ft. deep at the back of the present "Salvation Army Barracks," to the south of St. John's Street. It contained teeth, flakes of the skull, and a few small bones—and had been enclosed in an outer shell of wood. The edges of *this* Coffin had been soldered together and the lid had been riveted on with iron bolts, and there were two *wide* ornamental crosses of bead work on the lid.



1886, Aug. 30, Perfect impression of a Dog's foot on piece of Roman brick found in Mr. F. Spalding's garden, adjoining the Roman Wall west of the Town, at Provident Place, 4 ft. deep, by his son Gerald.

1888, Jan., Perfect Glass-fluted Tear-bottle, 5 in. high, found on the Maldon Road.

1888, Feb., Six Bronze Bracelets — four of which at least are Saxon, found on the arm bones of a female skeleton from the Maldon Road Sand and Gravel Pits.

1888, July, Two elegant and perfect black and red Earth Vases, 4½ in. high—ornamented with a band of scroll work in white round the middle of each. These were secured and deposited by H. Laver, Esq., F.S.A., and are more valuable by far than any specimens of the kind in the Museum.

1888, Aug., Roman Infant's Feeding-bottle of black earth, 4 in. high, with a small spout of 1¼ in., perfect and well proportioned. One black elegant fluted Vase (or bottle without handle), 6 in. high, and a wide-mouthed black vessel with rounded bottom, about 4½ in. high—unlike any of our other specimens, it *may* have been used as a household mortar. These were also deposited by H. Laver, Esq.

F. Spalding.

CORNISH DIALECT WORDS.

I SHOULD be glad if any one could throw some light on the following two words both in common use here in Cornwall, familiar to me since early childhood. Perhaps there will be a paper on "dialect words of Cornwall."

The two words are "loo" and "smeach." I have never, I think, seen them written—the first means *sheltered*; as a child I connected it with "leeward," which is general amongst sailors, and pronounced by them "looard," though Browning makes it rhyme with *seaward*, but as "leeward" is general why should "loo" be exclusively Cornish?

"Smeach" means a smell of smoke; a downdraught in a chimney makes a "smeach," and the smell of "tabs"—*i.e.* turf and rubbish—burning in the fields makes a "smeach." I first found out that it was not a usual English word by finding that servants "up the country" did not understand when I complained of a "smeach" in the kitchen. It seems to be confined to Cornwall; it is not understood in Somerset nor, I believe, in Devonshire, North Devon at least.

ISABELLA BARCLAY.

YORKSHIRE DIALECT WORDS.

THE following quotation from a letter in Leland's *Itinerary*, vol. i., p. 140, edited by Hearne, may be worth nothing: "I have met with several British words that are still in use, such as *Laghton* for a garden . . . .; *Kaums*, a barren and steep piece of waste ground . . . .; besides many others which I cannot now remember; though I doubt not but a much greater number may be discovered by any person skilled in the British language." The writer was "Ric. Richardson."

J. V. JENNINGS.

DERIVATION OF PLACE NAMES.

[*Ante*, vol. i., pp. 430-434; ii., 104-107.]

I HARDLY wish to say anything on the subject of Mr. Stevenson's letter. I have a very strong conviction that I do not "overrate the Norse influence" in this district. The existence of our Whitby Thingwald alone, without reference to other equally significant facts, is sufficient to warrant conviction. No doubt *thorpe* may, in many cases, have been of Anglican origin; but when it is met with in a district such as this is, with such place names, personal names, and language, it is more consonant with experience, not to say sense, to prefer the Norse origin. If Mr. Stevenson had seen the swords (4 of them) and battle axe which were dug up at Kildale some dozen years or so ago, and Worsaae's letters to me thereanent, I think he would hardly have ignored the Danish element hereabouts.

J. C. ATKINSON.

INDEX NOTES.

19—Foreign Periodical Publications.

Brugsch (H.), Zwei bearbeitete Silex altägyptischen ursprungs. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx. 209-210.

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——— A note on the Lokakala reckoning. *Indian Antiquary*, xvii. 213-214.

Fritsch (Hr.), Bemerkungen zur anthropologischen Haaruntersuchung. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx. 187-199.

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Reischel (G.), Zur statistik der Körpergrösse in den drei preussischen landräthlichen Kreisen Erfurt, Weissensee und Eckartsberga. *Archiv für Ethnol.*, xviii. 135-150.

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Török (Aurel v.), Ueber den Yézoer Ainoschädel aus der ostasiatischen Reise des Herrn Grafen Béla Széchenyi und über den Sachaliner Ainoschädel des königl. zoologischen und anthropologisch-ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden: ein Beitrag zur Rassen-Anatomie der Aino. *Archiv für Ethnol.*, xviii. 15-100.

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History.

—:o:—

NOTES ON CRIME AND ACCIDENT IN NORFOLK TEMP. EDWARD 1st.

THE Roll from which I have extracted the entries briefly noted below, is the Gaol Delivery Roll[1] of 14th Edward 1st.

Gaol deliveries were not then held at short intervals as at more recent times, and terrible evidence that prisoners were often left, literally to rot in prison for years, waiting their trials, appears amply on the face of the roll. Often and often we find entries of the prisoners, the next neighbours, and the witnesses having died between the crime and the coming of the judges, and the interval between this and the last Gaol delivery may have been some years; in fact, I think there is internal evidence that it must have been so in the 52 Henry III.; the numerous crimes recorded on the 220 sides of parchment of the roll, are really the record of the sins of 17 years or so.

The entries to which I will first draw attention are those specially relating to Yarmouth and its vicinity.

To begin with accidents. There were four carpenters, William Gybel, William of Clippesby, Ralph Gilly, and John, son of William of Newton, raising a great timber in the house of William Pilgrim when it fell and crushed and killed all four of them. The timber, which was worth 40s.—a very large sum for a beam in those days—was seized by the king as a deodand. Perhaps the house was that on the Quay which was sold by John Pilgrim in 1318—I see that a Godfrey Pilgrim had a house on the Quay extending to Middlegate.

The flying of millstones was, it seems, the cause of accidents then as now, for we read how one Simon Ermetrut, being in a

[1] For an admirable translation of similar gaol delivery and Crown Plea Rolls, *see* Mr. F. W. Maitland's valuable works on Pleas for the Crown for Gloucester for 1221 and the Select Pleas of the Crown just issued for the Selden Society. The present writer printed some analyses of other Norfolk Crown Plea Rolls in the *East Anglian*, iii. pp. 148-153, and in the *Norfolk Antiq: miscell.* ii. pp. 159-193.

windmill outside the Burgh, the millstone, "by the vehemence of the wind," burst so that a piece of it hit Simon and then and there killed him.

Simon de Angulo was drawing water from a well when the bucket fell in, and while looking down for it he fell after it, and literally as well as idiomatically, kicked the bucket—while misfortunes never coming singly, one Richard de Tasburgh pluckily going down a ladder to try and save him, also fell in and was killed.

Peter de Dalling was trying to unload a cask of wine from a boat, when it crushed him and he died, the value of the deodand being 40s.

Katherine de Neteshyrde, while carrying a vessel full of scalding stuff, slipped and spilled it over her own son Nicholas, who was sitting by the fire, so that he died. All four of her neighbours who had to come, according to the form, were dead by the time the trial came.

Foreign sailors of course are troublesome in every port, and Yarmouth was no exception. Hugh de Skonde of Flushing and Dothyn, son of Hugh de Flushing "Flandrenses" or Flemish, killed William, son of Ermot of "Palfotside," in the street of William de Drayton in Yarmouth and fled—Skonde, in fact, acting up to his name by absconding. Can the place named "Palfotside" have anything to do with our strange place-name the "Eelsfoot," which may be a corruption of it?

Then again, Elyas, son of Gory Isre, with other unknown sailors belonging to Zealand, boarded the ship of John Prat lying in the port of Yarmouth, and assaulted and beat the crew, killing one Adam Prat of Porynland, and sailing off to Zealand.

Another entry tells us how unknown malefactors entered the Port of the Burgh of Yarmouth by night, and took a boat and navigated it to a certain ship, whereon they murdered one William Spiryng of Blakeney and stole the goods in such ship and fled. The coroner found five sailors in the ship, whom he ought to have attacked, but did not, so he was fined.

On the other side of the county the same sort of thing was going on, for at Lynn three sailors of St. Omer were accused of mahem and felony.

Nor were our fellow-countrymen much better, for one *Benedict* Leggelone (whose name seems to mean lay-alone, a strange one for a *Benedict*) of Winchelsea, killed his fellow-townsman, William Snape, in a ship lying in Yarmouth port, and fled.

Seven other Winchelsea men were arrested for complicity in this, but were let out on bail and acquitted, and it is curious, as proving that the Cinque Port feuds did not cause as much ill-feeling as one might have thought, that their bail were all local men from the neighbourhood of Yarmouth.

Of murders and sudden deaths there are many. A few lines suffice to record an occurrence which now-a-days would half fill a daily paper—but most of them deserve no special notice. Some are interesting as recording a place name, as when we read of Thomas Fisch being found killed "in vico qui vocatur Aveline's Row," a row which I do not find mentioned in Palmer's *Perlustration of Yarmouth.*

William le Ken of Caldecot and Alice his wife quarrelled, as married people did then even as now, but unluckily for Alice they quarrelled in a boat. *So* he threw her out into the water, as the roll puts it very logically, so that she was drowned, and her body was washed up near Kyngestune's Row, which is another row I cannot trace.

Of quarrels and manslaughters in hot blood there is literally no end. For example, Adam Parlet and William de St. Botulph fought together "super Denne" outside the gate of the house of Reginald de Martham.

Richard Burghard fought Benedict de Staryngby and killed him. Reginald Smith of Bungay quarrelled with Margaret of Newcastle, put his knife into her, and she died. John Iwar fought Robert fil' Warin of Rollesby, but the latter struck him with a knife so that he died in the seven days. The murderer took refuge in St. Nicholas' Church, whence he escaped. Robert Iwar, the dead man's kinsman, follows up the matter, and Rollesby is caught, but is able to produce the King's pardon, so goes scot free.

I should have thought "le Denne," mentioned in the first entry, was the Denes, but for the fact that the "Denne" occurs again at Mem. 83.

Stabbing affrays were very numerous here, and indeed all over the county—everyone apparently had a knife and used it on occasion in a way very much opposed to our modern ideas of fair play, for to stab a man below the belt seems to have been the regular thing. I should be afraid to say how many instances of murders committed in this way occur on this roll, but certainly over 50.

Of robberies there are not so many as one might have expected, probably because there may have been some court of summary

jurisdiction. One Ralph Cutnose being caught for theft is hung—perhaps his curious nickname arose from some slitting for a former offence.

A John Gurney—possibly by some grim irony of fate the ancestor of some of the temperate family of that name—was fined for selling wine against the assize, and Walter Eylmer took sanctuary in St. Nicholas, admitting he was a clipper of money, which was bought by the Jews, but was able to come out and plead the King's pardon.

Of odd entries there is an interesting one on M. 84, where Martin le Claver complained of Adam de Bromholm that the latter for 40s. took him as a 'prentice, promising that he should feed at the master's table for eating and drinking, but that after the first month he was sent to the servants' table, and afterwards sent across the seas and not found in necessaries; but the jury, possibly mindful of grumbling 'prentices of their own, found for his master.

On the 84th skin and its dorse there are very many entries as to encroachments on the King's Highway, which would have been of the very highest interest to the Yarmouth antiquary had the scribes condescended to describe the localities.

Unluckily, however, everyone present then knew where John Smith lived and so on, so they did not think it necessary to state the particulars, and consequently they give but few place names. A lane from Middlegate to the Port is mentioned, and so is one from Robert Thurkyll's house on the Denne to Middlegate, and the Brothers of Monte Carmelito are accused of stealing a piece of ground 60 ft. by 40 ft., but this, I fear, is all.

Round about Yarmouth the picture is as dark and forbidding as it was within the walls.

An unknown man is found murdered at Burgh; the inhabitants were barbarous enough to leave the body unwatched for three days before the coroner had news of it, during which time it was "dilaceratus" by dogs, for which the whole town was very properly fined.

Benedict, son of the Deacon of Martham, and Cecily his wife, are found murdered at Martham. Several men are suspected and imprisoned, and while in prison two men die there.

I may again say that the number of prisoners who die in prison is something appalling.

William Aleyn of Hemesby accuses John Aleyn and others (among others William Dyl rector of Filby), of mahem and breach of the peace, but all except Reginald le Mcy and Geoffrey le Barber are found not guilty.

"Love me—love my dog" was a proverb no doubt as well known to Richard Hereberd, as he was walking along Stalham Street just 600 years ago, as it is to us. He was leading two hare hounds (leporarii), which ran at a certain dog of one John Mariot, who in turn ran at them with an iron fork to kill them. This was not to be endured by Richard, who joined in. John "upped" with his fork, and broke Richard's bow, which he lifted to save his head, and threatened him, whereupon the assailed one pulled out his sword and hit his opponent in the left side. So, as the roll says, John Mariot died.

As I mentioned before, the chaplains and the clerks, the vicars and the rectors, seem to have been most unaccountably mixed up with bloodshed. Sometimes, however, they are victims, as in M. 54 d. Magister Godfrey, vicar of the church of W. Rudham, and Richard, his son, were found killed in the vicar's own house at Rudham. A gang of twelve, of whom Reginald the chaplain was one, are accused of it—one is hung, and another dies in prison (M. 54 d). The entry is interesting as showing that a married clergyman with a well recognised son was nothing wonderful then.

Of tragic interest, however, one entry on the back of the 19th skin surpasses anything I have ever heard.

One Reginald Courteys is in prison for stealing skins, when his son, who is only a boy, sets fire to the house in which his father is imprisoned, no doubt with the view of giving his father a chance of escape. While the keeper is looking after the boy, his father does escape, but is followed and killed, while the boy is burned to death in the house before he can be delivered. (19 d.) This Courteys clan seem to have been a thoroughly bad lot. William Courteys is in trouble for burglary, and (M. 30 d.) John and Alice Courteys kill Hugh Wylemond in Beeston, and Roger Courteys of Seyngs is a common thief. (3 d.)

On M. 58 we find a very interesting episode, hitherto undiscovered, in the history of a well-known family—the de Inghams. It seems that one Walter de Ingham, whose name occurs in Blomefield but about whom next to nothing is known, was murdered, and that his widow Agnes and his brother Robert, who is new to the pedigree (but who I fancy must have been brother to the well-known Oliver de Ingham), appealed one Robert Squintard of Hickling, Hugh, the nephew of the Prior of Hickling, Rodger, the smith of

Hickling, Robert Bulur, William de Wodegate, and others, including Aubert (? Hubert), Prior of Hickling, Ralph Wodeman, *Chaplain,* Bartho, *Sacristan,* . . . . . William de Catifield, and other *canons* of Hickling, *Brother* Richard de Lessingham, *Brother* Hernard Dych, *Brother* William de Raveningham, John *the Chaplain,* and Roscelin *the Chaplain.* Robert Squintard admits the deed, and goes into sanctuary at Hickling, and abjures the kingdom.

The affair took place before 57 Hy. III., and I suppose we shall never know what the disturbance was that caused the fatal ending. Anyhow, its record has one advantage, it gives us the name of an unknown Prior.

The number of instances in which men who were lodged rose up and murdered their hosts is very striking, and give a most gloomy view of the state of affairs at the time. Entries like this are common.

M. 41. Unknown malefactors lodge in the house of Christiana and Katherine in Brundale, kill them and fly.

M. 46. Peter de Applewarde with two unknown thieves lodged in the house of Cecily, wife of Hugh fil' Presbiter in Foulsham, and killed her and her daughter Matilda and fled. They were outlawed, and that is all we learn.

74. Alice de Grimston was lodged in the house of Cecily Hetternest in Brancaster, and rose up at night and killed the said Cecily and fled.

79. Nicholas de Balsham varied the process, for when he and Agnes his wife were lodged in the house of Adam le Gredere, in Risyng, he rose and killed his wife and fled.

M. 38. Here is another case. Two unknown men and a boy of one "gang" (societas) and four unknown women of another were lodged, or rather given shelter to, at the house of Isabel, daughter of Osbert de Mundeford, in an outbuilding. The two men and two of the women rose in the night and killed the other two women and the boy and fled.

The number of "unknown" men and women who were robbed and murdered and left dead is very great, and points to an immense floating wandering population. No doubt the great heaths and "briars" were desperately lonely places, and the abode of many strong thieves.

Bartholomew de Devonshyre and other unknown thieves (could they have been some of Kingsley's Gubbinses?) killed Adam Wyre of Blayfeud in the field of Hemlington, and fled. He being hotly pursued took refuge in sanctuary in Hassingham Church.

M. 41. Roger de Limpenho with other unknown thieves killed an unknown man in Possewyk. Roger is caught and hung, the others escape.

M. 38. Andrew, the son of Gilbert the miller of Thetford, and another unknown were found killed in the King's way of Grenesty next the Briary of Crokestone, and one William, son of William le Harmere, perhaps the ancestor of the present Mayor of Norwich, was found killed in the town of Tofts.

Afterwards it was found that Salle le Blo and Joceus Cok, two Jews who had formerly dwelt at Thetford, John, the Osbert, the Presbiter of Thetford, and John, the son of Constantine, had killed the said Andrew and others. The two Jews fled, but the others stood their ground and were acquitted.

Some of the tales are quite dramatic. M. 56. In East Fleg, Roger, son of Gilbert Sutor, James Popy and Bernard Dirnel killed one John, son of Richard Chel in Scrouteby and afterwards on their return quarrelled amongst themselves, and James and Bernard killed Roger, beheading him and throwing his body into the marsh. Both fled, but Bernard, at all events, must have been caught, for he was hung.

M. 38. One entry is of how three men killed another at Croxton, and a little further on we are told how John Wolmer, Chaplain of North Wold, was killed in a fight with Walter Colkel in Culveston.

The officers, gamekeepers, and the like were not slow of hand. Andrew de Rugham, the shepherd of Saer de Fryville, hit a man over his head with a stick, so that he died at once.

Of a murder by a wife of her husband we are told on M. 78 when Margery, the wife of Martin Ded, killed her husband and Isabel, his daughter in Middleton. She fled but was found guilty at Norwich, and burnt to death as was the rule in petty treason cases.

51. Such entries as to "fighting together," as "Gocelin Everard and William fil' Thomas de Caswyk fought together in Caswyk," are almost innumerable, *e.g.* on the 58th skin five murders and two manslaughters are recorded.

61. The results are put pithily. Thomas the Forester of Cawston "sagittavit" or arrow-shot William Botte in Aylesham, so that he died on the third day, and the aggressor fled.

63. Sometimes the entry, otherwise unimportant, gives us a clue to a well-known name, as when a man was killed in a fight at Saxthorpe mill, and John Thurkyld and *John Boleyn* were attached to answer the death; or when John Herman of Great Hautboys

appealed *Roger Bacun*, John Bacun, Edmund de Swathynge and others for robbery and breach of the peace. The philosopher's namesake was found not guilty, but John did not come forward.

64. Again we find an early *Appleyard* in the Ralph, son of Nicholas de Appelwerd, who killed William le Wariner of Gimmingham in fair fight in South Repps. The Appleyards seem to have been an unruly lot, for we find their names more than once.

86. Thomas Crane of Welle, wanting to cross the water from Lynn towards Welle, took the boat of one Wigot Lonediester without his leave. A conversation ensues, and Thomas hits the boat owner over the head, so that he dies on the third day.

M. 42. William Hed of Racheye struck William fil' Nigel, the baker of Wroxham, in the belly with a knife, so that he died. In fact, as noted before, the regular rule seems to have been to stab in the belly, the number of deaths by which means are enormous.

Of instances of burglary there are many. For example:— 33. Richard Togod (who must have been called so ironically) and five others burglarised at night the house of Richard Kyngesman, in Pensthorp, binding him and robbing the house. There was a hot hue and cry, during which Richard Togod, who resisted, was killed. Two of the others were caught, and at the instance or suit of Kyngesman, were hung in the Court of Simon de Penesthorp. This gives a very living interest to the statement in Blomefield VII., p. 120, that in 3 Ed. I. this Simon was found to have assize of bread and beer, free warren, and a gallows. Many of us are apt to think this formula only an empty one.

58. Adam Pothardy (it is curious the nicknames these ruffians had) came at night to the court of Joan de Muncy in Ryston to commit a burglary, but is caught at it, and killed while defending himself. Ryston is East Ruston, still locally called Riston, and Joan was the widow of Sir Richard Esturmy, Lord of that place.

93. William Skarlet of Chategrave is accused of burglarising the house of John Brithmer of Lodne, but is acquitted, for the jury say that all that he and John le Teynturer did was to come at night to Brithmer's house in pursuance of an old feud, and he broke open the door and broke his arm.

94. Robert, son of the Vicar of Hales, was taken up for stealing a silver cup from the Prior of Walsingham, and breaking open a strong box and stealing its contents and stealing a horse. He was found guilty, and no clergy was claimed.

There are many traces of the extortions and oppressions which

had just before formed the subject of the inquiries set out on the Hundred Rolls. For example :—73. Hamo de Barsham, late the clerk of one John fil' Margery, the former bailiff of Clackclose Hundred, took prisoner a certain stranger in the market of Dunham, having a stolen horse worth 10s. with him, and took the man to the bailiff. They then retained the horse and let the thief go! For which Hamo is to be taken into custody.

Again Reginald de Hemelington, another ex-bailiff of the same Hundred, took a man prisoner and kept him there fifteen days till he paid a fine of £4, when he let him go. M. 37. William, "atte Fen" (who is also called William "del Fen" on the same Roll), the bailiff of the Earl Warren, who seems to have been a bad specimen of the bailiff, was found to have taken two thieves who were also false moneyers, and after putting them into prison, taken a bribe, and let them go. There is also a presentment against him for unjustly distraining on a man in the middle market-place of Thetford, and taking half a comb of wheat without any reason. Nor was his predecessor, Eustace, formerly the Earl's bailiff, much better, for he took three unknown men, false moneyers, and prisoned them till *by the duress of the prison* they all died. The Earl appeared and claimed his right of keeping a prison, to which it seemed he was entitled, but to have kept it very badly, *e.g.*, one Richard de Hempton, who was put there for hamsoken and burglary, escaped from it, and the Earl was punished for it. On the same skin we hear of Alice le Hare by the help of one Henry de Methelwode escaping from the Earl's prison. Alice was unlucky, for she was afterwards taken in the liberty of St. Edmund, and was hung there. Henry de Methelwode himself was taken, and put in turn in the Earl's prison, but in turn escaped. Probably the prison after all was only a sort of round house.

Nor was the Bishop's prison at Elmham a much safer hold. One, Robert de Hethaye, clerk, who had been convicted at the last Iter, and had been delivered to Roger, Bishop of Norwich, escaped. A judgment for letting him escape was obtained against the executors of the Bishop. Later on Robert turned up again at Thetford, was put into prison, and kept there thirteen years till he died. The moral of this seems to be that it is unadvisable to let a Bishop or his representatives in for damages.

Imprisonment of those found guilty, but who claimed their clergy," indeed was not altogether the farce some have thought it (67). William, son of Roger le Dekne, who killed his wife and child in Hemesby, and saved his life by his neck verse, stayed in

the Bishop's prison till he died there. So did two of the murderers of Benedict, son of "le Dekne" of Martham, and Cecily, his wife, who were found murdered in Martham, for they too died in prison.

70. The prison of the Abbot of Ramsey in Wimbotsham was not much safer than the others, for John Bateman, accused of murder, who was imprisoned there, had no difficulty in escaping from it, nor had one Baldwin de St. Omer, who also escaped there.

The worms occasionally turned, as when Adam de Rudham, the bailiff, complained that while he was doing his office of bailiff at Helgheton, one William Burell, with two of his followers, dressed in women's clothes, no doubt to hide their identity, beat, wounded, and ill-treated him.

There are several entries on the roll relating to prisoners in Norwich Castle. Most of us have seen the record in stone of the prisoner who has carved his complaint that he was imprisoned "*without reason*," and perhaps many of us have thought that it was only an idle sentence carved by one who really deserved all he got and possibly more also.

But this Roll discloses a state of things both in the Castle and the Tolbooth which is simply appalling. On M. 99 d. there is an entry telling how Robert, clericus of Oxford, John, clericus of Yarmouth, and *nineteen* others, were imprisoned for divers thefts in the Castle of Norwich, and *there in prison died*, waiting for the gaol delivery that never came for them in the orthodox way. Again on the membrane before there is an entry, how William de Lodne, *clericus*, and Hugh Maidenlove were caught for sheep stealing, and imprisoned in the Tolhouse, how Hugh broke prison and carried William the parson away on his back to sanctuary in the church of St. John of Ber Street, the roll drily giving as a reason that William's feet were so putrified by the duress of the prison that he could not walk! Hugh slipped out of sanctuary, and one cannot help having a sneaking kindness for his pluck in sticking to his fellow-prisoner, and being glad he got away safe; but William, unable to move, surrendered himself with the story that he was no willing fugitive, and we are again glad to find that he was acquitted. Let us hope he was a more careful shepherd in things spiritual for the rest of his life than he had been in worldly sheep.

On the same membrane is a very similar case. One Nicholas de Corpusty, *clerk* (the fact that so enormous a proportion of the criminals of this time were clergymen has escaped our historians) was indicted and imprisoned in this castle with three others. All

broke prison, and escaped into sanctuary at St. Peter Hungate, but this Nicholas returned voluntarily, and was acquitted, the jury finding that unless he had escaped with the others they would have killed him.

Accidents will happen in the best regulated families, and in years gone by they happened just the same as now. 60. Two little brothers, Robert and Ralph, the sons of John Brandenwyne,[2] one aged four and the other two, were playing together somewhere in South Erpingham, and the elder hit the younger with a little stone, so that he died. The finder and four neighbours came to the inquest, which finds no one was to blame, probably on account of the very tender years of the culprit. But John, the son of Symon Bynge of Stratton, who had attained the mature age of 10, could not kill Richard, the son of Peter Wystan of Brampton, who was a year younger than himself with impunity; so he ran away, and there is a formal finding that he had no goods, and was not in a decennery or tithing because he was under 12. (M. 61).

There are many entries as to Deodands:—53. One strange one was of a pig and a brass dish full of boiling water, into which a child named Geoffrey, son of Philip, fell, in Little Naring, now Snoring.

63. Another was when the Sheriff accounted for 12d. for the value of a plank of a bridge, whence one Robert Stute fell and was drowned in Chalethorp, which I suppose is our modern Calthorp.

57. There are several entries of presentments as to bridges which may be of great value some day to litigants, *e.g.*, one that the foot bridge of Stapleford is broken down, and that Sibilla Pecch ought to repair it, for she holds an acre of land which is assigned for its reparation. Where this bridge is I do not know, it does not occur in my *Index to Norfolk Topography*, nor is Sibilla's name in Blomefield. By the way, surely our common name Peck, is no more nor less than the foreign Pecche.

A very strange accident was that at Lynn (M. 87) when Walter de Walpol and Gilbert, servant of Adam le Espicer, were about to wrestle in sport in Adam's house; and Gilbert, over anxious to avoid an accident, took out his knife and threw it away, but it struck the wall, and bounding off, fell on a boy—William, the son of Adam—and struck him so that he died.

So was that, also at Lynn, when John Scot and Robert de Flaxflet were shooting at a mark at Duthill, and the arrow of Robert, by the

[2] No doubt the surname afterwards corrupted into Brandywine.

impetus of the wind, struck John, (who was sitting by the mark) in the neck, so that he died.

Of Coiners and Coin Clippers there are several. We have already seen how one coin clipper at Yarmouth went into sanctuary at St. Nicholas and was able to plead King's pardon. "A certain coiner" taken at Gunton is sent to Norwich and thence to Newgate, and there convicted and torn to pieces (?)—"distractus." Elger the Goldsmith of St. Edmunds and Abraham the Jew of Norwich (who was hung) came to Lynn in the 11th year with false money to the extent of 120 marks (M. 88). Adam Spindleshank, clericus and forger of the King's seal in the time of William Giffard the Sheriff of Norwich, brought the said Sheriff a false writ, of which William had suspicions, whereupon Adam bolted into sanctuary in St. Swithin's, and acknowledged himself, &c. (M. 96).

Of Treasure trove there is a strange story which I remember telling to Dr. Jessopp, who embodied it in one of his charming articles on the subject. It was how—Two women called Beatrix Cornwaleys and Thelba de Creketon found a treasure in Thetford consisting of no less than £100 sterling in silver money, "moneta triangularis," the meaning of which I don't know, and a little golden cross worth 5s. Beatrix had wasted much of it before she was taken prisoner. Two of the three men who had bought part of it from her could not be found, but she and the third man were sent to prison. Both died in prison, and the Coroner's heir (for he had died too) accounted to the Crown for what was left of the treasure. Could it have been some of the contents of the mysterious Castle mound, and even possibly some treasure buried with a British King under it? Crosses were not always Christian.

The clergy of the period were certainly a very strange and wild body of men, and very lacking in the decorum which distinguishes the local clergy of the present day. For example—Henry (Clericus) of the Church of Baldeswell killed Maurice de Thyrnyng, servant of the parson of Baldeswell, and fled (M. 46). William Dyl, rector of the Church of Filby, is one of the defendants in an appeal of William Aleyn of Hemesby for mahem and breach of the peace, but he and most of his co-defendants were acquitted. Blomefield calls this William "William de Berdefeld," so this entry is interesting as giving the parson's patrimonial surname as well as his surname of locality (M. 68). A ram was being wrestled for at Ketteringham, when a "medley" arose, in which one William, a "clerk" of Cambridge, was killed by one John Tybund, also a "clericus," who fled. He had no goods, and was not in any tith-

ing, for he was "clericus." The names of 20 persons who were present are given, including one William Catur, a possible ancestor of the Cators of Woodbastwick, and one William de Berestrete, a *priest* of Wymondham, and they are all fined (M. 3).

Then a tale is told of an over hasty parson, on M. 62, how one Roger Kerkebald came at night to the orchard of Peter the parson of Lammas, to steal the fresh beans of the said Peter; how one Robert de Spikesworth, the parson's clerk, saw him at it, and told the parson; how the parson came down with a spade, with which he first killed and then buried the thief, interring him with scant ceremony at the back of the church door; and how then probably struck with remorse, fled; the roll, in a business like way, concluding that his lay chattels were worth 10s., for which the Sheriff had to answer. As a proof of the value of records like this, I may add that this Peter's name does not even occur in Blomefield.

Sometimes we get a glimpse of the parson militant (as at 109 d.), when Baldwin de Rosey, parson of Rockland, is accused by Walkelin Botyld of coming to his house and of hitting him on the head with his bow, so that he broke his bow, and afterwards struck him on the head with the pomel of his lance, so that he knocked out his left eye, and then added insult to injury by citing Walkelin before the Bishop's official for drawing blood, and got him fined 3s., and also cited him before the Consistory, and also cited him before Master Roger de Rages at London, and then again before Master Thomas de Oxford at South Malling, " because he would not take from him clipped money for ale which his wife sold him." Also he cited Matilda, the wife of Walkelin, before the Dean of Shropham on another pretext. I was glad to find that Walkelin recovered 10s. damages, and the scene closes with Baldwin in custody.

That presentments against clergy for different crimes applied to *bona fide* parsons, and not simply "literate" persons who claimed their clergy, is proved by the fact that there are several skins, such as the dorses of 89 and 106, which are headed " Ad huc de querel ' conquer ' de clericiis," which, so far as I can judge, consist solely of presentments and proceedings against clergymen.

Besides these, there are simply innumerable scattered entries all over the Roll, such as this (M. 90): William, the Chaplain of Hunstanton, was taken for the death of a certain unknown chaplain at Barsham, and claims his clergy, on which Roger de Tybeham, vicar of Holkham, bearing letters of authority from the Bishop of Norwich, claims him and gets him for the Bishop. This is the first time that

we hear of this Roger the vicar, whose name does not appear in Blomefield.

Another Hunstanton parson who got into trouble was one William Duny (?), vicar of Hunstanton, who with Geoffrey de Renham, Chaplain, and Goscelin, the clerk of Hunstanton, were with others appealed by Richard the Smith of Hunstanton for assault and breach of the peace. Here again, the very existence of the parson in question has hitherto been unsuspected; and I may once for all say that if anyone wants to make a complete list of our early Norfolk clergy before the Institutions they *must* search these rolls.

Sometimes they condescended to minor things, as when in Gallow Hundred Walter de Aldebury, chaplain, is "pulled" for stealing corn. (92 d).

There is not much on these rolls as to the relationship between the Lords of the Manors and their villeins, as most incidents relating to them would no doubt be found in the Court Rolls. But there is a curious case showing that violent measures seem sometimes to have been taken by Lords of Manors to get back their errant villeins who went to reside away from the manor to which they were appurtenant (M. 42).

In Blofield, Gerard de Redham, Hugh de Busseye, Bartholomew Querdam, and Edmund de Acle came at night to the house of Godwyn atte Rede of Frethorp and took him to Gerard's house and kept him three days against his will, claiming him to be Gerard's villein, a claim they afterwards substantiated before the Justices. This Gerard was Lord of Reedham Hall in Fishley and (I think) of Stokesby too, and it was probably in respect of the latter manor the claim was made.

Many of the surnames on the Roll have survived to this day, and are still with us. For example, it is strange (of course it may be accidental) to find (M. 58) the name of Diver of Yarmouth occurring exactly 600 years ago, when William le Dyvere of Gernemutha is said to have come to the house of Thomas Rose in Walcot and wounded him so that he died. Again, we find a le Calew at North Repps, and Callows are still there.

M. 47. Richard Erl of Wood Dalling appealed Philip de Tycheby of robbery and breach of the peace, but Philip was found not guilty. This Richard very possibly was an hitherto unsuspected ancestor of the Earles (of Salle), whose first recorded male is not so early as this. Augustin le Bulur occurs on M. 92.

M. 52. The name of Richard Wylesey occurs, and may very likely

be the same as Wulsy or Wolsey—possible ancestor of the Cardinal and our only General.

76. While William *Lomb* of Ruynton was a common thief and murderer, and John *Bagge* was accused of being the companion of thieves. Of foreign names we have John Brixi and Amicia Syrich (92), while of nicknames there are many. Stalworthman and Bellechat 69 d., Godbond 70 d., Squintard 88 d., le Slaywry the (?sledge) wright 92, Smalespone 106 d., Hulverhead 88 d., Shakeshift M. 86, Shepesheye 97, Spurnwater 96, Wellworththanked and Have-good-day 104 d.

Of place names now lost we find in 77 the "villa" of "Childerhous," which seems to have been next West Watton, but I don't know where it was, and may note that Castle Rising is called "Castel Rysinge" on M. 77, and that Clavering Hundred is called Knavering on M. 91.

WALTER RYE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE SOUTH PORCH.

Has the history of the Church porch ("ostium ecclesie") been ever thoroughly worked out? Its legal importance in cases of dower may be familiar, but I would suggest that all references to transactions taking place in it should be noted and set on record when met with. One of the most remarkable allusions to it is found in Eadmer's description of the old Church of Canterbury (burned 1174) quoted by Gervase of Canterbury (i. 8).

"Principale hostium ecclesiæ quod antiquitus ab Anglis et nunc usque *Suthdure* dicitur. Quod hostium in antiquorum legibus regum suo nomine sæpe exprimitur. In quibus etiam omnes querelas totius regni quæ in hundredis vel comitatibus, uno vel pluribus, vel certe in curia regis non pessent legaliter diffiniri, finem verbi sicut in curia Regis summi sortiri debere discernitur . . . . Forenses lites et secularia placita exercebantur."

This may be compared with the case of legal business transacted "inter leones" collected by M. de Caumont. So late as 1654 I find the parishioners of a Colchester parish granting a 99 years' lease of a plot of land, of which the ground-rent was "payable every Michaelmas day to the churchwardens and overseers . . . . in the south porch of that church." How late was this tradition kept up?

J. H. ROUND.

HISTORICAL CONTINUITY OF TUNISIAN INDUSTRY.

A paragraph in the Foreign Office Report on Tunis, July 1888 (c. 5253) is worth noting. It is as follows :—" The native industries are few and in decadence. Pottery is made at Nebeul, possessing a beautiful green and yellow glaze, and of elegant form, the tradition, no doubt, of Roman art. Red caps, or *cachias*, are made at Zaghouan, and are highly prized in all Mohammedan countries. The exquisite Moorish tiles, for which Tunis was once so celebrated, and which may be seen in perfection in the Dar-el-Bey, or town palace, may also be regarded as a lost art. I am only aware of one man who continues to make them ; he still retains the old tradition as regards design and colour, but the quality of the material is no longer what it used to be, and every tile is marked with three unsightly blotches, caused by the 'crow's feet,' which he uses to separate them during the process of baking. The same thing may be said regarding the wonderful plaster geometric tracery, for which the Tunisians became so celebrated after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain. There are very few indeed who can now do this work at all, and none who can equal what was executed only 50 years ago."

It is also worth noting that the report states that "time has also been found for a careful study and a system of conservancy of the ancient monuments with which the country is covered. Under the judicious superintendence of Monsieur Réné de la Blanchère a public library has been founded, and a museum has been opened in the ancient Hareem of the Bardo; the French civil and military officers throughout the country have united their efforts to those of better-known archæologists for the purpose of collecting and preserving the antiquities which have been brought to light; the ecclesiastics under the eminent primate of Africa, Cardinal Lavigerie, have established a local museum at Carthage, on the site of the Byrsa; and there is no more fear that the acts of vandalism which marked the first days of the French Protectorate can ever be repeated."

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUMS.

Translated from the Danish, with the author's additions and corrections (to May 1888), by H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A.

II. The Contents of the Museums—(*continued.*)

	PAGE
IV. AUSTRALIA and the SOUTH SEA ISLANDS—	
15. THE AUSTRALIAN CONTINENT	218
16. POLYNESIA	218
17. MELANESIA AND MICRONESIA	221
V. ASIA—	
18. SIBERIA	226
19. THE INDIAN ISLES	230
20. INDIA	233
21. FURTHER INDIA	236

IV.

AUSTRALIA AND THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

THE groups of peoples inhabiting the South Seas do not form one whole either in an anthropological or ethnographical point of view. The districts in which the Polynesian cultures prevail are not only sharply severed from the Melanesian, and from those of the Australian continent, but within their several spheres they present very considerable varieties among the many small clusters of islands, each of which forms a whole by itself. The size of the islands, the nature of the soil, their fauna and flora, have imposed on the inhabitants various conditions of life and possibilities of development, which are most favourable on the volcanic islands, scantier on the small coral islands. Numerous explorations in the South Seas, especially in the Melanesian and

Micronesian regions, have brought considerable collections to Europe within the last decade.

15. The Australian Continent.

The mode of life, customs and forms, prevalent among the natives of Australia, have long been known, and the products of their industry are quite numerous in ethnographical collections. The museums in London and Paris, in Berlin, Dresden and Copenhagen, and, not least, the Museum Godeffroy, all contain groups of objects which give a complete representation of the few miserable weapons, ornaments and utensils of various kinds, used by these very primitive natives. They show us a people standing on the very lowest stage of culture, cramped in development by unfavourable conditions of nature, compelled to use wood and stone to satisfy their needs, but unable to give them other than the most primitive shapes. In one single point only have the Australians made a really clever invention, the *Boomerang*, which raises them above the Terra del Fuegians, Veddas and Bushmen, the peoples who in other respects compete with the New-Hollanders for the lowest round on the ladder of civilisation.

The collections which have of late years come to Europe have not taught us anything essentially new about their mode of life. Hitherto, however, the collections have suffered from the want of distinction between various localities on the great continent. For, in spite of all points of similarity in the main forms, many of the objects present special peculiarities, which point to a different origin.[64] The only exception was the Museum Godeffroy. Here, in most of the specimens at all events, more definite information was to be found as to localities.

Some of the later collections have improved on this state of matters. This was the case with the large collection shown at the Colonial Exhibition in London, and the small but instructive collection from Western and Eastern Australia, now in the museum at Rome. Both are trustworthy,[65] and show a decided difference between different parts of the continent in all the larger objects.

16. Polynesia.

Like the greater part of North America, Polynesia belongs to

[64] As a guide to distinguish these and other points we have since 1847 the Atlas to Angus's work: *Savage Life in Australia and New Zealand.*

[65] Hamy, *Revue d'Ethnographie*, v., p. 334.

those ethnographical regions from which it has long been too late to form systematic collections. The natives have long ceased to be productive. The products of their original culture are therefore to be found only in ethnographical museums. On the whole they are not rare; but as everything has, so to say, drifted in of its own accord, at a time when there was no intelligent appreciation of ethnographical collections, the sets are in many respects incomplete, and many of them fail just in those small objects which fill in the perfect picture. Happily, however, there are still a few islands from which considerable collections have been gathered in recent years, New Zealand for instance, Hawai, where Dr. *Arning* collected the interesting materials now in Berlin, and Easter Island.

London used once to contain a large number of the most valuable objects from the South Seas, brought back by *Cook* and *Forster* from their voyages; but these were subsequently scattered. A large part remained in London and in the *Ashmolean Museum* at Oxford; but other groups of objects, large and small, have found a home in the ethnographical museums on the continent, and much has certainly come to grief. In Berlin the main portion of the Polynesian section consists of objects gathered by Cook. A few of the very rare and interesting idols from Tahiti and some smaller objects from there and from Easter Island found their way to München. Vienna purchased some 250 pieces, from Tonga, Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands; and a few objects from the same source found a haven in the collections at Berne, Geneva and Florence. This dispersion is much to be lamented. Together they would have formed one of the most interesting and valuable of ethnological collections, a fine monument of a great exploit. But even as it is, the smaller groups of objects are of great value towards a knowledge of the original culture in the South Seas. Among them we find various old forms which rapidly vanished after connexions with Europe had been opened.

In their present condition the Polynesian materials, composed, as they are, chiefly of collections gathered on expeditions made in the early decades of this century, and of a number of smaller additions, cannot well be compared with the large systematic collections from other South Sea regions. Still they give a fairly good picture of the leading traits in the physiognomy of the most important island groups. A large portion, however, still awaits careful overhauling, before it can be of full use. Much of the old material suffers from great uncertainty in the fixing of

localities. This is, for instance, particularly the case with th *Klemm* collection now in Leipzig, interesting as it is in so many re spects. Trade among the Polynesians has carried many object from their original source to other islands, where they have bee picked up by travellers, and have thus come to the museums, ir correctly specified. But with critical comparison it is not no difficult to distinguish between the various groups of islands.

The best represented island group is *New Zealand.* Originalit has here held out longer than on the smaller islands, and th characteristic objects early awakened the interest of collector As might be expected, the London collections here stand first. Th British Museum and the South Kensington also, to some exten contain rich series of carving, remarkable for originality of com position and deftness of execution, sets of the peculiar work in basal diorite and jade, in which the New Zealanders surpass all othe natives of the the South Seas, and a large number of variou specimens (dresses, weapons, household furniture, tatooed head etc.), which throw light on the life of the people in many way Elsewhere the materials are not large. The Berlin museum own a small but good and instructive collection. The museums i Dresden and Florence have acquired some of the large remarkabl carvings. In these museums and also in Copenhagen we find ver fairly full sets of weapons, ornaments and utensils, from the othe islands, especially from the *Sandwich* islands, the *Marquesas* an *Samoa* islands and *Tahiti,* to which we must add the results of th Novara expedition, now in Vienna. On the other hand the Berlin an Dresden museums are the only ones in Europe which possess co siderable collections from *Easter* Island, having divided the colle tion made by the gun-boat Hyäne in 1882.[66] Unfortunately, it wa not able to bring away any of the large monumental stone ido from the crater Rana Roraka. It managed, however, to gath up most of what is still to be found on the island, in the way ethnographical objects, among other things a great number of th peculiar wooden images of male and female gods, which the peop carry in their arms at religious festivals, or at dances, when the engage in the fishery. They also obtained some of the singul breast-plates, the picture-writing on which is the only know trace of written character in Polynesia. Other museums posse few specimens from Easter Island, but these are very interestin especially the carved figures (London, Hamburg, Paris, a

[66] See *Die Oster-Insel;* Bericht des Kapitänlieutenant Geiseler. Berl 1883.

Münich). The British museum and the museums in Paris and Vienna have also obtained a few of the inscribed tables,[67] which are now quite obsolete. At the entrance to the former and also in the Jardin des Plantes a few of the colossal stone figures have been set up. These are among the most remarkable products of the island.

17. Melanesia and Micronesia.

In these regions circumstances have been more favourable for collecting than in Polynesia, being undisturbed for a longer period by European influence. Only in recent years has connexion with the outer world become more frequent. But here too the individuality of the people is being obliterated with such rapidity, that nearly all the characteristic products have entirely vanished.

Very large and valuable materials have, however, been gathered in. Melanesia now belongs to the best known of ethnological regions. The most comprehensive is the fine private collection made by the commercial firm of *Godeffroy* in Hamburg, where it used to be exhibited until scattered by the failure of this house. The main portion was sold to Leipzig. A smaller but good collection (about 700 pieces) was acquired for the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg. *Schmelz's* catalogue has made the collection familiar to all specialists. It will be seen that nearly all the island groups in the western and northern parts of the South Seas are represented; whereas the collection from Polynesia was necessarily scanty. It is weakest in *New Caledonia* and *New Guinea;* but, by way of compensation, the materials from the *Solomon Islands, New Britain* group, and *Micronesia* are almost overwhelmingly rich. There are not many special details in the people's mode of life which are not illustrated by large series of objects. The peculiar Melanesian industries and the interesting developments of a very singular social life and primitive cult are nowhere more completely represented. Moreover, from the manner in which the materials were obtained and the trustworthy specifications, this museum is an authority on the regions it represents. The work of collecting was, for the most part, performed by men of scientific training, most frequently by naturalists, who understood the importance of exact local definition and complete illustrations of the history of culture, men who often spent a long time in the islands, and became conversant with their ethnological condi-

[67] See Meyer, *Bilderschriften des ostindischen Archipels und der Südsee;* and *Mitth. d. Anthropol. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvi., 97.

tions. Their notes and specific information form the basis for a critical classification of the materials, the accuracy of which renders the Museum Godeffroy most precious for the study of some of the most remarkable culture-forms in the South Seas.

Next to the Museum Godeffroy comes the Melanesian and Micronesian section in Berlin. Though it cannot vie in wealth of material with the older Hamburg museum, it contains collections which are very comprehensive and valuable from the systematic way in which they have been brought together. A very considerable quantity from the northern islands of Melanesia, especially the *New Britain* Archipelago, the *Admiralty* Islands, and *Anchorite* Islands, has been brought home by the man-of-war *Gazelle*, which was the first to open communication with the islands, and undertook the work of collecting according to written instructions from the museum. A number of the most interesting objects from this archipelago, now so well known—above all, the excellent masks and carving—are derived from this expedition.[68] Subsequently the collection was considerably enlarged by the produce of Dr. *Finsch's* travels in 1879-82, and in 1884-86. His purpose was to investigate the anthropology and ethnography of Northern Melanesia and Micronesia.[69] Besides the objects he got from New Guinea, he made large ethnological collections in *New Britain*, the *Carolines*, and *Gilbert's* Islands; and also a set of plaster castes from the faces of natives, forming a perfectly unique collection of race types in the South Seas. Dr. *Finsch* is one of the best informed and most energetic of ethnological collectors. His work has been done thoroughly. His collections are invaluable as a complete picture of native life, industries, ways, and customs. The origin and use of every article are accurately explained. As matters now stand, such a collection could never be formed again.

Among other large collections from Melanesia, that of the British Museum is the most considerable, with a full representation of the *Solomon* Islands, *New Hebrides*, and *Fiji*. The museum at Vienna, and the *Musée des Colonies* in Paris, are more special, both containing very rich collections from *New Caledonia*. The museum in Rome has also exhaustive materials from *Fiji*; and, not least, the Dresden Museum, which owns the largest collection from the *Pelew* Islands, unique in the remarkable pillars covered with picture-writing, which Dr. *Semper* succeeded in bringing to Europe.[70]

[68] *Zeitschr. für Ethnol.* ix., p. 9, 93.
[69] *Originalmitth.* i., 57, 92.
[70] Meyer: *Bilderschriften, etc.*

Besides these, there remains the largest island of Melanesia, *New Guinea*. The numerous explorations and recent efforts to colonise this island have proved highly advantageous to ethnographical museums. The north and north-west were the first to come into contact with Europeans; while the latest explorations have been directed to the south and south-eastern parts. From the former we find large or small groups of objects in almost every museum, chiefly gathered in *Geelvink* Bay. Of the German and Italian museums the most complete collection is that in Dresden,[71] brought home by *Meyer*, and *Beccari's*, the major part of which is in Florence[72]—a smaller part in Rome,—both from the coast-line between *Humboldt's* Bay and the *Arfak* mountains. From the rest of New Guinea, till some years ago, only few specimens had found their way to Europe. The country itself was almost entirely unknown. The collections from these parts are now more considerable even than those from the north coast, but as yet not nearly so common. From Papua gulf *D'Albertis* penetrated into the interior up the *Fly-river*, and brought back a very fine amount of ethnographical plunder, which forms one of the most valuable acquisitions to the museum at Rome. A smaller portion of this is to be found in Florence. The south-eastern coast and *Kaiser Wilhelm's Land* were explored by Dr. *Finsch*.[73] Of the extensive materials acquired by this able collector (about 5000 pieces) the greater part was purchased by the Berlin Museum,[74] which undoubtedly at present, along with the museum in Rome, contains the best representation of New Guinea.

From these collections it is evident that New Guinea, which anthropologically forms one whole, viewed from an ethnological point of view, presents considerable varieties. This appears in their mode of life and customs, as well as in their products. Throughout, all the objects from the north are simpler in form and far more grotesque in decoration than the products of the more southern tribes. The latter have on the whole developed further, and give a very instructive picture of a peculiar Stone Age civilisation. In no region of the South Seas is this first stage of culture more characteristic in appearance than in *Kaiser Wilhelm's*

[71] Uhle, *Holz-und Bambus-Geräthe aus Nord-west Holz-und Neu-Guinea.* Leipzig, 1886.

[72] Mantegazza in *Archivio per l'antropologia e la etnologia*, vii., 307.

[73] D'Albertis, *Alla nuova Guinea*, and *Proceedings of the Royal Geogr. Soc of London*, xx., p. 343; Finsch in *Originalmitth.*, i., p. 92.

[74] A part of Dr. Finsch's collection has been acquired by the museum in Rome, as we have mentioned above.

Land and on the *Fly-River*. The materials at the disposal of the natives are not very numerous, but they have been used with no slight ability. For their implements they use a diorite-porphyry or a dark green schist, more rarely the shell of the Tridacna-mussel. The last is used only in the simple form required by the kind of implement; whereas in the manipulation of stone the Papuas have attained great skill. The axe-blades, used for all ordinary labour, are usually made in the well-known form with a pointed tapering end. But they are polished with great care and dexterity. The disc-shaped, cylindrical, and star-shaped club-heads, which belong to the mountain tribes in the interior, are so different from those of all other Stone Age peoples, that one is tempted to consider them imitations of metal objects, were it not that the isolated life which the Papuas have led makes such an assumption impossible. The models are not to be found elsewhere. They show most similarity to some of the Peruvian stone articles; but it is very doubtful whether this likeness can be regarded as more than a mere chance.

Besides the stone objects there are a number of things peculiar to the southern Papuas. Among them we mention only a few specimens which are not found in the north. In Kaiser Wilhelm's Land we find the throwing-stick, that curious weapon which has been gradually evolved among a number of various peoples, who do not appear to have had any connexion with one another. Possibly in New Guinea it is more commonly used in the interior; on the coast it has been discovered only in one locality, and even there it seems to be scarce. The same is the case with the peculiar plaited armour, known elsewhere in the South Seas only from the Gilbert's Islands. Of these there is one from the Fly River, two in *Finsch's* collection. Still more special to certain localities are the large clumsy wooden bucklers, of which *Finsch's* collection contains several examples, either ornamented with a roughly drawn human face, or decorated in the same peculiar manner as the large carved wooden bowls. The devices are the same linear figures, spirals and zig-zag lines met with throughout the island; but the manner in which they are composed and adapted is special; they either appear in relief, or are incised and inlaid with white, red, and yellow paint. For the first time too we have masks from New Guinea, very original in form, representing a bearded human face with a sharp beak-like nose. But these also seem to be used only in a few districts. Dr. *Finsch* was unsuccessful in obtaining accurate explanations as to their use. Lastly the dried crania are worthy of

note. Of these *D'Albertis* brought back some examples from the Fly River, the only place where they have yet been met with on the island.[75] In the specimens from the coast tribes, the skull has been cleaned, and the face from crown to teeth covered with a mask of mixed resin and wax, the cavities of the nose and eyes being set with cowries, encircled with abrus kernels. The crania from the inland parts, on the other hand, are without these masks, and painted red, with spirals scratched in, like the heads from New Britain. They resemble them also in having a handle of rotang fastened to the chin-bone. With regard to these crania we have as yet no further explanations. *D'Albertis* hazards the bold conjecture that they have been used at dances as a kind of rattle, many of them having been filled with small pebbles and hard fruit-stones.[76] But such a supposition is scarcely tenable, and not supported by any observations in other ethnographical regions. We may perhaps regard them either as trophies of head-hunts, which are common in many districts of New Guinea, or else connect them with the painted crania of the dead, which are worshipped among other Melanesian peoples. Of these the Museum Godeffroy possesses a series from New Britain and New Ireland. They appear also in the Solomon Islands, and on many of the island groups of Polynesia.

V.

ASIA.

No part of the world presents such strong contrasts of civilisation as Asia. The forms of culture are as manifold as the peoples which inhabit it. While the Veddas and Andaman islanders belong to the lowest of savage races, the peoples of East Asia have developed a higher civilisation than any other race not European. All these various stages are, however, far from being satisfactorily represented in our museums. The ethnographical collections from western, and also to some extent from Central Asia, are in particular very imperfect and fragmentary. From *Persia* the South Kensington Museum contains a collection of industrial objects as extensive and rare as it is interesting, with a number of old and very precious

[75] Some specimens of these have recently been acquired by the Museum f. Völkerkunde in Hamburg. J. M., *Note to Germ. Tr.*

[76] *Proc. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. of London*, xx., p. 318.

specimens. The Trocadero possesses numerous ethnographical objects from *Turan* brought back by *Ujfalvy*, besides the results of his excavations in various localities.[77] *Syria* and *Hedjaz* too, to some extent, are represented by considerable materials in Rome. Münich contains a small collection of weapons from *Asia Minor*. But beyond this very little of importance has found its way to the museums. On the other hand, the great civilised peoples are more fully represented, and to these we must add the collections from the very diverse Malay Islands and some north-Asiatic peoples.

18. Siberia.

The Russian Empire in North Asia has exercised a considerable influence on the natives. Christianity has affected the shamanistic religions of many of the chief races; and trade has given their products in part or wholly a European tinge. This is specially the case with the peoples of the Ural-Altaic group in western Siberia, the collections from which are not very large or particularly interesting. The materials collected by *Jakobsen* on his expedition to Siberia are to be found in Berlin; but they are not complete in the case of any one group of peoples. Among them there are several things of special note, *e.g.*, the Kalmuk and Yakutic costumes and drums of the Shamans, the motley and fantastic decorations of which at once attract the eye, and the magnificent Buryät and Kalmuk harness and silver-mounted weapons. But European patterns are apparent through everything, just as European stuffs form the main part of the decorations. Far more interesting and original is *Sommier's* collection, made among the *Ostyaks*, and presented by him to the museum in Florence. It is not very extensive, but contains a well-chosen selection representative of the various needs of life among this primitive people. The group of religious objects is very rich and instructive.

In eastern Siberia we meet with a number of tribes, which have not fallen under direct European influence, and have therefore preserved their distinctive traits not merely in their mode of life, but also in their products and whole spiritual physiognomy. These are the Tungusic *Golds* and the arctic *Gilyaks*, *Kamtschadals* and *Tschuktsches*, from which large collections have in recent years come to Europe.

The *Tschuktsches* are naturally best represented in the great

[77] *Notice sur le Muséum éthnographique des missions scientifiques.* p. 15.

collection brought to Stockholm by *Nordenskiöld*. Besides this there are, however, excellent materials in Rome, collected on the voyage of the Vega by Lieutenant *Bove*, the Italian member of the expedition; and a smaller collection at Hamburg made by *Krause*. The Swedish, Italian, and German collections include only the Tschuktsches of the coast; but they give a full picture of civilisation among this hitherto almost unknown people. A close connexion in culture exists between the Tschuktsches and the Eskimos east of Bering Straits. Everywhere we find the same implements. The dress of the Tschuktsches is the same as that of the Eskimo, made of sewed reindeer hide or sealskin. Their tiny boats are modelled on those of the *Umyaks*, a frame-work of wood or bone, covered with skin. Their hunting weapons are exactly the same as those with which the Eskimos, from Bering Straits to Denmark Straits, hunt seals and whales, harpoons with bladders and throwing-stick, the lance and characteristic arrows for shooting birds. Along with these there are two implements peculiar to the peoples on Bering Straits. One of these is the bird sling, a weapon remarkably like the Bola. It consists of a number of bone balls, fastened to thongs, which are tied together at one end, and is used in the same way. The other is the bow and arrows, which is used more extensively among the Tschuktsches than among the Eskimos. In its older form, strengthened by plaited sinews, it makes a very serviceable weapon. In both peoples we also find a number of minor objects for the practical purposes of life; but generally the workmanship is poorer and worse than east of Bering Straits. This is also the case with carved figures of wood and bone, in which the Bering peoples express their taste for art. The western Eskimos possess considerable skill in carving; whereas the attempts of the Tschuktsches are extremely rude, helpless efforts at reproducing men and beasts. Bove's collection contains good specimens of this kind, but the largest and most instructive are to be found in Krause's.

Besides the collections in Rome and Hamburg we must also mention the smaller groups of Tschuktsch objects in London, Berlin, and Copenhagen. These are very imperfect, but contain some good and interesting specimens of an older date.

On Jakobsen's expedition to Siberia for the "Hilfskomité" in Berlin, a large collection was made among the peoples on the lower Amoor, especially the Gilyaks, at the mouth of the river and on Sachalin Island, and among the Tungusic Golds on the Sunguri.[78]

[78] See Globus, lii. p. 152 ff.

At present the Berlin museum is the only one which possesses large materials from this region.[79]

Though these two peoples are in many respects very different in their mode of life and cult, they present many points of similarity. A large number of religious objects brought back by Jakobsen show how strongly Shamanism flourishes among them. The Shamans—a sort of religious quack or Jack-of-all-trades—have their proper home in Siberia, and here, as everywhere, occupy a highly-respected position. They combine the art of doctor with that of exorcist. In the former character they profess to cure by a method of sucking the part affected; but Jakobsen's large series of figures showing various forms of sicknesses prove that they have other ways of driving out the sorcery which causes the illness. The receipts of the Shamans are very curious, consisting of models of stockings and gloves, painted with pictures of snakes, beasts, and men. The articles of clothes in question are woven on the pattern of these, and applied to the sick parts as a curative. More commonly the Shamans carve a figure of wood to represent the sickness; and this is carried as a talisman against it. These figures are either models of the sick parts—hands, feet, and knee-joints—which are tied to the limb affected; or pictures of beasts, especially the bear, which is a prominent object of great reverence; or, lastly, small figures, as, for example, a small hollow figure, used as a remedy against consumption and pains in the sides; a man with a hole in his breast, as a cure for hæmorrhage; a figure bored through, to stop diarrhœa; a rod with small wooden dolls, to prevent disease in children—figures of every kind to restore a patient to health, which are either set up in the house, or carried out into the forests as votive offerings to the evil spirits. Among these we must also reckon real idols, pictures of guardian spirits, which ward off mishap, and serve to summon the spirits. The most important of these are the so-called Shaman-gods, which represent the spirits of deceased Shamans.

As an exorcist the Shaman is as zealous to protect his clients by means of figures. To guard the hut against evil spirits several long-legged roughly carved idols are set up, smeared round the mouth with blood or juice of berries, or the figure of a tiger, which of all wild beasts, the Golds dread most, and invoke when threatened by danger. So too the hunter and fisher is aided in his pursuit by a number of roughly carved and almost shapeless figures, or by a

[79] We must also mention here the Ethn. Museum of the Imperial Russian Academy of Science at St. Petersburg, which has considerable sets of ethnographical objects from the Siberian peoples. Note to Germ. Tr.

sacrificial bowl in the form of a salmon, which is filled with a sort of porridge and sunk in the water, in the belief that the fish are easier to catch when they have eaten of it. One of the most important duties of the Shaman is to care for the soul of the dead. Intercourse with the departed plays a great part in the life of the Golds. One of the most peculiar figures in the Jakobsen collection is connected with this, and called *Panja*. It is a representation of the human figure, as rudely carved and primitive as can well be imagined, forming a flat stick with a hole in the middle, in which the pipe is inserted. When one of the family dies, such a figure of him is set up in the "Jurte" or hut, on the place he used to occupy. His clothes are rolled up in a bundle and laid before the figure on a cloth, and tobacco, food, and drink placed before it. The performance lasts till the soul of the Shaman is carried to heaven, which often does not happen for a long time. If, for instance, the family are poor, they must first save up to meet the considerable expenses connected with the performance of the ceremony. After the celebration the *Panja* is destroyed, and the hut resumes its usual appearance. Similar figures, all derived apparently from the animistic notion that after death some time elapses before the soul quits the earth, are, as is well known, to be found among the most various peoples. Here we shall mention only the Ostyaks in Siberia, among whom we find an interesting parallel to the Panja, namely the Sciongot, as they call it, a primitive doll, several models of which are to be found in Sommier's collection at Florence. This, however, is not to be regarded as a mere picture of the dead, but rather as his actual representative. For three years it occupies the place of the dead in the house. It is set by the hearth, fed, put to bed, in short treated as a living being, with the same respect that was bestowed on the living. Only after they have been buried are the dead supposed to have left the house entirely.[80] Perhaps, too, some of the figures described by Nordenskiöld[81] are similar; but he was unable to obtain an explanation of them.

The religious objects, to which also a number of amulets of wood and iron belong, are the most interesting part of Jakobsen's collection. But besides these, it contains objects of every description in large numbers. The Gilyaks, as well as the Golds, subsist chiefly on hunting and fishing. Though they are skilful sportsmen, their weapons and boats are imperfect, and far behind those of the Tschuktsches. The Gilyaks' harpoon is, in principle, like that of

80 Sommier, *Una estate in Siberia*, p. 274.
81 Nordenskiöld, *Vegas Färd*, ii. p. 131.

the Eskimo, but simpler, without a moveable head. Their hunting weapons are principally the bow and arrows, the latter sometimes with blunt points, so as not to injure the skin of the beast. Only in hunting the bear do the Golds use a spear with a sharp point of iron or copper. The gun plays no part as a hunting weapon. The products of fishing, especially salmon and sturgeon, are used in many ways for household purposes. Their dress usually consists of salmon skin, which they beat to remove the scales and make it supple and water-tight. Yellow and blue lining and figures of thin skin are stitched on, to give variety to the long overcoat, and similar ornaments are used to decorate the pointed birch-bark hat, the style of which, with the cut of the whole dress, is borrowed from the Mandschus. Fur clothes are rarely worn. Salmon skin is also used for a variety of pouches and small sacks, stamped with ornaments, in which the Golds show considerable taste and skill. They have also a peculiar way of dealing with some other kinds of work, such as the baskets and boxes of birch-bark, with white bark ornaments sewed on a dark ground, beautifully carved wood-work, and rare ornaments of walrus tusk. Their ornaments betray the influence of the Mandschus and Chinese. This is most apparent in their conventional and purely ornamental forms of plants, which play a great part in their ornamentation—some of them direct copies of southern models. It is not so obvious in the geometrical patterns, though even in these the meander-form and interlaced bands betray their foreign origin.

Finally, we must mention that the collection includes a number of prehistoric stone implements, found in the country of the Gilyaks and Golds. In style they are closely allied to the rest of stone articles in Siberia, and, like them, are formed of soft stone, schist, calcareous slate and greystone, carefully polished. The people themselves can tell us nothing of their use. They are not even aware that they were once used as implements, but look on them with the usual superstition as thunderbolts, and use bits of them as amulets against sickness.

19. The Indian Isles.

The *Rijks Ethnographisch Museum* in Leyden will always form the basis for the study of the Malay peoples. The favourable opportunities enjoyed by the Dutch for collecting in their colonies have been well employed, and the Leyden Museum, now that it has

been reorganised, appears to rank among the best of ethnographical museums.[82]

The German and Austrian museums, with which we are now concerned, have much to teach us of the Malay peoples. But most of the materials are at present inaccessible. Berlin, for instance, contains *Von Kessel's* excellent collections from Borneo, which were formerly exhibited in the *Neues Museum*. Leipzig has received large consignments from the *Negritoes* and *Igorrotes* in the Philippines, and the *Battakes* in Sumatra. In Vienna there are interesting collections from Borneo and Sumatra, and from old graves in the Philippines. But these were all warehoused in 1886. The only collections on view were the large one in Münich from the Dyaks, a smaller one in Hamburg, two good collections from Nias in Florence and in Naprstek's Museum in Prague, and the fine Malay section of the Dresden Museum. The Italian collections have nothing of special worth to show.

To the Malay Archipelago we must add the Nicobar and Andaman islands, from which there are good collections in Berlin and Copenhagen.

At present Dresden stands first in this region. Besides *Meyer's* and *Semper's* collections from the Igorrotes, Irayes, and Manoboes, there is the careful collection of *Reidel*, embracing the Moluccas and the islands in the Residency of Timor (Flores, Timor, and Sumbava). Celebes is represented by numerous objects, also brought back by Meyer; Borneo by an older collection of Von Kessel's, which has recently been largely added to by General *Schierbrand*. The materials from Sumatra are less extensive; and the same is true of Java also. But among them are some objects of great interest, such as the sets illustrating the mode of manufacturing battiks, and, above all, the fine old weapons described and illustrated by Meyer and Uhle.[83]

These collections are the most valuable treasures in the Dresden museum, and are all of the greatest value for ethnography, having been formed with a clear appreciation of what a scientific collection should be. The groups of islands are represented so completely that we have a finely gradated picture of each people in its leading features. The explanations attached to the objects are also thoroughly trustworthy, enabling us to distinguish various districts, which, excepting in Holland, had hitherto been treated

[82] See *Korte Gids v. h. Rijks Ethnographisch Museum te Leyden.* Leyden, 1883.

[83] *Seltene Waffen.* Leipzig, 1885.

as one whole. We may now, for instance, observe that considerable differences exist between the northern and southern portions of Celebes and Borneo.

Special interest attaches to the Malay collections in Dresden, containing comparatively numerous sets of the glazed earthenware, so highly prized by many of these islanders. It is strange to find among so uncivilised a people as the Dyaks as strong a mania for collecting as is to be found in any people of Europe. They have quite a passion for the vessels of glazed ware, called dyawets, which are of a yellowish brown, dark brown, or gray-green colour, the poorest without decoration, the more precious sort overlaid with scales, adorned with wavy lines, or—in the most valuable sort—with large lizards in relief, which creep up the sides and twine round the neck of the vessel.[84] They are by no means attractive in appearance; but no collector of china in Europe is better acquainted with the value and classification of his collection, than the Dyak with his dyawets. Each kind has a special name, and belongs to a separate class, determined by the size and ornamentation. The plain ware is the least valued, the most highly prized being the large lizard vases, for which as much as 2000 florins is given. Their worth depends, as among the Javanese, on certain niceties of finish, which only the practised glance of a native can detect; and he is never mistaken. Europeans may be deceived by good Chinese imitations; the Dyak at once discovers the fraud. Even if broken and cemented together again, the value of the piece is not diminished. Rather this is regarded as an evidence of great age, which makes it more interesting. These dyawets are the greatest family treasures. Every Dyak's ambition is to own such a piece. Formerly they would even go to war to get them. No wonder that they are so much sought after; for much superstition is connected with them. They are considered sacred, a charm to avert sickness, ensure good harvests, luck in trade and success in love. Sacrifices are therefore offered to the soul in them as to a tutelary god. Some are so highly reverenced for their miraculous properties, that pilgrimages are made to see them.

Many sagas exist as to the origin of these treasures. According to some they were made by the King of Madjapahit, the son of the chief god, during his sojourn in Borneo. Others declare that they are made of the earth which remained over after the sun, moon and

[84] Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen*, p. 134; A. B. Meyer, *Alterthümer aus dem ostindischen Archipel*; Grabowsky in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xvii, p. 121.

earth were created. But it is very improbable that they were first made in Borneo, as they bear the marks of a civilisation far superior to that of the Dyaks. Nor is it likely, as the saga relates, that they are due to Javanese industry. Traces of such pottery have not been found in Java. Their true origin is, however, still uncertain. Most probably, according to a conjecture often put forward, they are connected with products of East Asiatic potteries. This view is supported by their entire character; and it is important to note in this connexion that similar vessels are to be found in ancient graves on the Philippines, where bowls and vases have been found, inlaid with celadon (pale green), and small vases ornamented in blue, which have undoubtedly come from East Asia.[85] It is, however, difficult to obtain good data for comparison, since, so far as we know, no vessels are known, which can be regarded as direct models of the Malay dyawets. In form and material they most nearly resemble the tama-katsoura, vessels which were manufactured in a traditional antique form for the court of the Shogun, where they were used to keep the Oudji tea.[86] But these, so far as is yet known, are never decorated. Is it possible that the Japanese and Malay vessels are both derived from Corea, the original home of East-Asiatic pottery?

20. India.

The student of Indian civilisation will naturally turn first to the India Museum in London. The contents of this colossal museum, to which the Prince of Wales's collection has been added, are in many respects unsurpassed. The collection of sculptures and casts of architectural monuments contains many old and valuable specimens, very important for the study of the progress of Indian art. The best products of the industrial arts of India are here gathered together in sets of overwhelming richness and dazzling splendour. Nowhere are there more extensive and interesting materials for the study of the various industries native to the great English crownland. The groups of woven stuffs and embroidery, metal-work and products of the goldsmith's art, carving in wood and ivory, mosaics, pottery and weapons, enable us to trace the state of industry from province to province, by characteristic specimens of plain work as

[85] There are two of these vases in Dresden, from Celebes and Ceram.

[86] One of these vessels, which are very rare, is to be found in the Musée Guimet.

well as of the more perfect productions. But whoever wishes to study ethnography here is doomed to disappointment. The museum does not display the characteristics of the diverse native races. The industries of the country have hitherto been the only objects kept in view. The collections from the primitive peoples are very incomplete, and somewhat hap-hazard in character. Even in the case of the best represented districts, materials towards the history of civilisation are somewhat scanty when they do not happen to illustrate the industrial arts. Every friend of ethnographic studies will therefore rejoice that the extremely rich materials gathered for the Colonial Exhibition in London are to be kept together and form the nucleus of a museum which will repair the defects we have noted in the priceless treasures of the Indian Museum.[87] India will thus be represented ethnographically by an exhibition which is certain to be of the utmost interest, as a flood of light will be thrown on the diverse elements of the native population by groups of objects characteristic of the various forms and degrees of civilisation.

The ethnographic materials which we miss in the India Museum are to be found in great store in the Berlin Museum. The basis of the Indian section there consists of the excellent collection brought back by *Jagor*, which used to be exhibited in the " Alte-Börse " [Old Exchange]. It was in its day not merely a pattern of what a scientific ethnographical collection should be, but is even now invaluable for a knowledge of the condition of civilisation in India. The method of arrangement everywhere shows the sure penetrating glance of the man of science in dealing with his subject. Where others have been content to remain on the surface, Jagor got to the very bottom of his subject, striving to illustrate it in every possible way. He pursued a fixed system of collection in one province after another, in order to illustrate each race, Dravidian and Hindu, separately, and the great differences in their state of culture. The most extensive groups of objects, with their names, material, mode of production and use, all most carefully explained, acquaint us with the primitive Kanikas, who make their houses in trees, and the savage mountaineers of the Nilgiri range and Chota-Nagpur, as well as the highly developed Hindus of Bengal, Rajputana, the Punjab, and Kashmir. In each of these groups of peoples we have a picture of their mode of life, industries, and religious ideas, omitting no detail characteristic of any interesting peculiarity. Besides this ethnographic representation the collection contains important and

[87] *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi. p. 227.

very instructive general groups, in explanation of circumstances which are usual everywhere, such as the nature of the Fakirs, religious observance, the written language, etc., or special branches of industry. With regard to the last, Jagor's collection is a valuable supplement to the India Museum. It cannot of course rival the latter in richness of forms and fine specimens; but on the other hand it is instructive in the light it throws on the progress and manufacture of the work. The materials, implements, and objects, showing the work from beginning to end, give us a picture of the wood intarsia of Bombay, the niello work of Gujarat, the manufacture of japan in Benares, Jaipur and Amritsar, of pottery in Azingarat, cotton printing in Mathura, etc., etc., such as no museum could surpass. The Indian section in the Berlin Museum has been enlarged by numerous additions, especially by *Riebeck's* large and costly collection from Hindustan and Chittagong.[88] It will soon be open to the public, and will certainly prove the best Indian ethnographic collection in Europe.

Excepting in London and Berlin there are but few accessible collections from India, and none that are large. The most important is in the Orientalisches Museum in Vienna. But owing to the special character of this museum the industrial side has been chiefly kept in view. The Münich museum has an Indian section which is in one respect of great interest. It derives the main portion of a valuable collection of idols and religious objects from the Lamarpiquot Cabinet. The types of gods are well and accurately determined, and very instructive. The rest of the Indian objects chiefly consist of a part of the collection made by the brothers *Schlagintweit*, and a group of objects of art and industry from Patna and Benares. They are not very numerous, and fall far short of what is now required in such a collection. The Copenhagen museum has a very good and full collection of idols, representing all the chief types in the Brahman pantheon. There is also an interesting group of sacrificial vessels. Finally we must mention the very considerable collection of Dr. *Stolpe*, made during his stay in India. This is now in Stockholm, where it was temporarily on view in 1886, along with the rest of the "Vanadis Collections." According to the account of the Indian section of this exhibition,[89] the picture it gives of Hindu religious life appears to be very instructive, as one might expect in a collection made by a specialist, who knows exactly what and

[88] *Die Sammlung d. Herrn Dr. E. Riebeck.* Berlin 1881.

[89] Stolpe, *Vägvisare genom Vanadis utställingen.* Stockholm 1886.

how to collect, to illustrate ethnographical peculiarities, regarding nothing as insignificant that can even in the smallest degree throw some light on this or that side of a people's life.

21. Further India.

The collections from Further India are much smaller than those from India. In the India museum there is a good deal of material from Siam and Burmah, which, like that from India, illustrates the industries of the country. The Copenhagen museum contains a very good and extensive collection from Siam. A smaller group of objects is to be found in Dresden. The Musée des Colonies in Paris has very considerable materials from the French colonies in Anam. To these we must add the Siam section of *Riebeck's* collection,[90] which will soon be exhibited, as well as the treasures of the Berlin museum from Further India, of which we as yet know nothing.

[90] *Die Sammlung d. Herrn Dr. E. Riebeck.* Pl. xii.-xiv. Berlin 1881.

(*To be continued.*)

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ABORIGINES OF VICTORIA.

In a volume of *Papers relating to Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions*, printed by Parliament last year (c. 5070 of 1887), is the following paragraph :—

At the first Colonization of the district now called Victoria, the aborigines were officially estimated to number about 5,000, but according to other and apparently more reliable estimates they numbered at that time not less that 15,000. When the Colony was separated from New South Wales the number was officially stated to be 2,693. According to the census of 1881 the number had become reduced to 780, viz. 460 males and 320 females. The existence of the few that still remain alive has no political or social significance whatever. The race will probably become extinct in the course of a few years. Ed.

Archæology.

—:o:—

ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN ROMANESQUE AND GOTHIC.

THE term Romanesque if strictly used would be applied to buildings erected during or subsequent to the decay of the Roman empire in imitation of the Roman manner of building. It implies an imitation with a greater or less degree of inferiority; and this according to Dr. Whewell was the intention of the writer who first employed it in architecture.[1] But the term is now very generally used to denote certain medieval styles of building in which the round arch prevails in contra-distinction to that in which the pointed arch is predominant and which is commonly called Gothic. So that medieval buildings in Western Europe which have arch-forms either constructive or ornamental, are in guide-books labelled Romanesque or Gothic according to the shape of arch which predominates.

But though this is the general rule, the distinction is not universally adopted by writers of authority. In his *History of Architecture* Fergusson attempts to limit the use of the term Romanesque to its primary meaning, and applies it especially to basilican or circular churches, such as those at Rome or Ravenna, which were obviously built in imitation of, or even with the very materials of, more ancient Roman edifices. He recognises a new departure in architecture from about the age of Charlemagne, and appears to trace the rise of Gothic from the beginning of the characteristic styles of Lombardy and the Rhine. Thus he frequently speaks of the style of the Romanesque churches of Italy, Germany, and Switzerland as round-arched Gothic, though it is these churches which most commonly come into comparison with Gothic.[2]

[1] Whewell *Architectural Notes*, 3rd ed., p. 48.

[2] See *Hist. of Arch.*, i. 591, ii. 173. Fergusson appears to give the term Gothic a special meaning, as applied to the styles "invented and used by the Western barbarians," and asserts that there is "less classical feeling in the naves of Peterborough or Ely Cathedrals, than in those of Canterbury or York." As the terms Gothic and Classical are not used by other writers in this sense, but have on the contrary a fairly well defined application, it is impossible to adopt this terminology even if it is theoretically defensible. (See *Hist. of Arch.*, i. 353).

Fergusson is not alone in regarding the shape of the arch as unimportant. Rickman,[3] one of the first writers on the subject, in tabulating the differences between classical and Gothic architecture, ignores it altogether, and Whewell following him says of the pointed arch that "it can never be looked upon as one of the great essentials of the style."[4] This statement is worthy of remark because Dr. Whewell was the first to call attention to the differences between German Romanesque and Gothic. At the same time he refrains from carrying his inferences to their logical conclusion, and in spite of the above statement continues to denote buildings as Romanesque, transitional, or Gothic, according to the occurrence of either form of arch.

Fergusson's system, which Sir G. Scott approves of, in theory, as philosophical, and "more correct than the usual nomenclature,"[5] would have had more chance of being adopted, if unfortunately Professor Freeman had not completely upset it, by maintaining in his usual learned and interesting style, that the medieval Romanesque is as much akin to Roman architecture as the early Christian, and differs from the latter only in being an evolution, and a more perfect phase of Roman art.[6]

With these conflicting theories it is obvious that there must be some want of uniformity in the application of the two terms, and my aim in the present paper is to assign a more precise meaning to each, on what seem to me to be valid grounds, though in doing so it may be necessary to run counter to the practice, if not to the theory, of writers to whom all students of the subject must be deeply indebted.

I take it for granted that the term Romanesque should be limited to a style which has some such origin as the name implies, and that in spite of Mr. Fergusson, it is properly applied to many later medieval churches in Italy and Germany which have certain common principles of construction and decoration directly traceable to Rome. I assume that Professor Freeman has established the claim of Romanesque to be regarded as a "true and independent style of architecture,"[7] a completion rather than a corruption of that of classical Rome,[8] and distinct from the Gothic architecture

[3] Rickman, 6th ed., p. 436.

[4] Whewell *Notes*, p. 6.

[5] Scott's *Lectures*, vol. i., 48.

[6] I refer particularly to the article on "The Origin and Growth of Romanesque Architecture" in the *Fortnightly Review*, Oct., 1872.

[7] *Fort. Rev.*, xii. 395.

[8] *ib.*, 376.

of France, England, or Germany. But granting this distinction, which I do not think that anyone who has studied his scattered writings on the subject will deny, it would still be well to examine the exact principles upon which it is based; and upon this point I find that Prof. Freeman relies very much upon the shape of the arch. He refers to three principles of construction, the entablature, the round arch, and the pointed arch, notwithstanding that in constructive principle a round arch and a pointed arch are the same, and that Dr. Whewell whom he calls "one of the best of architectural observers"[9] does not regard the pointed arch as an essential of the Gothic style. So that whether we regard it as a matter of principle or a matter of practice, the question remains, what is the principle or what are the characteristics of Gothic architecture as distinguished from Romanesque?

The evolution of architectural styles appears to have a close analogy, if not a real similarity to that of species in the organic world. It would be difficult at any period of the history of architecture to point to the spontaneous generation of an absolutely new idea. In the medieval styles this is certainly the case. Starting from one or two common types they were developed with more or less rapidity under special circumstances into forms of great diversity, or with superficial resemblances which have little real affinity. And there are times and places in which the vitality of the art seems higher than usual and the powers of development more rapid and more influential on future evolution. Such a period occurred in the 11th century when the development of the coming Gothic begins to be apparent. At the same time or a little earlier the Romanesque of Italy and Germany began to assume its characteristic forms. But whilst Gothic and Romanesque have to some extent a common parentage, they have a very different history. Romanesque has more traces of its classic origin than are seen in Gothic, but it was destined to have a shorter existence and a less complete fruition. We find it in as full development as time allowed in Pisa and Lucca on the one side of the Alps, in Worms and Cologne on the other (not to mention many other towns in Italy, Switzerland and Germany). We find it in its ruder forms at Bradford-on-Avon, at St. Benet's, Cambridge, and in the many well known Anglo-Saxon towers of Britain, or round towers of Ireland; but in all places its career was cut short sooner or later by its more vigorous rival. For Gothic starting from a simple but not

[9] *Guardian*, Aug. 15, 1888. He also speaks of him as outdoing Willis in the gift of grasping the *character* both of whole styles and particular buildings.

mean type of rude Romanesque, took to itself fresh forms from distant sources, and speedily developing new modes of construction, and new shapes of beauty eventually superseded the native architecture of Germany, modified that of Italy and was transplanted into Spain and other parts of Europe, and only fell at last in the general decay of living art beneath the flood of neo-classical taste. I do not think that this is an exaggerated statement of the case, nor does it impugn the claim of Romanesque to equal independence with Gothic. Nevertheless in any such process as has been indicated, many counter influences intervene, and comminglings take place producing varieties which are difficult to classify. Buildings are found of which it is hard to say whether they are Romanesque or Gothic, and in the later specimens of German Romanesque when the style was being influenced by the still developing French Gothic so much intermixture occurs, that German writers, ignorant of the real history of the style, are almost justified in their assumption that the 14th century Gothic of Germany was a development from their own 12th century Romanesque..

But however difficult it is at times, to draw a line between the mixed styles of Germany and France, it is more difficult still to show any but a remote connexion between the round-arched style of Germany and the later Norman architecture of England and northern France, which Mr. Freeman, following the ordinary custom, calls indifferently Romanesque. Several writers, of whom I think the late Mr. Petit was the first, have felt that there was a considerable difference; and it was not possible that Mr. Freeman should ignore it altogether. He acknowledges the difference between the southern Romanesque, viz. that of Italy, and the northern form, as he calls it, of Normandy and England—a difference which to some of us is most familiarly illustrated by an Anglo-Saxon and a Norman belfry. He also characterizes the prominent features of the German style.[10] But it is in making these distinctions that the want of definition is felt. The Romanesque of Italy and Germany have much in common, and this negative quality in particular that they yielded in a greater or less degree to the influence of Gothic, continuing to exist concurrently and in conjunction, but not in harmony with it for a considerable period. The round-arched style of Normandy, on the contrary, did not continue to exist concurrently with Gothic for any appreciable time. It disappeared altogether in and into Gothic. It was in fact the early form of Gothic. If there is any process of growth which can be traced step by step it

[10] *Fort. Rev.*, xii. 393.

is the transition from the Norman to the complete Gothic; the only sudden innovation, which nevertheless was not a final or complete change, being that of the form of the arch. But for the rapidity of this change, the source of so much speculation, and so much popular misconception of the true history of the art, Norman architecture would be more easily recognized as rudimentary Gothic, the transition in other respects being much more evident.

I am aware that Mr. Freeman especially repudiates this view. "To that style," he says, "the Norman variety of Romanesque, I hold that justice is seldom done. I claim for Romanesque to be looked on neither as debased Roman nor as imperfect Gothic, but as a genuine and independent style of which Italy and Norman England produced two varieties of co-equal merit;"[11] and, again, in reference I suppose to Mr. Fergusson, "It will not do to say that there is a perfection of the arched style, but that its perfection must be looked for in the architecture of the pointed arch, and that the architecture of the round arch is an imperfect form."[12] But whilst thoroughly feeling the force of all he says so far as it applies to Italian or German Romanesque, I find it difficult to follow him in the matter of Norman architecture. Indeed, he seems to me to feel some weakness in his argument; he refers to the shortcomings of Romanesque as compared with Gothic, its rudeness of detail, and unsuitability for modern reproduction, expressly stating that "the architecture of the round arch never has, as a matter of fact, been carried so near to perfection as both the other two forms [Grecian and Gothic] have."[13] I cannot but think that if he had confined himself to Italian and German Romanesque he might have spared himself some of these apologetic remarks, which are rendered necessary by his classing together two radically divergent varieties of art in totally different stages of development—the one, true Romanesque, an improvement, perhaps almost a culminating phase of ancient Roman art: as capable of perfection and in proper places as suitable for modern reproduction as any other ancient art, and therefore needing no qualification:—the other the round-arched style of Normandy and England, a new and vigorous shoot, the immediate parent of the noble English style of the 13th century, destined to arrive at the highest perfection, but needing all the qualification that any other immature stage of growth may fairly claim.

[11] *Norm. Conq.*, v. 600. Comp. *Fort. Review*, xii. 387.
[12] *Fort. Rev.*, 377.
[13] See *Fort. Rev.*, pp. 377—379.

I therefore venture to suggest that Mr. Freeman's argument is based too much on the shape of the arch, and on the abstract and unpractical ideas of lateral and vertical extension; to which, as characterizing Romanesque, he adds the third idea of *immobility*. I know that the former two are referred to by almost every writer, of whom Willis alone seems to attach little importance to them, but useful as they are as phrases to express æsthetic effects they cannot be used as criteria of style. Hundreds of excellent buildings fail to give expression to any of them. A mediæval architect did not aim at illustrating the principle of vertical extension or of immobility. He may have tried to secure such qualities in his work, but his object was to build in conformity with certain constructive rules and certain decorative fashions, and if the shape of the arch was not at any time an absolute essential, and was at all times very variable, the radical differences between Romanesque and Gothic must be looked for in other constructive and decorative features. When these are correctly understood, I believe that Norman architecture must be classed with the latter rather than the former.

Before formulating the principles on which the distinction which I make is based, I will quote the opinions of one or two writers whose views to some extent accord with those I am putting forward. Mr. Petit is one of these. Professor Freeman himself says of him that he was "clearly feeling his way towards the distinction between German and Norman Romanesque."[14] I suppose that he refers to the fourth chapter of Petit's *Church Architecture* (vol. i. p. 51), in which he says, "The churches of the eleventh and preceding centuries, in Italy, Germany, and the south of France, seem to derive their character from both these early classes of buildings —[*i.e.*, the early Christian basilicas of Rome and Constantinople.] . . But, in addition, the principle of the verticle line was gradually working its way into the system; in some parts so rapidly as to make the Romanesque a transition into the Gothic, as is our Norman; and in other places so slowly and covertly as to leave it the character of an independent style, struggling for a peculiar perfection of its own." And again, in chapter v. (p. 93), "The Romanesque of Normandy, and still more of England, is essentially Gothic; not, indeed, fully developed, but quite sufficiently so to mark its direct and inevitable tendency. Hence the transition to the later styles in these countries is easy and natural; while in Rhenish Germany, and other parts, the struggle is hard, and presents some

[14] *N. Conq.* v. 621, note.

very curious and interesting combinations." It will be seen that in the first of these passages Mr. Petit recognises the Gothic principle in the vertical line. This is not, in my opinion, an essential feature of Gothic, but there are other features to which Mr. Petit might also have pointed as indicating the transition into Gothic. With this exception I do not think the case, as I see it, can be put more concisely than it is in these passages, the difference between Mr. Petit's conclusion and mine being chiefly a question of nomenclature—viz., whether a style which was a rapid and easy transition into Gothic, and was "essentially Gothic," should not be called so, and thereby discriminated from that form of Romanesque which, to use his own phrases, has the character of an independent style, and seems to struggle for a peculiar perfection of its own? It seems to me that we have no alternative but to make this distinction, or to make none at all, and, with Mr. Fergusson, call all medieval architecture Gothic. This alternative appears to have presented itself to Sir G. Scott, but he seems, on the whole, to incline to the latter course, and to regard Italian and German Romanesque as round-arched Gothic. This he expressly does in his second lecture,[15] but the analysis which he gives of the character of the style applies far more to Norman than to other forms of round-arched building, and is apparently based on examples in which Norman influence was already active. But at a later date his view was somewhat modified. In lecture xi., written many years afterwards, he says:—

"According to Mr. Petit and Mr. Fergusson, the Norman is rather an early stage of Gothic than strictly Romanesque; and though this may be said to be rather a question of nomenclature than of distinctive principle, I am inclined to think there is much real truth in it. I would rather, however, put it thus, that among the many branches of the great Romanesque tree, this was one—as the Anglo-Saxon was not one,—of those which contained the intrinsic elements of the future Gothic style."

Now if we accept Prof. Freeman's view, as we must, of the identity of Anglo Saxon (primitive Romanesque as he calls it) and early German and Italian Romanesque, we are forced to deduce from the above passage that Norman contained the elements of Gothic, and that German and Italian Romanesque did not; that is to say if we make any sharp distinction at all between Romanesque and Gothic, then we must take Norman out of Romanesque and put it into Gothic.

Sir G. Scott proceeds in his 11th lecture to show some of the

[15] Vol. i., p. 48.

essential differences between the two styles, which I will now attempt to show more at length.

Several of the earlier writers on medieval architecture, who were mostly men of great ability, tabulated the chief differences between *Classical* and Gothic architecture, and though at that time the origin of the pointed arch was a subject of keen enquiry it is remarkable that most of them did not by any means put it forward as the great feature of the medieval styles. I will refer particularly to Willis and Whewell, and give only the four principles of medieval building as distinguished from classical—which are accepted by them both—arranging them in my own order and words. They are as follows:—

I. The substitution of the arch for the entablature.
II The recognition of diagonal pressures.
III. The multiplication of planes of decoration.
IV. The sub-division of bearing members.

It will be seen that the first two are constructive and are connected by the fact that the use of the arch causes a lateral as well as a vertical pressure and so necessitates the use of thicker walls, or of buttresses. The third and fourth are also to some extent connected, but chiefly in a decorative sense. The use of the arch would not naturally necessitate the use of more bearing members than did the entablature; on the contrary, it tended to diminish their number: and it may be used, as it is in cross-vaulting, to concentrate pressures. But the multiplication of planes of decoration as in recessed doorways and porches, in compound and foliated arches, in subordinated arcades and in ribbed vaulting, suggests the use of corresponding bearing members, such as compound piers, shafted pillars, and clustered columns, the sub-divisions of which are sometimes purely ornamental.

These are the chief distinctions between Classical and Gothic buildings. There are others, but inasmuch as they are less absolute and would require explanation or qualification, I do not now refer to them.

Now if, as Professor Freeman contends, Romanesque is in principle an improved phase of Roman architecture which was itself derived from the purely classical styles, and if as I contend, Norman is an early form of Gothic, then these differences ought to be found, though it may be in a modified form, between Romanesque and Norman—or to put it conversely, if it is found that these distinctions do hold good between Romanesque and Norman, then we

are justified in saying that the Norman builders were the originators of Gothic as distinguished from Romanesque.

I. With regard to the substitution of the arch for the entablature, it might be hastily assumed that in comparing two arched styles this first distinction was cancelled. But as a fact this is not wholly the case. I do not refer to those examples of early Romanesque in which there is often a suggestion or a section of the entablature superimposed like an upper capital upon the regular capital of the pier as in Byzantine churches, or those at Ravenna—and still less to that more eccentric form in which a series of arches is imposed on a continuous horizontal frieze and cornice as at the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, or the basilica of San Lorenzo at Rome, in which latter instance both peculiarities are seen at once—but to the fact that Roman builders, and those who built *in more Romano* never entirely got rid of the idea that the arch was only another form of the horizontal architrave, and should be treated decoratively in the same way. They therefore ornamented the front or vertical sides of the archivolt as if it were an entablature bent round in semi-circular shape and left the underside plain, or only decorated with the shallow panelling which is frequently seen in soffits in the Roman basilicas. We see this very plainly illustrated in the palace at Spalato, which Mr. Freeman calls the first consistent Roman building, inasmuch as the arches are made to spring directly from their supporting columns. But notwithstanding this advance, the entablature is by no means got rid of; it exists in full force *above* the arches of the central court, and at the south end it is made to bend with all its members in the form of a large semicircular arch, in a manner which would be most striking if it were not more or less familiar in modern classical architecture. The arches of the arcade at the side have a secondary curved architrave on the face of each, the soffit being entirely unadorned. This facial ornamentation of the architrave, consisting generally of a projecting band rebated once or twice, was not only used constantly during the earlier centuries of the Roman Empire but also appears frequently in Romanesque buildings, especially in the very classical work of the South of France.[16] In the less refined work, it is often replaced by a band of more enriched, though ruder ornamentation,[17] and in the roughest kind of Romanesque as in the doorways of our Anglo-Saxon churches we find it represented by one or two narrow fillets which are often carried

[16] See illustrations of Provençal Architecture (Fergusson i. 406, 410).

[17] As in the West Window of the Basse Oeuvre Beauvais.

down the jambs, the only points of similarity being that the ornamentation is on the vertical face whilst the soffit is left flat.

Another feature in which a vestige of the trabeated system still lingers is seen in the so-called pilaster strips which are universal on exteriors in Italian and German Romanesque. These are clearly representatives of the flat pilasters which supported the entablature, whilst the almost equally common arcaded tablet, which takes the place of the entablature, was apparently suggested by the mutules or modillions which supported the corona of the classical cornice. This arcaded cornice was developed into a very prominent feature in German Romanesque, being often pierced so as to form an arcaded gallery.

The Roman mixed system of arch and entablature is represented by the arrangement of the Romanesque windows, which, in the more typical examples, are regularly placed between every two pilaster strips. If we take a single external bay of Worms cathedral as shown by Fergusson,[18] and compare it with one bay of, say the Coliseum at Rome, we see what a close decorative analogy there is between Roman and Romanesque. But the necessity of protecting the interior from the weather gave rise to modifications. Sometimes the windows are made so small that they cease to be an architectural feature. In other cases external effect was combined with a small aperture by splaying them deeply from the outside. Hence an external splay became characteristic of early Romanesque, and is frequently found in English examples, such as the chapel at Deerhurst, where there is no pretence at architectural effect.

I might also point to the reminiscence of a double capital which is found in the midwall shafts or of belfries or triforium openings of larger Romanesque churches,[18] but this is a minor detail. It is in the flat soffit, the pilaster strips, and the external splay of the window that the Roman style of arch and entablature has chiefly left its traces, and in all these features the Norman builders effected a complete alteration, the effect of which was to make the arch itself a prominent feature, by decorating it constructively, and not superficially. For beginning with a small rebate at the edge of the arch, as seen at Jumièges (which is certainly found in many buildings which are not Norman), they at once systematically adopted a suborder in all their larger buildings. This was at first kept square-edged, but they very soon afterwards made it semi-circular in

[18] i., 574.
[19] Cf. Freeman, *Arc. Sketches*, p. 250.

section, corresponding to the semi-cylinder on the pier. This was the first suggestion of a moulded order and a shafted pier, and by increasing the number of orders, and adding corresponding members to the pier, they were ultimately led to the complex mouldings and the clustered columns which characterize the more perfect Gothic style. At the same time, they were contented with a remarkable degree of plainness in the exteriors of their buildings. By splaying their windows only on the inside they secured a wider diffusion of light for the same aperture, though the window became little better than a loophole outside; and by removing the pilaster strips they got rid of the last traces of the fictitious Roman system by which flat pilasters appear to support an entablature which really rests upon an arch.

II. As to the diagonal pressures caused by arches, it does not appear that the Normans, any more than the Romanesque builders, recognised them at first otherwise than by the massive construction of their walls. Nevertheless it is a fact that they soon began to thicken the walls at intervals by the use of a flat and broad buttress which had no decorative connexion with the discarded pilaster strips. It ran up to the top of the wall without being merged into a cornice, and was crossed by string courses and occasionally pierced by windows, just as if it was a mere portion of the wall with no decorative meaning. It was applied, in fact, simply to give strength where it was wanted; and as the use of cross vaulting, which localized pressures, was developed, it became a regular buttress with offsets in two or three stages, whilst the intermediate walls became proportionately lighter in construction.

III. The third point of difference, the multiplication of planes of decoration, seems to have originated in the abandonment of the flat soffit and the general adoption of subordinate arches. The square edges of the suborder were at first rounded or chamfered off, or moulded with a small round, which eventually led to the marvellous multiplicity of parallel mouldings in the thirteenth century. These are always, in good Gothic, worked upon a foundation of two or more square-edged or chamfered orders, showing their relationship to the earliest Norman compound arches. The addition of ribs to the plain Romanesque cross-vaulting is a minor but significant change of the same sort. A more important result of the subordination of arches, is the sub-division of the arch itself. For the familiar twin window which we see in so many Romanesque towers was set back by the Normans beneath a larger containing arch, and the midwall shaft was brought forward

till it was on a level with the suborder. In this way a single opening of two lights, which was used in the triforium as well as in the tower, was suggested, and as soon as the parts acquired sufficient lightness, the spandrel was pierced and the elements of plate-tracery were acquired.

IV. The fourth alteration, the subdivision of supports, was the direct result of the development of the arch. The single column of the old basilican arcade had been partly superseded by the rectangular pier long before the eleventh century, and the principle of continuing the arch decoration through the impost mouldings down the front of the pier was not unknown, as may be seen by the tower arch of St. Benet's, Cambridge. But the Normans carried this principle further. When they rebated the arch they rebated the pier; and when they adopted the sub-arch of semi-circular section, they set a similar half column against the pier to correspond with it. It is likely, as Mr. Freeman says, that the half column suggested the half-roll of the arch, for the square suborder was used with a large half column, as at Jumièges, before suborder and pilaster were made to correspond, but it was the free handling of the arch that was the suggestive innovation. In some early Norman archways, such as doors and chancel arches, with mouldings of considerable complexity, the correspondence between arch and impost is accurately maintained, of which we see a very early instance at Bosham, and a rather striking later one at Clevedon. In others we find the successive orders supported by shafts, which were gradually adopted in all cases (excepting the innermost order) where the arch was composed of several suborders with light parallel mouldings; and as a general rule, which is exemplified more strongly in ribbed vaulting than elsewhere, each plane of arcuation has its corresponding series of supports whereby what Professor Willis calls the "decorative construction" of a building is made consistent and self-evident.

In claiming these four new principles for Norman architecture I am far from saying that they invented the forms on which they are based, or that they alone practised them, or that they at once forsook all the other Romanesque characteristics. No more can be said than that the Normans, soon after they became builders instead of devastators, as they were at first, exercised an independent mode of work and made use of old features in a new and systematic collocation which rapidly created a new style. They may have derived the idea of the buttress from the pilaster strip found even in the rudest buildings which they destroyed; they retained it as

a constructive, and not as a decorative feature. The double window, as I have said, was an adaptation of the apertures common in Romanesque towers, but though in the hands of Romanesque builders, the type had remained the same for two hundred years, in Norman hands it took a form capable of a degree of development which may best be realised by comparing the Romanesque campanile of S. Zeno at Verona, with the same thing, in a Gothic disguise, at Florence. Their greatest and most fruitful innovation, the general adoption of the sub-arch, had no doubt been foreshadowed by the recessed order which may be met with in Romanesque doorways. They not only developed this type of doorway into forms of surprising richness, in which our own country is remarkably abundant, but they also applied the same constructive principle to all the interior arches of their buildings.

The history of the doorway, which has always been an important feature in all styles of architecture, would be an especially interesting study in the early Gothic style. The difference between the Norman type of England and France is an instructive comment on the history of the whole style. The earliest form in Normandy is an exceedingly plain adaptation of a Romanesque form, namely, a rectangular opening with a sort of pedimental lintel on the top, over which a solid discharging arch is built. This is found in nearly all early churches in Normandy, as at Jumièges, St. Saturnin, (St. Wandrille), St. Taurin (Evreux), and numerous village churches, and in a few very early ones in England, as at Worth. When the arch was further developed as a slightly projecting order, the solid tympanum was utilised as a field for decoration, which increased in richness with each succeeding phase until we get that highly enriched type of Gothic doorway with sculptured tympanum of which S. Maclou is one of the noted examples. In England the Norman doorway generally took a different form, probably from the primitive Romanesque churches which were found here, and in which the doorway was generally round-headed. Hence doorways with a carved tympanum are here comparatively rare, their greater elaboration being chiefly shown by increasing the number of richly-carved receding orders to an extent seldom seen in Normandy.

To trace out the evolution of each feature from Norman to pointed Gothic upon the permanent principles I have formulated would be a long task. The many characteristics of what is called the transitional style are familiar to all who give any attention to architecture. The change from the barbaric richness of Norman ornament abounding in grotesque animal forms to the chastened

but not less complex richness of parallel mouldings and conventionalised renderings of plant and flower is a most remarkable one, but it implies no more than a purification of taste under new influences, and is certainly independent of the more important structural and decorative principles above mentioned. The change from the round to the pointed arch is also one on which a long chapter might be written, and on which I will say a few words.

The two-centred arch is often found constructively used in buildings which are certainly not Gothic in the sense in which I have used the term. Those of St. Front, Perigeux, of the middle of the eleventh century, are a good example. On the other hand, the round arch is found in excellent specimens of Gothic, of which the presbytery at Chichester is a familiar instance. There is therefore an *a priori* objection to taking the shape of the arch as a criterion. But when we call to mind the extraordinary diversity of form there is in pointed arches of construction (to say nothing of ogee, trefoiled, and multifoiled arches) between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries; when we compare the almost straight-sided arches of the apse of Westminster, with the flattened arch-forms of its eastern chapel, I am at a loss to see how any argument can be built on such a variable foundation. There is more difference in principle between a four-centred and a two-centred arch than between a two-centred and a circular one, for in the latter pair there is one radius of curvature, and the bearing power is unimpaired, whilst in the former there are two curvatures, and the bearing power must be diminished, and is often, so far as its *form* is concerned, little better than zero. The only deduction we can make from these facts is that the form of the Gothic arch, so long as it is symmetrical, is immaterial; and if we admit this, the fact that the Norman arch is so frequently eccentric in shape, either stilted, segmental, horse-shoe, elliptical, or pointed, is a most significant one. The stilted apsidal arches of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, the segmental arches of Southwell, the curious elliptical transept arch of Clevedon verging closely on the pointed form, the pointed arches of the tower of St. Bartholomew, and the horse-shoe-vaulting arch at its eastern end, all occur in buildings which, so far as the character of the decoration is concerned, are clearly Norman. Such irregularities prove that builders were learning to play with the form of the arch. They began to find it pliant within certain limits; and they inaugurated a new departure from the style of which the semi-circular arch, with its plain soffit, was the symbol, towards the style in which the plastic arch with its moulded suborders was to be the chief decorative

feature. It is therefore in superficial and secondary characteristics that the difference between Norman and later Gothic really lies. The causes which led the Norman builders on this track, which enabled them of all western people, at an age when building was universally making rapid progress, to strike out a path so especially their own, and yet so attractive in its course that all others eventually came into or towards it, is a question which may properly be asked, but which demands a chapter for itself. At present I simply desire to claim a recognition of a special place for Norman in the history of architecture. It is not a mere matter of nomenclature; it would not be worth while to discuss the subject, if no question of principle were involved. If a writer chooses to say that all western architecture, from the palace of Diocletian to the sepulchre of Henry VII., is Gothic, we may, if we please, fall in with his terms; but if a line is to be drawn between Romanesque and Gothic in the sense in which it has been drawn, then I ask that Norman, the most original, and the immediate parent of the most beautiful of all styles of architecture yet achieved, should not be classed with Romanesque.

EDWARD BELL.

QUARTERLY SUMMARY OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES AND WORK, &c.

PREHISTORIC REMAINS.
- Kiltearn, Ross-shire.
- Dummer, near Basingstoke.
- Botley, near Southampton.
- Brassington, Derbyshire.
- Mount Sandal on the Bann, Ireland.

ROMAN REMAINS.
- Little Chester, Derby.
- Gloucester.
- Llantwit Major, Cardiff.

SAXON REMAINS.
- Peterborough Cathedral.
- Gloucester.

MEDIÆVAL CHURCHES, CROSSES, &c.
- Peterborough Cathedral
- Milton, near Sittingbourne.
- Fountains Abbey.
- Westminster Abbey.
- Valle Crucis Abbey.
- St. Giles', Cripplegate, London.
- Mayor's Chapel, Bristol.
- Croyland Abbey.
- Strata Florida Abbey.
- Clatt Church.
- Ancient Crosses.
- Braybrooke Church, Northants.
- Norwich Castle.
- Barnard's Inn, London.
- Beverley Minster.
- Cossey Church, Norfolk.
- Roche Abbey.
- Ormskirk Church.
- Finchley Church.
- Canongate Cross, Edinburgh.
- Kirkby Mallory Church.
- St. Mary Saunderton Church.
- Millbrook Church.
- St. Nicholas Chapel, Coggeshall.

LOCAL ARCHÆOLOGICAL RESEARCH.

Prehistoric Remains.—In August last, on Drummond farm, on the property of Sir Hector Munro, Bart. of Fowlis, in the parish of Kiltearn,

Ross-shire, an ancient grave was opened in the presence of Sir Hector Munro by men acting under the orders of Mr. Arras, Fodderty. A similar grave had been opened ten days before in the same place, and in both instances the skeletons were found pretty entire. The mound in which the graves occur is a natural accumulation of gravel and sand, evidently formed at some far-back period by the river Sgiach, which flows close by. There are four such mounds in the field, which have all been repeatedly ploughed over and sown with crops. That in which the coffin-pits in question occur is a mound about twenty feet high and about forty yards long. Its length lies almost due north and south. On the east of the ridge and close to it the graves were found, the one twenty-two paces south of the other. The dimensions of these cistvaens are similar,—the length from north to south 3 feet 3 inches, average breadth 2 feet, and depth 2 feet. The breadth of the northern grave is greater at the head, which lies to the south, than at the feet. The grave to the south is somewhat irregular in form. The greatest breadth here is about the middle. The grave-lining in both cases is formed of large undressed red sandstone flags, and two or three flat boulders of gneiss, all found in the neighbourhood. The northern grave was covered by a huge slab of sandstone about five inches thick, while that to the south, ruder in construction in every other respect, was covered by three large gneiss boulders, the largest of which was a sufficient lift for five farm labourers, who were assisting in clearing away the soil from the top of it. The slab of the northern grave was laid bare for some time by the plough, whereas the covering of the southern grave was covered by a foot of soil. In the southern or more primitive grave was found, besides the skeleton, an urn of coarse clay containing black ash, but nothing else. The urn lay on one side as it fell, on account of the opposite side having somewhat decayed. This urn was placed close by the face of the dead. In both graves the skeletons were seen in bold relief against the bottom of the coffin-pit with their faces to the east. The knees were drawn up and the hands placed, as it were, on the cheeks—the right under the head, giving an impressive look of repose to these last relics of the sleepers. The skull found in the northern grave had the lower jaw gone, but the bowl of the skull was entire, showing a good bullet-head of large capacity. From front to back it measured 7 inches, from ear to ear 6½ inches, and from temple to temple 5 inches. The bone was thin, but firm. The sutures of the skull were well closed. The roundness of the head was remarkable. The thigh bones were about 13 inches long, and the other bones in proportion, indicating that their owner had arrived at maturity in life. Fragments of the plates of the pelvis were found, but no more. In the southern grave the skull had the lower jaw nearly complete. The roof of the mouth was complete, and the teeth in the upper and lower jaws entire, though their crowns were somewhat ground down. The right side of the skull—that on which it rested—was gone. The lower jaw was remarkable for its squareness and depth. The forehead was high and broad. In this case the bones of the lower part of the back and the pelvis were utterly gone. No trace of even the *os sacrum* was to be found, and yet the breast bone or sternum and the floating ribs were found in position. The ossification of the sternum suggested to a medical gentleman who was present at the opening of the grave that the skeleton was that of a person of

between thirty and forty years of age. The large size of the collar-bone, with its well-marked channels for the attachment of the muscles, was also suggestive of its owner having been of the male sex. The thigh and arm bones all showed that their possessor was a man of at least average size. Besides the urn a mere fibre of bronze much oxidised was found in this grave. No flints were found in either grave. What the ash in the urn is has not yet been determined. It looks like a mass of animal charcoal, and possibly was the ash of the cremated viscera. In shape the urn was somewhat of the form and dimensions of a middling-sized flower-pot, with slight curvatures inward under its everted rim, and outward in the middle of the vessel. The base was narrow. The diameter across the rim is about 7 inches; depth the same, and base 3½ inches. The inward curvature is channelled by two furrows, one above the other, about half an inch apart, the bands between and beneath as well as the upper face of the rim having an ornament of the herring-bone pattern pricked into the clay by some pointed instrument. The urn with its contents is in the possession of Sir Hector Munro, and is to be seen at Fowlis Castle. Sir Hector left the graves as well as the bones open for inspection for a few days, but afterwards had them replaced, closed, and covered up as before. A curious fact connected with these graves, the existence of which was utterly unknown in the district until accident revealed them, is that the mound has been locally held in terror by the superstitious as haunted by spectres; so much so, that few, indeed, would dare to pass near it after nightfall. This district appears to be rich in prehistoric remains, if one may judge by the "finds" of celts, stone and bronze, cup-marked stones, hut circles, and sepulchral mounds which are made from time to time.—Whilst a shepherd was at work near some fir trees known as Dummer Clump near Basingstoke, a large flint was found a foot beneath the surface, and on removing this, pottery was found, unfortunately broken. On carefully digging this up further discoveries were made, consisting of a small vase of baked pottery about five inches in diameter, smooth inside and out, and without pattern. The vase rested on a larger one, so broken that it is difficult to estimate its size. The latter is of very coarse pottery, either very slightly baked or sun-dried, and is ornamented with two bands not unlike the Norman dog-tooth, made apparently with a pointed stick. With these were found bones some human, and others those of a dog or some other domestic animal, burnt earth, flints, and sun-dried as well as ordinary clay. While removing these a third vase was found of a very coarse pattern, sun-dried or very slightly baked, about eleven inches high and fifteen inches diameter, with a band of ornament like the one above described. This was filled with earth, that towards the outside being the natural clay, while the centre was filled with perfectly black loam, as if from decayed vegetable or animal matter. Interspersed with both clay and mould were burnt flints and pieces of burnt bone. The spot is about 660 feet above the sea. It is understood that the owner of the land, Sir Nelson Rycroft, Bart., of Kempshott Park, intends to open some trenches in the neighbourhood, to ascertain whether these relics are accompanied by more extensive remains. Sir Nelson Rycroft, writing to the *Hampshire Chronicle* respecting this discovery says: "Dr. Stevens, late of St. Mary Bourne, but now Curator of the Reading Museum, has twice visited the spot, when three other vessels,

two large and one small, have been found. All are of the same slightly baked clay, ornamented with bands. These are sometimes raised, and ornamented, not as was thought at first with a pointed stick, but with the forefinger or thumb of a woman or boy; while in one case, at least, a second band of ornament was formed by the indentations made by the tip of a finger. With one exception all were placed in the ground bottom upward, the bottoms themselves being in every case wanting, probably destroyed by the plough, they being only six or eight inches underground, and they were filled with earth, clay, and a few burnt bones. The only exception is the first found, which was upright, and nearly filled with burnt bones only. On it was placed a small vessel of better baked ware. This Dr. Stevens pronounced at once to be a food vessel. A foot or more underground a flint implement was found, nearly circular, about five inches in diameter, with sharpened edges. It needs but a handle to make an efficient tool. In the field Dr. Stevens found several flint implements."—*Nature* reports the discovery of a portion of a prehistoric canoe in the tidal river Hamble, near Botley, Hants, at the point of the junction of the Curdridge Creek. It is about 12 feet long by 2½ feet deep, beautifully carved, and in a fairly good state of preservation.—A bone cave has been discovered in Derbyshire, near Brassington, and midway beween Matlock and Wirksworth, which has been examined by Dr. Cox and Mr. A. Cox, of the Derbyshire Archæological Society, and by Prof. Boyd Dawkins. The results are considerable, and application has been made to the British Association for a grant towards further excavations.—Several finds of small rough flint celts, have been made around Mount Sandal, on the Bann, similar to those dredged from the Bann, or picked up from an ancient ford below the Leap. Others have been found under the sand dunes at Portrush, the latter being beyond doubt an ancient settlement at which these rude implements were manufactured, the cores, the chips, and every refuse of manufacture being present. On Rathlin Island, rough celts were no doubt manufactured, as there we have the chips and all the resultants of manufacture.

Roman Remains.—A recent and somewhat extensive "find" of Romano-British pottery at Little Chester, Derby, includes a noteworthy rim of a mortarium or mortar. Its colour is the almost invariable dirty cream of these culinary vessels, but the largely marked maker's name, Vivius, is coloured in chocolate, painted before firing. No instance of a coloured maker's mark has hitherto, says the *Athenæum*, been noted; at all events there is no instance among the mortaria and other large Roman vessels at the British Museum, or in the splendid collection of pottery of that period at York.—Important remains of a Roman house were discovered in May last in Eastgate Street, Gloucester, underneath a fine half-timbered house which was pulled down. Large quantities of pottery, some pieces of thin window glass and mosaic pavements have been unearthed.—A letter from Mr. W. E. Winks of the Cardiff Museum to the *Athenæum* gives an account of some important finds at Llantwit-Major. On the suggestion of Mr. John Storrie, the Curator of the Cardiff Museum, excavations were made in September last in a field locally known as Caermead, lying about a mile to the north-north-west of Llantwit-Major and about half a mile west of the road to Cowbridge. In this field Mr. Storrie

had observed about a year ago certain grass-grown ridges, running four-square and enclosing an area of about eight acres. On inquiry among the elders of the town of Llantwit he found that at the beginning of this century the walls of extensive buildings on this site had been levelled with the ground and the stones carried off to neighbouring lime-kilns. It was clear from the moment the excavations were begun that the remains were Roman, for fragments of Romano-British pottery and brass coins of the third century were early brought to light. Further on the remains of a large and well-appointed Roman villa, showing indications of military occupation either here or in the near neighbourhood were discovered. Yet the building whose foundations are now partly laid bare must have covered about two acres out of the eight which are enclosed and defended by a rampart. In all, the outlines of fifteen rooms have been traced, and of these three are sufficiently exposed to afford an opportunity of judging as to their probable use and style of mural decoration. The largest lies on the north side and measures 60 ft. by 51 ft. Mr. Storrie believes it to have been used as a prætorium. In some parts the walls are about 9 ft. high—the highest yet met with—and still retain their original wall-plaster with decorations in blue, vermilion, and Pompeian red, these colours being as bright as when first laid on. Next to this room, and at its south-east angle, lies a small room about 12 ft. square, which appears to have been used as a workshop, if one may judge by the metallic fragments, clinkers, and bits of coal which strew the floor. Immediately to the south of this artificers' room is a large hall which has so far proved the chief point of interest, 39 ft. by 27 ft. in its full extent. It is divided into two compartments by a slight wall, pierced by a wide door space, most likely covered by curtains easily removable when it was needful to throw the two compartments into one. The larger compartment is about twice the size of the other. The entire floor of the hall has been adorned with tessellated pavement, and enough remains to show its general design and quality; but in places it has been sadly mutilated. The pattern has one or two singular features. It consists of circular, square, and star-shaped devices, enclosed in hexagons and octagons. The cross corners (north-east and south-west) are each occupied by a two feet square of single fret, and at the north-west corner there is a much larger square of single fret in five colours. The outer border is made up of thirty-two rows of brown tesseræ. Next to this comes a double-fret border in three colours, red, white, and brown, within which is a pretty framework of diamonds and triangles enclosing the central bordering, which is white and blue. Then come the round, square, and star-shaped devices just mentioned, which are made of small and fine-grained tesseræ. Of the colours employed, the pale sea-green and dark olive are different from those at Caerleon and Caerwent, Monmouth, the nearest sites at present of similar discoveries to those at Llantwit-Major. The other colours are red, brown, blue, and white. The red tesseræ are made of common brick, the white of marble, and the green, apparently (they have not yet been tested), of some volcanic ash. In laying bare the pavement of this hall no fewer than forty-one human skeletons of both sexes and all ages have been met with, and among them the bones of three horses. In one instance a human skeleton lay beneath that of a horse in such a position as to indicate that the horse had crushed and killed the man by falling upon him. It is

evident that this hall had been the scene of a massacre, for in nearly every instance the skull or facial bones have been fractured, and the bodies lie over one another in confused heaps. In four instances there had been an attempt at burial. For this purpose the pavement was torn up and the body laid in an opening not more than six inches deep, its feet towards the east, and then surrounded with stones in the form of a coffin and covered with a few inches of earth. The unburied bodies belong to a small race with brachycephalic skulls; but those that are buried were clearly men of a larger size, and had skulls of the dolichocephalic type. It is reasonable to suppose that the former represent the natives of the district, and the latter the attacking party. Nothing of value has been met with in the way of pottery, excepting a cinerary urn, which was found a few feet beneath the surface on the outer side of the north wall. There are still traces of a mound having been raised over it. This mound had been cut through and partly levelled at the time when the wall was built; but the urn with its contents remained undisturbed in its original position and beneath its stone covering. A small quantity of charcoal and calcined bones lay at the bottom of the urn, and all the rest of the interior was filled up with worm-castings. The other specimens of pottery are common black and grey ware, and, with the possible exception of a small piece of Samian, are all of Romano-British make. Only six or seven coins have been obtained thus far, and all but one of these are Roman Imperial brass in rather poor condition, and represent the latter half of the third century. The two best preserved are of Victorinus and Maximianus I. The exceptional coin is Greek; but nothing more can be said of it as only two letters of the legend are legible. The personal ornaments discovered, such as fibulæ, pins, &c., are few in number and of little consequence. In stonework there are two or three items that deserve mention. In addition to the base and part of the shaft of several columns, the workmen have come across the lower portion of a doorway which, when first exposed, was nearly complete. This doorway led from the artificers' room into an adjoining passage. When first found the jambs to the height of 4 ft. were in their original position, as also was a circular block of stone with its socket hole 1¼ in. in diameter and 1½ in. in depth, for the door pivot to work in. Several stone mortaria for pounding meal have been secured, and among them a few fragments of earthenware mortaria used for the same purpose. The inner surface of these earthenware mortars had been rendered rough by the insertion of grains and chips of flint. Among the carved stone relics the most noticeable is a roughly wrought pinnacle in Bath oolite, about 2 ft. high. It is cut in the shape of four pillars supporting a hexagonal top piece, which is finished off by a device in flowers or fruit. This small pinnacle has all the look of an ornament intended for the roof of a Christian church. The workmanship is so rough and indeterminate in style that its date must be left an open question. The hypocaust was situated at the north-west angle of the building area; no part of the superstructure remains *in situ*. The size of this bath—if, indeed, it was a bath —is 26 ft. by 22 ft. 6 in., and points to public rather than private use. But its size is not so remarkable a feature as the odd construction of the hypocaust. This is made up of piers of the most irregular shape. The appropriate name of "islands" has been found for these singular construc-

tions. The channels for smoke and heated air are as amorphous and unsymmetrical as the piers by which their shape and course are determined. It can hardly be said that this hypocaust shows any leading passage for the smoke, for all the passages twist and turn into one another with the involvement of a maze. While these excavations have been going on, special attention has been called to the traces of a Roman road leading from this site, Caer Wrgan, to another site of no small interest called locally Tre Wrgan, half a mile away to the west. That a connection must have existed between Wrgan's Castle and Wrgan's Town is evident, if only from the fact that the well which afforded their common water supply lies halfway between the two places. It now transpires that when the house called "The Downs" was built on the site of Tre Wrgan, twenty-seven years ago, the workmen, in digging for foundations, came upon remains which, judging by the account given of them, must have been Roman. Mr. Winks, besides this letter to the *Athenæum*, has described these very important finds in a paper read before the Cambrian Archæological Association.

Anglo-Saxon Remains.—The following description of the Saxon remains found during the work of restoration at Peterborough Cathedral was recently published by the Dean: In the course of the excavations necessary for under-pinning the interior of the north transept of Peterborough Cathedral, an interesting discovery has been made. Close to the western wall of the transept the workmen came upon a richly-ornamented Saxon slab, covering a grave, and evidently still lying in its original position. It is of the date, no doubt, of the second Saxon church of which considerable remains were discovered a short time since after taking down and rebuilding the central tower. The slab must mark the grave of a layman, for the burying-place of the monks was on the south side of the building, where a Saxon cloister may have stood, just as the Norman cloister did afterwards. As the slab extended slightly beyond the space required for the excavated trenches to receive the shallow foundations of the present Norman structure, the workmen of that period destroyed a few inches of its length at the top. This, with a crack across near the foot, caused by the settlement of the earth consequent on the Norman excavation, is the only injury the slab has sustained, if we except the possible removal of an ornamented upright cross at the head; the rude footstone is still in its place. The surface of the slab is about 1 ft. 6 in. below the level of the late floor, which, in its turn, was about 5 in. above the Norman floor. The length of the slab remaining is about 5 ft. 3 in., with a top width of 1 ft. 10½ in., and a bottom of 1 ft. 6 in. The surface is completely covered with the richest Saxon interlacing ornament, forming a design of a central band of ornament about 5 in. wide, crossed at right angles by rather wider strips of ornament. Three of these are uninjured; the fourth, at the top, was almost entirely destroyed when the present transept was built by William de Waterville. The design was originally, therefore, a fourfold cross. Each of these crosses is outlined with a double roll border, the inner one being twisted work. There is thus left between the borders of the cross arms three oblong spaces on each side between the broad central strip and the outer edge of the slab. Three of these are filled in with fine interlacing work, two with star crosses, and one is plain, having been left unfinished. The slab is probably the most beautiful specimen of Saxon ornamental work of the

kind that has come to light. Some antiquaries who have seen it say that they have seen none finer. It has been decided to raise the slab, carefully keeping it on its present site, so that it may still mark the resting-place that it originally covered, but in such a way that it will be above the level of the new floor and properly guarded from injury. It was found close beside the spot where rest the remains of Bishop Dove. Portions of other Saxon slabs have also been discovered not far from the one described, of similar design, but of less elaborate workmanship; also a fragment of what was probably the raised monument of a Saxon abbot, originally standing in the church, the foundations of which have been lately exposed. Of this we can trace the outline to a considerable extent. The lines of the transept and the choir can be followed in the south transept, under the lantern, and in the nave of the present cathedral, but the nave of the Saxon church lay outside the present building. Measurements carefully made show that the present Norman cathedral is exactly double the size of the Saxon church. An illustration of some of the slabs is given in the *Builder* of 25th August last.—An ancient stone cross, believed to be Saxon, has been found at Gloucester in a garden wall in the vicinity of the Priory. It is elaborately carved, and is of oolite limestone.

Mediæval Churches, Crosses, &c.—A very interesting discovery has been made during the restoration of Peterborough Cathedral. At the north east corner of the transept was a buttress built by Lovin after the restoration of the chapter, in order to stay the transept wall, which showed signs of weakness, owing to the demolition of the Lady Chapel twenty years before. This has been crumbling asunder for some time past, and to take it down and rebuild it was part of the present contract. Accordingly, the huge walls were shored by massive baulks of timber, and the work was commenced. It was found to be built in much the same style as the early builders erected the other parts of the cathedral: in a thin facing of stone and the interior filled up with fragments, which in this instance prove to be of much exceptional interest. Instead of being rough stone, piece after piece of most exquisitely carved masonry was extracted. Mr. Irvine, the clerk of the works, directed that the fragments should be carefully stored as they were brought to light. One, two, three, a dozen, twenty, thirty pieces were consecutively taken out; here a pillar-cap, now a spring of some arcading, there a bracket, afterwards a fragment of sedilia, now a capital, then some moulding, later on some delicately crocketed pinnacles, lower down some pieces of a canopy, then a great mass of carving unidentified, and so on. The masons as they handled the superb specimens thought they were never coming to the end of the vast store which for 200 years had remained packed in that rude and extraordinary way. It was, of course, a foregone conclusion that they belonged to the Lady Chapel formerly standing on the spot, and which was erected in 1272 by Prior Pavys, and pulled down in 1670 to mend the dilapidations in other parts of the cathedral, and to assist in repairing the parish church. Gunton describes this chapel as the finest adjunct of the church, and it is a matter of tradition that its internal ornaments were strikingly beautiful. Many of the fragments bear evidence of colouring; gold and crimson pigments are even, after the lapse of all these years, very prominent throughout. All the better work is of clunch stone, and bears the interpretation that

the fragments have belonged to a gorgeous shrine or some elaborate arcading. Although they have had some very rough usage, it is hoped that they may be put together and some definite idea of the original whole of which they formed part presented. Together with the lighter carvings in clunch, which of course had asylum inside the Lady Chapel, numerous examples in Barnack stone have been also brought to light which were a portion of the actual structure. It is also curious to note that some of the stone-work which faced the buttress was none other than portions of stone coffins.—The parish church of Milton-next-Sittingbourne, in which some of the finest specimens of fourteenth century architecture are to be seen, is at present in a very dilapidated condition, and a movement has been set on foot by the vicar of the parish, Rev. R. Payne Smith, for the restoration of the building. The woodwork in several portions of the edifice is decayed, and pieces of the ceiling are frequently falling. There is no reason why this state of disrepair should continue, but we are sorry to see that it has brought about the desire to restore "the ancient building to something like its original condition."—Further excavations have been made at Fountains Abbey by Mr. St. John Hope, under the auspices of the Yorkshire Archæological Society, and by kind permission of the Marquis of Ripon. The researches of Messrs. Hope and Micklethwaite, both by spade and chartulary, are bringing much fresh light upon the history and plan of this typical instance of a great Cistercian house. The usually accepted ground-plan will evidently have to be much altered. The "kitchen" proves to be the calefactory, the true kitchen being a building with great central fire-places, communicating through hatches with both the fratery of the choir-monks and the hall of the conversi.—The following facts about restorers at Westminster Abbey are quoted from the *Athenæum*: "visitors to Westminster Abbey now find themselves barred out from the chapel of St. Paul on the north side of the apse, and the place carefully screened with sacking lest they should see into it. This is to prevent them missing the tomb of Sir Giles Daubeny, one of the most interesting, after the royal tombs, in the church. It has been pulled down and taken away, and a new one is being made to be put in its place! This is no ordinary piece of barbarism. It is the first attack of the 'restorer' upon that marvellous store of old English monumental art which has made Westminster Abbey famous amongst the churches of the world, and the like of which no other country can now show. And it must be opposed by all possible means. If the 'restoring' pest is to be allowed to run riot amongst the monuments there, then farewell for ever to the unique glory of Westminster Abbey; for he will soon bring it down to the level of a waxwork show, or of St. Denis in France. It is something at least that our 'restorer' here shows some sort of consciousness that he is in mischief, and tries to keep his work out of sight till he can display it in its smart and shiny completeness. We shall probably be told once again the old tale that in this particular case the state of the work was such that its 'restoration' was absolutely necessary. As to that it should be known that when, some time ago, it was proposed to 'restore' this tomb, the authorities of the church sought the advice of several leading members of the Society of Antiquaries and of others amongst those best qualified to give it. And the answers were, we believe without exception, against any interference with the monument.

It was understood that the Dean and Chapter accepted this decision as final. We know not how they have since been persuaded to allow a work so mischievous in itself and far more dangerously mischievous as a precedent." The *Builder*, noting this letter of the *Athenæum*, were at "the trouble to ascertain the facts from those best able to give them," and considers that the zeal of their contemporary has certainly run away with its discretion. We agree with the *Builder* that families should be allowed to repair their family tombs; but they should not be allowed to spoil a place like Westminster Abbey in so doing, and we hope the *Athenæum* will persevere with its point.—Great interest was excited in North Wales by the announcement in September that the tomb of Madoc ap Gryffyddmaelor, a great Welsh warrior in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, grandson of Owen Gwynedd, Prince of Wales, had been discovered in the ruins of Valle Crucis Abbey, Llangollen. The Rev. H. T. Owen, warden of the abbey, who is now engaged upon some excavations, was searching for old stained glass in the dormitory, when he disinterred a large stone slab, bearing the name of Madoc, and an inscription, which has not yet been fully deciphered. Down the centre of the stone is an incised sword in sheath. Further excavations led to the discovery of four other stones, each about five feet by eighteen inches; two bear floriated crosses, one an inscribed spear, and the other a Grecian (?) kind of ornament. The stones form part of the vaulting of the corridor leading to the old burial ground of the monks. Madoc ap Gryffydd founded the abbey, which was a Cistercian Monastery, about the year 1200. After the venerable building became a ruin, the chapter-house and scriptorium were used for several generations as a farm-stead, and were practically destroyed by fire. During the repairs it is conjectured that the stones of Madoc's tomb were used to complete the vaulting. In 1851 the *débris* covering the area of the abbey was removed by Lord Dungannon, and the tombs of benefactors buried in front of the high altar; the figure of a knight in chain armour, and a stone coffin were laid bare. During the excavations of last year the monk's well and spring were discovered.—Among the more important changes carried out during recent operations at the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, are raising the floor of the chancel nine inches, bringing that portion of the edifice further west towards the second column, and cutting it off from the nave by a short light iron screen. These operations, says the *Athenæum*, completely confirm an assertion lately made by a good ecclesiological authority, that most of the doings of church "restorers" are prompted by clergy in sympathy with what is called an "advanced" (strangely perverted word!) ritual.—"Restoration," under the charge of Mr. Pearson, has begun in the famous Mayor's Chapel, College Green, Bristol.—The restoration of Croyland Abbey Church has been already begun under the direction of Mr. Pearson. A scaffold has been erected round the ruins at the east end of the nave, and an inspection has been made with a view to preservation. It is said that, unless it is supported in some way, the finest part of the ruin, viz., the south-east block of masonry, with the fine Norman arch, must fall and crumble away. A plea for a reparation fund has received the powerful support of the *Times*.—Mr. S. W. Williams' excavations at Strata Florida Abbey were continued until August 4, (see *ante*, vol. i. 283, ii. 53). The whole of the site over which he had permission to excavate was

within the churchyard of the parish of Strata Florida, a very extensive churchyard, but no modern burials had taken place in that portion of it occupied by the ruins. Externally the north wall of the north transept had been cleared, also the east and south wall of the presbytery, the east wall of the chapels on the south transept, and the sacristy and chapter-house, disclosing the freestone corresponding with the responds of the piers in the aisles. The excavation of the external face of the walls of this portion of the church had disclosed the fact that buttresses were built to take the thrust of the groining and arches at every point, and that the greatest care was taken to build them solidly and well. Following the line of external excavation, they came to the north transept, the whole external face of which had been cleared down to the original ground-level, and it had enabled them to find the plinths of the square buttresses, of Norman type, and the elaborate moulding of the north door. The external wall of the west end of the presbytery, like the north face of the north transept, had been cleared down to the original ground-level, and there were, in addition to the angle buttresses, square pilasters carried up between the centre and side lights of the east window which was a triplet; and these pilasters, like the buttresses, were of ashlar work. Externally, on the eastern side of the south transept had been found a series of monks' graves, some of which have still their carved headstones *in situ*. Continuing the excavation along the face of the eastern wall of the south transept, they discovered still *in situ* the window of the sacristy. Beyond this there was a change in the character of the walls, the workmanship being inferior. The chapter-house had the foundation still remaining of the stone benches upon which the monks sat in conclave, and masses of the entrance doorway had been found, consisting of arch moulds, bases, and capitals, and a portion of the base mould of one side of the door still *in situ*. The character of the mouldings found was clearly of later date than the church, and was of early English type, whilst all the work in the church itself was distinctly Transitional or late Norman. Returning to the interior of the church, and commencing at the west end of the nave, one of the most interesting and important facts discovered was the finding of the western respond of the south arcade *in situ* for a height of 10 feet above the floor-level of the nave. Alterations had been made in the shape of the pier subsequently to the great fire, and fragments of moulded work had been used as quoins in repairing the damage caused by the burning of the Abbey Church in 1824. Originally all the piers were of oblong plan, but had been altered at some late period, probably after the fire. — Several archæological specimens were found during recent alterations to the church at Clatt. It appears that the present church stands on the same site as its predecessor had stood in pre-Reformation times, and had been dedicated to "St. Juliands." In making excavations in connection with the alterations, a very complete baptismal font was found, also a part of a stone with circular carving, a stone with a rectilineal figure cut to about 2½ inches deep, and a stone with cuttings which seem to be the counterpart of some embossment. It has been built into a wall, and the nature of the design gives the idea that it has had fitted into it the terminal of a reredos or some similar ornamental work. A large upright boulder standing at the end of a cottage in the village was examined, and it appears to bear the marks of

Runic carving.—A prospectus has been issued for the formation of a Society for the Restoration of Ancient Crosses. It states "In past ages no churchyard was considered complete without its cross, while the same symbol was often the most conspicuous adornment of market-places, and in remoter districts was a no less familiar object by the wayside or the fountain. At the same time within the church the Great Rood was treated as second only to the altar itself. It is not, therefore, surprising that the number of existing remains is very considerable. Over 200 of these outdoor crosses are said to survive in the county of Somerset alone; but hitherto comparatively few have been rescued from profanation and neglect. In most cases a base or socket, frequently raised on steps, with occasionally a broken shaft, is all that remains. But these, lacking as they do the emblem of the Christian religion (to carry which was the very purpose of their erection), are now meaningless, except as witnesses to the indifference, or worse, of recent generations. It is not desired in any way to *renovate* these venerable monuments, and so to destroy their artistic or antiquarian interest; but merely to make good the ravages, not so much of natural decay as of wanton sacrilege. Nor does the society intend to supplant, but rather to stimulate, local effort and enthusiasm; though at the same time, by contributing a fair proportion of the necessary expense, it would render possible (even in the poorest districts) the execution of satisfactory designs. The society will probably confine its earlier efforts to the re-erection of church-yard crosses only; with the hope, however, of ultimately including wayside, rood, and other crosses within the scope of its action. Application for membership should be made to Mr. F. C. Eden, The Cottage, Ham Common, Surrey."—Braybrooke Church near Market Harborough is said to be in almost a ruinous condition, owing mostly to neglect, partly to lapse of time, and also to damage done by lightning. The structural defects are great, and in want of immediate attention, some being decidedly dangerous, and others capable of remedy without any extraordinary difficulty or expense. The chief cause is the failure and settlement of the foundations to such an extent as to endanger the superstructure. This Church, an interesting specimen of 13th century architecture, is one of a series in the Forest of Arden, built by order of King John, and was commenced soon after the year 1200, probably on the site of an older one. The graduated tower and spire, considered the handsomest in Northamptonshire for symmetry, are good specimens of early decorated period, beautiful design and finest proportions; the corners of the tower where the spire begins are decorated with four carved stone gurgoyles: there are four bells in the tower, three dated 1610, 1785, 1806 respectively: the 4th, the oldest, bears inscription "Sit Domini Benedictum." The east chapel is a fine specimen of 15th century work, containing an oak effigy, most probably of John le Latymer, Crusader, who died 1283; a handsome monument, an unusually good specimen of sculptor's art of the time of Queen Elizabeth, dedicated to a member of the Griffin family whose helmet hangs on an iron stanchion; an aumbry, in south wall; a vamp horn, of which only three are left, it is supposed, in England; a handsome oak screen, at the west arch; fragments of ancient stained glass. The south aisle contains a handsome ancient square stone font, carved on the south side with a rude cross and mermaid eating a fish, on the east side with interwoven snakes, on the north and west with geometrical patterns; on the south wall is a covered fresco. The

north aisle contains a piscina, and staircase with oak door leading to the rood loft. The chancel contains a piscina, embattled stone reredos, and a black oak chair, very handsomely carved with figures (half-men). We hope these interesting features will not be restored, though we confess to some considerable misgivings when under the ominous title of "Archæological, &c., Restoration," we find included a new east window to chancel, new chancel arch, new and restored screens, new cover to font.—Norwich Castle has been acquired by the Corporation, and it is to be converted into a museum and art gallery. This is good news, and follows closely upon the similar arrangement devised for Guildford Castle (see *ante*, p. 53). The tower of Norwich Castle is believed to have been built by Wm. Rufus, and to have been repaired or completed by Hugh Bigod in the early part of the 12th century.—It is also pleasing to note that Barnard's Inn, London, with its ancient hall, court-room, and offices, has been made available for the meetings of learned Societies. What a pity these Old Inns of Court could not be utilized for the foundation of an Art Training College. Staples Inn is now in private hands and others may follow.—The vicar of Beverley Minster has found in the triforium of the nave of that church several round headed arches, some having the zig-zag ornament, and Mr. Littlehales in a note to the *Builder*, considers them to be old materials rebuilt, rather than a part of the earlier church.—Cossey Church, Norfolk, has been restored, and Dr. Jessop has written to the *Times* a strong protest against the manner in which this has been done. The *Builder*, however, thinks Dr. Jessop has exaggerated, and refers to the architect's reports. We hope the *Builder* is right in this respect, as it certainly is in its well-merited rebuke to the *Times*, for writing so wisely and archæologically upon this village church of Norfolk, taking the side of the anti-restorers, while allowing the amateur architect who is converting St. Albans Cathedral into a laughing-stock, to write whole columns in his defence, and not lifting up its potent voice against these deplorable goings on. Certainly St. Albans *was* more worth preserving than Cossey. We almost question it now.—The explorations at Roche Abbey are steadily progressing. The screen of the edifice has been unearthed; three doorways on the western side, the position of the choir stalls, have been discovered. Outside the screen several tombs with inscriptions have been found. The kitchen has been explored and the walls of the refectory have been traced.—Some old oak benches have been removed from Ormskirk Church, and sent to a school of art in Boston, United States. This shows how parishioners and clergy care for their churches.—Finchley Church has just been repaired, and the work appears on the whole not to have partaken of the nature of restoration. The old tablets have been carefully preserved, including that of the founder.—The Canongate Old Cross at Edinburgh, is to be removed from its present position against the wall of the Tolbooth, and placed on the pedestal upon which stood the Edinburgh Market Cross, opposite the parish church.—The ancient parish church of Kirkby Mallory, Leicestershire, has been restored. It was erected in the 13th century, and consists of nave, tower, and chancel.—Another 13th century church, St. Mary, Saunderton, has also been restored, or rather almost entirely rebuilt. It is said that great care has been taken to re-use the ancient ornamental floor-tiles, the old stonework of the doorways, windows, &c. This thoroughness is certainly better, if

it were needed, than pretended restoration.—One of the pillars, and a large portion of the nave of Millbrook Church, Bedfordshire, has fallen down, smashing the ancient font and the old carved seats.—St. Nicholas' Chapel, Coggeshall, Essex, was built by the Monks of the Cistercian Order, in the 12th century. It is the westernmost of the remains of the Abbey, founded at Coggeshall about 1140, by King Stephen and Maud his Queen, the latter then being, as the heiress of the House of Boulogne, the possessor of the Lordship of Coggeshall and other large estates of this county. The plan of the building is of a simple quadrilateral design, without aisles or transept, and measures from east to west, 43 feet, and from north to south, 20 feet. It is constructed of rubble consisting principally of flints and fragments of Early English brick, while the coigns and dressings are of bricks varying from 1½ to 2 inches in thickness, and being about 12 inches by 6 inches in length and breadth. It is considered a remarkable example of early English brickwork, and especial attention is directed to the mouldings of the bricked mullions of the east and west windows. It is one of the earliest instances, if not the earliest, of moulded brickwork in the Kingdom. The walls rest upon a concrete bed and are about three feet thick, and it would seem were originally coated with plaster or stucco both inside and outside. The building is entered by a door on the south side near the west end. On each side of the door is a lancet window, with exterior dimensions 6 feet 4 inches high and 2 feet broad, splaying inward to a height of 8 feet and a breadth of 4 feet 7 inches. There are two other windows on the south side, but their sills are elevated to give height to the sedilia and piscina. In the north wall there are four lancet windows, similar to those east and west of the doorway, while the windows in the east and west walls are triple lancets within a containing arch. Round the interior of the Chapel, just beneath the windows, there is a string course composed of semi-circular faced bricks projecting about 1½ inches, each of which is about 12 inches long by 2 inches in thickness. At the east end of the south wall the string rises and runs along the top of the sedilia, three in number, the arches of which are composed of brick and spring from limestone supports. To the east of and adjoining the sedilia is an arched recess, and there were formerly the remains of two square drains pierced through the bricks which formed its sill. This recess was doubtless a double piscina. Between it and the east wall is a niche, 23 inches wide, 2 feet 6 inches high and recessed about 13 inches, formed of limestone and having a trefoil-shaped arch-heading. It is still in good preservation and most probably served as the credence. The aumbry with its new oak sill and top, restored as far as was practicable to its original state, is to be seen in the north wall near the east end. A small part of the original moulded oak wall-plate with its somewhat singular top remains at the east end of the north wall. The roof is high pitched, and thatched, the eastern half being raised slightly above the other portion. The plastering of the interior, above the string course, was relieved by colouring of a simple character, consisting of double chocolate one-eighth inch lines three-eighths of an inch apart. These run round the building at horizontal intervals of five inches, divided vertically so as to represent stone work. The pattern may still be seen, and there may yet be traced the emerald green which gave colour to the string course, and there is enough of the flowing foliage pattern which

filled the spaces between the lancets and containing arch of the east window to show its Early English character. In the upper part of the central seat of the sedilia there remains part of the original cruciform nimbus of reddish colour. Many years ago this sacred building was converted into a barn, part of the south wall being removed and a wing attached. This unsightly addition was demolished shortly after the conveyance of the building was made to the Vicar of Coggeshall. During a partial restoration, fragments of coloured glass, pieces of the Purbeck marble shafts of the sedilia and part of the font or of the stoup were found, also the base of the font, and with these remains were associated pieces of the pavement, which was of tile, coloured black, yellow, or buff and green. Some of the pavements now form the step of the doorway, but the colouring is destroyed. Repairs are now urgently needed. Winds, rains, and frosts are doing their ruthless work of destruction; and the society for the preservation of ancient buildings have sanctioned the work which is proposed.

Local Archæological Research.—The editorial note prefixed to our first issue has brought about a much needed effort for co-operation among local archæological societies. Dr. Cox it will be remembered wrote a letter in our pages (*ante* vol. 1 p. 158) the result of which was a Memorial from a large number of representative members of various Archæological Societies throughout England and Wales, to the President and Council of the Society of Antiquaries of London, who thereupon resolved to summon a Conference of Delegates of the leading local Societies. This was held in their Apartments at Burlington House, on Thursday, November 15th. At this Conference the following subjects were discussed:—1. The relation that might advantageously exist between the Society of Antiquaries and other kindred Societies. 2. The manner in which Archæological knowledge can best be advanced by the co-operation of Societies interested in its progress. 3. The best method of forming lists of ancient objects of different kinds still existing in various districts of the country. 4. The means of carrying out a general Archæological Survey of England and Wales by counties, together with an Archæological Index for each county. Some useful suggestions were made by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, Mr. Willis Bund, Professor Hodgkin, and others. The principal subject which came under discussion was the plan of an archæological survey of the country, to which General Pitt-Rivers contributed the remark that the present ordnance survey contained, and was bound to contain, every archæological monument which exists. Another subject was the compilation of an archæological handbook, which was suggested by Professor Hodgkin. On the question of an index of archæological remains in each county, Mr. Payne said a few words of introduction on his forthcoming archæological map of Kent accompanied by an index of place-names, showing in different columns the prehistoric, Celtic, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon remains. The general sense of the meeting seemed, however, to be in favour of making a separate index for each class of remains, and this, it will be seen by our readers, is the plan adopted for the Indexes of Roman Remains which have appeared in these pages for Wilts, Gloucester, Sussex, London, and Essex. The question of Local Museums was much discussed, and here, indeed, a very pressing matter is touched upon. Except perhaps at Salisbury, York, Newcastle, and one or two other places, the local

museums are badly managed, badly catalogued and arranged, badly housed, and badly financed. One of the best local museums is at Colchester, having suitable and ample apartments in the Castle. The magnificent Roman remains here gathered together are, to a marked degree, illustrative of the town and its connection with Roman times, and the present curator is as obliging as he is capable in his work. But the funds are almost nil. Only a few weeks since Dr. Laver, a well known antiquary living at Colchester, endeavoured to collect a few pounds to purchase two very fine pieces of Roman earthenware, but failed to accomplish his object, some of the townspeople preferring to buy these things as holders for their umbrellas! No wonder, therefore, that a special collection formed by one of the townsmen is for sale, and will probably be sent away from the district, if not exported altogether. Such cases are to be found in other towns, and it is a disgrace to our present state of educational culture. Mr. Gomme suggested that the newly-created County Councils should be approached with a view of their obtaining statutory powers to support local museums, just as local bodies may now create public libraries. If these local museums could be arranged upon something like a scientific basis, with a national catalogue designed to show the distribution of certain objects in the various local museums, the gain to students would be enormous. Thus our contributor, Mr. Haverfield, is asking for information about inscribed stones. If we could turn to a museum catalogue of Roman objects arranged under heads which showed where, inter-alia, the inscribed Roman stones were now placed in the various local museums, the student would be able to accomplish much by way of personal inspection which is now well-nigh impossible. Other suggestions were made, but ultimately, on the motion of Earl Percy, a committee to consider the whole subject was formed. It consists of the following gentlemen:—Earl Percy, Mr. J. Romilly Allen, Rev. J. Charles Cox, Mr. Gomme, Mr. Willis Bund, Mr. E. P. L. Brock, Dr. Evans, Mr. Milman, and the Hon. Harold A. Dillon. We hope something definite will be arrived at by this committee.

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Dewick (Rev. E. S.), The discovery of an ankerhold at the Church of St. Martin, Chipping Ongar, Essex. *Arch. Inst.*, xlv., 284-288.

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Gotch (J. A.), A Squire's home in King James' time. *Arch. Inst.*, xlv., 289-299.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

WIDOWHOOD IN MANORIAL LAW.

[*ante*, p. 184.]

WITH reference to Mr. Gomme's article on this subject I may refer to the following instance in Essex:—

At Wickham [Essex] Mollond was distinguished from customary land with respect to the right of dower: "The widow who held Mollond was entitled to have the moiety of such land for dower as long as she remained a widow, and the whole of the customary land, but marrying she lost the whole of it. If customary land descended to daughters the eldest took the whole, but Mollond was divided."—Inq. of 1279—Hale's *Domesday of St. Paul's* lxxv.

J. H. ROUND.

ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS IN BRITAIN.

I HAVE been asked to prepare a collection of Roman inscriptions found in Britain, and either not published, or incorrectly published in the vii. vol. of the *Corpus*, and in Dr. Hübner's three supplements in the *Ephemeris*, the last of which goes down to 1878. I should be grateful for information as to any inscribed stones or pottery, which have either not been printed at all, or only in out of the way publications.

May I take this opportunity of correcting an error in the excellent index to the *A.R.* vol. i. Under *Arundel*, the indexer notes "doubtful Roman station." So far as I know, there is no manner of doubt. There has never been discovered any sort of Roman station at Arundel, except in the imaginations of enthusiastic antiquaries. Nor, so far as I can judge, is it likely that traces of any Roman settlement ever will be discovered there.

Lancing College, Shoreham. F. HAVERFIELD.

History.

—:o:—

THE DEDICATIONS OF CHURCHES.

THERE is not uncommonly much historic significance in the dedication of an old church. In most cases the key is lost, but we may feel assured, did we possess it, that there is hardly a pro-reformation church existing whose dedication would not throw light on the feelings—secular and religious—of our ancestors. The saintly or angelic patrons were not chosen by mere chance, but, on the contrary, commemorate various successive waves of devotional feeling.

We believe that when the dedications of the whole of the churches in these islands are properly classified that considerable light will be thrown on the local cultus which the saints have received. At present none but the most imperfect conclusions can be arrived at. Ecton and Bacon's collections, it is true, contain a large number of dedications under diocesan arrangement, but their works are known to be so full of errors that without confirmation from other sources it is never wise to rely on them. Of late years steps have been taken by scattered workers to remedy the defect as far as nine English and four Scottish counties are concerned. Cumberland and Westmoreland have had their dedications arranged in alphabetical order by the Rev. Precentor Venables. This list was published a year or two ago in the local *Transactions;* about the same time Mr. John V. Gregory communicated to the Royal Archæological Institute an article on the Saint-dedications of Northumberland and Durham.[1] The October number of *The Antiquary* contains similar lists for Essex and Kent, compiled by Mr. J. A. Sparvel-Bayly.[2] The Lincolnshire dedications were arranged some years ago by Precentor Venables, and the result published in the Journal of the R. A. Institute.[3] A like good work has been done for Nottinghamshire by the Rev. Canon Raine. The result is to be seen in the *Proceedings* of the Yorkshire Architectural Society for 1882. The same learned antiquary had already published a valuable catalogue of Yorkshire dedications.[4] I have supplemented this by consulting Lawton's *Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum de diœcesi Eboracensi* for all those parishes which Mr. Raine certifies as being correctly given in that useful book.

The parochial dedications of four Scottish counties, Aberdeen,

[1] Vol. xlii., pp. 370-383.
[2] Vol. xviii., pp. 109-116.
[3] Vol. xxxviii., pp. 365-390.
[4] *Yorks Archæolog. and Topog. Journ.*, vol. ii., pp. 180-192.

Banff, Forfar and Kincardine are given in a lecture on the *Hagiology and Parochial Dedications of Scotland,* by Rev. James Gammack. These are all the county dedications as far as the writer has been able to ascertain that have as yet been arranged, with the exception of a few Lancashire parishes—now in the diocese of Carlisle—which Mr. Venables has given along with the Cumberland and Westmoreland dedications.

Out of the above materials the writer has constructed the following table. That even in its present imperfect state it will be found useful to historical students the compiler does not doubt. It furnishes evidence for but one quarter of the English counties, but it so happens that several of the more important ecclesiastical centres are represented. That some errors and many deficiencies occur we cannot doubt. Of some churches the dedication is unknown, and it is more than can be hoped for that a work done by diverse hands should be equally accurate in all its parts. The writer has taken such pains as he was able to avoid errors on his own part, but he feels sure that he cannot have escaped from miscountings and slips of the pen.

It is not our province, nor is the *Archæological Review* the place for us to enter into a disquisition on the religious aspects of the cultus of the holy dead. The remote antiquity of the practice is now conceded by all. The different ways in which the honour given to the departed has shown itself in various countries, or even in small isolated districts of the same country, is worthy of far more attention than it has as yet received. We much regret that the materials we have had to work upon relate to so limited an area. Nine English counties, and four over the border, in Scotland, cannot bring out the full results which a careful study of the dedications of the whole islands would furnish. They are, however, a help towards the right understanding of subjects beset with difficulties. The writer would be not a little gratified were his present labours superseded by a complete tabular catalogue. Though so much is left to be done in the future it has happened fortunately that some of the most important districts have been catalogued, so that the author could use them. Cumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Kent, and Essex, may be considered typical English shires, and the four Scottish counties are, we believe, very fair representatives of the Northern Kingdom.

Were all our ecclesiastical records lost we should not be left entirely in the dark as to the progress of Christianity in this land in early times. These dedications are calculated to teach much to

those who have patience to interrogate them. All dedications may be roughly and provisionally divided into four classes.

I. The Blessed Virgin, the Archangels, and the holy men and women who are mentioned in the gospels.

II. The martyrs of the early Church who suffered under the heathen persecutors, and the more illustrious fathers of the Church, whose names were known wherever Christianity was received.

III. The national saints who were honoured in their own land but whose fame was for the most part confined to their own country.

IV. The more modern saints, such as St. Bernard and St. Thomas of Canterbury.

As was to be anticipated, the dedications to the Blessed Virgin Mary far outnumber any others. In Essex there are 104 under her patronage, and in Yorkshire 95. These numbers do not include such double dedications as St. Mary and Holy Rood, St. Mary and All Saints, of which there are a considerable number. All-Saints is also a very common dedication. It occurs in every English shire that we have been able to examine. In Lincolnshire and Yorkshire it is the most numerous. In the former we have 95 examples, and in the latter it rises to 138. The feast of All Saints was established by Pope Gregory IV., who died in 844.[5] It is, therefore, probable, though by no means certain, that all these dedications are subsequent to that time. The last century of the Saxon rule and the period that elapsed between the Norman Conquest and the accession of Edward the First (1066-1272) was an era of great religious energy. New churches were springing up all around. We believe that it will be found on investigation that nearly all the churches dedicated to All Saints were founded before the year 1200.

The dedications to Saint Michael, the archangel, are also numerous and very interesting. The time when this great festival had its origin is unknown. There does not seem evidence of its existence earlier than the fifth century. The church of Monte Gargano in Italy was, it is affirmed, the first building dedicated to St. Michael, in the West. The Mole of Hadrian was placed under his invocation by Pope Boniface IV. in 610.[6]

Michaelmas was a popular festival among the Anglo-Saxons. The earliest instance of the use of the word that we can call to mind is to be seen in the *A. S. Chronicle*, under the year 1011,

[5] Gosselin, *Power of the Pope During the Middle Ages*, Tr. by Matthew Kelly, vol. ii., p. 168 n.

[6] Alb. Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Sept. 29.

where we are informed that certain northern pillagers besieged Canterbury between the feast of the Nativity of our Blessed Lady (the 8th of September) and "Sce. Michaeles maessan,"[7] There can be no doubt, however, that if searched for, the term would be found at an earlier date. Michaelmas not only stood forth as a great church festival which brought to the minds of men all they had been taught as to the ministry of angels and the ceaseless conflict between good and the powers of evil, but it replaced the old heathen festivals which were held when the harvest was got in. The dedication of churches in the great archangel's honour, the lights ever burning on his altars, and the belief that his very name was a terror to evil spirits,[8] are a part of the development of the great Christian tradition. The gross revelry and rough horseplay which, as time went on, became in some places a main feature of the festival may well be a survival from the harvest-feasts of the old time before our forefathers had bowed before the cross.

The name of Saint Michael is connected with hills. This is no local fancy confined to England only, but is found to prevail throughout almost the whole of Europe. Our readers will call to mind Saint Michael's Mount in Brittany and the holy hill in Cornwall bearing the same name. Among less known churches under the invocation of the great Archangel, which are perched on rocky heights, the church of St. Michael at Le Puy[9] should not be forgotten.

We do not profess to have information as to all, or nearly all, the dedications to St. Michael which occur in the following table, but in every case where we have been able to gain knowledge on the point, it has turned out that the church so dedicated stands on a hill, or rising ground. Lincolnshire is a flat country. It has been ascertained that nearly all the churches dedicated to St. Michael in that shire stand on what is comparatively high ground.[10]

In the paintings which adorned our mediæval churches St. Michael almost always held a distinguished place. He was commonly represented over the chancel arch with a pair of scales in his hand in the act of weighing souls. These pictures must once have been very common. They are frequently alluded to in the controversial literature of the time of the Reformation.[11]

[7] Thorpe's Edit., vol. i., p. 266; vol. ii., p. 117.

[8] Beyerlinck, *Mag. Theat. Vitae Humanae*, i., 426.

[9] Archibald Geikie, *Geological Studies*, p. 120; G. Poulett Scrope, *Geol. and Extinct Volcanoes of France*, 2nd ed., 1858, p. 172.

[10] *Jour. Roy. Archæolog. Inst.*, xxxviii., 371.

[11] See Tyndale, *Answer to More* (Parker Soc.), 163; Bayle, *Image of Both Churches* (Parker Soc.), 523.

The martyrs of the Early Church and the more illustrious of the fathers must have been well-known names to the English as soon as they became Christian. A great impulse was, however, given to the honour paid to Eastern saints by the Crusades. Wave after wave from the Catholic West dashed itself on the coasts of Syria and Palestine, and each crusader who had the good fortune to return to his own home brought with him history, legend, and wild tale connected with that strange land which he had done his part in endeavouring to wrest from the infidel. That the Eastern saints were most of them known of in this country before a crusader ever set foot on the sands of Asia does not admit of question, but there was a marked increase in the *cultus* paid to them when the East ceased to be a vague term for an unknown land of holiness and wonder, and once more recovered for itself the position of being looked upon as a real country where men and women lived, toiled, and rejoiced, sinned and prayed, as their fellows did in Europe. Almost all dedications of this class belong, we believe, to the crusading time. They are far less numerous than one would have supposed. We know from wills and other documents that there was an altar dedicated to St. Katherine in almost every church, but her name occurs seldom as the patroness of the church itself. There is not a single St. Katherine's in Cumberland, Durham, Lincolnshire, or Northumberland, and in the great county of York there are but four. On the other hand, St. Margaret, whose history is much of the same character as that of St. Katherine, has upwards of seventy churches under her invocation, though she does not seem to have had so many altars dedicated to her as to the great saint of Alexandria. There are a few churches dedicated to Saint Augustine ; they extend from Kent to Northumberland, but are nowhere numerous. We imagine that in every case the Augustine meant is the Apostle of the English, not the great African Doctor. The dedication to Saint Gregory occurs in seven counties, but is very uncommon. Cyprian is found in one single instance only. The names of Ambrose, Basil, Leo, and Athanasius, are not found in a single instance. We have been surprised to find how few churches are under the patronage of Saint George. Only twenty in all. It was at a comparatively late period when St. George became the patron of the English nation. Few churches remained to be founded in those days. Kent has one dedication which we have never met with elsewhere. Saint Beatrice is the patroness of Berthersden in Kent. There is some doubt as to who is meant, as more than one Beatrice appears in the roll of the saints. The saint invoked at Berthersden was probably

the Virgin Martyr who suffered at Rome in 303. She was strangled, and is usually represented with a rope in her hand.[12]

The dedications to the old English and Scottish saints are very interesting. They are doubtless nearly all of them of early date. It is not uncommon to hear the canonization of these saints spoken of as if the same process had taken place with regard to them as we are familiar with in modern instances, such as those of St. Alphonsus Ligouri, or the martyrs of Japan. There can be no objection to the use of the term "canonization" in relation to the holy men and women of old, if it be understood what is meant. The great fathers and teachers of the Church, Saints Athanasius, Basil, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory the Great, were almost at once received as saints by the whole Church—no formal act declaratory of their holiness was needed. With regard to the Irish, Scottish, and English saints of the early time, the method by which their sanctity was promulgated, is to some degree uncertain. We may be sure that in the first instance it arose from the spontaneous devotion of the people, but it is probable that no name was inserted in the church calendars without the approval of the bishop of the diocese, and we believe, though this may admit of doubt, that the consent of the metropolitan had also to be obtained. In those early days, when communication with Rome was so costly, tedious, and beset with dangers, it would have been almost impossible to have carried out the modern forms of canonization with regard to persons so very remote from Italy. It has been asserted, but we know not on what authority, that St. Swibert who was canonized by Pope Leo III. in 804, was the first person who was ever canonized in the exact sense of the term,[13] others say that this honour fell to St. Ulrich, Archbishop of Augsburg, who was canonized in 993 by John XV.[14] It has been affirmed, as far as we have been able to ascertain, without satisfactory evidence, that St. Dunstan was the first Englishman who was ever canonized in the true meaning of the word. Whether this be so or not, it is, we believe, safe to assume, when evidence to the contrary is not forthcoming, that the saints of these islands who flourished before the year 1000 were enrolled by the local authorities only. Of these we find many dedications, but they are of local character, very few of them are widely distributed, as are those saints whose fame extended whereever the Christian faith had spread itself. The following list furnishes the strongest evidence of this. For instance, Acca occurs

[12] *Cal. of Anglican Church Illustrated*, Ed. 1850, p. 193.
[13] Mackenzie E.C. Walcott, *Sacred Archæology*, p. 108.
[14] Ibid., p. 109.

but once, in the County of Durham, the scene of his labours. There are but two dedications to St. Bega, both in Cumberland. Six Bridgets occur in Cumberland, and one in Kincardineshire. There are none elsewhere. A doubt might be raised, did we find this dedication in Essex, Lincolnshire, or Kent, whether St. Bridget of Sweden, or her Irish namesake, was meant. As however all these dedications are in lands converted by missioners from Ireland there can be no doubt that it was the Irish Bridget who was honoured in these places. St. Dunstan of Canterbury does not seem to have been popular out of the district where he was known. He had one church in Essex, and five in Kent. None are found elsewhere. Saint Guthlac and Saint Hibald were hermits who lived in Lincolnshire. In that county each have four churches. Their names do not occur in any of the other shires. Saint Oswald, the martyr-king, was popular in six of the English counties in the following list: his name is wanting only in Essex and Lancashire. Forty churches were under his patronage in Yorkshire, and it may not be out of place to mention that the great Augustinian Canonry of Nostel in that county was under his invocation.

The very slightest attention to the following table will show that in Scotland the dedications are of a far different character to those of England. We have arrived in a land which received the Gospel, not from Saint Augustine's Canterbury mission, but from Ireland. All students of ecclesiastical history must know that while the faith was one the Celtic Christians kept up a long struggle for certain of their old traditional customs. It was many years before the two bodies fell into complete harmony. The Celtic origin of the Scottish Church is testified to by a series of dedications which sound most strange to English ears. Here and there a well-known name appears, but most of the dedications are purely Irish or Scotch. Ordinary books of reference give little information as to these Celtic saints. Most of the persons here given have their lives told in Bp. Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*. The Dedication to the Nine Maidens occurs three times, twice in Aberdeenshire and once in Forfarshire. There may be a few other Scottish examples, but out of Scotland we may feel sure that the name does not occur. Very little is known regarding these saints. What Bp. Forbes tells us is mostly gathered from vague traditions. They were, it is said, the nine daughters of St. Donald, who led a recluse life in the Glen of Ogilvy in Forfarshire.[15]

The modern saints, whose influence had been so great in

[15] Pp. 324, 396.

quite recent times, are but scantily represented anywhere. There is but one St. Bernard. Saints Dominic, Francis, Anselm, Norbert, and Gilbert of Sempringham, are unrepresented. Even the great martyr of Canterbury himself only appears in seventeen examples, while there are eighty-two churches under the patronage of St. Helen the Empress. This requires explanation. The influence of the Cistercian and the Norbertine reforms on English feeling and English character was immense. It is hardly capable of exaggeration. The devotion showed to Saint Thomas of Canterbury from the time of his martyrdom was of so deep and widespread a character that none can believe that the small number of dedications to him is an evidence that the regard shown for him has been exaggerated. All the evidence we have, both British and Continental, goes to show that for at least two centuries and a half after his canonization (A.D., 1173) his was, with the exception of Saint James of Compostella, the most popular shrine north of the Alps. The true reason undoubtedly is that the people could not show their devotion to the martyr of Canterbury in the way they had done to saints of a former time. The years from the Norman Conquest to the time of the saint's death had been periods of great zeal for church building. That particular form of devotion had now nearly run its course. Churches studded the land, and at the time of St. Thomas's canonization few more were needed; so the popular cultus showed itself in other ways. Evidence has come down to us that in most of the large churches, and in many of the small ones, there was an altar to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Saint Helen's great popularity in England has not as yet been explained. There are wild legends making her out to have been a British lady. York and Colchester have both laid claim to her, and similar stories connect her with Trier in the Rhine Land. There is, we believe, but little doubt that the lady to whom the Christian Church owes so much, was born of humble parents at Naissus, a town in Mœsia.[16]

Should a complete list of dedications be formed, of which this is but an imperfect beginning, we shall, when we have all the evidence before us, be able to trace the successive waves of missionary zeal, by aid of which our forefathers were brought within the fold of the Church, and may in some instances be enabled to come to a pretty certain conclusion as to the time of a church's original foundation by the name of the saint, which notwithstanding all changes, still clings to it.

EDWARD PEACOCK.

[16] Edw. L. Cutts, *Colchester*, p. 51.

	Cumberland.	Durham.	Essex.	Kent.	Lancashire.	Lincolnshire.	Northumberland.	Nottinghamshire.	Westmoreland.	York.	Scotland. Aberdeen.	Banff.	Forfar.	Kincardine.
Acca	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Adamnan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Agatha	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Aidan	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
Alban	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Alkelda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Alkmund	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
All Saints	6	6	51	36	1	95	4	33	3	138	...	...	...	...
All Souls	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Alphage	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Andrew	7	7	29	5	...	68	7	5	1	36	8	...	...	...
Andrew and All Saints	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Anne	...	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	2	1	1	...	...	...
Anthony	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Apollinaris	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Arnold	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Augustine	...	...	2	4	...	1	1	1	...	2	...	...	...	...
Barnabas	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bartholomew	...	1	1	5	...	7	6	1	...	4	2	...	...	...
Bavon	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Beatrice	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bega	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Benedict	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bernard	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Boniface	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Botolph	...	...	3	3	...	6	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Braoc	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Brandan	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...
Bride	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	1	...
Bridget	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Buite	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Caran	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Cecilia	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chad	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christ	1	1	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	1	2	...	...	...
Christ and B. V. Mary	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christ and Peter	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christopher	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Clement	...	...	1	4	...	10	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Columba	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	4	2	1	...
Congal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Constantine	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Cornelius	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cosmas	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cosmas and Damian	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cuthbert	10	4	..	...	2	2	9	2	5	11	...	...	...	...
Cyprian	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Cyricus	...	...			...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
David	...	...			...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Denis	...	...			6	...	1	.	...	1	...	...	...	...
Devenic	...	...			...	...	...	.	...		1	...	...	1
Diaconianus	...	...			...	...	...	.	...		1	...	...	...
Donan	...	...		...	...	...	...	.	...		1	...	...	...
Drostan	...	...		...	...	...	...	.	...		3	1	2	...
Dunstan	...	...	1	5	...	...	...	.	...		...	...	...	...

	Cumberland.	Durham.	Essex.	Kent.	Lancashire.	Lincolnshire.	Northumberland.	Nottinghamshire.	Westmoreland.	York.	Scotland.			
											Aberdeen.	Banff.	Forfar.	Kincardine.
Eanswith	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ebba	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Eddran	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Edith	...	...	...	1	...	7	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
Edmund	...	...	3	2	...	...	...	4	1	6	...	...	...	...
Edward...	...	4	1	...	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Edwin	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
Englatius	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	...	...	...
Ethelbert and All Saints	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
Etheldreda	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
Ethelwald	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
Everilda	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Faith	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Felix	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Fergus	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	...
Fiacre	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Finan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Fincana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Firman	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fumach	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Gabriel	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
George	...	1	3	7	...	4	...	2	...	3	...	...	...	...
George and Laurence	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Genewys	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
German	...	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...
Giles	...	2	5	5	...	4	3	10	1	9	1	...	...	...
Giles and All Saints	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Gregory	...	...	1	1	...	1	1	1	...	3	...	...	...	...
Gregory and Martin	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Guthlac...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Helen	...	2	...	1	...	28	3	15	...	32	...	...	...	...
Helen and Giles	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hibald	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hilary	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Hilary and Alban	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hilda	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	11	...	...	...	...
Innocents, Holy	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	...				...	...
James	1	4	8	12	...	19	1	6	4	12			1	1
John	1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	5			...	...
John and Eva	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...				...	...
John Baptist	7	3	8	19	1	25	5	11	2	16			...	...
John of Beverley	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	3	...	2			...	...
John Evangelist	...	2	6	3	...	6	2	3	...	4	1	3	1	...
Julian	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...				...	...
Katherine	...	...	2	1	...	...	...	2	1	4	...	...	...	1
Kenneth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Kentigern	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Lambert	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Laurence	1	1	9	10	...	15	1	6	3	9	...	...	2	1
Laurence and All Saints	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Leodegar	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...

											Scotland.			
	Cumberland.	Durham.	Essex.	Kent.	Lancashire.	Lincolnshire.	Northumberland.	Nottinghamshire.	Westmoreland.	York.	Aberdeen.	Banff.	Forfar.	Kincardine.
Leonard	2	...	3	4	...	6	...	4	...	18	...	...	...	...
Lucy	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Luke	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Machar	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Madoc	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Maelrubha	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...
Maidens, The Nine	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Margaret	...	2	12	20	1	31	...	2	...	7	...	...	...	...
Margaret and James	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Margaret, The Queen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...
Mark	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	1
Marnoc	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	1
Marnoc and Stephen	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Martin	1	...	3	12	...	16	...	6	2	13	1	...	2	...
Mary, The Bessed Virgin	19	20	104	100	3	59	19	34	7	95	8	3	9	4
Mary, B. V. and All Saints ...	...	...	5	1	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. Annunciation of ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Clement ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Cuthbert ...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Eansurth ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Edward ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Edmund ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and German	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. Guthlac and Bartholomew	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Laurence ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Leonard ...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Margaret ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Michael	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Nicholas ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Patrick	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Peter	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Holy Rood ...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Sexburgh ...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary, B. V. and Stephen ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mary Magdalen	2	3	7	10	1	6	2	3	...	7	...	...	...	...
Mathuloch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Matthew	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Maurice	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Mazota	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Medan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...
Medard	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Michael	17	6	14	12	3	28	8	11	7	37	2	...	...	1
Michael and All Angels	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mildred	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mocconnoc	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Moloch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...
Monan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Mungo	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Nachlan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...
Neveth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Nicholas	1	2	20	21	...	29	4	7	...	23	1	...	...	...
Ninian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	3	1
Olave	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	1	...	...	...
Oswald	2	1	...	1	...	7	1	6	3	20	...	...	...	...

	Cumberland.	Durham.	Essex.	Kent.	Lancashire.	Lincolnshire.	Northumberland.	Nottinghamshire.	Westmoreland.	York.	Scotland. Aberdeen.	Banff.	Forfar.	Kincardine.
Palladius	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Pancras	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Paraclete	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Patrick	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	...	...	...	...
Paul	1	1	1	2	...	2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Paulinus	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peter	4	4	22	22	1	64	4	16	5	39	6	3	1	...
Peter and B. V. Mary	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Peter and Paul	...	...	9	33	...	23	1	12	...	9	...	...	...	...
Philip	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Philip and James	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
Quintin	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Radegund	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Regulus	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2	...
Richarius	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Romald	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Rood, The Holy	...	1	2	3	...	5	2	3	...	3	...	...	...	...
Rood, The Holy and Laurence ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Ruffus	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Rumbald	...	...	1	1	...	1	...	...	..	...	...	...	...	...
Rumon	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Sampson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Saviour, St.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Sebastian	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Serf	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Simon	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Simon and Jude	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Skae or Skeoch	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Stephen	...	...	3	2	...	5	...	1	1	4	...	...	...	...
Surthun	...	...	1	...	...	5	...	3	...	2	...	...	...	...
Talarican	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
Ternan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	2
Theobald	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Thomas, Apostle	...	1	2	1	...	4	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Thomas of Canterbury	1	1	2	2	...	7	1	...	...	2	...	...	1	...
Triduana	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Trinity, Holy	3	2	8	5	1	14	6	14	1	13	...	...	1	...
Trinity, Holy and B. V. Mary ...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Trinity, Holy and St. Michael ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Trinity, Holy and St. Sithe ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Ursula	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Vedast	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Vigean	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Vincent	...	...	...	1	...	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
Wallach	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Werburgha	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Wilfrid	...	...	...	...	...	2	1	12	1	12	...	...	...	...
Wilfrid and Peter	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
Wulfran	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Yarchard	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...

WITCHCRAFT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE revolt from superstition, which became such a powerful motive force in England in the sixteenth century, was sometimes turned to more useful purposes than the wholesale destruction of holy relics and precious works of art, and in some cases even tended to preserve them. In the year 1542, the Houses of Parliament passed an Act which was meant to stop the invocation of spirits for purposes of gain, including the making of images or pictures of men, women, children, angels, devils, beasts or fowls, or crowns, sceptres, swords, rings, glasses and other things, to be used in such invocations; and also forbidding the pulling down of crosses to seek treasure supposed to be hidden beneath them. All these offences were declared to be felony without benefit of clergy. Not very long after this Act was passed, a young nobleman found himself in the Fleet prison, with a prospect of losing his life at the hands of the public executioner, for offences against it; and his story is a very good illustration of the practises which the legislature was attempting to put down.

Henry Nevill, fifth Earl of Westmoreland, was born in 1525, and at the age of eleven or twelve had been married to Jane Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland. The inclinations of the young people were probably not consulted. The husband consequently neglected his wife and lived a dissipated prodigal life alone in London.

Some eight or ten years, maybe, after his marriage, young Harry Nevill was strolling up and down one morning in his garden, thinking over his desperate state of insolvency, when his servant Ninian Menvill, a man who had already been convicted of robbery, came up and hinted that he thought he knew a way by which his master could pay his debts and make his fortune. On being further questioned, he said that one of his fellow-servants, Stafford by name, could find a man "that could by art make a ring that whosoever had the same upon his finger, should win all that he played for." Stafford was immediately summoned. He acknowledged that he knew such a man, but feared that in consequence of the recent Act he would be loath to try his art, and besides, dissuaded his master from attempting anything so dangerous. Menvill, however, who perhaps hoped to get the arrears of his wages paid, said there

was no danger as long as it was not known, and the man would be well paid.

This was effectual. Next morning therefore, before Nevill was up, Menvill burst into his room and said, "My Lord, I can tell you good news, but you must rise straight, for Stafford hath brought the man he promised you, which seemeth to be both wise and wealthy, not in a thread-bare coat as commonly these imperfect multipliers be, but well apparelled like a cunning man in his craft. Therefore rise and make you ready, for such rich men love not to give long attendance." As soon as Nevill had finished a hasty toilet, he sent for the visitor, (who very appropriately gave his name as Wisdome), and said that he understood that he could make by astronomy a ring to ensure the wearer winning at dice. "No," said Wisdome, "such a ring can I make, but it is not wrought by astronomy. And yet I can work it two ways, both by a good sprite and an evil, but I will work it for you by the holy angels, because it shall be of the more virtue, so that you will recompense my pains, for I go about no such things but at the request of my dear friends, for my most practice is in physic. I daresay such a ring would be worth two or three thousand pounds to you this Christmas; therefore I doubt not but you will give me at the least 20*l.* the year during my life for my pains." After some bargaining, the price was fixed at 10*l.* a year, to commence after the death of Nevill's father, and meantime a proportion of the winnings; and four marks were given to Wisdome to buy necessaries. In a day or two he came back. He established himself at the house for a month or so, going out every day, and only working at the ring between three and four o'clock in the morning, and five and six at night, "for he said the angels could not be spared from their divine service all the day long, therefore they must be taken before their matins and after their evensong.

The work was finished on Christmas morning, and Wisdome appeared in his employer's room with the magic ring, and a patent for his annuity, ready to be signed. Trusting to Nevill's carelessness he had drawn it up so that the annuity would commence immediately, to which Nevill of course objected. But on Wisdome's explaining that he had merely done this as a security in case Nevill died, before his father, and would not ask for it till the decease of the latter, he signed it. The same day he was going to dine at the house of a friend. After dinner dice were produced, and Nevill went home at three o'clock with 30*l.* in his purse won from his host and Sir Nicholas Poynes. Wisdome was waiting for him, and had 2*l.* as his share of the spoil. The success emboldened him to propose further

wonders. He offered for 4*l.* to make Nevill play as well upon the lute and virginal as any man in England. This miracle could only be wrought on St. Stephen's day (Dec. 26), and so at six o'clock in the morning he came to Nevill's room. The account of what was done there can best be told in Nevill's own words—"Then hanged he my chamber all with green say, and apparelled himself and me in long robes of green taffetaye. Also he made a board of green wax with four tapers burning on the same. Then kneeled we down before the table, one against the other, he reading upon a book, and I with a supplication in my hand, ready to put up to the God Orpheus, which he promised should appear to me like a little boy, to whom I should desire to grant me that request. And as we were thus kneeling, Sir Rauf Bulmer came suddenly into my house, and would needs have come into my chamber, so that I was forced to cast off my robe and go out to him. And when I had despatched him away, I came in again bidding him go forth with our business. Then he told me that I had marred all, for the hour was past, so that it could not be done before St. Stephen's day come again. Thus departed he from me."

This transparent shuffle perhaps roused Nevill's suspicions, but he was doomed to receive a still ruder shock in the afternoon, for, going out to play at dice in the hope of making another twenty or thirty pounds, he came home with an empty purse. He immediately sent for Wisdome, accused him of having made a fool of him, and insisted on having his money and patent returned. The conjuror, who must have foreseen such an accident, was ready with an excuse. He "desired me to pacify myself, for he was sure that if I had lost, it was through mine own default, and that I had had to do with some woman with the ring on my finger, whereby it had lost his virtue." Wisdome had seen enough of Nevill's character to warrant him in making such a charge. But true or not, it was indignantly denied, and he was forced to have recourse to other means to appease the anger of his dupe, and hold out hopes of more unlawful gain. He had heard, he said, from a blind man who was a Jew born and a practiser of the same art, that there was a large sum of money beneath a cross in the North country, near a town belonging to Nevill's father. He had at home a sprite in a crystal stone, who could tell him how much it was. This excited Nevill's cupidity, so he let him go, and in the morning he returned saying there was 2000*l.* in Portegewes, which could be got at an expense of 20 nobles. This money of course was given to him. He promised to make the attempt on Twelfth night,

and would announce his success to his patron by making a great wind blow in his chamber.

Whether the great wind blew or not, we are not told, but about three weeks after, one of the servants who had accompanied the conjuror to show him the place, came back and said that the cross had been upset and nothing found there, and that Wisdome was afraid of getting a beating if he came near his master, who, he said, was "so vicious that he could work nothing for him." The next time they met, Nevill told him he would have nothing more to do with him as he knew he was a swindler. Wisdome, however, was not got rid of so easily, and tried to lead the young lord into a still deeper crime by proposing to put his wife and his father out of the way for him. This was indignantly refused, and Nevill would have handed the tempter over to justice immediately but for his showing him that he could not do so without sharing his fate as an accomplice.

Concealment however was useless, and before long the young prodigal found himself in the Fleet Prison. It is from his own confession that these details are derived, which afford so pertinent a commentary on the "Bill agenst Conjuracions and Wichecraftes and Sorcery and Enchantments."

C. TRICE MARTIN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CHURCH PORCH.

[*ante*, p. 215.]

MR. ROUND'S question as to business being transacted in the South Porch of churches suggests much wider issues. How comes it that in the Middle Ages we find secular transactions so often taking place in churches? That such things were contrary to the church's regulations can admit of no question; they do not seem, however, to have run counter to the feelings of the people. Myrc who wrote in the middle of the fifteenth century, thus instructs his readers. That he reproduced much wider teaching is quite certain.

"For Cryst hym self techeth vs,
Þat holy chyrche ys hys hows,
Þat ys made for no þynge elles,
But for to praye in, as þe boke telles;
Þere þe pepulle schale geder with inne
To prayen and to wepen for þere synne." [1]

[1] *Instructions for Parish Priests* (E. E. Text Soc.) ll. 340-345.

Holding fairs and markets in churchyards was made illegal by statute in 1285.[2] The synod of Exeter held two years later forbids games and secular business in churchyards.[3] Yet we still continue to find the use of churches and churchyards for secular concerns a very common practice. Edward the First received the oaths of the competitors for the Scottish Crown in Norham Church. This might be a case of or for the sake of giving the act the sanction of religion, but no such motive can be alleged for many other instances that may be quoted. In 1326 the tithe-corn of Fenham, Fenwick, and Beele was gathered together in the chapel at Fenham, and at about the same time, when the monks of Holy Island found that their grange would not hold any more, they converted the chapel attached to their manse into a temporary tithe-barn.[4] Law courts were held, books sold, and children taught in the porch of St. Peter's Church, Sandwich.[5] A manor court called Temple Court, was held in the Church of Saint Mary and John the Baptist, Dunwich, on the Feast of All Souls.[6] Wool was stored in one of the Churches of Southampton.[7] A law-suit was settled in St. Peter's Church, Bristol,[8] and in 1519 pedlars were wont on feast-days to sell their wares in the Church-porch of Ricall, Yorkshire.[9] In 1475 money was paid in St. Giles' Church, Edinburgh,[10] and a Treaty was signed in the Church of Ayton two years after this.[11] Give ales were sometimes held in churches, but I do not think it was a common practice.[12] These are but a few of the examples which have been recorded in my notes, and relate to this island only. Continental examples might be given without number. Dancing in church seems to have been a common pastime and is perhaps yet practised in Spain and South America.[13] The late Miss Lousia Stuart Costello, in her charming *Summer Amongst the Bocages*, published in 1840, says that dancing in church had been discontinued in Brittany within a century of the time at which she wrote. It was, it seems, done "in honour of the patron saint," but the bishops not unnaturally discountenanced it. She thought, without any ground, as far as I can see, that it was a remnant of Druidical worship.[14] The custom of holding fairs and markets in churches and churchyards does not seem to have been put an end to in Germany until after the Reformation.[15]

EDWARD PEACOCK.

[2] *Stat. Winchest.*, 13, Edw. I., c. vi.
[3] Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii., 140.
[4] Raine, *North Durham*, pp. 82, 260.
[5] Boys, *Hist. Sandwich*, p. 365.
[6] Gardner, *Dunwich*, p. 54. [7] Rogers, *Hist. Agriculture*, vol. i., p. 32, ii. p. 611.
[8] Fosbroke Smith's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, p. 92.
[9] Raine, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees soc.), p. 271.
[10] *Acc. of Ld. High Treas. of Scotl.*, vol. i., p. lix.
[11] *Ibid*, clviii.
[12] *Archaologia*, vol. xii., p. 17.
[13] Thiers *Traité des Sup.*, 4th ed., i. 340; E. B. Tylor, *Anahuac*, pp. 211-212; *Macmillan's Mag.*, Dec. 1880, p. 151; Robberd's *Mem. of Will. Taylor of Norwich*, vol. ii. p. 179; Aubrey's *Rem.*, p. 15; Gomme's *Gent. Mag. Library—Popular Superstitions*, p. 26; *Notes and Queries*, vii. S. vol. iii., p. 166.
[14] Vol. i., p. 270.
[15] G. L. Maurer, *Geschichte der Fronhöfe*, ii. 165.

AGRICULTURE OF NORTHERN PORTUGAL.

THE farmers in that half of Portugal which reaches from the banks of the River Mondego, in Central Portugal, to the Spanish frontier in the North and in the East are for the most part yeomen farmers on something of a copyhold tenure, and they till the little estates they own, and pay a nominal rent to a nominal landlord, who has practically no proprietary interest in the land, exercises no right of interference of any sort, and has no power to evict, save in certain well-defined cases of waste. There are other tenures of land, but as large estates are few, so lease-hold farms are rare, and in some of the mountainous parts of the country a modified commercial tenure prevails. Even where these varieties of holding exist, the farms are small, and agricultural usage generally conforms to that of the predominating copyhold tenure. The size of farms everywhere varies from 5 acres to 25 or more. In the exclusively wine-growing districts, different land arrangements exist.

Water is still drawn up from ponds and wells and rivers by draw-pumps worked by oxen, and fashioned on the models of those left by the Moors five centuries ago. The tilling of the soil of Portugal is careful and plodding, but it is essentially *la petite culture.* Rye is grown on the mountains, wheat on the upland plains, and maize in the rich alluvial valleys. Gourds and kidney-beans are intermingled with maize in the cornfield, and when the ground is ploughed up before the autumn rains, a "*farrago*" is sown of rye, barley, and oats, following the practice of ancient Italy; or the maize field is sown with common or Italian rye-grass at the last hoeing in July or August. In either case these corns or grasses are cut green through the winter months to feed the cattle.

Except in the district where port wine is grown, in the mountainous region sixty miles up the river Douro, and in some parts of the province of Beira, the vines are grown as creepers and allowed to run to nearly their full natural length, either as tall espaliers, or on square trellis-work of wood or cane, a man's height or more from the ground; or else they are trained in the ancient Roman method to poplars and other trees, which are pollarded and pruned of their leafy branches to let the sun reach the vine-flowers and grape-clusters.

The grass in the meadows is still cut, painfully, with a tiny steel sickle with a saw-edge, and still it is carried to the manger of the ox, up hill and down, in bundles on the heads of men and women :—*Foreign Office Reports* (c. 5252 of 1888).

ED.

Literature.

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INDEX NOTES.

OLD ENGLISH DRAMA, No. 4—George Chapman's *May-Day, a witty comedie diuers times acted at the Blacke Fryers.* London: Printed for John Browne dwelling in Fleetstreete, in Saint Dunstones Churchyard, 1611.

Acting, boys employed for women's parts, iii., 5.
Angelo, Michael, allusion to, iii., 2.
Aperner, a tavern attendant [see Murray's *English Dictionary*, "Aproner;" Apern is the obsolete form of Apron,] iii. 5.
Arrerages, arrears [see Murray's *English Dictionary*, "Arrearage,"] i., 2.

Backside, the back part of a house [see Murray's *English Dictionary*,] iii., 5; iv., 5.
Baldredash of liquors [see Murray's *English Dictionary*,] iii. 5.
Banquet, descriptive allusion to, iv., 7.
Bear baiting, allusion to, iii., 1.
Birlady, an oath, i., 2; ii., 3; v., 2.
Books, allusion to, iii., 2.
Bracelets, gift of, i., 1.
Bread, by this bread, an oath, i., 2.
Bull, the town, allusion to, iii., 2.

Cards, playing, descriptive allusion to, i., 2; v., 2.
Cat, witch turned into, iii., 4.
Chimney sweeper, allusion to, iii., 1, 2; cry of, iii., 2.
Claret, allusion to, iii., 5.
Clothes, names of women's, ii., 4.
Coals, you must carry no coales, *i.e.*, must not be hot blooded, i., 2.
Colted, cheated, tricked, ii., 5.
Cries of chimney sweepers [cf. J T. Smith's *Cries of London*,] iii., 2.
Cuckoe, cupid's bird, i., 1.

Dapper personage, i. 1.
Deft, neat and well-looking [see Nares,] i., 1.
Dialect language used, i., 1.
Dinner, descriptive allusion to, iv., 7.
Domestic usages, ii., 3; see "dinner," "kitchen," "pomatum."
Doxie [a mistress, originally taken from the canting language—Nares,] iv., 6, 7.
Drinking vessels, descriptive allusion to, iv., 7.
Driving cries to cattle [cf. Britten's *Old Country and Farming Words*, 148,] iv., 8.
Drunkenness described, i. 1.

Emperor's Head, tavern sign, iii., 1, 2.
Ensure, for assure, ii., 1.

Fautring, i., 1.
Firmetypot, i., 1.
Food, articles of, ii., 4.
Frog, to play holywater frog, iii., 1.

Funeral, ravens portend, ii., 2.

Gambling, i., 2.
Game at cards, mawe, v., 2.
Gesta Romanorum, allusion to, iii., 2.
Gilds, see "warden."
God's precious, an oath, i., 1.
Gordian knot [see Davies *Supplemental English Glossary*,] iii., 4.
Gossaue, God save, i., 2.

Inke-hornes and ink-pots, iii., 5 ; iv., 1.
Inn, customs at, i., 2.

Jew, a term of reproach, ii., 4.
Jump at three, *i.e.* exactly at three [see Nares,] iv., 6.

Kitchen utensils, descriptive allusion to, iv., 7.

Lattice, ale house sign, i., 2.
Licence, used for allow, i., 1.
Lickspiggot [a waiter at a tavern, see Davies *Supplemental English Glossary.*] iii., 2.
London cries, chimney sweepers, iii., 2.

Marcus Aurelius, reading of, alluded to, iii., 2.
Marriage described, i., 1.
Maskers, descriptive allusion to, v., 2.
Masse, by the, an oath, i., 1 ; iv., 7.
Mawe, a game at cards, [see Nares, Strutt,] v., 2.
May morning, customs on, i., 1.
Meskin, by the, an oath, iv., 7.
Mirror of Magistrates, allusion to, iii., 2.
Military weapons, descriptive allusion to, iv., 7.

Napery plats, allusion to [Linnen ; see Nares,] iv., 7.
Naughty-packe, a term of reproach [still in use in the northern counties], iv., 6.

Oath taking, i., 2.
Oaths, see "Bread," "God's precious," "Masse," "Mesin," "'Sblood," "'Sfut," "'Slife," "'Slight," "Sownds."
Omens from ravens, ii., 2.
Ordinary, description of, i., 2.

Pandor, a term of reproach, iv., 6.
Parlesse, i., 1.
Pear, a species of called warden, alluded to, i , 2.
Pen and inke-hornes, iii., 5.
Pettyfogger, i., 2.
Pomatum, ii., 2.
Princock, a young gallant [see Nares,] i., 1.
Proverbs, with one trewell daube two waulles, ii., 4; marriage and hanging have both one constellation, iii., 4 ; to lead apes in hell, v., 2.
Punke, a term of reproach [a prostitute, Nares,] iv., 6, 8.

Quid for quod, return, i., 1.

Ravens' croke, the portents of funerals, ii., 2.

Sacke, allusion to, iii., 5 ; used with sugar, i., 1.
'Sblood, an oath, i., 1, 2 ; iii., 5 ; iv., 1.
Scholar, description of, i., 1.
Shoemaker's horn, ii., 2.
Signs, tavern, see "Emperor's head," "lattice."
'Sfut, an oath, i., 2 ; iii., 4, 5 ; iv., 1, 7 ; v., 2.
'Slife, an oath, iii., 2.

'Slight, an oath, iii., 5.
Snudge, i., 1.
Sownds, an oath, iii., 5; iv., 1, 3.
Spurblinde affection, written for purblind, iii., 4.

Tassell of a Gander [Steevens says the tassel or tiercel is the male of the gosshawk, see also Nares,] ii., 5.
Tavern signs, see "Emperor's head," "lattice."
Tobacco, i., 1.

Unoole-carrying spirit, iii., 5.
Urchin, the hedgehog, i., 1.

Venison, citie, allusion to, iii., 2.

Warden of a city company, i., 2.
Whyniard, a sword, or hanger, i., 1.
Wines, claret, iii. 5; sacke, iii., 5.
Witchcraft, allusion to, iii., 4.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ART ILLUSTRATIONS OF FOLK-LORE.

Before the age of scientific folk-lore when superstitions were noted because they were believed in by the people and not because they were wanted by the student, it is sometimes the fact that art illustrations of the incidents are given. These may be fanciful according to the taste of the artist, or they may be crude and wholly devoid of anything like artistic pretensions, but in either case, and particularly in the latter, they are curious and suggestive and I have collected a few examples. If such a collection could be extended upon any scale I think many useful notes might be obtained, and I also think some lost items of folk-lore might be recovered. I have before me a coloured engraving of the Spirit of the Wye, "drawn by F. P. Stephanoff," and "engraved by W. Chevalier," and I should like to know in what book it was originally inserted as an illustration. It is from my grandfather's rather extensive collection of old engravings so cannot be very modern. In this particular instance the artist is responsible for the picture which, perhaps, does not represent fairly the popular belief, but still, however fanciful, it must have been derived from tradition. In the meantime I am anxious to obtain information about river spirits, and among my notes on this subject I have nothing about the Spirit of the Wye. Will readers of the *Archæological Review* help me on these two points; and, I think, the question of folk-lore illustrations will turn out to be one of considerable interest, particularly bearing in mind what has been done by Miss Harrison in her *Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature.*

Barnes Common, S.W. G. L. Gomme.

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Anthropology.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL MUSEUMS.

Translated from the Danish, with the author's additions and corrections (to May 1888), by H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A.

II. The Contents of the Museums—(*continued.*)

	PAGE
V. ASIA—(*continued*)	
22. EASTERN ASIA—CHINA AND JAPAN	289
23. THE MUSÉE GUIMET –	
(*a*) CHINA	297
(*b*) JAPAN	303

22. EASTERN ASIA:—CHINA AND JAPAN.

EUROPE has at various periods during the last century been seized with a perfect mania for the arts and industrial products of China and Japan. Whole cargoes of chinaware and japan were poured by the Dutch into the markets of Europe, and scattered about in private and public collections. But in spite of this, people knew next to nothing of the arts and industries of East Asia. All that was brought to Europe was, with few exceptions, merely objects of a particular sort, such as Arita porcelain and lackered furniture from Japan, both manufactured for export, and the magnificent Chinese porcelains of the Kien-lung period, and blue Ming china, besides some ivory, bronze, and lacker nick-nacks. China was on the whole much better represented than Japan, most of the objects being real products, characteristic of the Celestial Empire. Dresden at the very beginning of the century received a collection of Chinese porcelain which is still one of the best in

Europe. This state of affairs has been changed only during the last ten years. After the opium war in China, and the revolution which threw Japan into the arms of Europe, both kingdoms have been thoroughly studied, and the false ideas, which a few good works of former times had striven to remove, have now yielded to a just appreciation of East-Asiatic civilisation. The large collections brought to Europe have contributed to this end. The additions from China have not been considerable. But in the case of Japan, as soon as the people had set itself might and main to get rid of its ancient civilisation and adopt the European, since 1868, a vast quantity of most beautiful objects have streamed into Europe, where they have found a welcome reception in private and public museums. Europe has thus gained an insight into a development of which the old collections, that of Siebold in Leyden alone excepted, gave no idea. The current is however checked. The Japanese have now learnt the value of their antiquities, and are on the watch to prevent them slipping through their fingers. Nay, they are even endeavouring to buy back the best of them.

Owing to the nature of the material, much of it has found its way into the Museums of Art and Industries. Many of them are exceptionally rich in objects from Eastern Asia. The South Kensington Museum, for instance, besides possessing splendid bronzes and enamel work from Japan and China, contains the large and valuable collection of pottery made by the Japanese Government for the Philadelphia Exhibition. The Hamburg Industrial Museum [Gewerbemuseum] has exquisite sets of ivory and bronze work which are among the most perfect products of these arts in Japan. The Berlin Museum of Industrial Arts [M. für Kunstgewerbe] exhibits a series of excellent industrial products from both countries of East Asia. Besides these, there are the three great special collections of porcelain—*Franks'*, in the British Museum (formerly in Bethnal Green), the *Dresden* collection, and the ceramic department of the *Musée Guimet* at Lyons. Franks was one of the first to study East-Asiatic pottery, and by systematic collecting threw much light on an industry of which hitherto so little was known. His extensive collection contains large series of characteristic products, and, thanks to the strict division of Chinese objects from Japanese, and the correct sub-division into smaller groups, we have an extremely instructive display of the various manufactures in the two chief countries. The Japanese pottery is the most interesting, not merely for the great finish and artistic ingenuity displayed in every specimen, but also for the complete

revolution this collection has made in previous notions on the subject. The history of the great manufacturing centres could not be studied effectively until the difficult classification had been made at which Franks worked with so much energy. There is only one other public museum containing a pottery section that can compare in careful arrangement with Franks' collection, namely, the Musée Guimet. Here, too, we find a large number of characteristic specimens from the old manufactories, the names of which have become famous in the last twenty years, as well as from modern ones which still cling to the traditions of the most flourishing period. On the other hand, the huge collection of porcelain at Dresden, containing hundreds of magnificent pieces from the works of Hizen, manufactured for the European trade, has not one single specimen of the national Japanese industry. This collection is chiefly important for its unusually large Chinese section, in which we find specimens of every sort of porcelain, and large sets of very rare old pieces. The mode of classification is somewhat old-fashioned, and much in need of re-arrangement on the lines of more modern collections.

The *Orientalisches Museum* in Vienna gives a more general view of Chinese and Japanese industries. The collections mentioned above have studied their special object in limiting themselves to the industrial arts of Eastern Asia. The Vienna museum, on the other hand, aims at giving a picture of all oriental manufactures. The raw materials, the various stages in the process of manufacture, as well as large sets of finished work, are displayed in illustration of Chinese textile and silk manufactures, straw-plaiting, glass and lacker work, Japanese porcelain and bronze work, etc. This museum is therefore already of great importance to a knowledge of Chinese and Japanese civilisation. The exhaustive treatment of a single object not only enables the student to plunge deeply into a variety of details, with which general ethnographic collections cannot deal, but also throws light on many characteristic sides of the culture itself, which forms the special study of the ethnologist.

In the case of China, there is still need for a large collection constructed on an ethnographical basis, to take its place alongside of the Japanese and Indian collections.[91] Among the best we may reckon the small but well-arranged and instructive Chinese section in the Ethnographical Museum at Copenhagen; also the smaller,

[91] The author has not had opportunity to see the Chinese sections in the Leyden Museum and the British Museum since its re-arrangement. But these do not contain large systematic collections.

utterly chaotic collection in Leipzig, which contains good single specimens and several fairly complete sets; and the considerable *Musée Chinois* in the Louvre, which, however, is at present exhibited in such a way as to be almost useless for purposes of study. Lastly, *Martucci's* and *Orban's* collections in the Münich Museum contain several rich sets of good and well-chosen specimens, especially of artistic objects, *e.g.*, about 200 bronzes, with many old articles of excellent workmanship, household utensils, sacred vessels used in temples, and idols; also a number of rare and valuable small figures, very ancient work in precious stones, cut by the steady practised hand of the Chinese, and many Kakemonoes, which do not, indeed, belong to the best products of Chinese art, but are interesting as illustrations of Buddhist and Taoist deities. The rest of the German and Italian Museums contain nothing of special value.

So far we have mentioned only those collections which are at present accessible. The Chinese materials in Vienna and Berlin will soon be on view, and China will then be much better represented. Large collections from China, Thibet, and Corea undoubtedly exist in Berlin. The old museum possessed considerable materials, and since then valuable additions have been made to the Chinese section by *Herr von Brandt*, the German ambassador at Peking.

In contrast to China, Japan is well represented in ethnographical museums by three large systematic collections, and a number of smaller ones. One of the former was made by the *Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* which used to work in Tokio. On the dissolution of the society the collection was presented to Leipzig. The other two are due to the well-known physician Dr. *Ph. Fr. von Siebold,* who in 1830 brought back the large collection now at Leyden, and in 1861 the collections purchased by Bavaria. These in a separate section now form the nucleus in the Münich Ethnographical Museum. This last is, with the exception of Holland, the most complete ethnological collection from Japan to be found in any public museum. True, it represents in general only the upper classes of society and higher civilised life; but, as far as it goes, it is exceptionally fine. The daily life of the Japanese, their handiwork and industries, their military life, coins, religion, and, to some extent, their art also, are displayed in large sets of good, characteristic objects, selected with that accurate knowledge of the country which Siebold gained during so many years' residence in Japan. A small collection of books also represents the most various kinds of Japanese literature. Unfortunately the ethnological conspectus of Japanese civilisation aimed at by the

collection is much obscured by the old-fashioned arrangement, the objects being mostly grouped according to material and technique, and not according to their mode of use.

The first main section contains a very instructive collection of every variety of raw material, and numerous objects illustrative of the process of manufacture and first applications. The next and largest section comprises sets of finished work. The ordinary utensils of daily life, all stamped with that elegance and finish which mark everything that proceeds from the hand of the Japanese artisan, are here to be found side by side with the most magnificent products of their industrial arts.

The finest of all in this section are the articles of lacker work. Though many excellent specimens of this kind have come into circulation since the wealthy Daimio families were reduced to poverty, it would now be quite impossible to get together 300 specimens to equal those that Siebold brought to Europe. In his days the most perfect works were manufactured exclusively for princes, and used as gifts. Siebold's best specimens were due to his position and connexions. We hardly know what to admire most in these old japans, the marvellous perfection and accuracy of workmanship, or the wealth of decorative subjects. It is impossible to form any idea of the industry and patient perseverance required to perfect the work, until we have seen the countless intermediate processes of manufacture employed in smoothing the ground-work and laying-on and polishing the successive layers of lacker.[92] Siebold's collection contains magnificent specimens of gold japan, in which landscapes, flowers, and birds stand out in relief with the sharpness of carved figures; the beautiful black japan with pictures of the sacred volcano *Fusiyama,* and animals and plants, marvellously executed in gold or inlaid mother-of-pearl, ivory, and coral; and the bright red japan, with its dainty gold decoration. These are all represented by a series of exquisite articles employed in a variety of ways. The Japanese know the value of the beautiful material and careful workmanship, and have used it for many purposes. The simple things with which they lay their table, their few small articles of furniture, the indispensable boxes for documents and letters (*bunko*), the no less necessary writing-desks with ink and brushes, the small scent-caskets (*inro*) and delicate censers,—all are manufactured to perfection in lacker-work. We can well understand the pride with

[92] The Gewerbemuseum [Industrial M.] in Berlin contains an instructive collection of this kind.

which the old artists set their signature to every piece of their own handiwork.

The other groups cannot rival the lacker-work in point of art. The sets of bronzes are as extensive, but the workmanship varies much in value, and many of the smaller objects in particular, in which Japanese metal work reaches its highest perfection, are but scantily represented. But the group is of great interest for its completeness, from simple kitchen utensils, to the splendid censers, vases and candlesticks set on the altars. The same is true of another of the large groups, the potteries, which include many objects for the house and temple, but few of the most characteristic specimens. The collection is somewhat one-sided, the great majority of the articles coming from certain manufactories, the products of which show that they are intended for the European market. The sets of weapons, musical instruments and costumes are, however, very instructive. The last are magnificently got up, being quite unique in this respect. They give a good idea of the excessive luxury developed in dress. The form and art are fixed by tradition, and simple enough; but fancy has had free play in the trimming and embroidery, on which labour is lavished as though the dress had to last a generation. Many of the specimens show the fine taste of the Japanese in drawing and colour. There are also several costumes with embroidered landscapes, waterfalls, birds, trees in blossom, and sailing clouds, or large pictures of men and women on the breast, extremely grotesque in effect. Siebold's collection of religious objects, both Shintoist and Buddhist, is also considerable and very interesting. It is the first that has been brought to Europe, and that at a time when the exportation of such articles was strictly forbidden. It contains various figures from the Buddhist pantheon, but they are not in every case very accurately determined. Even Siebold's knowledge of Japan was not sufficient to overcome the difficulties of this branch of the subject.

The collection in Leipzig cannot compare with that of Münich in size or completeness. In amount it is not on the whole very important. Still it is of great value on account of the skilled knowledge with which it has been made. The sets are not very comprehensive, and contain but few of the finest specimens, but they are very instructive, as every object has been carefully selected as a characteristic representative of its kind. The collection is so many-sided, that even within its narrow limits it succeeds in giving a concise view of the chief features of Japanese civilisation. In one point only is it more detailed, namely, in the representation of the

masks. No museum owns a choicer set of old dramatic masks than those in Leipzig, about fifty in number. The overflowing humour expressed in these sulky, fretful, astonished, merry and solemn countenances is not surpassed by the best Netskés.[93]

Unfortunately the Japanese materials in the Berlin Museum, like the Chinese, are not yet exhibited. We can therefore give no account of them here. With regard to the large and interesting collection brought to Stockholm from Japan by *Dr. Hjalmar Stolpe*, we must also confine ourselves to a reference. The chief interest of the collection centres in religion, and the light it throws on the Tea-ceremony. The Shintoistic cult is perhaps not more fully represented even in the Musée Guimet, and no ethnographical museum gives anything like so clear an illustration of the Tea-ceremony. The materials have been very carefully selected by Dr. Stolpe, and are not confined merely to depicting the main features of a custom deeply rooted in the social life of Japan; they represent every variety of the ceremonial to be found among the various sects. Dr. Stolpe gives us a full and instructive account of the ceremony itself in his catalogue of the Vanadis collection.[94]

Excepting the Stockholm museum the oriental collections of ethnographical museums are somewhat poorly furnished with everything that relates to religion in China and Japan. The small group of religious objects in the Siebold collection, and a few idols and paintings of Chinese gods, scattered here and there, were for a long time the only representation of the forms of religion prevailing in East Asia. The idols were so unsatisfactorily determined as to be of little value. It could not be otherwise, as great difficulties stood in the way of collecting and obtaining accurate information as to the objects collected. The export of religious objects from Japan was absolutely forbidden. In China scarcely anything but some figures of *Kuan-yin* and some other popular deities, fell into European hands in the coast-towns. The explanations of the specimens were often due to mere travellers who had no special inducement to inform themselves on the religious ideas of the country. Even when the information was communicated by natives, it was often inaccurate. The Chinese and Japanese layman knows as little of the hosts of gods who people his heaven, as the Catholic layman of his calendar of saints. Only the learned who have made a special study of the religion, can give us trustworthy information to build on.

[93] Japanese word, denoting the buttons by which the pipe, etc., are attached to the girdle.

[94] *Vägledning genom Vanadis-utställingen i Valand*, 1887, p. 18 ff.

But circumstances in this respect have altered, now that the East Asiatic countries have been thrown open to Europeans. Sets of religious objects have come to Berlin, Leipzig, and London. But these are the mere beginnings of systematic collections. On the other hand *Emile Guimet*, in the magnificent museum he founded in Lyons, has gathered together materials which, in richness and accuracy, are of the utmost importance for the study of Eastern Asiatic cults.

23. THE MUSÉE GUIMET.

This museum was founded in 1878. Having been presented to the state, it has recently been removed to Paris. It was established with the object of creating a central institute for the study of all forms of religion not sprung from Christianity. Some of them are well known in their leading ideas and dogmatic theology; but little is known of the manner and way in which they have sprung from the cult. The original ideas being in course of time overgrown by local fetichism, the essential features of the religion have been entirely changed, and can therefore be studied only in idols and objects of religious veneration. This applies especially to the Asiatic religions, which are the most interesting in the Musée Guimet. The ancient religions of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, which are also represented in accordance with the plan of the museum, are more fully illustrated elsewhere.

Among the Asiatic collections, the Chinese and Japanese are again the most valuable, the illustration they afford of religious circumstances in these countries being quite unrivalled. Brahmanism, on the other hand, though as fully represented as the cults of Eastern Asia, is familiar to us in the museums of London, Berlin, Copenhagen, and Münich. The mass of manuscripts and religious objects collected by Emile Guimet, many of them during his travels in China and Japan, is very considerable. From Japan alone he brought back no fewer than 300 Kakemonoes of a religious nature, 600 idols, and 1000 volumes of religious literature. In many respects the materials are complete; in others, at all events so comprehensive as fully to characterise not merely the main features, but also a mass of details, which can only be understood from actual inspection. The objects are, of course, of extremely various value in point of art. Everything that explains the nature or attributes of a god finds a place in the museum, be the execution ever so

primitive. Hence the sets often contain poor objects beside pieces of great value, owing to their antiquity and artistic finish.

But the high place the museum holds as a scientific institute is due, not so much to its richness of materials, as to the conscientious way in which these have been investigated. Convinced that they can be fully and accurately determined by native scholars only, Guimet summoned experts from India and East Asia, thoroughly familiar with the religions of their countrymen, who helped to arrange the museum. Its authority is therefore so high, that all questions respecting the nature of Eastern Asiatic religious objects must be settled by reference to it. The two large periodicals[95] issued by the museum publish translations of the manuscripts it contains, with critical investigations of religions.

CHINA.

Owing to the nature of *Confucianism*, the recognised religion of China, it can only be represented meagrely in a museum. Confucius did not trouble himself about metaphysical speculations. He recognised the existence of the Supreme Deity, *Shang-ti*, whom the Emperor worships on behalf of the whole people. But neither this god, nor the host of inferior deities created by the ancient popular belief, who continued to live on in the memory of the people in spite of all religious reformers, were represented in visible form. The teaching of Confucius was originally a moral system concerned with State affairs and social life. The worship of the gods was superseded by that of ancestors, originally merely as a visible token of respect and reverence for the dead, but afterwards, under the influence of Buddhism, developed into a regular worship. The names, titles, and position of the ancestors were inscribed in letters of gold on square tables of wood, *lin-pai*, before which the head of the family places his offerings of food and incense, and performs libation. The museum does not possess any of these tables, which are regarded with the utmost reverence: it is sacrilege for a family to part with them.[96] But it contains a considerable set of the vessels used at the offerings. With true Chinese faith in tradition they have continued to copy the old forms and antique ornamentation. The round flower-vase, with broad rim, the large

[95] *Annales du Musée Guimet*, I.-IX. *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, I.-XV. An excellent descriptive catalogue of the museum has been published by the Director, M. de Milloué.

[96] A description of these tables is to be found in the work of de Groots: *Les fêtes annuellement celebrées à Emoui.* (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, XI., p. 19.)

bronze vases used for the holy water, and the clumsy censers, are repeated in the same form in every age, decorated with the head of the fabulous beast *tao-te*, a sort of lion, which has in many cases passed into mere ornamental interlacings, and the two griffins, also developed into ornaments, or with the cicada wings (*tseng-wén*)—subjects which, speaking generally, are predominant in all ancient Chinese ornamentique. The only picture recognised by the official Confucianism is the portrait of the great philosopher himself. The founder has escaped the fate of most other founders of religions who have in course of time become objects of religious worship. This is doubtless due to the want of real religious content in the teaching of Confucius, no less than to its early adoption as the religion of the State, represented by the learned and "the Son of Heaven" himself. Almost every town has, it is true, a temple erected in imitation of the building over his grave; but he is honoured only as the greatest man of the nation, the incarnation, so to speak, of Chinese thought, without overstepping the bounds that separate reverence from religious cult. The Musée Guimet possesses two pictures of Confucius, such as are set up in the temples and examination rooms—the one, a painting on paper, probably by a Japanese; the other, a small characteristic bronze statue, representing the philosopher as a reverend old man in royal robes, with the tiara, *yu-pén*, on his head, sunk in profound thought.[97]

In contrast to the teachings of Confucius, the other two religions of China, Taoism and Buddhism, have an unusually numerous world of gods. Both forms of religion are so much blended together that it is often difficult to distinguish the types of gods belonging to each separately. Taoism took to making idols first, under the influence of Buddhism, and adopted a number of Buddhist deities. But the beginning once made, a vast number of deities sprang into existence, increasing in number as the religion declined. The philosophic system of *Lao-steu*, the nucleus of which consists of metaphysical speculations, is still to some extent kept up in the higher priesthood; but Taoism, in the form in which it now exists among the people, carried on by the inferior, ignorant priests, is a mere congeries of the grossest superstitions, in which all the gods of ancient China, personified forces of nature, for the most part, and celestial bodies, along with a number of philosophers and heroes, had found a place as divine beings.

The Lord of Heaven, *Shang-ti*, the supreme deity of ancient

[97] For a picture of this, see *Annales du Musée Guimet*, IV., Pl. V.

China, has taken a figurative form in Taoism. The Musée Guimet owns two of the rare representations of the god, whom we recognise by the tablets he holds in his hands. In the teaching of Lao-tseu he is the first Person in the higher Trinity which governs the world, but at the same time the only one visibly represented. In popular thought this transcendental deity retires into the shade before the lower Trinity, to which the guidance of human life is assigned. The representations of this group are countless, and well known from paintings and numerous sculptures. In the midst we see the ancient, reverend *Yu-wang-shang-ti*, Lord of Heaven, and at his side *Nan-kieu-laô-dzin*, god of the Southern Cross, in the form of Lao-tseu and *Lim-pao* with his child, denoting the god of happiness and fertility.[98] An air of benevolence and content overspreads these reverend gods. Very human and protecting is their appearance, as is to be expected in beings from whom the Chinaman hopes to attain his highest happiness in life.

Beside this Trinity Lao-tseu himself is frequently represented as an old man with a long beard and an exceedingly high, knotty forehead, either seated on the back of the buffalo,[99] which according to the saga carried him away to the west, or on a stag, or surrounded by his nearest disciples, the *Sennines*, as they are called. Among these the eight patriarchs, a sort of half-gods, take a high place in the Taoistic sphere of thought, and are among the most popular figures in China. Sometimes they are together, sometimes singly, or in pairs, represented as separate forms, or more frequently as purely decorative figures, used on every possible sort of utensil. Besides these there are a number of learned *Sennines*, reverenced by the Chinese, and often represented either as reading, playing on the flute, or sunk in revery.

Most of the Taoistic deities are, like the Sennines, men who have been immortalised, or who often are of local importance only There are, however, some which are universally popular, from the sphere they represent. Such is the case with *Tshai-Shin*, god of riches and happiness, an old man with a bar of metal in his hand; also *Kuan-ti*, a Chinese hero of the second century B.C., who is always represented as an elderly man, martial in appearance and clad in armour, usually accompanied by his two servants as armour-bearers.[100] On account of his courage, loyalty and nobility of soul *Kuan-ti* is also the patron of merchants, and his learning has

[98] *Annales du Mus. Guim.* xl, pl. i.
[99] l. c. iv.; Pl. vi.
[100] For the legend of *Kuan-ti* see l. c. xi., p. 96, ff. (Pl. iii. –v.)

obtained him a place among the five gods who watch over science. In this last attribute he is generally represented as sitting with a book in his hand. The chief place among the tutelary gods of learning is occupied by *Wen-Shang-ti-Kiun*, originally, like so many of the Taoistic deities, a star-god. His image[101] is set up even in the temples of Confucius, besides his own special sanctuaries in almost every town of China where public examinations are held. By his side stands *Kweï-sing*, as patron of science, who is also god of the Great Bear. This popular deity is very common in the Musée Guimet, and highly characteristic in appearance. The figure is that of a demon with distorted face, standing on a sea-monster. In one hand he holds a pencil, in the other usually a bar of metal, the symbol of wealth, as a sign that the work of the pen also brings material advantages.[102] We mention those examples only, as they are the most prominent of the purely Taoistic deities of Chinese origin. Besides these there are some few deities universally worshipped in China. But in these, Taoistic and Buddhist elements have been combined. They belong, therefore, to both forms of religion. They will be discussed below.

The *Chinese-Buddhist* pantheon is less rich in gods than the Taoistic. There are only a few forms, which always recur; but as a set off to this, their worship is general everywhere.

The highest place is of course taken by *Shakya-Muni* himself. The picture of him in Nirvana is well known, seated on a lotus flower, the symbol of purity, with set face and legs crossed, the form in which he is universally depicted. The posture of the hands alone varies, according as they are meant to show the god preaching, compassionate, or rapt in philosophic meditation.[103] This form is an ideal type, in which *Shakya-Muni's* entity as Buddha is accentuated. It is also used with hardly any change to represent *Amitabha*, the first of the *Dhyani-Buddhas*, whose adoration in the temples as the saviour of mankind is as general as the cult of *Shakya-Muni*. The museum moreover contains a pair of rare figures, in which it is the founder of the religion, *Shakya-Muni* the man, who appears in an extremely realistic form. This is the case with the small statuettes of him as a child, and in a still greater degree with the representations of Buddha the penitent. An exquisite bronze figure of last century in the museum represents the founder of the religion after his course of asceticism, wasted

[101] l. c. xi. ; Pl. vii.
[102] l. c., p. 174 ; Pl. ix.
[103] Milloué : *Catalogue du Musée Guimet*, Lyons, 1883, p. 64.

and worn almost to a skeleton, with a long attenuated face surrounded by short neat curls, an exceedingly expressive figure, but to European eyes, it must be admitted, a somewhat extraordinary exaltation of an ascetic.

Next to *Shakya-Muni* and *Amitabha*, the holy *Kuan-yin* enjoys the greatest popularity in China and Japan. He is the first of the *Dhyani-Boddhisatvas*, who are not, like the rest of the Boddhisatvas, believers, who have by their life attained to the highest degree of sanctity, but spiritual sons of the *Dhyani-Buddhas*, created by them to help in guiding and guarding the world.[104] To save creation *Kuan-yin* became incarnate thirty-three times, as man, woman, and beast.

In China the cult of this Boddhisatva, who is universally adored in Tibet and Mongolia, takes a very peculiar form. This originally male saint is very extensively worshipped as a female deity, identified with an older Taoistic goddess *Tien-heu*, a young maiden, who for her virtue and holiness was taken up to heaven, and received the name of "Heaven's Sovereign Lady."[105] *Kuan-yin* in this form is now worshipped in China by both Taoists and Buddhists, as goddess of mercy, and adored especially by women. The figure of this goddess is well known in all ethnographical museums, holding a child in her arms.[106] According to *Milloué's* explanation, this child is *Zen-zaï*, a dæmon, who after being converted by *Kuan-yin*, became the most zealous advocate of Buddhism, but according to *de Groot* he is a mere attribute of the goddess, as patroness of childless women. This group used to be regarded as an imitation of a Madonna picture, and certainly the resemblance in many points cannot be denied. But it is very improbable that the Chinese have borrowed one of their most popular idols from a foreign religion like Christianity, which has exercised so slight and recent an influence on the country. The representation is fully explained by the Buddhist legend and the essential nature of the goddess; and the similarity of the two conceptions is in reality not more striking than all other analogies in the Catholic and Buddhist cults. In his very instructive work on the yearly festival in Emoui, *de Groot* proves that *Kuan-yin* is in China almost without exception worshipped as a woman.[107] In the Musée Guimet, however, a series of figures represents and describes the Saint as a man. These,

[104] Milloué, l. c. xxxv.
[105] ib. 139-184.
[106] *Annales du Mus. Guim.*, xi.; Pl. xii.
[107] id. xi., p. 183.

therefore, maintain the conception of *Kuan-yin* as a Boddhisatva.[108] The features of the face do not definitely determine the sex, as they would pass equally well for either. *Kuan-yin* is represented as a young, beardless deity, with a gentle fixed face. In the forehead is the eye of wisdom, with which he surveys the universe at a glance. Usually the eyes are closed.[109] In posture and expression he closely resembles *Shakya-Muni*; but the figures of *Kuan-yin* may be distinguished by the five-pointed Boddhisatva crown with the figure of Buddha or vase in front, and the ornament *ying-lo* on the breast, both attributes of the Boddhisatvas. The figure, when seated, is generally accompanied by two disciples, a male and female. The fabulous beast *Kaï-tchi* is depicted in the form of a dragon on the plinth, and on each side are placed two boughs with a vase and a bird. Sometimes the holy being has a large number of arms, as in three pretty and interesting statuettes in the Musée Guimet, made of bronze and gilded wood, and dating from the 17th-18th century; in these he is represented with 16-18 arms.[110]

The cult of *Shakya-Muni* and especially of the lower deities *Amitabha* and *Kuan-yin* permeate the whole of Chinese Buddhism. Indeed, excepting the representations of these deities, there is no figure which belongs to the divine world of this religion. On the other hand the forms of those who figure in the legends are very frequent, especially the *Lohans*, as they are called—Buddha's five hundred chief disciples—who play the same part as the Taoistic Sennines. These figures do not show any great reverence. They usually appear as cheerful, well-contented Bonzes (priests), with a gross material expression.

To the Lohans we must add *Pu-taï*. Originally a Chinese priest under the Liang dynasty, famous for his sanctity and wisdom, he became a god, the symbol of happiness and contentment in life, and as such is perhaps the most popular figure in China. Both among Buddhists and Taoists we meet with countless representations of the little man with the huge paunch and well-pleased face, either resting on the sack which contains his gifts to man, or carrying this his inseparable "vade-mecum" under his arm—a lively expression of the side of human life he represents. A marked contrast to him is formed by Buddha's first apostle in China, *Dharmaraja*, called *Tamo* by the Chinese, who is represented as a thick-set man in priest's robes, with hideous, almost demoniac features, and a very

[108] Milloué, l. c. 84 ff.
[109] *Ann. du Mus. Guim.*, xi.; Pl. xi. xiv.
[110] *Ann. du Mus. Guim.*, xi.; Pl. xiii., p. 111.

sinister expression. His figure is rare in the museum. In the few specimens to be found there, he is bare-footed, but holds one of his shoes in his hand. According to the saga he forgot the other in the grave, after his death when he returned to India.[111]

JAPAN.

In Japan the two chief religions of the country, Shintoism and Buddhism, have been more completely fused together than in China, chiefly owing to the compromise effected by *Kobo-Daïshi* (in the 9th century), who proved that both religions were merely various revelations of the same deity. Every one therefore adores the gods for whom he feels a special liking, without regard to their origin either in Japan or India. Many pious people worship the *Kamis* and foreign gods in turns.[112]

One needs only walk through the Musée Guimet to get a lively impression of the extent to which this fusion has taken place, or rather of the extent to which Buddhism has adopted in its pantheon the gods and heroes of the original religion. The museum gives a complete picture of Japanese Buddhism with regard to most of the sects.

Idols are unknown to real *Shintoism.* The bare temple contains nothing but a simple altar with the sword, mirror, and the *Gohei.* The first denotes the palladium of the nation, the sacred sword which the Sun-goddess bestowed on her grandson.[113] The second is an imitation of the mirror which the same goddess gave to her descendants, that they might always behold in it their mother's soul and find the truth. The *Gohei,* a collection of white strips of paper, folded in a peculiar manner, and attached to a wooden rod, was originally nothing but a mere dust-broom in the temple, afterwards used to clear the air of impurities during the prayers. Finally it came to be placed upon the altar as a symbol of the godhead's purity.

It was not till after the introduction of Buddhism into Japan that a Shintoistic sect began to represent some of the inferior *Kamis,* the gods, heroes, and divine emperors, whose cult led the

[111] Milloué l.c. p. 264.

[112] Bousquet *Le Japon de nos jours.* ii. 95.

[113] The Ethnological Museum in Copenhagen contains two very rare bronze swords, one from a temple in Nara, the other from a temple near Tosa. It can hardly be doubted that they were never intended for practical use, but are old Shintoistic temple swords. See the picture in *Aarböger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed,* 1874, p. 314, Fig. 4, and p. 315, fig. 5.

people to forget the real basis of their religion, adoration of the sun and forces of nature. But this sect is officially forbidden, and only a very few of the figures it created are now worshipped by the Shintoists. Of these *Inari*, the god of wealth, is the commonest.

On the other hand all the old gods of the popular creed have found a place in Buddhism, and, with the Indian gods, form a religion which in its fetishistic form is widely different from the spiritual ideas preached by Buddha. Each sect has selected a number of Kamis for its heaven. Every province, every town, every district takes to itself a patron god, often a mere mortal who has been happy enough to attain Nirvana. The foreigner finds it impossible to penetrate the mysteries of Japanese Buddhism, as they appear in the cult of the people. Only native scholars who have studied Buddhist theology and are familiar with the differences between the sects, can determine the manifold figures of gods, and assign to them their right place in each sect.

Each of the six sects into which Japanese Buddhism is divided, appears in the museum marked by its individual peculiarities, and illustrated by idols and objects of religious worship. Among these the *Mandara*, a representation of the sect's pantheon, teaches us to recognise the gods worshipped by the sect. One of the most characteristic of the many *Mandaras* is exhibited in the central Japanese hall of the museum. It is a group of large figures, which are a faithful copy, in original size, of nineteen of the most active Buddhas, set up by *Kobo-Daïshi* in a temple in Kioto.[114] Here we have an instructive picture of the *Sin-gon* sect's conception of the working of the divine forces in the world, and the way in which Buddha seeks to save mankind. The Mandara is divided into three groups. In the midst the supreme Buddha, *Daï-niti-niuraï*, is enthroned in sublime tranquillity. He it is who inspires all, and his uplifted forefinger is a symbol of reason, permeating and ruling the five elements, symbolised by the five fingers of the left hand. He is the full perfection of Buddhism. Around him are grouped four larger and four lesser figures, which are the chief and secondary emanations from his being. The former represent his virtues, personified in beings rapt in eternal contemplation. These inspire the human Buddhas, and correspond to the Indian *Dhyani Buddhas*. The other lesser figures are beings of a lower rank, who have lived on earth, and whose function is to support the principal godhead in heaven. Like all Buddhist representations of deities these figures are almost lifeless in expression, and sit sunk in meditation.

[114] Milloué. l.c. 203.

The hands alone, which play so great a part in the symbolism of the religion, express the working of the deity in each particular case.

The group on the left consists of five smaller figures, each of which is thought to be inspired by one of the deities in the centre. They represent the *Bousats*, beings who have become Buddhas, but have elected to descend to earth to save man, rather than to enjoy the eternal rest of Nirvana. They are not direct emanations of *Daï-niti-niuraï* and the *Dhyani-Buddhas*, but inspired by them. They therefore correspond to the Indian Boddhisatvas, and endeavour, like them, to convert mankind by mildness and persuasion. Their expression corresponds with their function. The face is overspread with the usual lofty calm, while the expressive hands denote peace and love.

The right-hand group corresponds to the left in number and size. It depicts the transformation of the central deities as *Tembou*, beings who strive to secure the salvation of man by force and terror. *Daï-niti* here appears in the most terrible form, as a demon with distorted countenance, holding a sword to hew down the passions, and a rope wherewith to bind the evil spirits. The other *Dhyani-Buddhas* are also similar in appearance in this transformation, that the sight of them may terrify mankind from following the wrong road. They too are armed to battle with the evil passions.

In the corners, as a watch around this Assembly of gods, stand the four watchmen of heaven, among whom *Bishamon*, who dwells in the East, and *Dai-kokou*, god of the West, are the best known.

The Mandara here described is chosen only as a single example, not as laying down a general rule. Other sects have chosen to worship other forms of the supreme Buddhas. One of them even places the law, symbolised by a tablet of wood, above Buddha himself. But various as the sects are, there are certain deities to be found in almost all of them. Among these *Amida* and *Kuannon*, as in China, are the most frequent. The former is represented as standing on a lotus, with a halo round his head, as the guide of souls. The other, with the Boddhisatva crown on his head, is sunk in profound thought. A large number of the gods were originally Brahman, adopted by Buddhism, but naturally subordinated to the highest beings of this religion. *Brahma* himself, a figure with four heads and four arms, grasping a lance in one hand, and snakes in the other three, has become the Keeper of the world and Lord in one of the Paradises of Buddhism. His spouse, *Sarasvati*, is worshipped under the name of *Ben-ten* as goddess of love, beauty, and music,

just as in India. *Garuda*, who is represented in Japan also with a bird's head, is worshipped as king of the birds, who gives power to perform miracles. The Indian god *Yamma*, Lord of the under-world, also plays a great part. He is depicted as a being with a demoniac expression, dressed in Chinese royal robes, holding a sceptre, and seated at a table with a book before him, wherein the life of every human being is written down. The soul of the dead is conducted to the under-world, and in the mirror which is set before the judge he sees the deeds of his life pass in review. The result of the weighing in the scales of fate decides the doom of *Yemma*, whether the soul shall be born again as man, spirit, god, or Boddhisatva, if it has been virtuous, or in what part of the under-world it shall have place, if guilty. The appearance of this Hell is shown us in an excellent Kakemono in the museum, a series of frightful pictures displaying the punishment of sinners in the various sections of the under-world. The naïve representations of these pictures are the worthy counterpart to our Gothic pictures of the Judgment Day.

The gods we have mentioned and many others were adopted from Brahmanism. But there are several divine figures in the Buddhist pantheon original to Japan, but exclusively connected with Buddhism. The most popular of these is *Jiso*, a Boddhisatva, who left heaven and descended to earth, becoming incarnate in the form of a priest, to heal the sick and save souls. His special function is to free small children from Hell, to which they have been sent for the sins committed in a previous existence. He is therefore to be found repeated in all representations of the Buddhist Hell. The Musée Guimet contains several excellent statuettes of him, depicting him as an old man, with a benign but immovable face, holding a beggar's staff in one hand, and in the other the cup of precious stone. He is also frequently worshipped as an old man with a very well-pleased expression (*Yen-no-guio-dja*), an ascetic who loved the mountains, whom the popular belief regards as the protector of travellers. He is always represented with the ring-staff,[115] a traveller's staff and a pair of huge sandals.

The seven Gods of Happiness, which enjoy the greatest popularity among all the Japanese deities, are of mixed origin. They form a sort of counterpart to the Eight Immortals in China, but are not regarded by any means so seriously as the latter. In themselves separately, they were originally very reverend deities,

[115] In French *Sistre d Anneaux*, used in Japan by beggars and monks to attract attention.

whose cradle stood in India and China. But being grouped in a single band by some artist's fancy, they are more often the butt of Japanese flippancy than objects of reverence. And yet we find among them so sublime a deity as the ancient *Fuku-roku-dju,* whose name alone expresses every sort of happiness, honour, riches and long life, and whose vast forehead is the seat of the highest wisdom. In drawings, lacker-work, figures of porcelain, wood and ivory, he is portrayed with his stick and book, or accompanied by the crane, in the most grotesque postures and forms. His comrades share the same fate. The Musée Guimet contains a fine collection of figures of these gods, in which the artists have given the rein to their humour. The favourites of the people and perpetual butt of their wanton wit are especially the god of contentment, the ever joyous *Hotei,* with his fat paunch and his sack, and *Dai-koku,* god of wealth, with his rice-sack and miner's pick-axe, with which he extracts riches from the bowels of the earth. The others are not spared. *Yebis,* god of trade and fishing, the only Shintoistic deity in the whole assembly, *Bishamon,* king of heaven, the cithern-playing *Ben-ten,* and the reverend old *Dju-ro-djin* with his stag, are often seen in situations little consistent with their divine dignity. Besides these gods there are a number of legendary persons, *Rakans,* Buddha's disciples, portrayed in groups and painted representations, among which five paintings from a temple at Tokio are among the greatest treasures of the museum.

The limits of this review forbid us to discuss these interesting materials at greater length, much as we are tempted to linger in this unique museum. We leave it impressed with admiration for the earnestness and energy of the work here carried on, in the endeavour to shed light on dark and difficult regions, and with profound respect for the man whose love of science has created an institute, founded on so grand a scale, and providing materials so vast and novel, for the study of religions. It was a happy thought of *Emile Guimet,* and a fresh as well as a strong proof of his interest in the subject, to present his museum to the French nation. In Paris, where it is more accessible than in Lyons, its usefulness will be fully appreciated. In connexion with the oriental school attached to it, it will help to spread the knowledge and interest in the study of religions in still wider circles.

CONCLUSION.

Our review is now ended. We have merely touched on the

most important points, and many deserving fuller discussion have been but briefly described. But from what we have written the reader will readily perceive that the result obtained in recent years by energetic collecting is very large indeed, and far exceeds the expectations that might fairly have been formed, when the great systematic harvest was first commenced. Various ethnographic regions have yielded collections which fulfil every demand for completeness and direct definition. Others again have produced materials, which though not entirely exhausted, still permit the ground-lines of culture in the several groups of peoples to appear with great clearness. Much still awaits completion. In some points we shall never get further than we are already. But throughout the world, in every part, Europeans are constantly coming into contact with new peoples; and with the keen understanding for ethnological observations awakened in our days, every new expedition of discovery will bring the museums nearer to their goal, by supplying them with materials for study carefully garnered in.

In these pages we have concerned ourselves only with the ethnographic materials of the museums, the zeal for collecting which has lately been developed. The second main task of a museum, to arrange and classify, we have not dwelt on. We have not here space to examine thoroughly the principles which should guide this part of the work. We cannot however pass over this important and much discussed question in complete silence, but take the liberty in conclusion to make a few short remarks on the subject.

Two different systems of arranging an ethnographical museum are proposed. The one may be called the sociological, the other the ethnographical. The most important advocate for the former was *Jomard*. His idea was to create a museum meant to display the more primitive stages in man's development in all spheres of social life. Each of these was to be illustrated apart by groups of homogeneous objects. The material therefore was not to be arranged according to its ethnological origin, but according to the kind of objects. Thus everything that was of the same nature and for the same purpose was to be gathered into main groups. The subsections were to be arranged geographically, and would display the ethnic varieties. "En étudiant et en suivant une telle collection, depuis son commencement jusqu'à sa fin, l'on aurait sous les yeux un tableau successif et progressif de l'industrie de l'homme depuis ses besoins les plus impérieux jusqu'aux développements du luxe." [116]

[116] *Lettre à M. Ph. Fr. de Siebold*, p. 10.

Jomard's further extension of this grand idea is very attractive. Following the natural course of development he would begin with those groups of objects which satisfy man's first wants—implements for fishing, hunting, agriculture, etc.,—and proceed to clothes, dwellings, daily household life, war, art and science, ending with the groups which illustrate customs, forms and religion. But the plan in its entirety has proved mistaken; first and foremost because that which should be the chief section in an ethnographical museum become subordinate and *vice versa.* The ethnological picture as a single whole was broken up into a number of details. The arrangement according to the kind and purpose of the object tears them from their natural continuity, and they lose the background, without which it is impossible to understand their proper meaning. In every stage of culture there exists an inner connexion between the various utterances of life in a people, certainly not the "harmony," on the strength of which some have drawn conclusions from the mode of development in one region to that in another, but yet a cohesion, modified by a variety of circumstances, such as climate and natural conditions, spiritual development, intercourse with the world around, etc. This cohesion must be preserved in a museum, if one is to understand a given stage of development. Separate kinds of objects may indeed, when severed from the ethnographic whole, be of importance to the study of industry and the history of technical art. But an ethnographical museum cannot be arranged on a plan which separates things that belong to one another, and unites objects of utterly heterogeneous origin.

The second principle on which to arrange a museum is the purely ethnographical. The importance of this has already been upheld by *Siebold* in his reply to *Jomard.*[117] According to this system all objects from the same race are united, and the various tribes are formed into ethnological groups according to their affinity, a method so simple and natural, that no wonder it has been generally adopted. People now-a-days have ceased to set up the more or less worthless systems of an affinity in the whole of mankind, which used to play so great a part in ethnography. A strictly inductive method now endeavours to build up the scientific structure from the foundations, carefully investigating each tribe and group of peoples. Men have now learned to see that the gradual progress of the anthropological and ethnological work is necessary to solve the problems of the relation between one people

[117] *Sur l'utilité des musées ethnographiques,* p. 16.

and another. In the same way the basis for a scientific study of the history of culture is sought for. There has been no lack of theories as to the development of the human race in material and intellectual respects, the progress and retrogression among primitive peoples. But here also sure results can only be attained by induction. An infinity of investigations into details is needed before that complete comprehension of the subject can be gained, which is the aim of the ethnologist. Under these circumstances the ethnographical arrangement is the only one that can be employed in a museum. It gives no solution of the great questions, no results of dubious worth, but it does supply what is demanded of every descriptive treatment of ethnography, materials arranged in such order as to be as accessible as possible for investigation. Only thus can a museum illustrate the various conditions of culture to be found in each people. The chief races being kept together, we are presented with a picture of the various forms of development within each several group of peoples. All the large European museums have now adopted the ethnographical principle as the basis of their arrangement. But all have not been equally successful in carrying it out. There are still collections in which chance plays a large part. They show clearly enough how needful is consistency in this respect, if the museum is to be something more than a mere store-house.

But to carry out the arrangement on ethnographical lines is not all that is needed for a great museum. To maintain the possibility of a general survey, there should be a number of sub-sections to show the necessary grouping of the materials in detail. The demands are in this case the same as are made of all well-ordered culture-history collections; namely, that things which belong to one another should not be sundered. Within the groups of peoples, objects of the same kind and purpose should be united into groups which individually illustrate one side of man's life and works, and together give a clear, general, and well-articulated view of the condition of things among one people. For this sort of grouping there is no better plan to work on than that of *Jomard*. His many groups are excellent sub-sections in a museum arranged ethnographically, being naturally defined and systematically put together. They give a division of the materials which forms a finely shaded picture of the various peoples, representing every sphere of life, from the most elementary works, the means to secure existence, up to the higher functions of social life.

Such an arrangement is, however, by no means carried out in

every museum. The India Museum, the museum in Leyden and the Musée de Trocadero, with the Copenhagen Museum are the only ones which have completed a detailed classification of their collections. Even in museums fully exhibited, it would seem that those who have the charge of them have not yet got their eyes open to the importance of this. The German museums which are still undergoing re-arrangement have not yet got so far. Here is a task of great importance, which will only be finished satisfactorily when the colossal and ever-growing materials have been thoroughly worked up. Then, and not till then, will the arrangement and exhibits of the museums give them the place they are entitled to by their contents.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LOCAL MUSEUMS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

This last summer I have visited many of our local museums including Canterbury, Colchester, and Salisbury. The museum of St. Augustine's College at Canterbury, is entirely devoted to ethnographical objects, the collection having been sent over from time to time, by the various missionary clergymen who have been sent out from St. Augustine's to various parts of the globe. There is no catalogue of this interesting collection, and no arrangement by tribes or races, such as Dr. Bahnson in his account so clearly shows is the correct method of arrangement. Would it not be possible to have some kind of common organization for local museums? Surely the Government might be induced to appoint a qualified official who would advise on matters of classification and re-arrangement. If all local museums were in touch with, say, the British Museum, students would gain very much. The localities where objects are found are, of course, the places where museums should be formed, but there is no reason why the information thus placed at the students' disposal should be practically lost through the want of careful organization. I shall be glad to hear from those interested in the subject as it is a matter I intend bringing forward at the meeting of the Committee on Local Archæological Research. In the meantime I would draw attention to the Public Libraries and Museums Act of 1855, which, I believe, enables local authorities to impose a rate for the support of Museums.

G. L. Gomme.

Barnes Common.

Archæology.

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STONEHENGE.[1]

OF all the antiquarian riddles that have perplexed the students of our early history the origin and meaning of Stonehenge has been perhaps the longest in awaiting its solution. The Sphynx still sits upon those stony portals. When and why were these mighty blocks upreared? Who were the builders of the monument? and what rites or ceremonies were celebrated within its ancient Circuit? The answers that have been given to these enquiries have been of the most varied kind. Myth has been accepted as history and Merlin himself euhêmerized. The druidical fancies of our earlier antiquaries have found a roosting-place on trilith and "altarstone."

I need not here do more than mention the conjecture that Stonehenge was Boadicea's burial place, or the still wilder speculation which saw in it a Roman temple of Cœlus "by some authors called Cœlum," or made of it a Court Royal for the "election and inauguration of Danish kings," or converted it at will into a "Forum" or a "Druid Orrery!" Stukeley, who could nicely discriminate the barrow of an "Archdruid" from that of a "King of the older line," went so far as to fix the precise date of the erection of Stonehenge in the year 460 B.C.

All this is merely beating of the air. After all, perhaps we may yet find ourselves once more in druid company, but we must at least arrive there by the methods imposed by modern science. A comparative study of Stonehenge in relation to other monuments, and even to the existing usages of primitive peoples, is a necessary preliminary to our enquiry, and it is by means of these comparisons that I hope to lead up to some well-grounded conclusions as to the character of the cult with which Stonehenge was associated. On the other hand a careful examination of discoveries made within the circles themselves, and of the relation existing between the monument as a whole and the surrounding barrows as read by the

[1] A public lecture given in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Dec. 6, 1888.

light of archæological science will be found to supply a trustworthy clue to the approximate date of the construction.

The question that we set ourselves in the first place is, What analogies do we find elsewhere for the huge pile on Salisbury plain?

The enquiry upon which we are thus embarked is of such extensive scope that it would be impossible for me on the present occasion to give more than the most general summary of the results. But the most important conclusion to which—as far at least as I am able to read the evidence—this investigation of the widespread class of Megalithic Circles leads us, may be very briefly stated. In a word, wherever, whether from existing primitive customs, or from associated ancient relics, the meaning of these great stone monuments has been clearly revealed to us, we find them connected either directly or indirectly with sepulchral usage.

In the most primitive examples it seems indeed to be an universal rule that the stone circle surrounds a central dolmen or stone cist containing the remains of the dead. To take, for example, some of the closest known parallels to our great British monument—the stone circles described by travellers in Arabia and its borderlands, are distinctly associated with central interments. Mr. Palmer in his book on the Desert of Exodus states that in the neighbourhood of Sinai he saw huge stone circles, some of them measuring 100 feet in diameter, having in the centre a cist covered with a heap of huge boulders. In the cists he found skeletons in the same contracted position—the attitude of sleep amongst the "Courtmantles" of primitive times—as is seen in our own early interments. Similar circles and dolmens have been observed by Palgrave and others in Central Arabia, nor has their sepulchral association died out in Arabian poetry and tradition. The native Australians, to take a more distant example, to this day still build stone circles round a central monument or Menhir, that marks the grave of a chief.

As I have elsewhere endeavoured to point out, this original sepulchral connexion of Megalithic Circles is of primary importance in its bearing on their origin. It enables us in fact to trace the embryology of these greater monuments to the smaller and simpler circles that actually mark the limits of the primitive grave-mound. The three component parts of the most characteristic of the Megalithic Circles, the circle itself, the stone avenue opening from it, and the cist or dolmen contained by it, are all of them mere amplifications of the simplest sepulchral forms. The Circle is an enlarged version of the ring of stones placed round the grave-mound; the Dolmen

represents the cist within it; the Avenue is merely the continuation of the underground gallery, which in our earliest barrows leads to the sepulchral chamber. The only difference lies in the greater size of the stones in the Megalithic Circles, and that in this case they are no longer covered by or in juxtaposition with the earth mound, but have become free-standing. The change no doubt represents a development in sepulchral cult. In the case of the Chambered Barrow the stones may be said still to fulfil an original structural function; in the case of the Circles they bear a more purely ritual signification. In some cases we find transitional examples in which the stone circle is actually seen in the act as it were of separating itself from the earth barrow. Thus in the great monument of New Grange the stone circle is separated by an interval of some twenty feet from the central mound. At Northern Moytura, in Ireland, we find again the debris of a round barrow containing a cruciform chamber like that of our Wayland's Smithy, surrounded by a ring of small stones, and again outside this inner ring, which is in direct contact with the chamber of death, an outer ring of larger stones which obviously have no longer a structural but a secondary religious object. This outer ring displays another important characteristic. On one side two large blocks are set outside the circle, forming as it were an embryo avenue, which is in fact the continuation of the gallery of the actual tomb.

Thus the essential features of the Megalithic Circle, the Circle itself, the Avenue and the central Dolmen, lead us back to the ring stones of the primitive grave mound, to its gallery and sepulchral chamber. The one is simply the magnification of the other. But the early barrows of the North, as was pointed out by Prof. Nilsson, represent in fact only a primitive form of mound dwelling such as is still represented by the Lapp Gamme or the Siberian Yurt. It is a primitive dwelling of the living preserved by religious usage as a dwelling for the dead in days when in all probability the living had adopted houses of somewhat improved construction, and adapted to a less boreal climate. And this carries us back a step further. In order to understand the actual meaning of the primitive elements already described as common both to the grave-mound and the Megalithic Circle, we cannot do better than study the actual mound-dwellings of some of the primitive peoples such as they still exist in the extreme North of Europe and Asia. In the Lapp Gamme near the North Cape we can see the component elements of our sepulchral Circles still performing their original constructive functions. There are the ring-stones actually employed

in propping up the turf-covered moun l of the dwelling, and there is the low entrance gallery leading to the chamber within, which, in fact, is the living representative, and at the same time the remote progenitor of the gallery of the Chambered Barrow, and of the avenue of the Sepulchral Circle. And there is yet another interesting feature to which I must call your attention. In this and the other Northern mound dwellings of the kind, the entrance gallery is oriented, facing the rising sun, for the inmates to be awakened by the first morning rays in a land where during a large part of the year the hours of daylight are few in number. In the Chambered Barrow which represents the same mound dwelling as applied to the dead, the old orientation is still adhered to, and it will be seen therefore that however the afterthoughts of religion may have connected this usage with the worship of the sun, it is in its origin to be accounted for, like the stone circle and the gallery and avenue, by purely utilitarian reasons.

If after this somewhat extensive survey we set ourselves to examine the great Megalithic Circles existing on British soil, we shall find abundant traces of the original sepulchral connexion to which I have referred. Thus in the Ring of Brogar near Stennis in the Orkneys, at Arbor Low in Derbyshire, at Mayborough near Penrith, at Avebury and elsewhere there are or were distinct remains of Central Dolmens. The great Circle of Avebury which must be regarded as one of the most notable of our Megalithic Monuments embraces within its circuit two lesser circles containing each an inner rıng and in the centre in both cases remains of a stone chamber, which there can be little doubt once contained interments.

These and other examples are sufficient to bear out the general principle already laid down, that in their origin at least, these great Stone Circles in Britain as elsewhere were connected with a funereal cult. And in Stonehenge itself we have to deal with a monument which, though of a more complicated arrangement and displaying greater technical skill, must still be regarded as belonging to the same general class as the simpler forms already alluded to.

Stonehenge, whilst retaining on a lesser scale many of the characteristic features of Avebury, shows in other respects a distinct advance on its ruder prototypes. We have no longer to deal with mere rough-hewn blocks as in the Megalithic Circles hitherto described. The great blocks of Stonehenge are not only cut with considerable skill, but the imposts are compacted into one another and into the upright blocks on which they rest, by tenons or pro-

jecting bosses fitting into mortices or bowl-like hollows in the blocks with which they are connected. In the arrangement of the stones there is greater complexity; finally, there is variety in the material of the rocks themselves.

At Stonehenge as at Avebury the Megalithic Circles are surrounded by an earthen rampart. In the case of Stonehenge this is a low Vallum, surrounded by a ditch, and 365 feet in external diameter. At the N.E. point this outer circle opens into an avenue, flanked by an earthwork and ditch on either side. Two stones are to be seen on the inner edge of the embankment, one on the S.E. side nearly 9 feet high and another on the N.W. about 4 feet. Immediately within the entrance to the avenue lies a large block 20 feet long by 6 feet 10 inches wide, which once stood erect here, and 98 feet further down the avenue is another stone 16 feet high. It seems to me to be quite possible that as at Avebury there was originally an outer stone circle immediately within the Vallum, and that the stones within the earth avenue represent an original stone avenue contained by it.

Accepting Sir R. C. Hoare's restoration of the central monuments these originally consisted of an outer circle of upright blocks supporting imposts which were fitted into one another and thus formed one continuous circular architrave. The diameter of this circle is about 100 feet. Within this again is an incomplete circle of smaller stones, which in turn surrounds what were originally 5 great triliths—the central trilith 21 feet high—arranged in a kind of horse-shoe form, and overlooking on their inner side a horse-shoe of smaller blocks. In the choir thus formed lies a long flat block known as the altar stone.

With regard to the material of the stones with which Stonehenge is constructed, a remarkable phenomenon presents itself. The great blocks of the outer circle and triliths are formed of the "sarsen" stones—Saracen or heathen stones—that strew the Wiltshire valleys, masses of sand, that is, concreted together by siliceous cement. On the other hand the so-called altar is a grey sandstone resembling some of the Devonian and Cambrian rocks, and the stones of the smaller inner circles are of an igneous formation which could not have been procured anywhere in the neighbourhood. Rocks approaching the character of some of these occur in North Wales, in Pembroke and Caernarvon, and in Cumberland; but on the other hand geological opinion seems to incline to the view that some of these igneous stones bear the closest resemblance to rocks existing in the Channel Islands and Brittany.

We have therefore the remarkable fact that these lesser blocks were transported to their present sanctuary from some distant site, and so far as the collateral evidence regarding the builders of Stonehenge allow us to form a judgment on the matter, it appears by no means improbable that they were transported to Stonehenge from over sea.

Reviewing then the general arrangement of the stones at Stonehenge, we see that though there are some new features, the monument as a whole belongs to the same class as the great Circles already alluded to at Avebury and elsewhere. There is the surrounding ditch and vallum, there is the avenue, and there are the concentric stone circles. All that has been said as to the original sources of these other Megalithic piles applies therefore to Stonehenge. In the circling ditch and earthwork we may probably here and elsewhere trace the influence of the circular village enclosure in settling the form of the religious enclosure. The stone rings and the avenue have been traced back step by step from the circle stones supporting the sepulchral mound and the gallery of the sepulchral chamber. The triliths are indeed a new feature in connexion with the stone circle, but the triliths as shown from the example of some of our later Long-Barrows, and by a comparison with the monuments of Tripoli, of Syria, of India and elsewhere, are themselves only the perpetuation of a part of the sepulchral structure, the actual gateway of the subterranean chamber, which remains as a ritual survival when owing to cremation or other causes the galleried chamber to which it led has itself been modified away. Like the Circles themselves, like the Avenue, the Trilith is of sepulchral origin and connects itself directly with the worship of departed Spirits. The Stone Circle and the Trilith are in fact combined in other parts of the world. At Kasseen, in Central Arabia—where the Dolmens in the middle of many Stone Circles fully attest their sepulchral connexion —Mr. Palgrave observed huge triliths arranged so as to form part of a circle, and many other fragments lying overthrown in their vicinity. "Two of the upright blocks," he tells us, "at about eight feet apart, and resembling huge gateposts, yet bore their horizontal lintel—a long block laid across them."

Have we in the case of Stonehenge also to deal with a structure primarily connected with a funereal cult? Analogy with other similar monuments may be certainly taken to support this view, and the discovery of an "incense cup" characteristic of the interments of the neighbouring barrows to which I shall have further occasion to allude, goes far to show that interments of some kind actually did

take place within the monument. The general results, however, of excavations in the interior Circle point less to actual sepulture than to sacrificial rites, quantities of horns and bones of animals, oxen, stags, and others having been dug up together with charcoal. On the whole we seem here to have to do with a monument which, though belonging to an originally sepulchral class, represents a somewhat higher stage of Religion than that immediately associated with the remains of the dead. The phenomena with which we have here to deal seem to me to receive a striking illustration from the practice of some of those aboriginal Indian tribes to which we naturally turn as the best living expositors of Megalithic construction and the religious ideas that underly it. The Khasis of North-East Bengal whose stone circles and dolmens have been described by Dr. Hooker and Major Godwin-Austen, still erect their modern Stonehenges piecemeal. These mighty piles are in themselves non-sepulchral, but are based on a sepulchral cult, and are reared as a propitiation either to the departed Spirits of their own ancestors or to any other Spirit whom they may think it necessary to appease or right to honour. They consist of dolmens or large slabs supported each by low uprights, surrounded by tall upright blocks or Menhirs, one of which measured by Dr. Hooker was 27 feet high, 6 feet broad at the base, and two and a-half feet thick. But all these Menhirs are not put up at once. Thus we are told of a monument of this class reared in honour of the Spirit of an old lady of the tribe whose departure from the world was succeeded by a very prosperous season. Some sixty years later, times being bad, they again bethought themselves of their spiritual benefactor and raised a batch of five more stones to her memory, and in 1869 they added another batch of five.

The hewing and heaving into their place of these mighty blocks as practised among the Khasis is itself of the highest interest from the light it throws on the problem suggested by many of the megalithic structures of prehistoric times. The Khasis break and flake the great blocks by heating them along a line and then pouring water on them. For transporting the larger blocks they use wooden rollers drawn by a large number of men harnessed to them by rattan ropes. In order to set a block upright one end is slipped into a hole, one to three feet deep, while the other is tugged by ropes. Finally, for lifting one megalithic block on to another a gradual slope of earth is made, up which the block is rolled by means of the ropes and rollers.

These Khasi examples are of great value, not only as a living

illustration of the method of constructing Megalithic monuments amongst primitive peoples, but as revealing to us the underlying cult of departed Spirits which prompted such erections even when not in actual association with a tomb. As regards Stonehenge, however, there is one feature in these Khasi examples which seems to me to be peculiarly instructive in its bearing on a theory put forward by Mr. Flinders Petrie on the wholly independent ground of inductive metrology.

In the case of the modern Megalithic Circles we see that the huge blocks are not all put up at one time but in batches of an equal number of stones at intervals of time. Now this is precisely what on purely metrological grounds Mr. Petrie has shown to hold good with regard to a part at least of the structure of Stonehenge. Mr. Petrie has pointed out that of the 18 existing blocks of the circle of blue stones 14 are arranged in pairs opposite to one another, and that further in the 4 (37-40 of his plan), and in the 4 (46-49) that match these, "there occur two stones in each set which are dissimilar to all the others, being schist or hornstone in place of Syenite." He adds that "if the Circle was ever complete it is highly improbable that the spoilers would remove stones always in pairs opposite to each other. The probability of 14 out of 18 stones being by chance opposite to each other in a set of 44 places is about 5000 to 1." He therefore infers that the blue stone circle was never complete. The analogy of the Khasi monuments may enable us to go further and infer that the part which was set up, consisting as it does of pairs of stones opposite to one another, was set up gradually and at intervals of time.

Mr. Petrie's metrological researches further point to the conclusion that other parts of Stonehenge were made at different times. This is strongly shown by the fact that each of the Stone Circles as well as the Earth Circle has a different centre. The general conclusion at which he arrives by a purely inductive method is that the relative age of the various parts is as follows:—1. The Earth Circle, 2. the Avenue, 3. Sarsen Circle, Trilithons, mounds 92 and 94, and outlying Circles, which he regards as more or less contemporaneous, and lastly the Bluestones, which as we have seen, seem themselves to have been set up at different periods. Stonehenge, like Rome, was not built in a day.

I shall now venture to make a few suggestions bearing on the approximate period covered by this gradual construction, and in this connexion Mr. Petrie's metrological studies have for us a further value. There exist within the Stonehenge vallum two small

barrows, one surrounded by a ditch, and it has been generally supposed that these two barrows were found there by the builders. Mr. Petrie, however, has advanced good reasons for believing that these mounds form in fact an integral part of Stonehenge itself. He observes that the stones and mounds (91-94) of his plan are exactly opposite, stone to stone and mound to mound, and display therefore the same symmetrical relation as the stones in the blue stone circle. In this case then the mound is evidently regarded as the votive equivalent of the stone—an additional reason for bringing the erection of the stones themselves into an originally funereal connexion. This equation of stone and mound is in fact, on a smaller scale, illustrated in every village churchyard.

But the existence of two barrows within the Stonehenge enclosure and forming an integral part of the plan, has a special bearing on the chronology of Stonehenge, in that it affords an additional link of connexion between the great monument and the Round Barrows of the adjoining district—with which on independent grounds we are led to associate it.

That Stonehenge was erected at least before the close of what may be called the Round-barrow Period in this part of Britain rests on evidence which, taking it altogether, must to my mind be regarded as conclusive.

First there is the evidence of the chippings of the Stonehenge stones found in some of the circumjacent barrows. From Sir R. C. Hoare's account of the excavation of barrow No. 16,[2] it appears that a chip of one of the blue imported Stonehenge stones lay beneath a bed of white undisturbed earth, over a cist containing a primary interment of burnt bones, a bronze pin, and, as he calls it, a spear-head. In opening the fine bell-shaped barrow North East of Stonehenge he also found chippings of the same stones and he therefore infers that "at the period when the tumuli adjoining Stonehenge were raised the plain was covered with the chippings of the stones that had been employed in the Stone Circle." In his excavations of the Stonehenge barrows Stukeley found the same chippings. He relates for instance "in a great and very flat old fashioned barrow west of Stonehenge I found bits of red and blue marble chippings of the stones of the Temple, so that probably the interred was one of the builders." No doubt as has been suggested the intrusion of some of the Stonehenge chips into the barrows may be due to the action of earthworms, and rabbits again are often instrumental in introducing foreign matter into ancient sepultures; but the case of

[2] *Ancient Wilts.*, I. 127.

barrow No. 16 given by Sir R. Colt Hoare was regarded by that great explorer as conclusive, and the researches of Mr. Cunnington of Heytesbury led him to corroborate this conclusion.[3]

Further it is to be observed that the form of Stonehenge with its surrounding bank and ditch of itself presents a certain analogy to the disk-shaped barrows which are a speciality of its surroundings. But both from their form and contents[4] there is good ground for regarding these as the latest type of bronze age barrow here represented. Of 36 disc-shaped barrows 35 contained cremation interments, a sign of comparative remoteness from the skeleton interments of Neolithic times, and affording a striking contrast to the general statistics of the Wiltshire round-barrows, in which the total proportion of unburnt to burnt remains is 82 to 272. The number of glass beads contained in these barrows is also an evidence of their comparatively late date. The disk-shaped barrow, to quote Dr. Thurnam's description, "consists of a circular area on the same level as the surrounding turf, generally about a hundred feet in diameter, though sometimes much less and sometimes nearly double this size. The enclosed area is surrounded by a ditch with a bank on the outside both very regularly formed. In the centre there is usually a small mound of very slight elevation, not more than one foot in height; sometimes there are two or even three such mounds corresponding to so many sepulchral deposits. So insignificant are these central mounds that they are scarcely recognised as tumuli by the casual observer, who remarks chiefly the surrounding ditch and bank and calls the whole a Ring or Circle."[5] This is almost to describe the emplacement of Stonehenge itself, though in this case the ditch is outside the embankment.

The general inference which we draw from the intimate structural connexion between Stonehenge and these disk-shaped barrows is, that the great stone circles themselves were erected towards the close of the Round-Barrow Period. The proportionately frequent occurrence of gold relics in barrows in the immediate neighbourhood of Stonehenge, 4 out of 5 such discoveries having been made within half-a-mile of this monument, points in the same direction.

We have thus converging evidence of the most varied kind all

[3] Long, *Stonehenge and its Barrows*, p. 66.

[4] The interments are not in urns but in small dished graves scooped out of the chalk (Analogous to the Brandgruben of the North).

[5] Thurnam *Arch.*, xliii. 293. These disk-shaped barrows are Stukeley's Druid's barrows.

tending to show that Stonehenge was in being before the cessation of the Round-Barrow Period, or in other words before the close of the Bronze Age in this part of Britain. A remarkable discovery made some time back near one of the triliths, tends not only to confirm this view but to suggest that at least one Bronze Age interment took place within its inner area. Aubrey records the exhumation by Inigo Jones, three feet deep near a trilith, of a "Thuribulum" or incense cup. Now the incense cups are one of the specialities of the Bronze Age round-barrow interments of Wiltshire, and from the fragile and partially baked character of early British pottery the discovery of a perfect example three feet beneath the surface is strong presumptive evidence that it lay more or less *in situ* where it had been originally buried, and that it had not as is probable in the case of some more solid fragments of Roman tiles and pottery, been brought down by the subsequent action of burrowing animals or other causes. From the nature of the article we may also infer that it formed part of an interment and that it originally accompanied incinerated human remains. The discovery of fragments of coarse half-baked British pottery and charcoal six feet beneath the surface by the so-called altar also affords strong presumptive evidence of an interment. Unfortunately the excavations of the inner area of Stonehenge in pre-scientific times must almost extinguish the hope of our obtaining much more to confirm the presumptions established by these finds. Satisfactory results, as General Pitt-Rivers has suggested, may, however, yet be obtained by a careful excavation of the surrounding ditch.

Stonehenge then, if this accumulative evidence is worth anything, was at least begun before the close of the Wiltshire "Round-Barrow" Period. But, as already shown, there is reason to believe that its foundation belongs to the conclusion of this Period. It is evident indeed that though this mighty monument forms as it were part of a great group of barrows, the barrows themselves with the exception of the two within its own area are disposed without any reference to Stonehenge and do not in any way cluster about it, as we might reasonably have expected them to do had the bulk of them been reared after the Stone Circle.

Assuming then that Stonehenge belongs to the conclusion of the Round-Barrow Period of the district, it remains to enquire to what approximate date do these Bronze Age interments by which Stonehenge is surrounded reach down? The glass beads and the gold and ivory ornaments which occur in some of these barrows forbid our referring those in which such objects occur to a very remote date. An

ivory object found by Sir R. C. Hoare[6] in a barrow at Normanton and described by him as resembling the handle of a cup, is so stylistically carved as to remind us of the treatment of some late Celtic bronze articles. It is no doubt an imported object derived from Southern Europe, where already in the 5th century before our era, Greek and Etruscan influences were forming a style which in the succeeding period the Celt was to develope and stamp with his own imaginative individuality. In the case of the amber collar found in one of the Lake barrows, about two miles from Stonehenge,[7] we are on still more certain ground. It is of a form and arrangement identical with the amber necklaces found in the great cemetery of Hallstatt in Upper Austria, and from the similar character of the boring of the beads must in all probability have come from the same centre of manufacture as the Central European specimens. And with regard to the date of these Hallstatt interments the recent discoveries of certain of the most characteristic forms, and notably the bronze buckets or *ciste a cordoni* in N. Italian tombs associated with Greek vases, have supplied us with some new and convincing evidence. Some of the Greek vases with which these relics are associated bear on them the signature of the vase painter Kachryliôn, whose activity lay in the first half of the fifth century before our era; in other cases, however, the Greek associations point to a fourth century date. We are consequently reduced to infer that a large proportion of the Hallstatt remains reach down to the period between the approximate dates of 450-300 B.C., and as the amber necklaces found at Hallstatt and that of the Lake barrow, near Stonehenge, were both in all probability articles of import from the North Sea, or Baltic coast, we may safely assume that they both belong to the same period.

The contents of another of these barrows point even to a somewhat later date. Mr. Duke, in his collection at Lake House, has a socketed celt of an early, though not the earliest, type, which he believes to have been obtained along with a triangular dagger blade from a barrow at Lake. Now in the Hallstatt remains which approximately reach down to the middle or end of the fourth century B.C., and show the transition from the use of bronze to iron in Central Europe, the socketed celt is seen in course of development from the flanged "palstave" with over-lapping wings, which wings indeed are seen in a rudimentary form in the earliest socketed type. But

[6] *Ancient Wilts.*, vol. I., pl. xxiv., p. 147.

[7] For restoration, see Long, *Stonehenge*, p. 181. It is in the interesting collection of Mr. Duke of Lake House.

if in Central Europe, on a main avenue of trade between N. and S., the socketed celt was only first coming into existence about the middle of the fourth century B.C., it would not be safe to suppose that this form reached Britain, whither it seems to have made its way from the Rhenish district, till a somewhat later date. If then a socketed celt was found, as Mr. Duke asserts in one of the Stonehenge barrows, its appearance must be taken to bring down the latest of these to the close of the fourth century, in all probability indeed, to a somewhat later date.

On the other hand, that peculiar class of antiquities, which perhaps connects itself with the Belgic Invasion, known as "Late Celtic," is conspicuous by its absence in these Wiltshire barrows. This class of relics, characterized by their ornamental finish, and by the appearance of designs derived from Greek originals, makes its appear ance in Britain at least as early as the second century B.C., and we have therefore good reason for concluding that the group of barrows with which Stonehenge is so intimately associated belongs to a perio l at least anterior to 200 B.C.

The general results at which we arrive are that the construction of Stonehenge was in part at least of a gradual character, and that its foundation belongs to the same age as the latest class of the round-barrows by which it was surrounded—a class of barrows which it would not be safe to bring down beyond the approximate date of 250 B.C. On the other hand, if we are to accept the view that the construction itself was gradual and that, in particular, the blue stones were set up in groups at intervals of time, we may carry down some parts of the monument to a considerably later date.

If, apart from the evidence supplied by the surrounding barrows, we turn to the structure itself, we find every reason for regarding it as one of the latest of its class. The skilful hewing and fitting of the huge blocks show a surprising technical advance as compared with the rude and shapeless blocks of Avebury and other Megalithic Circles. Whence was this superior craft derived? Did the improved masonry of the Sarsen Circle and the Triliths come from the same, in all probability transmarine, source as the blue stones of the smaller series? The contents of some of the later round barrows at least allows for the possibility of foreign influences. The ivory handle and glass beads found in some of them may be regarded as at least indirectly due to Phœnician trade influences. And when we examine the most characteristic details in which Stonehenge differs from its sister monuments of other parts of Britain, we have

to turn for our nearest parallels, not as might reasonably have been expected to the nearest coast of Gaul, but rather to the Southern shores of the Mediterranean. The Triliths transport us to their sepulchral counterparts of Tripoli and Syria. The mortices and tenons by which they are compacted, though no doubt in their origin derived from woodwork, find their nearest parallel in stone in the great unfinished temple of Segesta, the incompleted base of which is faced with huge blocks, each provided with a projecting tenon designed to be fitted into a corresponding mortice socket.

If, on the grounds of the evidence already cited, we may approximately refer the foundation of Stonehenge to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century before our era, and may carry on its gradual construction to the next century, we find ourselves well within the limits of an epoch marked throughout a great part of Northern Europe by a great revolution in sepulchral usages—a revolution in all probability connecting itself with the spread of new ideas concerning man's relations with the Spiritual World. In our own country there is at least a partial break in sepulchral continuity between the close of the Round-Barrow Period and the appearance of the later class of graves belonging to the Late Celtic Age that immediately preceded the Roman Conquest. This archæological lacuna seems to connect itself with a practice, the traditions of which, amongst the Scandinavians at least, only died out at a much later date, of men depositing in their own life time the things that they considered necessary for their well-being in the next world, and closely allied with this idea was the kindred practice of making votive deposits for the benefit of the Gods themselves. In this case, as in the other, the objects themselves were often broken or destroyed so as to set free their *anima*, as it were, for spiritual use. The prevalence of these forms of devotion naturally reacted on sepulchral practice by diminishing the objects placed in the grave, and so towards the close of the Bronze Age in Northern and North-Western Europe we find the usage coming into vogue of replacing the real objects placed in the grave by miniature copies which had only a votive or symbolic value. It was at least a partial emancipation from the grosser sepulchral cult of former times, and is indicative of a more spiritual view of religion.

And if we compare Stonehenge itself with the ruder and more immediately sepulchral structures of the same class we are struck with the parallel here supplied to the more spiritualistic views with regard to the future life that, as these votive deposits show, were now coming in. We feel that a form of structure originally associated

with sepulture pure and simple is beginning to link itself with a somewhat higher cult. The Greater Gods seem to be beginning to take to themselves the worship originally offered to the actual Spirits of the departed. The absence of actual dolmens as at Avebury and elsewhere, the careful orientation of the Avenue which certainly seems to associate the Sun in the religion of the spot, the symbolic Triliths, all seem to point to a more developed stage of Cult. The older elements no doubt remain. However much the religious scope may have been widened, the pedigree of Stonehenge as we have traced it abundantly justifies us in believing that it is based upon the cult of departed Spirits. The stones in the incomplete circles, like so many of the Indian stones, no doubt in a certain sense actually stood as the visible presence of the departed. They were Spirits in a stony shape. In Stonehenge, as in earlier and more purely sepulchral Circles, they may have been set up like the pointed stones which, according to Aristotle, the Iberians set up around the graves of their departed warriors, and each of which represented an enemy that he had slain. It is interesting to note in this connexion how widespread are the popular traditions which see in this and similar stone circles avenues and alignments, warriors who have been turned into stone. At Carnac, at Rollright, and a score of different places we find the same belief. The widespread name of Sarsen stones is due to the same popular tradition. The ordered stones of Ashdown and Salisbury plain are simply Paynin armies turned to stone. In these and other cases I venture to trace the influence of the Charlemagne Cycle of mediaeval times in enlisting in the service of its own creations the Megalithic monuments of far earlier days, displacing at the same time their earlier heroic associations. The evidence of this is not confined to England alone. The Breton Dolmen, known as the "Four du Sarasin," is only a Gallic version of our "Sarsen" or "Saracen" as attached to the same Megalithic blocks, and as a compliment to this I need only cite another similar monument existing near Taranto in the extreme South of Italy, and which is still called the *Tavola del Paladino.*

At Stonehenge itself we find traces both of the "Saracen" tradition in the name applied to its great blocks, and, beyond this, a more ancient record linking the stones with the memory of fallen heroes of British stock. Geoffrey of Monmouth tells us that the British King Aurelius Ambrosius wishing to commemorate those noble Britons who had here fallen through Hengist's treachery, prevailed on Merlin the enchanter to transport the *Chorea Gigantum* or Giants' Dance from Kildare in Ireland to their present site.

Thus both the sepulchral pedigree of Stonehenge as I have endeavoured to trace it, the analogies supplied by modern India and the old tradition of the spot, are alike agreed in bringing it and other similar monuments into an original connexion with the cult of departed Spirits. It is probable that in the case of the blue stones set up at intervals this funereal element may still be represented in Stonehenge. On the other hand as we have seen there are grounds for supposing that in the great monument before us, taken as a whole, this Chthonic Cult had gone far towards separating itself from its more purely sepulchral associations and had attached itself to the service of the Greater Gods, who had absorbed a large part of the worship payed at an earlier stage of religious development to departed human Spirits.

The underlying Chthonic elements of the cult might perhaps incline us to seek the divinity here enshrined in the Celtic Lord of Hades, Cernunnos, identified by the Romans with Dîs Pater. Professor Rhys, however, has suggested that the invocation of Merlin's magic agency in the legendary account may be interpreted to indicate an original connexion of the monument with Merlin's older self, the Celtic Zeus. This theory equally squares with the general conclusion already arrived at on inductive grounds as to the Chthonic basis of the cult to which Stonehenge is due—since an All-father of the sky naturally summed up the worship of the earthly "fathers" of heroic cult. The connexion between the cult of the Celtic Zeus and the divinity described as Dîs Pater is indeed so close that attempts have been made by some Celtic scholars to identify the two.[8]

These considerations embolden me to put forward a suggestion to which I have been led from some striking analogies on classic soil as well as on other grounds, and which will perhaps be allowed to form the legitimate corollary to what has been already said. The suggestion is briefly this:—That the original holy object within the central triliths of Stonehenge was in fact a Sacred Tree. Objections to such a suggestion on the ground of the present treelessness of the surroundings of Stonehenge, will not seem very valid to those who know what much barer sites than this were once covered with a thick forest growth. The soil, as the adjoining fields show, is quite capable of remunerative cultivation; and such a soil in primæval times was inevitably overgrown with wood—a circumstance which could not fail to exercise a modifying effect on the for of the prevailing winds. The comparatively populous settle-

Rhys' *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 69.

ment of the district in early times, of which the barrows supply the abiding record, is itself a clear indication that the physical conditions have changed, and that the spot was formerly less bleak than at present.

I have already cited Mr. Petrie's conclusion that the imported blue stones were in fact set in position later than the triliths and Sarsen Circle. But if this argument is to be accepted we must necessarily suppose that some other sacred object or objects were originally enclosed by the circle and triliths. The sandstone altarstone may partly supply this deficiency, but it is not enough. The analogies supplied by other Megalithic Circles warrant us in supposing that at Stonehenge also there was originally a central object of cult round which the surrounding circles of earth and stones were afterwards drawn. Mr. Petrie's metrological deduction that in the case of Stonehenge the outer Earth Circle was the first to be formed makes it likely that the central object of the cult existed before the Stone Circles or the triliths were upreared. But if such a central object must by all analogy be presupposed in the present case, none more suitable can be imagined than the Sacred Tree. On the other hand it is highly probable that if this sepulchral form of architecture had in the case of this advanced representative become associated with the worship of the Celtic Zeus, the form under which the divinity was worshipped would have been that of his sacred oak. I need not here do more than refer to the special sanctity of the oak amongst the Celtic races or to the origin of the name of Druid as recorded by ancient writers: it may be sufficient here to cite the very definite statement of Maximus Tyrius[9]: "The Celts worship Zeus, and the Celtic image of Zeus is a tall oak—*Κέλτοι σέβουσι μὲν Δία. ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς.*"

But this conclusion that the central object of the cult at Stonehenge was in fact the Sacred Tree of the All-Father is borne out by some remarkable parallels supplied by ancient representatives of sacred trees and their surroundings on some monuments of classic art. I have already referred to the trilith as originally like the trilithic sepulchral monuments of Syria, in all probability directly connected with a funereal cult, and as representing, in fact, the portal of the tomb. But, as already pointed out, there is every reason to believe that the triliths of Stonehenge had acquired a secondary meaning in the service of a more celestial Spirit or Spirits than those of departed human beings. And of actual triliths devoted to this secondary usage in honour of a sacred tree, we find

[9] Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 38.

examples in Greeco-Roman art. Sometimes, indeed, the simple trilith is glorified into a more elaborate arch, but in a Pompeian fresco[10] we see it still in a fairly primitive form with the tree in this case thrusting its branches beneath it, and with a rude altar stone before it hardly more regular in outline than the flat sandstone block of Stonehenge. On another Pompeian fresco again two triliths are represented in front of a similar tree.[11] In other cases we find the tree associated with one or more stone columns or pillars. The Pompeian pictures are in fact of great interest in introducing us to some of the more primitive aspects of the rustic cult of antiquity—in one instance, indeed, we actually see a Dolmen[12] rising on a crag of rock above an olive grove, perhaps a double intimation of the sanctity of the spot.

These parallels from Italian soil are the more valuable when we recall the specially close relation in which the Celts originally stood to the Latin peoples. At Rome, too, Jupiter Feretrius, on the Capitol, was worshipped as a lofty oak; before it stood an altar in the open air, and round, as in all similar cases, was the *temenos* or sacred enclosure, represented in our British monument. The sacrificial remains, and notably the quantity of horns and skulls of animals found in the central area of Stonehenge fully fit in with this form of worship. In the Caucasus where the worship of sacred trees has gone on from the days of the Golden Fleece to the present time,[13] the holy branches are hung with the skins of the animals sacrificed before them, and stuck about with their heads and skulls, while the ground about is strewn with bones and horns.

It is not improbable, indeed, that the Sacred Tree of the All-Father may itself be traced back to the sacred tree which amongst so many members of the Aryan race seems to have represented in a way the visible presence of the heroic ancestor of individual households. Such was notably the case in Greece and Rome and amongst the ancient Thracians, and a most remarkable survival of the practise may be seen to-day amongst the living representatives of the old Sarmatian stock, the Ossetes of the Caucasus. In that region I have myself seen the Family Tree or stump standing opposite the

[10] See C. Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen.* Pl. xiv., f. 36. H. Roux, *Herculaneum et Pompeii,* Peintures V^me^ Série, pl. v.

[11] Roux, *Op. Cit.* S. V., pl. vi.

[12] J. Gilbert, *Landscape in Art,* p. 101, f. 15, and cf. p. 109.

[13] Especially in Upper Circassia, where the tree often stands as the representative of Shible the Thunder-god. Cf. *Izviestiya Kavkazkago Otdiela Imp. Rusk. Geograph. Obshchestva,* 1877-8. p. 153 seqq.

tombstone of a departed hero which was itself surmounted by an honorary arch of rough stones—the equivalent of the sepulchral trilith. Thus alike the stone circles and triliths of Stonehenge and the tree of the All-Father, round which, according to this view, they originally centred, in all probability go back to an older and simpler cult associated with the departed Spirits of the individual family. We have here the God of the People standing in the place of the Ancestor of the Household.

ARTHUR J. EVANS.

ROMAN REMAINS.

No. 6, YORKSHIRE.

The chief authorities consulted, and in some cases quoted with abbreviated titles, are:—

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WITHIN the maritime County of York, and in quantities proportionate to its extent, there have been discovered some of the most interesting and remarkable memorials ever brought to light in connection with the history of Roman Britain.

In early times this vast district was peopled by the Brigantes, a fierce and powerful tribe of aborigines who with considerable strength and courage—though forced at last to yield to the military powers of their conquerors—for a time gave more trouble to the Roman generals than did the natives of any other section of this country. So firm and unflinching were they in their repeated contests with the Imperial legions, that it was not until the second campaign of Agricola—mainly undertaken for the purpose—that their subjection was accomplished. This able officer had assumed command in the year A.D. 75, and his military genius at once led him with that tact and skill for which he was well known to select the most appropriate sites for his Castra, to exercise care and foresight with his forts and entrenchments, and by such means ensure the conquest of the land.[1] Tacitus records his determination to subdue the Brigantes, and at the same time his desire to reclaim them from a barbaric and unsettled state, and by degrees induce them to erect temples, baths and dwelling-houses after the Roman manner.

Eburacum—modern York—though subsequently the capital city, was at first but a temporary camp, next the headquarters of a legion, then the recognised home of the Proprætor or Governor and the residence of the reigning Emperor when visiting Britain. It then became the seat of Imperial power, as distinguished from "Londinium Augusta," a city wholly devoted to the interests of trade and commerce. There were good reasons for the selection; first its proximity to the Scottish frontier where constant [illegible] was necessary against the incursions of an enemy; secondly, its situation in a fertile country, and upon a navigable river, where corn could be transmitted with ease from the counties of Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, &c., by water carriage.

Of the seven legions which in addition to four not named were assigned to Britain, there are three intimately connected with the fortunes of Eburacum; the Second was located there for a time, inasmuch as an altar was found a few years ago dedicated to "Fortune" by one of the soldiers of that body. The Sixth held its headquarters at York in the reign of Antoninus Pius, A.D. 190, memorials of its presence abounding both in the city and its immediate vicinity. Among the many inscribed stones which have been discovered was one from Walmgate; it records work undertaken by Trajan and carried out by the soldiers of the ninth legion. With but few exceptions this is the earliest in date of the various in-

[1] *Vit. Agricola*, c. xx.

scriptions relative to Britain; it proves that this Legion which suffered much, and was to a great extent recruited from Germany, was firmly established at York under Trajan's rule. It is known that Hadrian his successor visited this country, and there is some evidence that he passed through York on his way to the Isthmus, at the time when he projected the great northern barrier to extend from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne. In succession arrived the famed Severus; he at once selected York as the Imperial Capital. Evidence has been discovered of the existence of a temple dedicated to Bellona. Spartian,[2] the biographer of Severus, testifies to its presence; he describes the arrival of the Emperor, who wishing at once to offer sacrifice was conducted in error by a soothsayer to this building. It was probably without the city walls, because Bellona in Pagan mythology was sister to Mars, and sacred buildings dedicated to the god of war, were usually thus situated and in close proximity to the gates. The inscription mentioned in the index as being found at Bowes—a dedication to Fortune—refers to the Proprætor Virius Lupus, who had been sent to Britain in advance of his Imperial master. The Emperor was accompanied by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta.

In addition to York there are other Roman stations within the boundaries of the county to which ample references are given. Many of them are now represented by important English towns and cities: the station of Isurium, *Aldborough*, which has received such exhaustive attention at the hands of Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith; Legiolum or *Castleford* a little below the junction of the rivers Aire and Calder, Danum the modern *Doncaster*, Olicana now *Ilkley*, Cambodunum at *Slack*, near Halifax, and Calcaria the present *Tadcaster*, Cateractonium at *Catterick*, Derventio at *Stamford Bridge*, Delgovita at *Londesborough*, and Prætorium at *Patrington*. There are also many other localities of interest, some from the peculiar and novel character of the remains discovered. For example there are the curious buried cruciform platforms observed upon the Wolds, the Howardian Hills, at Helperthorpe, Swinton, and Fimber. When uncovered, these excavations revealed in ascending order deposits of burnt stones, flag slates, clay and charcoal, with shards of pottery, nails and other minor objects. The question naturally arose as to what could possibly be the object of so careful an arrangement of apparently useless relics, surmounted by a mound to all appearance a tumulus of ordinary type, and beneath which human remains might reasonably be looked for.

[2] *Vit. Severi*, c. xxii.

There is, however, now but little doubt that they are illustrations of the rules laid down by the Roman surveyors when setting out their roads and boundaries to property, &c. Such elevations are described as *Botontoni*, and they form part of an elaborate and recognised system practised by the Romans when planting their colonies in far-off lands. The subject is one of interest and has received much elucidation at the hands of the late Mr. H. C. Coote, in his exhaustive paper on the Centuriation of Roman Britain.[3]

A glance at the Index will indicate how closely associated the city of York has been with the occupation of the British territory. The extensive excavations on the south side of the river, undertaken in the year 1838 by the companies of the York and North Midland and the great North of England railways, led to discoveries of the deepest interest and value, indeed there have been few occasions where so many illustrations of the domestic life and manners of the occupants of a Roman city were forthcoming in so brief a space of time. This may be at once realised by an inspection of the magnificent series of antiquities now preserved in the museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, whether the enquirer seek for altars, bronzes, sculptures, inscriptions, or pavements, stone sarcophagi, tile tombs, or leaden coffins, coins ranging from Hadrian's reign to the close of the occupation, trinkets or personal ornaments, together with innumerable other objects appertaining to the ordinary wants and requirements of life,—all are at hand, and in many cases they testify to the wealth and luxury which existed in the metropolis of the North. The more important objects are naturally those appertaining to burials; it is from graves, as a rule, and from public or sepulchral monuments that much of our antiquarian knowledge of a Roman city is derived. In the Index there are references to all the inscriptions with which I am acquainted, and the student will note how the majority of them are dedications to the memory of young persons. Duccius Rufinus, the "Signifer" or standard-bearer, whose monument is one of the great attractions in the museum, died at the early age of twenty-eight. The fact is significant, and it may be noticed in other localities especially on the line of Hadrian's Wall. The explanation is obvious ; the Legions were frequently recruited from distant lands where such a climate as ours, and the severity of its winters were unknown; it may be well understood how thousands of warriors, whose names possibly were never recorded above their graves, were unable to withstand the change, the mist and rain together with the wintry blasts

[3] *Arch.*, xlii., 127.

MONUMENT OF A SIGNIFER IN YORK MUSEUM.
[found at York, see p. 341.]

common to the north of England must have often either engendered or developed the seeds of disease—many a youthful soldier who left a genial climate, to serve his term of years in this far-off province, left it for ever, and to grapple, ere long, away from kindred and friends, with premature decay and death.

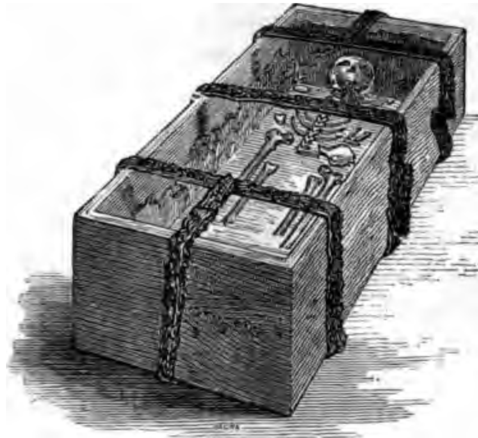
In the Index will be found a record of the researches made by Mr. Roach Smith in connection with leaden ossuaria, coffins, and Roman interments generally. In York, the subject is one which finds special illustration. Mr. Smith, through the kindness of Canon Raine, figures a curious example of an *ossuarium* discovered with many relics of a kindred character. Without the boundary of the city wall, it was half filled with cinerated bones, and covered with a cupola, also of lead, but unsoldered. The inscription, cut by a sharp-pointed implement, is to the memory of "Julia Felicissima, who lived [it may have been 13 or 32 years] eleven months and three days, her parents Ulpius Felix and . . . Andronica placed this."

The local museum contains many other sepulchral relics in connection with the working of lead, which was a costly metal, and the extensive use of it at Eburacum points to the prosperity and luxury, not of that city alone, but to the province of Britain generally. There are no less than ten leaden coffins in the York museum, now possibly more; one found in the year 1875 in proximity to the Railway Station had formed the lining to a chest of coarse sandstone, the lid adhering closely to the leaden shell beneath. An exceptional circumstance was presented when the contents were examined; it had been filled with gypsum. This substance enclosed the body, so that a perfect cast remained. The bones were in pieces, but a long folded tress of hair remained, though centuries had elapsed since this young Roman lady had been consigned to her last resting place. The hair, when first noticed, was sufficiently limp to bear a comb of the present day. By it were two hair pins of jet, and beneath the tomb was a coin of Domitian, A.D. 69-96.

There are also coffins of wood, in form resembling those in modern use; they have been noticed bound together with iron bands. Leaden coffins also secured by bands of iron were used in ancient York. The annexed woodcut represents an example found in the year 1875.

It may be thought singular that in so wealthy and important a city as Eburacum no mint should have existed, but there does not appear to have been any Roman coins minted at York. There was a mint at London, and as the two cities shared the

honour of being the representative capitals of the province a mint at both places would be unnecessary.



LEADEN COFFIN FOUND AT YORK.
Length, 6 feet 2 inches : width, 21 inches.

So much literature exists relative to the Roman antiquities of this important county, that I have endeavoured not to multiply references more than has been absolutely necessary. The attention, however, of the student may be well directed to the little volume *Eburacum*, by the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, to the hand-book or descriptive catalogue of the antiquities in the local museum, to the list of Britanno-Roman Inscriptions published by Dr. M'Caul of Toronto, and to the volume devoted to the Congress of the Members of the Archæological Institute, held at York in the year 1847.

These "Notes" being expressly confined to Roman Antiquities, I have in no way referred to those of an earlier age. They are, however, very numerous and are discussed at length in many of the papers mentioned in the Index. There are few English counties where early British and Roman remains are so curiously intermixed, camps, entrenchments, tumuli, and other illustrations of both periods abound upon the Wolds. Remains of very early settlements and villages have been observed. British and Roman relics are frequently found together. This combination is interesting; it is an illustration of the fierce contest for the land between the conqueror and conquered. The contents of the graves represent two races of mankind, antagonistic in life, but united in death, and are so many silent witnesses to many a hard fought conflict between the British tribes and the Legionaries of Rome.

JOHN E. PRICE.

ALDBOROUGH (ISURIUM), is situate on the Ure in the West Riding of the county, was the capital of the Brigantian State, though subsequently superseded by Eburacum, is mentioned by Ptolemy, who, writing in the reigns of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, enumerates Isurium as a Brigantian settlement when speaking of the territories of the tribe extending from sea to sea. The town was destroyed in Saxon times. By an ecclesiastical writer the ruins are spoken of as those of a town called Ealdburgh, one of great splendour until A.D. 766, when it was burnt by the Danes. Remains discovered are very numerous. Altars dedicated to Jupiter and the Deæ Matres, brooches, bronzes, the bustum or site for cremation and burials, flagstones set in brick bearing evidences of fire, coins ranging in fairly consecutive order from Nero A.D. 50 to the reign of Allectus A.D. 296—the small brass of the Tetrici and the Constantine family are known as "Aldborough halfpennies"—stadium in suburbs, the place for games and exercises without the city, sarcophagi of varied form, pavements, sculptures, one representing a figure of Mercury built into the wall of Aldborough Church. Associated with one of the Mosaic floors, remains of a corridor, pottery of various kinds, milliaries or mile stones. An inscription records the name of Trajanus Decius, and from c-xx miles, doubtless referring to Calcaria (Tadcaster). (*See* Roads.) Bronzes, glass, ivories, and personal ornaments of all kinds. Hargrave's *Hist. of Knaresborough*, 245; *Reliquiæ Isurianæ;* Whittaker's *Hist. of Manchester*.

———— "Isurium" was the next great station to the north of York. The walls, like those of Chester, built of squared stones, without bonding courses of tiles. This method of construction was adopted at all the stations north of York. *Assoc. Journ.* iv. 401, v. 73, 77, 80, xx. 189; *G.M.*, 1787, ii. 564. 565, 659, 660; 1804, i. 306; 1811, ii. 312; 1848, ii. 633. *Hübner* vii., 66; *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*, 45.

AMOTHERBY, Coins, paved floors at a depth varying from six inches to two feet six inches from the surface, querns or millstones, Samian ware with other pottery. *G.M.*, 1868, i. 83.

ARNCLIFFE (Dowker Bottom Cave), Beads, bone spoons, fibula, and other personal ornaments. *Brit. Mus. Proc. Soc. Ant.* iv. iii.

BAINESSE, near Catterick, Bronze steelyard, coins, silver denarius of Vespasian, pottery, walls, and other indications of extensive buildings. *Assoc. Journ.* xliii. 105, 238.

BARNSBY, Human skeletons in gravel pit, coffins with urn inscribed, highway leading to a bridge near Aldby between Barnby and Wilberforce was discovered, indications of Roman potteries. *Camden* iii. 311; *G.M.*, 1767, 522.

BOROUGH BRIDGE, Inscriptions, tessellated pavement. *Hübner* vii., 66; *G.M.*, 1862, ii., 614; *Assoc. Journ.* xx. 189.

BOWES (LAVATRÆ ?), near to the highway from Greta Bridge by Brough, &c., to Carlisle. (*See* Roads.) Remains of camp, a bath, with portion of the leaden pipe for its supply, inscriptions. *York Arch. Journ.* vii. 84.

BRIDLINGTON, Tessellated pavement in the road from Rudston to Kilham, tiles arranged in order. *G.M.*, 1839, ii. 410.

CARNABY, Milestone. (*See* Roads.) *Arch.* xxvii. 404.

CARTHORPE, Three copper bells, clappers perished, having probably been of iron. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ser. ii. viii. 407.

CASTLE DYKES, three and a half miles from Ripon, and on the road to North Stainley. Fortified position, entrenchments, &c., buildings with baths, flues, hypocausts, tessellated pavements and walls, rare coin of Manlia Scantilla, wife of Didius Julianus, a wealthy but worthless Roman merchant. He succeeded in purchasing the Imperial purple, and after a brief reign of sixty-six days, was put to death, A.D. 198. *Arch. Journ.* xxxii. 135, 154.

CATTERICK BRIDGE (CATERACTONIUM), on the southern bank of the Swale, Scale armour, bronzes, fibulæ, pottery, fragment of Samian ware of fine quality, decorated with a representation of the Christian monogram, present church built on the site of the castrum. *Arch. Journ.* vi. 81; viii. 296; *Assoc. Journ.* xliii. 17. In Gough's *Camden* there is a curious discovery mentioned in connection with this place which is worth recording. At a

place known as "Keterik Swart" Roman coins had for many years been found in numbers. He writes of a hoard contained in a brazen vessel of large dimensions. It was discovered in the 17th century, and many of the treasures had been given by an ancestor of the Lawson family to Charles I. At the sequestration of estates in the Civil War, the brass pot was redeemed at a cost of £8, being of *unusual* metal. It held twenty-four gallons, and was subsequently utilised in a brewery. He speaks likewise of floors, pillars of stone, leaden pipes, together with inscriptions, of the latter, the copy of one found its way to the collection of Hearne, the antiquary, and should be now at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. *Camden* iii. 337.

CAWTHORNE, on the brow of a hill between that village and Newton, four well-designed camps in good preservation. Young's *Hist. of Whitby*, ii. 693.

CLEMENTHORPE, south side of the Ouse, Sepulchral inscription. *Hübner* vii., 66. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ser. ii. iii. 201, 202.

CLIFFE. near to Pierce Bridge, Inscribed stone. *G.M.*, 1844, ii. 24; *Hübner* vii. 91.

CLIFTON, three miles from Doncaster, Urns containing hoards of coins, chiefly of Gallienus, Salonina, Postumus, Tetricus, Claudius Gothicus, and Quintillus, the last of interest from the brief period of that Emperor's reign, which was but for seven days. *Camden*, iii. 33.

COOKRIDGE, on the road from Ilkley to Adle, Coins, indications of Roman town, inscriptions, pottery, sculpture, and urns. *Camden*, iii. 44.

DONCASTER (Danum), Military station on the great highway from south to north, locally known as a "Roman Rig." Here was stationed a Prefect of the Crispian Horse. Votive altar at a depth of six feet. *G.M.*, 1781, 361; *Assoc. Journ.* xxx. 452; *York Arch. Journ.* viii. 159.

DUNNINGTON, Altar. Bowman, *Reliq. Antiq. Eboracensis*, 1855, p. 86.

EASTNESS, near Hevingham, Stone sarcophagus, inscribed. Since lost sight of or destroyed. *Camden*, iii. 85; *Arch Journ.* xxxiv. 196.

ELAND HALL WOOD, near Slack, Coins of the Lower Empire found in 1769. *Camden*, iii. 36.

FILEY, Roman milestone on sea coast, at termination of the road from Isurium (Aldborough). (*See* Roads.) At the northern end of the bay is the well-known Brigg, adjoining, foundations, bases of columns, &c., have been found, the precise site being known as Carnesse. This, in all probability, was the station known as *Prætorium* and the *Præsidium* of the *Notitia*. *Arch.* xxvii. 404; *Retrospections Social and Archæological*, by Roach Smith, ii. 77.

FIMBER, Early British interments, associated with relics of interest, discovered in the course of excavations when pulling down the old Norman church. This building had evidently been erected over tumuli, the raised portions having been levelled at the time. Cruciform platform, figure of a cross beneath a mound of clay and gravel, around it animal bones, fragments of bronze objects, and nails, &c. *Builder*, 17th July, 1869; *York Arch. Journ.* ii. 74.

GAINFORD, Inscribed altar dedicated to Jupiter Dolychenus. *G.M.*, 1866, ii. 357; *Hübner*, vii. 92.

GRAVELTHORPE, Bronze statuette with silver eyes, height 6½ inches (Ceres). *Brit. Mus.*; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ser. ii. vi. 335.

GRETA BRIDGE (Richmondshire), Castrum, enclosing from four to five acres, inscribed tablet, cornices, pilasters, architectural fragments, milestone with the names of the Emperors Gallus and Volusianus, A.D. 252. *G.M.*, 1793, ii. 1073, ; 1794, ii. 692; *Assoc. Journ.* xlii. 129.

GUISBOROUGH (Barnaby Grange Farm, Normanby Park), Helmet, first considered to be a Roman breast-plate, or merely a piece of folded bronze, ornamented with figures of snakes and a rosette, together with figures of Mars or Romulus. *Brit. Mus.; G.M.*, 1864, 304; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ser. ii. vii. 391.

HALIFAX (Kirklees Park), Camp.

HALIFAX (Barkisland), Camp. Watson, *Hist. Ant. Parish of Halifax*, 41, 48.

HAYSHAW MOOR, Pig or ingot of lead, inscribed with the name of Domitian, A.D. 81. *Arch. Journ.* xvi. 29 : *Brit. Mus.; Hübner*, vii. 93.

HAZLEHEAD, near Egton and Whitby, Inscribed stone. *Hübner*, vii. 67 ; Young's *Hist. of Whitby*, ii. 703.

HELPERTHORPE, Cruciform platforms, chalk structure, bones of animals, shards of Samian, Durobrivian, and pottery of local manufacture. *York Arch. Journ.* ii. 70.

HOLDGATE, on ground adjacent to the foot roads leading to the city, and at a distance of 250 yards from the walls, a tile tomb, each end being inscribed LEG, ix. HISP., coins of Vespasian and Domitian. *Arch.* ii. 177, 180.

HOVINGHAM, near Malton, Coins, bath, and tessellated pavement. *Arch.* xxvii. 404.

HUDDERSFIELD, Altar with inscription, dedication to the holy god of the Brigantes. *York Arch. Journ.* viii. 350.

HUGGATE, near to the summit of the Wolds, and about seven miles from Pocklington, A series of tumuli, containing bones, flint implements, a fragment of a Roman sword, &c. This association of early British objects with those of Roman date point to a conflict between the cohorts of Rome and the native tribes. One of the mounds gave evidence in support of the presumption that it had been associated with sacrificial rites. *Assoc. Journ.* ix. 431.

ILKLEY? (Olicana), Altar bearing inscription in honour of Verbeia the nymph or goddess of the river Wherf, set up by the Præfect of the second Cohort of the Lingones. Inscription commemorating Virius Lupus Proprætor of the Emperor Severus. *Camden*, iii. 239 ; *Celt Roman and Saxon*, 358.

KELLNSEY (Ocellum), near to Grimston-garth by the sea. *Camden*, iii. 248.

KILHAM, Human remains, near to the Roman way. Beads, glass, rings, pins, and other personal objects. *G. M.*, 1823, ii. 75.

MALTON (DERWENTIO), Camp near to the Pye Pits, by the river Derwent. Inscribed stones now in the Museum at Whitby, coins, goldsmith's signs, a stone with inscription commemorating one Servulus, a goldsmith. Pottery, section of road exposed running from Derwentio to Eburacum (*see* roads). Interesting excavation on the site in the year 1866, illustrating by antiquities and burials both British and Roman occupation. *Camden*, iii. 326 : *Hübner* vii. 67 : *G.M.* 1861 i. 318, 1862 ii. 557.

MEUX (Holderness), tessellated pavements. *G.M.* 1834, ii. 300.

NORTON, opposite Old Malton. Sepulchral remains, coins of Vespasian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina Junior, Commodus, &c. Inscribed Altar found embedded in a wall as building material. *Celt Roman and Saxon*, 247 ; *G.M.* 1814, 646, 1867, ii. 95 ; *Hübner*, vii. 67 ; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Ser.* ii. 187.

NESS, near Hovingham. Sarcophagus now lost. Inscription TITIA PINTA. VIX ANN XXXVIII. ET VAL &c. *Arch.* xxvii. 404.

NORTH ALLERTON in the North Riding. Castrum, mounds, entrenchments, and other fortified positions. *G.M.* 1808, i. 381.

PATRINGTON, Altar, coins, indications of a station. *Arch.* xxvii, 404.

PIERSBRIDGE or PIERCEBRIDGE (DICTIS of the Notitia), so called from a bridge which crossed the Tees to the east of the Castrum at Greta Bridge. Garrisoned by auxiliaries, traces discovered of the division "*Numerus Nerviorum Dictensum.*" Inscribed altar, dedication to the Dolychene Jupiter (the Jove of Metallurgy). Bronze figure of a Roman ploughman. *Assoc. Journ.* xli. 264, xliii. 131 ; *Celt Roman and Saxon*, 207.

PONTEFRACT, a town with a broken Roman Bridge, visible in the days of Leland —"*pons fractus* gave the name"—erroneously identified with *Legiolum* by Drake and Camden. *Celt Rom. and Saxon* 186.

REETH, Bronze chape of sword sheath in the British Museum, undescribed.

RICHMOND (BRACCHIUM) on a hill called Burgh ; fortified positions. Inscriptions illustrative of the presence of the sixth cohort of auxiliary troops—the Nervii. Statue of Commodus. *Camden*. iii, 256.

RIVELING near to Stannington. Roman metal plates, "*Tabulæ Honestæ Missionis*, found in 1761. *Arch.* v. 94; *Hübner*, vii, 218; *Proc. Soc. Ant. Ser.* ii. viii. 151.

ROBIN HOOD'S BAY, in a recess by the shore, the site of *Dunus Sinnis* mentioned by Ptolemy near to the little village of Dunesley. *Camden*, iii. 250.

RUDSTONE PARVA. Roman milestone, (*see Roads*), *Arch.* xxvii. 404.

SCARBOROUGH, near to the old church. Urns glazed and decorated, cinerated ashes, with bones. *G. M.* ii. 636.

SETTLE, Fortified positions near to High Hill, traces of the Roman highway crossing the moors. In a quarry near to the river side at Craven Bank, coins of Constantine and Gratian, illustrations on reverses of the legend of Romulus, Remus and the wolf. Fibulæ, pins, spoons in bone and metal, human remains. *Camden* iii. 43; *Brit. Mus.*; *G.M.* i. 259.

SLACK (Cambodunum) at Longwood in the parish of Huddersfield. Coins, Vespasian to Trajan. Buildings, tessellated pavements, floors with hypocausts. Inscribed Altar dedicated to Fortune by a soldier of the sixth legion, discovered at the intersecting boundaries of three fields. Kiln for the fabrication of bricks and tiles, among the latter many stamped COH. IIII. BRE. an evidence of the presence of the fourth cohort of the Breuci, foreign auxiliaries stationed at Slack; their name occurs in profusion upon the tiles discovered in this locality. *Arch.* xxxii. 20-24; *Arch. Journ.* xxiv. 289, 299; *Assoc. Journ.* xxx. 413; *G.M.* 1824, i. 261, 1840, i. 521, 523. 1866 i. 37, 817; *N & Q*, Ser. iii. iv. 225. *York Arch. Journ.* i. 3, 12; ii. 56, 58.

SOWERBY near Gretland. Numerous coins found in the year 1678, the majority were, however, concealed and stolen by the finders. *Camden*, iii. 36.

SWINTON, Cruciform structure similar to those at Fimber and Helperthorpe, had been covered by a mound nearly seventy feet in diameter; the soil contained charcoal, clay, pottery, stones, slates, &c. *York Arch. Journ.* ii. 72.

SWINTON PARK, Stone cists or coffins containing human bones, bronze *Patellæ* or culinary vessels. *Arch. Journ.* vi. 45-48.

TADCASTER, about half-a-mile distant from the town, and by the Roman way. Semi-circular arched bridge over the river Cock, near its entrance with the Wharfe. Masonry well preserved. *Celt Roman & Saxon*, 185.

TEMPLEBOROUGH, Earthworks, Site of station a mile and a quarter to the west of Rotherham, and nineteen miles from the Roman station, *Danum* (Doncaster). Indications of buildings, glass, hypocausts, pottery, tiles inscribed C IIII. G illustrating the presence of the fourth Cohort of Gauls, it probably occupied the station, a fact new in the Roman History of Yorkshire. Coins of Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Faustina, &c. According to the Notitia these Gaulish soldiers were subsequently stationed at *Vindolana* or Little Chesters on the line of Hadrian's wall. *Assoc. Journ.* xxxiii. 503; *Proc. Soc. Ant.* ser. ii. vii. 329, 332; *York Arch. Journ.* v. 477.

THORNE, a market town, only a village in Leland's time, temp. Henry viii. Early remains, axe heads, stone and wooden wedges, fir cones and acorns with coins of Vespasian and later Emperors, links of chain, &c. *Camden*, iii. 35.

THORPE ON THE HILL, between Leeds and Wakefield, moulds for counterfeiting Roman coins; illustrating the two sides of Alexander Severus and Mammæ. *Camden* iii. 284.

THURSTONLAND. Coins of Claudius Gothicus, and a representative series of others belonging to the Lower Empire, Urns. *G.M.* 1838, ii. 650.

WELL (near Bedale). Villa with traces of walls, tessellated pavement, human bones, Hypocausts, and other relics. *Assoc. Journ.* xliii. 433; *Yorkshire Arch. Journ.* vi. 284.

WIGHTON, near to the river bank. Foulness assumed by Camden to be *Delgovita*. *Camden.* iii. 247.

YORK, EBORACUM, or EBURACUM. British CÆR EVRANC. Besides localities specially given, see for Altars, architectural fragments, cornices, friezes, sculptures, inscribed stones and tiles, sarcophagi, sepulchral relics, clay and leaden coffins, Sepulchre of one of the Magistrates of Roman York,

his position inscribed as *Sevir of the Colonia of Eburacum*, &c., in excavations in 1877, tomb of his wife discovered, Julia Fortunata a native of Sardinia. *Retrospections Social and Archæological*. C. R. Smith ii. 65. Sepulchre for the reception of a child. Inscription recording her name and age—ten months only—her father a soldier of the sixth legion. *Celt Roman and Saxon*, 316 ; *Coll. Ant.* vii. 173, 181. *Wellbeloved*. 3. Temples dedicated to Serapis, Bellona. *ibid* 75. Vault in suburbs of the city. *Arch.* xvi. 340 ; *Assoc. Journ.* iii. 55, vii. 175. For notices of the legions, cohorts, and other companies of auxiliary troops associated with Eburacum ; see the late Mr. Thomson Watkin's exhaustive paper on the *Roman Military forces of Britain* in *Arch. Journ.* xli. 264. For the curious votive tablets (two inscribed plates in the local museum) relative to the "Scriba" Demetrius *see Arch. Journ.* xxxix. 23, 37 ; these were published in fac-simile in the *Philological Journal* vii. 126-129.

YORK, Bishop Hill. Altar, dedicated to Jupiter. *Wellbeloved*, 92.

——— Bootham Bar, *see* Walls.

——— Petergate, *see* Walls.

——— Castle Yard. In excavations for the erection of a new prison numerous remains were found, two large stone coffins, one with an inscription to the memory of a centurion of the sixth legion, the other uninscribed ; the Sarcophagi were forwarded to the local museum, the skeletons were retained at the Castle. *Wellbeloved*, iii. 91.

——— Cherry Hill. Tessellated pavement of good design. *G.M.* 1851, ii. 418.

——— Coney Street. Votive tablet inscribed. GENIO LOCI FELICITER--viz., to the genius of Eboracum. *Philo. Trans.* v. ii. 35 ; *Wellbeloved*, 93.

——— Fossbridge. Three distinct pavements at various depths, the lowest twelve feet from the surface level. Leather shoes, sandals, &c. *G.M.* 1825, ii. 75.

——— Friars Gardens. Remains of temple with foundation stone, inscribed, coins of Vespasian. *Wellbeloved*, 91.

——— Holdgate. Stone coffin containing human skeletons, one with dedicatory inscription to a child. *G.M.* 1839. i. 640-641 ; *Hübner*, vii. 65.

——— Mint Yard, near Bootham Bar. Inscribed stone, dedication of a temple to Serapis by an officer of the sixth legion. *G.M.* 1833, i. 357 ; *Hübner*, vii. 64.

——— Micklegate Bar, the arch presumably of Roman masonry, altars, inscribed monuments, coins, bronzes, lamps, pottery. Sculptures, a remarkable group representing the Mithraic sacrifice, found when digging a cellar near to St. Martin's Church (first published in *Trans. Philosophical Socy.* x. 1311.) Sepulchral monuments with effigy in an arched recess of a Roman "Signifer" or standard-bearer, the inscription records his age and name. The figure is of exceptional interest, for although the subject is roughly treated, the various symbols and insignia of the important office, have been faithfully represented. In his right hand the officer grasps the *signum* or standard of a cohort, and in his left the box or coffers which represents the receptacle for preserving the records which it was the duty of the signifer to keep in connection with the pay of the soldiers, and under his direction. The sculpture, thanks to the kind attention of the Rev. Canon Raine, of York, has been carefully illustrated in my *Bastion of London Wall*, p. 52, where it is compared with a monument of similar character found when removing the foundations of a portion of the city boundary, and now preserved with many other massive sculptures from the same locality, in the Museum at Guildhall.[1]

——— Monkbar, interesting inscription in hexameter verse, a dedication by a father to the manes of Corellia Optata who died at the early age of 13. (*see* Roads and Walls.) *G.M.* i. 48, 594.

——— Walmgate (Churchyard of St. Denis), inscribed altar now in the local Museum. *Assoc. Journ.* ii. 248 ; *Celt Roman and Saxon*. 294.

——— Walls, Roman. Portion of the ramparts disclosed on the occasion of the railway excavations. The wall originally included four angle towers and four principal gates. Of these Bootham Bar represents one, the line of road leading therefrom being Roman, and in the direction of Isurium,

[1] It was the well preserved object in the left hand of this figure, which at once indicated the intention of that held by Duccius at York. It had unfortunately been quite otherwise explained by Horsley and Mr. Wellbeloved.

the gate at Monkbar led to "Derwentio." Another was in low Petergate on the highway to "Prætorium" or Barton on the Humber. A fourth at the bottom of Stonegate, the road here crossed the river Ouse and proceeded to "Calcaria" or Tadcaster. The walls are of a well-known form of construction; they are built on piles of oak and formed of ashlar work enclosing concrete, bonding tiles or bricks being inserted in the ashlar facing at intervals as is usual in Roman masonry; three sides of the enclosure have only been identified; of the fourth wall no indications remain, those existing lead to the conclusion that the city was of rectangular form, about 650 yards by 550 in dimensions. The well-known multangular tower is constructed of Roman masonry. Such towers at the angles of the walls at Roman stations are unusual—at Lincoln, at Brough near Yarmouth, at Caistor near Norwich, and Caerwent in Monmouthshire are placed by the gate. Colchester has similar structures, but on one side only. Associated with the masonry there have been found inscribed centurial stones; subscriptions were raised in the year 1831 for the preservation of the wall, and thus the original boundaries have remained unchanged. *Arch. Journ.* xxxi. 221, 261; *G.M.* 1843, i. 607-608; Halfpenny's *Fragmenta Vetusta,* pl. ii. 3; *Wellbeloved*, 58-59.

ROADS leading to and from Eburacum. The principal highways and vicinal branches and their connection with the four great military roads which traversed Britain have been ably treated in the various county histories by Camden, Drake (the accomplished historian of York), the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, and others. Much useful and interesting information may be likewise gathered from the various communications and references to the subject, printed in the *Journal of the Yorkshire Archæological Association.* Eburacum is mentioned in four of the Iters. of the Antonine Itinerary; in the first, where it is placed between Isurium (Aldborough), and Derwentio (Malton), on the road leading from Hadrian's Wall to Prætorium (near Filey); in the second, starting from the same point between Isurium and Cambodunum (Slack) on the line to Rutupia (Richborough); in the fifth (on the great way extending from London to Carlisle), it is placed between Legelium (Castleford) and Isubrigantum (Isurium); and in the eighth, which gives a direct route from the city to Londinium, it starts from York in a line to Danum (Doncaster), Lindum (Lincoln), Ratæ (Leicester), Verulamium (St. Albans), and other places, until it reaches the metropolis, after traversing a distance of over two hundred miles. At Slack, three roads started from the station, one known as the Greengate, pointing north from it to Eland, Danes' Road or Saville Gate over Stainland Moor, and serving as a boundary line between Halifax and Huddersfield parishes, a third led on to Mancunium (Manchester), from the latter place there was a way leading to Olicana (Ilkley), and another to Isurium passing over the moors to Warley and Sattonstall. In the parish of Wighill the Roman road Rudgate crossed the river three miles above Tadcaster (Calcaria), at a place called St. Helen's Ford, a little distance to the north of which stood St. Helen's Chapel in Leland's time. An ancient way likewise entered the county at Pierce Bridge over the Tees. It has been traced to the station of Cateractonium (near Thornborough) over the Swale, and from thence to Kilgram Bridge over the Eure or Yore on to a place known as Roman Ridge. *G.M.*, 1852, i. 483. 484; 1853, ii. 165, 269, 270; 1862, i. 607, 614; 1868, i. 83; *Phil. Trans.*, 1747, No. 483. On the line of the great road which entered the city at Micklegate was a branch or offshoot from Vinovium (Binchester) to Pons Aelii (Newcastle), another to the station commanding the mouth of the Tyne at Jarrow and South Shields, another led westward to Lavatræ (Bowes). *Camden*, iii. 289.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES.

VALLE CRUCIS.—The statement which appears on page 260 with reference to the recent discovery at Valle Crucis Abbey is incorrect. What was found there was the sepulchral slab, not of Madoc ap Gruffydd Maelor, but of a certain Owen Ap Madoc, who was not even the founder's son. I quote this from a note by Mr. Alfred Neobard Palmer in *Bye-gones*, where the exact form of the inscription has been discussed.—Editor of *Bye-gones*, Oswestry.

REVIEW.

MEMOIRS PUBLISHED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND, 1885-88. TANIS, by WM. FLINDERS PETRIE. PARTS I. AND II.

IN the wilderness of mud and water forming the Delta of the Nile, a wilderness once thronged with a teeming population, lie the "miserable Arab huts of San." The mounds that rise behind them are the remains of Tanis, the chief city of Lower Egypt. "San, Tanis, T'aan, Zoan, these forms of the name have each a history of a different age and a different race." As at Hissarlik, so on the saddle-shaped sandy island rising above the muddy Delta, settlement has followed settlement from the days when "Zoan in Egypt" was built seven years later than Hebron.[1] Of this primæval Zoan it is needless to say no trace is now visible. Above it rose the town of Amenemhat Usertesen; and later the seat of the Hyksos; and later still, the capital of the second Rameses. In the centre of the mounds stood the mighty Temple, 1,000 feet from end to end; and above it towered the colossal statue of Rameses, a monolith of red granite over 90 feet high. Here was found the colossal black granite torso ascribed to Amenemhat II., of which Mr. Petrie remarks, "It is the only Egyptian statue without a back support, so far as I know." Then there are monuments of the 12th dynasty, appropriated by Rameses II., the pluralist in inscriptions. His taste for "conveying" the monuments of his predecessors was inherited by his worthy offspring Merenptah. A most striking instance of cumulative appropriation is afforded by the Hyksos sphinx with an unfinished inscription of Rameses II. on its base, completed by Merenptah, who erased his own father's cartouche.[2]

To San we owe most of the monuments of the Hyksos. "They are all distinguished," says Mr. Petrie,[3] "by an entirely different type of face to any that can be found on other Egyptian monuments, a type which cannot be attributed to any other known period; and it is therefore all the more certain that they belong to the foreign race, whose names they bear." They are all of black or dark grey granite, for it appears that their authors had no access to the red granite quarries of Assuan. The black granite is thought to have come from Sinai. Of the Hyksos the most peculiar monument is a group of two bearded men with bushy plaited hair. In front of them is a tray of offerings with fish on it, and around hang plants of papyrus. Fragments of a similar group have also been met with. The other Hyksos remains, sphinxes of black granite, are thus described by Mr. Petrie: "They have the flat, massive, muscular, lowering face, with short whiskers and beard around it, the lips being shaven; and the hair is in a mat of thick, short locks descending over the whole chest."

The Hyksos inscriptions are always in a line down the *right* shoulder.[4] This is considered analogous to the particular offering of the right shoulder enjoined in the Jewish law.

[1] Numbers XIII., 22. This reference to a city of Palestine has been held to imply a settlement at Zoan of Shemites rather than Egyptians.

[2] Pt. ii., p. 19.

[3] Pt. i., p. 10.

[4] Pt. i., p. 12.

The overthrow of these monuments is attributed to the removal of their limestone supports. The temple "appears to have gone finally to ruin when Sais became, under the ascendency of Psamtik, the capital of the Delta; though perhaps its death-blow was given by the Assyrian conquest and pillage in the latter part of the reign of Tahraka."

The lands were the property of the military caste, who, as Herodotus tells us,[5] were allowed to practise no art but that of war, an art handed down from father to son.

In February, 1884, Mr. Petrie established himself at San, and there he lived till near the end of June, at first in a tent, afterwards in a house built to accommodate himself and his two overseers, with stores and the objects discovered. His plan of operations was not to attempt the complete clearing of an area, but to dig narrow trenches, and sink deep shafts, "so as to test the largest amount of ground in the time." In the records of such excavations one usually hears much of disputes and trouble between the workmen and their employer. The German explorer of Nemrûddagh spent many precious hours in a struggle with his men. M. Dieulafoy at Susa had to complain of embezzlement and mutiny. Mr. Petrie, on the other hand, seems to have maintained the pleasantest relations with those amongst whom he lived and worked—a circumstance which some may be inclined to attribute to the aptitude of the Anglo-Saxon for dealing with inferior races of mankind. Perhaps it may rather be accounted for by the character of the explorer, who, by personal intercourse, raised a friendly confidence among all who served him. In his account of his settlement at Defenneh he writes of his workers, "I never had the least trouble with any one, and I never heard a squabble between them during the whole two months."

A considerable portion of the First Part of Mr. Petrie's "Tanis" is devoted to an account of the belongings of one Bakakhuiu, "the Lawyer of San." We have two distinct, and, indeed, diametrically opposed types of lawyers present to our minds. The lawyer of fiction, the Sampson Brass, or the "Attorney Case," is a type fortunately rare in the actual experiences of daily life—an idea possibly derived from or coloured by the jealousy of ecclesiastics gradually ousted from power by men whose learning was of this world. It has been the good fortune of most of us to meet with a far different type of lawyer—one whose leisure is given to the pursuit of art and the encouragement of its votaries. To this class, one would fain believe, belonged Bakakhuiu, "the Lawyer of San," whose portrait appears on the frontispiece of Mr. Petrie's work.

The Second Part of "Tanis" begins with an account of the granite stelæ. Each of these was used as building material, and all save one were broken. But before they were thus treated the surface of most of them had been scaled off by severe weathering.

One of the Plates gives plan and section of a well of late Ptolemaic or Roman times. From the fact that the steps now reach seven feet below the water, it is inferred that in 2000 years the water-level has risen to that extent, a rise of 4¼ inches per century. "At Naukratis the rise has been about 9 feet in 2500 years," or 4⅓ inches per century.

The rest of the text as far as Tanis is concerned is contributed by Mr

[5] ii., 166.

F. Ll. Griffith and consists chiefly of translations of the inscriptions discovered there. At the close he makes some valuable remarks on local worship, on the position of Tanis in political geography, and on the history of the Kings. As to worship the first place is given to Ptah Tathnen. "On an almost equal footing appear the gods of Heliopolis. . . . Tum and Harmachis with Shu are to be attributed to the pre-eminent religious influence of that city." "Set was the Hyksos divinity and an Asiatic god, and the Kings of the dynasty not only bore names compounded with that of Set, but also frequently dedicated monuments to him. It is not reasonable, therefore, from these occasional mentions of Set in the dedication, to conclude that Set was the especial god of the city." Mr. Griffith's conclusion is that "the search for a local mythology and really local worship has not been successful." "The position of Tanis in the political geography of Egypt is not much easier to determine. The fact that there was no hard and fast local worship seems to prove that it was not a capital city in the earliest times." "Rameses in renewing the temple . . . . introduced the worship of the gods who pleased him most. Ptah Tathnen of Memphis, Harmachis and Tum of Heliopolis, Amen of Thebes, held the chief places. A chapel was given to Set aa pehti or Sutekh, the Hyksos god, and much honour shown to him. Thoth of Hermopolis also probably had a chapel, and certainly an altar." "In all probability Tanis was the royal city in the field of Zoan where, according to Exodus and Psalm lviii. v. 43, Moses performed the miracles before Pharaoh." "The early monuments of Tanis are provokingly suggestive of having been brought by Rameses II. to adorn his new capital. . . . The truth about the age of Tanis can only be ascertained when deep excavations are made in the mound itself or a sufficient examination of the extensive cemeteries has been carried out. The latter are in danger of being entirely worked out by the Arabs before the explorer comes upon the ground."

The mud-coated plain of the Delta has risen some fifteen feet since the days of the Twelfth Dynasty. On the other hand the sandy hilltops have been lowered to the same extent through the agency of the wind. How potent an agency this is, may be judged from the fact that at Defenneh "a solid brick wall, fifty feet thick, and doubtless more than half as much in height, has been completely carried away within twenty-five centuries." Hence at Nebesheh, tombs appear as if built *above* ground, whereas in reality they were all constructed beneath the earth, for they are provided with a well-like means of access. With fifteen feet of mud piled over the works of man in the plain and the cemeteries on the hills cut down to an equal extent, Mr. Petrie may well lament the "poor chance of recovering the remains of early ages."

Nebesheh, the ancient Am, though founded in the Twelfth Dynasty (if not before) was remodelled, like its neighbour Tanis, by Rameses II. Of Merenptah a unique monument has been found, a free-standing column of red granite. A sphinx of the Twelfth Dynasty affords a curious record of successive appropriation, no fewer than seven erasures and additions appearing on its surface beyond the original dedication.

Of the first temple founded or appropriated by Rameses, little remains. The second and smaller temple was built by Aahmes II. The most interesting objects found here were a statue of Uati, "the lady

of Am," with her monolithic shrine, and the foundation deposits of pottery and plaques of porcelain, gold, silver, lead, copper, lapislazuli, cornelian, limestone, felspar, and bitumen.

Outside this temple was found an altar of the twelfth dynasty, with inscriptions added by a "chief of the chancellors and royal seal-bearer." It seems that we have here the description of "a native vizier of a Hyksos king," and we are reminded of the powerful position sometimes attained by the more civilised subjects of Mohammedan conquerors.

In the cemetery Mr. Petrie has discovered that red baked brick was employed as early as Ramesside times. He met with a class of tombs of later date which he defines as "having Cypriote pottery or bronze spears or forks, and never having any ushabti." The bodies lie with their heads to the east (rarely to the south), never to the west or the north, as in the Saitic tombs. It would seem that Cypriote mercenaries were settled there; and to them may have belonged the statuettes of Aphrodite found at Nebesheh.

Iron was found in only one tomb, and then together with bronze. A rich tomb of another class is thus described :—"There were silver cases for the fingers, and portions of foot-cases of silver with the toes modelled on them; 15 silver-gilt figures of Neit seated, 3 of winged Isis, and an eye, similar. Cow's head in red glass; green jasper scarab, large size, from the heart; square and altar of Bast in lapislazuli. Also great quantities of beads, over a dozen pounds weight."

In the absence of Greek and Latin inscriptions it is difficult to assign to Nebesheh a classical name. Mr. Griffith, who contributed the chapter on inscriptions, suggests that it may perhaps be the Arabian Buto of Herodotus II. 75. Mr. Griffith is also responsible for the account of Gemaiyemi. His finds these consisted chiefly of glass mosaics, and articles of bronze.

If Tanis is a centre of attraction for the Biblical student, the recent discoveries at Defenneh on the Syrian road have a still greater importance in the eyes of the classical archæologist. For here an approximate date may with certainty be assigned to almost everything that is Greek. That Psamtik I.—the Psammitichos of Herodotus—built the fort at Defenneh is conclusively proved by the foundation deposits discovered by Mr. Petrie *in situ*, and the settlement there of Greek troops must have taken place about 664 B.C. Again Herodotus tells us (II. 154) that Amasis (the Aahmes of the inscriptions) removed the Ionian and Carian mercenaries from these parts to Memphis to serve as his body-guard. The same monarch established Naukratis as the sole port open to Hellenic traders. These events may with probability be placed between 570 and 565 B.C. To a single century then, roughly speaking from 660 to 560 B.C., we must limit the origin of Greek wares found at Daphnae.

We would venture, however, to make an exception in the case of the rude images figured on plate xxiv. (No's. 2, 3, and perhaps 4). On these Mr. Petrie remarks :—"For once it can be safely said that we have figures certainly made within one century." But having regard to the known fondness always entertained by Greeks for an ancient and venerable palladium we are inclined to regard these archaic forms as heirlooms of the Hellenic settlers rather than products of contemporary art. On a later page indeed Mr. Petrie himself seems to admit this possibility, for he

writes—"We know that nothing of Greek work here *(unless, possibly, an ancient object imported)* can be earlier than 665 B.C."[6]

During the Greek occupation Daphnae was frequently the asylum of Hebrew refugees. Between 607 and 587 B.C. many fled thither to escape the Chaldean power. In the last of these migrations the daughters of the Jewish King took part,[7] an event curiously commemorated by the name "The Palace of the Jew's daughter," that still clings to the crumbling ruin.

The stones Jeremiah was commanded to hide in the brickwork, "which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes,"[8] Mr. Petrie sought, as might be expected, in vain. He did, however, find a platform of brickwork corresponding most remarkably with the prophet's narrative. Beneath this platform was an older structure of red brick belonging to the Ramesside period. With this has been connected the story in Herodotus (II. 107) as to how Sesostris (Rameses II.) eluded his brother's treachery through the counsels of his wife. In the plain of Daphnae no objects are found of a date later than the twenty-sixth dynasty, though the mound Tell Defenneh, at the north-west of it, has afforded specimens of later art, and glass of the Roman age has been obtained at Tell Sherig, nine miles to the north.

Much care was shown in the sealing of amphorae, as many as six seals of inspectors being found together. Yet in spite of inspectors and royal cartouche a thirsty soul managed to bore through and get at the wine, as is shown on plate xxxvi. fig. 5.

Defenneh appears to have been an important place for working in metal. Bronze objects, especially arrow-heads, are found there in large quantities, and iron is as common as bronze. Scale armour is an unusual find. A gold tray-handle may have been a soldier's loot; so perhaps the gold statuette of Ra in its silver case. The numerous fragments of gold-work, however, point to the existence of a trade in jewellery at Daphnae. This accounts too for the profusion of minute weights. Weights, it must be remembered, are a speciality of Mr. Petrie and he has devoted a long chapter to the vast supply afforded by Naukratis and Daphnae. At the latter place he bought seventy specimens in one day, and in two months were obtained 397 weights of stone and 1600 of metal. Among ordinary mortals, however, the study of weights, as Mr. Petrie remarks, "is much where the study of MSS. was some centuries ago."

We have reserved for the last the painted Greek pottery. Of this we are told that "all the types most usual at Naukratis are absent at Defenneh, and all those most usual at Defenneh are never seen at Naukratis." Hence it is inferred that the vases were *made* at these places rather than imported. Indeed, the situla-type of vase (plate xxv. 3, xxvi. 8), was not known till discovered at Defenneh, and is copied from the Egyptian bronze situla, with designs to some extent of Egyptian origin. On this subject of painted pottery Mr. A. S. Murray has contributed a chapter which should be read with the attention due to so eminent an authority. The figure whose body ends in a serpent (on situla no. 3 of plate xxv.) Mr. Murray considers to belong "to the class of earth-born beings γηγενεῖς, giants;" and referring to Pausanias v. 19, 1, he proposes to name him Boreas. On

[6] Page 71.
[7] Jeremiah xliii. 6.
[8] Jer. xliii. 9.

the other side of the situla is recognised a son of Boreas (either Zetes or Kalais). One fragment (pl. xxx. 3) presents certain resemblances to the Amphiaraos and the François vases. On one of its two divisions we have athletic sports with tripods as prizes, on the other the Calydonian boar and his victim Antaeos. Some of the amphoræ are compared with the Burgon Panathenaic vase and with a vase found in the tomb of Aristion, and are consequently assigned to the first half of the sixth century, B.C. Among the numerous and interesting objects brought to light by Mr. Petrie the first place must be assigned to the situla vase mentioned above. Apart from its novelty of shape, a peculiarity that catches the eye of the chance visitor who strolls through the Museum galleries, its decoration coupled with its comparatively definite date, give to it a great and a special value. The serpentine prolongation of the body is not so uncommon. The giants indeed in earlier art are represented in the form of ordinary mortals. But on the sphinx-rhyton of the British Museum,[9] and on the Berlin terracotta,[10] representing the birth of Erichthonios, this serpent-ending may be seen. So too we again find Kekrops delineated on a red-figured vase at Berlin.[11] Such a form, however, combined with wings is a much greater novelty. It may be remarked that Boreas is described by Pausanias as having tails [12] (in the *plural*) of serpents in place of feet, just as the giants are represented in later works of art. This is not the same idea as that of a human body tapering off into that of a serpent. Still we have no better explanation to offer than that given by Mr. Murray; and in this as in much else, if we are compelled to interpret in accordance with a definite system of mythology, we must base an interpretation on the Chest of Kypselos.

TALFOURD ELY.

[9] See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, viii. p. 1, and plate lxxiii.
[10] No. 6281.
[11] *Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung*, p. 719. (No. 2537.)
[12] Paus., v. 19, 1.

INDEX NOTES.

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History.

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DOMESDAY MEASURES OF LAND.

THERE appeared in the June number of the *Archæological Review* a paper (with the above heading) from the hands of Mr. Round, purporting to be a criticism of part of a paper headed "A new view of the geldable Unit of Assessment of Domesday" written by me and contained in the 1st vol. of *Domesday Studies* issued by the Royal Historical Society. I am loath to take up the space of the *Archæological Review*, but the fact that Mr. Round has omitted to state correctly what is contained in my paper prompts me to write this reply which otherwise I should not have thought it necessary to do on account of anything contained in his criticism weighty enough to call for it. A year before the Domesday Celebration Committee was formed or thought of, I sent to Canon Taylor the printed copy of a paper which I had then recently prepared on Domesday Measurements for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society and which that Society had issued to its members. In that paper there appeared for the first time (certainly in print) some facts which I stated had been overlooked by all previous writers, but which (if a just consideration was assigned to them) put quite a different complexion on Domesday Measurements. In the following remarks "Taylor" means Canon Isaac Taylor's Paper in Vol. I. of *Domesday Studies*, commencing page 143; "Round" means Mr. Round's criticism headed "History—Domesday Measures of Land," commencing at page 285 of the June number of the *Archæological Review*; and "Pell" means my paper already alluded to as contained in Vol. I. of *Domesday Studies*, commencing at page 227 of that vol.

I allude to "Taylor" because Mr. Round ("Round," p. 283) justly calls it a very "lucid paper" and ("Round," p. 286) judges the author of it to have attained "marked success:" we shall see further on that Canon Taylor is one at least who in adopting or assenting to the propositions (contained in the paper I sent to him) clearly has the "brains" necessary to reach "the giddy heights of calculation," which Mr. Round at present seems not to have surmounted ("Round," p. 285).

We all know that as to some articles and in some places at the present day the "long hundred" is still in vogue, by the use of which, in order to accommodate that way of counting to our usual mode of calculating the hundred, *one-fifth* has to be added to it or conversely one-sixth taken off 120, but I pointed out (what I had found in old MSS.), that this principle probably extended in Domesday

not only to round numbers of hundreds, but also to inferior numbers and even to fractions, thus that 15 stood for 18 and 7½ for 9, see the list "Pell," p. 352. In passing, I may say that the Ramsey Chartulary is paged by the long hundred. As this method of calculating when used necessitates the addition of one-fifth to areas so calculated, why should a person in an honest search for truth or for purposes of criticism keep this "well in the background" ("Round," p. 284.) Canon Taylor has certainly not done so in his "lucid paper." I also pointed out (giving authority, "Pell," p. 346, et seq) that all arable land in *fallow* when the whole community had rights of common over it was considered of no value, it was not "terra lucrabilis," and did not come into calculation at all and did not go to form any part of the geldable hide of 120 acres, and that in calculating areas in some cases (viz. in *two* course manors if the fallow lay "in communi") the geldable amount of 120 would have to be doubled to 240 acres in order to reach the actual area, so too that in *three* course manors 180 acres would represent the 120 geldable land the 60 of the fallow "extra hidam" and *untaxed.* Canon Taylor (following me) also has scaled the heights of calculation and has reached the same point as myself. This principle survives to the present day, no "common" finds a place in the Income Tax Schedule in a parochial rate-book or in the "Inquisitiones post mortem" of former times.

First drawing attention to Mr. Round's statement at page 225 of *Domesday Studies,* where he says that he "*has found evidence that the Domesday hide (i.e. the unit of assessment) contained 120 acres,*" I repeat that when the fallow or the pasture lay "in separali," that is, when the community had no rights over it, then it would be taxed. I will now quote Mr. Round's words used at "Round," p. 286, which are as follows:—

"If I have extracted Mr. Pell's 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 of arable land.

"(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.

Now, subject to the remark noted above (and also in my paper) as to fallow and pasture where either lay "in separali," and therefore liable to taxation, I do reassert every one of those four propositions, and though I do not for one moment impute the lack of anything in Mr. Round, not even the qualification necessary to scale the "giddy heights of calculation," still I cannot possibly assent to his method of criticism—no such isolated words ("under what circumstances and why this should have been the case it is hard to say") as he makes use of in No. 3 are to be found in my paper, subject to his criticism. It would be well if all critics would give the words of the author, as it is bad to omit them, and still worse to quote part and not the whole. The real words are to be found in "Pell," p. 348, and are as follows as contained from A to B below.

A. "An acre of land, however—being, as it were, in two parts, the one being *ad seminandum*, and the other *ad warectandum*—it is most important, for purposes of calculation, to observe that in very many manors, particularly in the county of Kent, this land *warectandum* (in other words, the idle shift) was *extra hidam*, not geldated, and therefore unnoticed in D. Bk. Under what circumstances, and why this should have been the case, is to be found in the fact that in those manors the fallow lay in common, *jacet in communi;* and an acre of such land (with sown land geldated and the fallow not) is in the Ely MSS., in some manors, called half an acre of *wara*, which word, I submit, may be the source from which the term *ad warectum* is derived. This state of things in the Domesday of St. Paul seems to be referred to by the use of the expression *una hida in solanda, i.e.*, the geldated hide of 120 acres, plus the fallow. The non-liability to taxation of fallow land when lying in common appears in very many MSS. For instance, in Cottonian MSS., Faust B. viii. f. 206, 'Et ibidem i carucata terræ continens in se L acras terræ, unde duo partes possunt quolibet anno seminari, et valet acra quando seminata II denarios. Et tertia pars nihil valet sed jacet ad warectam et in communi;' and in No. 6165 of the Ad. MSS. at the British Museum, containing an extent of the Manor of Littleberri, in Essex, taken at the instance of the Crown, where is to be found this entry: 'Et sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis quæ valet per annum XL pr. per Ac. 11^{d} quando seiantur, et quando non seiantur, valet per annum XX^{s} pr. per ac. 1^{d}. Item sunt ibidem CCXL acræ terræ arabilis, quarum quælibet

acra valet 11[d], quando sciantur, et quando non seiantur, nihil valet, quia jacet in communi.'

"The MS. is speaking of the lord's land in the open fields; therefore, if the lord's land therein, when not sown, lay 'in communi,' he would not be taxed on his fallow; on the other hand, if the tenants had no right of common over the fallow, but it lay 'in separali' for the lord's fold, then their fallow would be 'extra hidam' as far as they were concerned.

"In estimating the quantities under plough, that fact has to be borne in mind, and calculations made accordingly. So, too, in regard to pasture land where it lay in common, as was generally the case, it was untaxed; thus in vol. ii. of the Hundred Rolls, p. 451, at Rampton we read 'dicimus quod dominus Robertus de Insula habet in Rampton in dominico et in homagio quinque hidæ et dimidium et XXIIII acræ ut in terra pratis pasturis excepto marisco qui est communis,' and therefore not taxed." B

Now, it is especially to be remarked that in the *same* manor (Littleberri) you have two blocks of land each of 240 acres, that in the one 120 only produces annual profit subject to taxation, while in the other the whole produces profit subject to taxation. Mr. Round makes sport of the idea, but it is the fact nevertheless.

Applying these principles of taxation (in cases where the fallow was "jacens in communi" and not "in separali") to three-course manors, out of every virgate of 30 acres in area, only 20 would be taxed, and therefore it would take 6 virgates *in area* to make the hide of 120 of hidated or taxed land, and out of every carucate of 12 bovates in area, only two-thirds would be hidated, *i.e.*, 8 bovates and so on. The undoubted fact of untaxed fallow and the reason for it and the "Anglicus numerus" being thus put "well in the background" by Mr. Round, he must excuse me if I decline to take the trouble to reassert their influence in more than two of the cases that he has attacked, and they must go as samples of the whole; anybody who cares can do the same with the others by reading in my own words my explanation of them. One of the two cases is that of Clifton in Yorkshire, and (I prefer to quote my own words as contained below from C to D to be found at "Pell," p. 353) is as follows:—

C. "Of instances of the first method of reduction there is that of Clifton in Yorkshire, D. Bk. Tom. i. fol. 313[a], being No. 344 in the table *ante.* The exact entry is: 'In Clifton supra dicto manerio adjacet soca horum Fuleforde una carucata et tres bovatæ Aseri quatuor carucatæ Chetelsthorp quatuor carucatæ Languelt una carucata et dimidium Chelchefeld duo carucatæ et duo bovatæ Morebi

una carucata. Distone quatuor carucatæ. Hi tria fuerunt maneria tamen sunt in soca de Cliftun simul ad geldum quindecim carucatæ una bovata minus et—octo carucatæ possunt arare.' If, 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 kings' officers to 15 carucatæ ad geldum. The details of this manor, which was in a three-course, are these:—

	Actual Area.	
viii car. 'Anglico numero'	1,152	8 × 144
Idle shift	576	
	1,728	

1728 acres are 18 carucates of 96 (12 bovates of 8[a]).

Explanation of Taxation.

viii car. ad geldum	960	8 × 120
Idle shift 'extra hidam'	480	
	1,440 acres.	

1,440 acres are 18 carucates of 80 (12 bovates of $6\frac{2}{3}$).

A bovate of $6\frac{2}{3}$ 'Anglico numero' equals 8[a], and 80 'Anglico numero' is 96, and 18 of 80 equals 15 of 96. In most counties (except Dorset, Middlesex, Sussex, Surrey, York, and Wiltshire) the entry would have run—viii. 'hid,' or 'car.,' ad geldum terra est ad xviii. car." D

Mr. Round says, "Round," p. 290, as follows:

"Let us now turn to the practical application of Mr. Pell's theories to Domesday. He argues that the Norman kings' officers had two ways of forming from the primary returns an Assessment which would be of one uniform standard. 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. 313[a.] 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 sake of simplicity we add a bovate to each side of the equation we shall then have 18 carucatæ in area, reduced by the kings' officers to 15 carucatæ ad geldum. 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 the Manor. Unfortunately, however, for him, the very figures he quotes from Domesday convict him of error, for the 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. The 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 veiy contrary direction." (Mr. Round then gives some cases not bearing on the subject but which show that the fallow in those cases did not lie "in communi" but "in separali," and continues:) "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 it to be this: it is simply one of Domesday blunders!"

Mr. Round thus having kept the operation of untaxed fallow and the "Anglicus numerus" well in the background, says, "*We have seen that the deduction of a sixth will not, as alleged, account for it!*" Let us then add on the fifth and the equation stands thus on one side:

Clifton	1	Carucatæ +	3	Bovatæ.
Aseri	4	,, +	0	,,
Chetelsthorp	4	,, +	0	,,
Languelt	1½	,, +	0	,,
Chelchifield	2	,, +	2	,,
Morlby	1	,, +	0	,,
Distono	4	,, +	0	,,
	17½		5	

and on the other 18 (15 Anglico numero $(15+\frac{1}{5})$ see Shelford post) una bovata "minus." Add on the bovate, which I wished to add to simplify matters, and we have 17½ carucates + 6 bovates as against 18 carucates, evidently showing the carucate to contain *in area* 12 bovates, not 8 in area as Mr. Round (tied and bound by old fallacies and not hesitating to take refuge in an assertion that Domesday had blundered) supposes. The Domesday "car" or "carucata," *ad geldum* (not the areal carucata which was 12 bovates 8 sown + 4 in fallow) might well consist of 8 bovates *ad geldum* (as being sown) in the case of Clifton as I make it in my paper. There are scores of cases of 12 bovates in the area of the carucate to be found, for instance, Kirby's Inquest, pp. 440, 442; Poulson's Holderness, vol. i. p. 62; Burton Mon. Eborp. 260. Also of 10, of 6, of 4, of 3, and I add at the end of this paper showing these cases to be in Domesday book itself.

I will now go to the second case in which I promised to join issue with Mr. Round. It is that of Schelford and Mr. Round's remarks are from E to F (see "Round," p. 292) as follows:

E "The case of Shelford is almost as strong. Of the Abbot of Ely's manor (sic) there we read in Domesday: pro IX hides et XXIIII acris se defendit. Here again Mr. Pell claims to render this as 9 (1 h 4+2 a) viz., 9 hides plus 9 times 24 acres. But as he here reckons 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?" F

I wish Mr. Round had not again kept the "Anglicus numerus" well in the background, but had fairly given my explanation.

Mr. Round asks 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. My answer is this: the right arises from the knowledge gained by labour spent in finding the solution and a dislike to keep it "well in the background." My remarks are to be found in "Pell," p. 357. There is in volume 2 of the Hundred Rolls, p. 545, the Survey of this Manor of Magna Shelford of the date of 1279; there is also in the Cottonian MS., Claudius CXI, also a survey of the same manor dated only *two* years previously, *i.e.* 1277: the Hundred Rolls Survey is the Crown Survey for Crown purposes, the earlier one that of the Bishop. These are the corresponding entries which Mr. Round can test for himself; and my remarks were as follows from I to G:

I "The last case that I shall take is one from vol. ii. of H. R. 545, being that of Schelford Magna, where twenty-five men by name are each said to hold 15 or 7½ acres, but when the holdings of these same men are compared with their holdings as stated in a contemporaneous MS. (L. E.), they are found to be in *number* ⅕th larger, viz. 18 and 9 acres or Anglo-Saxon areas.

(Hundred Rolls, A.D. 1279.) Magna Shelford. De Servis.		(MS. L.E. AD. 1277.) Magna Shelford. De Dimidiis virgatis.
Nicholas Dilkes	15	18
William Almer	15	18
Robert King	15	18
Richard Bode	15	18
John Wray	15	18
Hereward Samar	15	18
Suneman ad Pot	15	18
William Blize	15	18
Henry Godfrey	15	18
Richard Hochelle	15	18

William King	15	18
William Samar	15	18
Thom. fil Walt	15	18
John Samar	15	18
Aliis Servis.		De tenentibus Novem acras.
Albertus Molèndinus	7½	9
Abel Faukes	7½	9
John Lessy	7½	9
William Lessy	7½	9
Adam Rolf	7½	9
Richard Hug	7½	9
John Tarburn	7½	9
Folkes	7½	9
Richard de Bery	7½	9
John Chauter	7½	9
William Rolf	7½	9

If there is added one-fifth to an entry in the left column it becomes the corresponding entry on the right and conversely if a sixth is deducted off an entry in the right, column it becomes the corresponding entry on the left. If 120 acres make the Domesday "geldable" hide, eight of the half virgates of 15 in the left hand column make one hida and they correspond to eight of 18 in the right hand column which thus are (1h. + 24), taking this to be nine times repeated we have 9h on the left side and 9 (h + 24) on the right side, corresponding to the entry in Domesday Book. If Mr. Round can find any better solution to the question why the Crown officers should reduce the 18 acres and the 9 acres of the Bishop to 15 and 7½ respectively, or the 18 of Clifton to 15 ad geldum let him produce it, but on no account let him "keep it well in the background." Taking Mr. Round's remaining objections in order in (5) "Round" p. 287, he says, "But the six areas 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.'"

My answer is that it is an undoubted fact that there are many such cases (some in the Boldon Book). I gave one of them at Shippere "Pell" p. 318. Canon Taylor in his "lucid paper" of "marked success" gives another, "Taylor" p. 176, and explains it as he supposes thus, "that the cotmen held by the Anglicus numerus and by a two field shift, while the villains held by the Norman number and in a three field shift may indicate that the cotmen belonged to an older stratum of the population than the villains." Mr. Round will probably find other cases if he takes the trouble to

search. I have already dealt with No. 6, "Round" p. 287, and then we come to the following, "Round" p. 288 (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 120$^{a.}$ and the word 'hide' in Dorsetshire, etc., and the term 'car. terræ ad geldum, in Yorkshire are used to express the area of one plough-land in the manor, so that the terms 'terra est car.' in Dorset and 'car. potest ibi ere (sic)' (ought to be arare) in Yorkshire, imply what the geldable hide implies in other counties, viz. 120$^{a.}$ of taxed land;" then Mr. Round goes on with certain weak criticisms and concludes, "Mr. Pell's elaborate calculations are not merely weakened but are simply blown to pieces" (!) But what says Canon Taylor with greater acumen than Mr. Round? "Taylor" p. 169, "In some counties where the carucates or hides instead of being double the ploughs are only one-half, or in some smaller ratio I suspect that it is simply a question of nomenclature, the plough being regarded as the unit of geldation and the carucate or hide as the unit of oration and not the other way as in Yorkshire." If Canon Taylor got his idea from my Cambridge paper and adopted it, that is sufficient for my purpose; if he arrived at it by independent investigation it is more than sufficient as coming from a person who has written the "lucid paper" with "marked success" which apparently (in Mr. Round's judgment) has stood the "blowing to pieces" better than mine.

In "Pell" pp. 321-23 are stated obvious reasons why the word "car." and "carucata" as used in D.B. cannot always in every manor or even in the same manor mean the same thing. I cannot agree to Mr. Round's fallacy that it meant always 8 bovates in area. This cannot be in face of direct statements in D.B. in every county: such as that in Chenebalton in Huntingdonshire (D.B. fol. 205*b*), where there is said to be land for XX "car.," and at the same time and in the same paragraph the lord is stated to have V "car." and the tenants XXV "car."

In the counties of Devon and Cornwall we can test this to some extent by the "Exon Domesday" (which appears to be the original return of the juries from which the Exchequer D.B. was compiled). In some cases the Exon D. give the number of the lord's and the tenant's "car." and oxen which make up the *amalgamated* ploughs

as stated in D.B., which latter car. of course in every case are therefore less in number than that of *unamalgamated* ploughs previously stated in D.B. The following is a list of some of them :—

Name.	D.B.	Exon D.	Single 'Car.' for which there is terra D.B.	Such 'Car.' as returned in Exon D.		Joint 'Car.' as stated in D.B.
				Lord	Tenants	
Aissetona . .	122*a*	238	2		*	⅓
Woderon . .	122*b*	227	3	1	3 bov	1½
Bentewoin . .	124*b*	233	3	½	1+2bov	2
Chilgoret . .	122*a*	216	1	2 bov	o	—
Treualla . .	124*b*	225	2	o	bov	—
Trewent . .	124*b*	203	6	⅓	1+2bov	2
Pengalle . .	124*b*	225	1	2 bov	o	—
Trenant . .	124*b*	203	6	7 ,,	1	2
Cariorgol . .	123*b*	203	3	7 ,,	6 bov	2
Trescan . .	124*b*	204	3	1	1 ,,	1
Llanauuernec .	124*b*	210	2	2 bov	2 ,,	½
Drainos . .	124*b*	210	1	1 ,,	4 ,,	½
Treluga . .	124*a*	224	2	½	3 ,,	1
Torne . .	123*a*	212	1	o	2 ,,	—
Penquan . .	122*b*	212	1	3 bov	o	—
Trewiniel . .	124*a*	224	2	6 ,,	2 bov	1
Trelamar . .	124*b*	213	1	1 ,,	o	—
Linestoch . .	122*b*	228	5	1	6 bov	2
Avalde . .	124*a*	213	3	3 bov	3 ,,	1
Trewallen . .	123*a*	214	2	½	2 ,,	1
Treloen . .	123*a*	214	2	4 bov	o	½
Trethac . .	123*a*	214	2	1	3 bov	1½
Douenot . .	123*a*	214	1	4 bov	o	½
Brethei . .	122*b*	217	4	1	4 bov	1½
Roshervet . .	123*b*	217	6	1	3 ,,	1½
Heia . . .	124*b*	223	2	o	3 ,,	½
Sanguilant . .	122*b*	218	3	2 bov	2 ,,	½
Horniccota . .	123*b*	219	4	1	3 ,,	1½
Wertcote . .	123*b*	219	½	o	2 ,,	—
Roslet . . .	123*b*	220	1	o	3 ,,	⅓
Lantmanuel . .	123*b*	220	4	1	3 ,,	1½
Lantcharet . .	123*b*	221	2	1	7 ,,	2
Disart . .	124*b*	223	1	½	1 ,,	½
Lisnewin . .	124*b*	222	2	½	3 ,,	1
Argaulis . .	123*a*	229	3	3 bov	o	½
Odenol . .	124*b*	235	2	5 ,,	1	1½
Tremor . .	122*a*	237	2	4 ,,	2 bov	1
Landelech . .	122*b*	240	5	5 ,,	½	1
Tregril . .	124*b*	243	7	2 ,,	½	2
Harestana . .	104*b*	201	2	½	4 bov	1
Widefella . .	105*a*	191	2	1	1+2bov	2

* "*3 boves inter eum et bordarios suos*" (*Exon D.*). o means no car.

But "seeing is believing," and Mr. W. de Grey Birch in his *Popular Account of Domesday Book* (published since my paper was written) at p. 219 et seq. directs his readers to MSS. where the sight can be obtained. I have thankfully verified his statements in regard to the different number of heads of draught cattle as shown actually at work, at and not long after the time of the Norman Conquest. In the Bayeux Tapestry (see Mr. Fowke's work on it) there is shown the plough drawn by *one head*. In

Cott. MS. Julius A VI. f. 3. the plough is shown as drawn by *two heads.* In Cottonian MS. Tiberius B V. part 1, f. 3, by *four heads.* In the Utrecht Psalter by *two heads.* In the Harleian MS. 603, 51 *b*, 54 *b*, of the date of the Norman Conquest by *two heads.* In the Royal MS. 12 F XIII. f. 37, by *two heads.* In the Chronicon Roffenne, Cott MS. Nero D II. 11 *b* by *two heads.* The above do not exhaust the list of M S. where the like evidence can be obtained. For fuller and faithful description of the above carucæ see Mr. Birch's book. Of course these heads of draught cattle when joined together would and did no doubt make at times bigger teams which would drag bigger ploughs either for the lord or an association of virgatarii.

In conclusion, I am sure I am right in saying that much of the time that has been spent in writing papers with imperfect materials to work on would have been better spent by the writers in accumulating knowledge for the purpose by a careful comparison of Domesday Bk. with old MSS. Writers if they had done so, would have been surprised at the little change that had taken place in the tenures between 1086 and the thirteenth century; in some cases the number of the hides is exactly the same in Domesday and in the Hundred Rolls, and we are thus enabled to make a comparison between the details of such manors in the Hundred Rolls and in Domesday. I give the names of some at p. 360 " Pell " with the references in D. Bk. and the Hundred Rolls, and it is only the knowledge to be gained by such tedious and disagreeable work which can justify any one in his conclusions on the subject when writing a paper on his own behalf, or in condemning another man's work.

O. C. PELL.

REVIEW.

A HANDBOOK TO THE LAND-CHARTERS AND OTHER SAXONIC DOCUMENTS. By JOHN EARLE. Oxford: 1888 (Clarendon Press). 8vo., pp. cxiii. 519.

THAT Professor Earle's book grew in his hands from "just a few specimens of land-charters so grouped as to exhibit roughly the contrast of genuine and spurious," to the present dimensions of the volume, is not to be wondered at. The fact is, the subject is enticing in many ways, and Mr. Seebohm's influence, traceable in almost every page of Professor Earle's

introduction, has succeeded in making it the point round which a very considerable portion of research into English history clusters. The Anglo-Saxon charters which Thorpe and Kemble printed have been for a long time the source of a great many theories on early constitutional history. That they want examining and re-examining, analysing, comparing from all points of view—the palæographical, philological, historical, constitutional—is self-evident to every student. It is only at the hands of specialists that we shall ever be able to learn all there is to know from these magnificent monuments of the past. Professor Earle's plan does not seem to us to be perfect: indeed he acknowledges, and points out the reason for, some of its defects; but we are most thankful for an advance in the study of a most difficult subject, and that advance is most distinctly obtained by this book.

It always seems to us that the most important subject for the philologist and palæographer to discuss is the early appearance among a non-literary race of barbarians, of documents bearing the stamp of sound diplomatic skill and considerable diplomatic practice. We are aware of the answer that instantly rises to the lips, indeed the answer that Professor Earle himself gives: "Our people in the old country," he says, "had used no writings for the transaction of business, whether conveyancing, testamentary, or otherwise. But, now, having become masters of this island, *they had come within the pale of Roman civilization.*" But this is the very question at issue and nowhere we would suggest is a better test to be found than in these early legal documents. Admitting the Roman influences, Professor Earle sees that even then the question is not finally settled, for we must ascertain whether the English "gradually adopted the legal usages which they found established in their new country, or whether the usage of the Roman world was first brought home to them along with other Roman influences at the conversion." Mr. Coote, a lawyer and a scholar, was the ablest exponent of the theory that Roman legal usages took the place of barbaric legal usages, but then he leaves out of consideration the many examples of rhythmical legal formulæ, a true test of archaic law, the extremely archaic form of Anglo-Saxon codification of law, the significant examples of barbaric custom preserved, for instance, in the law suit which took place in the open-air on Cuckhamsley Hill in Berkshire, the surviving practices of barbaric law which are even now still traceable in legal history. When we remember that the Romans who stood against the waves of Anglo-Saxon conquest had already passed over that long gap of legal history which is to be measured by a comparison of the Twelve Tables with the code of Justinian, it is difficult to think that they could have been the founders of a system which admitted without recognizable incongruity usages belonging to the very earliest stages of legal thought. But the fact remains that in these charters we "encounter a new institution and one of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance. Hereditary estates, having all the desirable attributes of Ethelland, were created by government charter." We wish Professor Earle had addressed himself more closely to this subject and had explained to us where the parallel exists between these charters and Roman usages, or where there is any parallel for such grants except in the charters of eleventh century monarchs. The one fact that remains patent to the mind is that the

Church was the only instrument which could have produced the undoubted uniformity of style which is to be found in these documents, and the question next arises, when was the Church first compelled to resort to written documents for the establishment of their growing claims? With every desire to pay deference to the skill and judgment of professed palæographers, we cannot but think they are ante-dating the time when these charters were written in their present form. The Church has never been wanting in skilled penmen and skilled forgers. A monk of the Abbey of St. Medard being on his deathbed, confessed with great contrition and repentance that he had forged numerous bulls of exemption in favour of various monasteries; certificates of this acknowledgment were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the originals are extant in the archives of the cathedral. With this significant example before us, with the fact that the Normans, skilled lawyers and always ready to convert prescriptive rights into chartered rights, never refer to the earlier Saxon documents, and write their own charters in a different and much more unskilled form, we even yet await further elucidation of this startling "new institution" of the Anglo-Saxons before we can accept all the conclusions to be derived from them without reserve. Tentatively we accept Professor Earle's distinction between genuine and spurious examples; but we demand a re-examination of the genuine to decide whether their present form must be accepted as evidence of legal details or of legal facts when these details and facts depend upon the wording of a phrase or the genuineness of clauses.

The tone of Professor Earle's introduction suggests a very wide scope of criticism outside that to be derived from a consideration of the textual construction of the charters. He accepts in the main Mr. Seebohm's conclusions on the land-history of England, and while pointing out some details wherein Mr. Seebohm may be corrected, he adds others whereby this view is confirmed. We have no intention of traversing this position on the main points, but it is certain that Professor Earle has left unanswered some prominent questions which his special methods of treatment bring forward. One of the weakest positions which Mr. Seebohm has adopted is the assumption that because a Roman practice and an English practice are identical, therefore the latter is derived from the former. Professor Earle accepts one of these conclusions without a murmur. "The boundaries of the land," he says, "are described starting from such a point or such an object and passing through a series of stations until the starting point is reached again; as a general rule this part of the deed is in English, sometimes, however, in Latin or a mixture of Latin and English. It must not, however, be imagined from the use of the vernacular in this part that this member is more native than the rest of the deed. It is just the continuation of an old Roman usage, the formula of which may be seen in the book of Hyginus, the land surveyor. It is the formula that was used by the agrimensores of the Empire when they had to describe the irregular ground which did not well admit of their rectangular system of mensuration and allotment." But it is also a very natural method of describing boundaries and is practised in many places which have never been in the slightest degree affected by Roman agrimensorial formulæ. When one considers the valuable information supplied by Mr. Coote as to the existence of very distinct traces of nearly all the forms of Roman terminal marks

including the singular botontini, it is a little difficult to believe that the natural boundaries described in the charters are agrimensorial boundaries, and we are inclined to adopt the opinion of Mr. Pearson, an impartial witness on this subject, that "how great the usurpation of lands by the Saxons was we may judge from the fact that the old termini or stone landmarks of estates which must have existed throughout the country under the Romans have completely disappeared, and that in the earliest Saxon charters land is always defined by rocks or rivers the natural boundaries."

If the Anglo-Saxon boundaries are indeed the Roman boundaries there is no room for much of the Anglo-Saxon system to have grown up within the area thus rigidly defined. Everything must have followed the same line of development, and English institutions should be a continuation of Roman institutions brought under the operation only of later political necessities. But if one thing is certain about the early history of English institutions and the early development of English life, it is that it was of distinctively a native character. It would be singular indeed for the Saxons to have adopted boundaries, land grants, land tenures, and agricultural economy from the conquered Romans and to have left untouched two such arts, for instance, as brick-making and glass-making, which secured their houses from the tempestuous weather of their island homes, to have neglected coal as fuel, to have dug and ploughed their lands with implements which the Roman would have scorned, to have used notched sticks for calculations, at the same time being familiar with written charters. The adoption of institutions is a less necessary and a more formal business than the adoption of the arts and comforts of life, and it is a problem which Professor Earle and those who think with him should set themselves to solve as to how far a people neglecting the one would adopt the other.

Professor Earle introduces a very interesting, and we think, a novel feature by his tracing out of the parish priest as a genuine representative for some purposes of the early gesithas from which is to be explained the hitherto imperfectly explained establishment of our parishes. If Professor Earle had looked beyond the words and facts of his charters he would have seen how telling his observations are towards the theory of an English development of land history. His appeal to archæology in this instance is most apposite, and he bids local archæologists "to form a habit of looking over the churchyard wall," where they will often find traces of the early "grouping of the church with the manor house." Professor Earle gives three instances, namely, Laughton in the West Riding, Earls Barton in Northamptonshire and Wymondley in Herefordshire, where alongside of the church are mounds and ditches marking the site of the Saxon manor house. At Newport Pagnell, at Ponsbury near Shrewsbury, at Clebury, and at Mere, we have noted other examples, and we hope the hint thus thrown out by Professor Earle will be taken up and further examples of this important feature of the English settlement brought forward. We suffer, in fact, from the absence of evidence on many points, and when we know what to look for it should not be neglected.

We have criticised this important work in no spirit of mere hostility, but recognising its true value as a distinct step towards the right understanding of the most important materials now bearing upon early English history.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EARLY PUNCH AND JUDY SHOW.

In the fifth volume of the *Archæological Journal*, published by the Royal Archæological Institute, is an account by Mr. J. O. Westwood of "a mediæval mimic entertainment resembling the modern Punch and Judy." An illustration is supplied from the celebrated MS. of the Roman d'Alexandre, preserved in the Bodleian Library, and executed between the years 1338 and 1344. It represents an exhibition precisely similar in its arrangement to that of Punch and Judy of modern times; the small theatre having all the lower part covered with drapery, whilst the upper parts only of the figures appear above the stage, being evidently moved by the performer within the theatre who held them by their legs. This seems to be so nearly a facsimile of what may now be seen in the streets of London that it seems strange that so little change could have taken place in the practices of the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Strutt does not give this particular example, and Mr. Westwood believes the artist to have possibly been a native of Guise in Picardy. I am anxious to learn if there are any more known examples in MS. of pictures of these shows, and should be much indebted to any reader of this review for information on the subject.

J. V. Lemon.

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

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THE

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EDITORIAL.

THE conclusion of the second volume of the *Archæological Review* brings with it the termination of a year's work, and the Editor must, in the first place, tender his sincere thanks for the support given to the *Review* by contributors and subscribers. The year's experience has brought about a clearer realisation of the objects of the *Review*, as well as of the best methods of attaining these objects, and it is hoped that in both respects the second year will mark a distinct progress upon the first. Whilst adhering to the guiding principle of the *Review*, namely, to recognise the inter-dependence of all the manifestations of man's activity in the past, and to employ the same method of critical investigation for all of them, the chief measure of attention will continue to be given to religious, social, and economic archæology. These are branches of the study comparatively neglected in this country, and are represented by no other journal save the *Archæological Review*. Monumental archæology, especially from its aspect as evidence for early institutions, will continue to receive due attention. Celtic antiquities will, as in the past year, receive ample notice, and the *Review* hopes to publish translations of texts hitherto inaccessible to English readers.

The organization of local archæological research, which this *Review* was the first to bring before the public, and the classification of the contents of local museums, are both subjects to which the *Review* will continue to devote particular attention, as the readiest means of elucidating many of the unexplained phenomena in the history of man's handiwork and in the progress of economic history.

The special subjects begun in the first two volumes will be continued in the ensuing year: the Place-name Index of Roman Remains in Britain will proceed with the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, and Dorset; the subject index to the old English drama and the supplemental index of papers contributed to the various Archæological Societies of the United Kingdom will both be carried on. The latter work, one of immense labour and expense, will, when complete, be accompanied by a subject index, thus laying out before the student the whole extent of archæological discovery and research in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years. The Editor trusts that the *Review* will be so supported as to allow of increased instalments of this important work being given with each number.

Among the contributions for the new year may be mentioned a series of papers on the present condition of Archæological Research: namely, Biblical Archæology, by Joseph Jacobs; Classical Archæology, by Cecil Smith; Anthropological Archæology, by Edward Clodd; The Comparative Study of Institutions, by G. L. Gomme; Folklore and Archæology, by Alfred Nutt; American Archæology: Indian Archæology, etc. Among the papers to appear at an early date may be mentioned The Identification of Ancient and Modern Weights, by O. C. Pell; The Rise in the Price of Silver between 1300 and 1500, by Frederic Seebohm; A Fresh Scottish Ashpitel and the Glass Shoes Tale, by Karl Blind; Archæological Work in Eastern Europe, by Arthur J. Evans; Robberies from Fairyland, Elidorus and the Luck of Edenhall, by E. Sidney Hartland; Primitive Residences as a test of Primitive Economy, by G. L. Gomme; The Legend of the Buddhist Alms Dish and the Legend of the Holy Grail, by Alfred Nutt; Rude Stone Monuments of Syria, by Major C. R. Conder; Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland, by Colonel Wood-Martin; Anthropological Notes from Parliamentary Papers; and contributions by Mr. C. J. Elton, Mr. J. H. Round, Mr. George Clinch, Mr. G. E. B. Phillimore, Mr. E. Peacock, Professor J. W. Hales, Dr. Robert Brown, Mr. Talfourd Ely, and others.

In order to add to the practical efficiency of the *Review*, arrangements have been made by which the present Editor will be materially assisted by specialists, and the future editors, while improving the plan of publication in accordance with the past year's experience, will strictly adhere to the principles already laid down.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

Anthropology.

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NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

No. 5. "Lala," or Fijian Service Tenures.

THE following paper was written for the Government by Mr. Wilkinson, the chief interpreter, a gentleman who is second to none in knowledge of the Fijian people and their customs:—

The custom, or rather institution of "lava"-ing men or labourers and "lavaka"-ing work is, perhaps, from its very comprehensiveness, the most important question that can be considered in connection with native affairs. In some cases it is the thread or chain which runs through Fiji, and connects all its social and political institutions into one body. It is the only custom which changes but little throughout the group. It has existed from time immemorial, was the very bulwark of their mythology, and in one form or other enters into all relationships. It is the indication of what relationships exist between the people and their Chiefs; in fact, it is the keystone of the Chief's government and authority over his people, the channel through which comes his "sinews of war" in times of trouble; and his "ways and means" in times of peace. In other words it is the rent paid by the people for their privileges and the Chief's protection. To deal with it thoroughly in a paper like this would be impossible, because it would simply be a social or domestic history of Fiji. But in order to make the subject as clear as possible to his Excellency, and to describe its character and application generally, it will be best perhaps to confine my remarks to a description of what actually takes place under various circumstances.

1st. The Supreme Chief's Lala, to commence with the necessaries of life. As the planting season approaches, the Chief may send word to the Chief or Chiefs of an island, district, or town, "I wish my garden planted by you this year;" or which is equally common, any island, district, or town may send to know the Chief's pleasure, and ask, "may we not plant a garden?" I may remark here that a Chief never exercises the lala (true and proper) over any other than his rightful subjects; not necessarily his own

"Qali" only, but all over whom he holds sovereignty and acknowledged authority. Sometimes gardens are planted without the knowledge of the Chief, and when nearly matured formally presented. While such an act indicates loyalty it is not lala, and is often done with some special object. It having been decided to plant (the Chief sometimes selects the exact plot of ground himself), then comes the different operations of clearing, burning, digging and planting, all of which are duly reported to the Chief, who gives from time to time the necessary orders, and not unfrequently directs the operations in person. In due time the yams have matured and are ready for digging. The Chief is again sought, and issues his orders. The town probably fixes the day for digging, or rather the day for finishing and housing, or if the Chief has so ordered, for bringing the crop to his own homestead. Before this day the Chief has been making his preparations for receiving them, which will probably be by informing his household, or rather the householders immediately connected with his own, that the crop is to be housed on a certain day, and he wishes the housers to have fish or pork to eat, as the case may be. With this information a good deal more is meant than really appears until the day arrives. The Chief prepares the principal portion of the feast, which will be yams or taro, and perhaps turtle. As soon as the housers have finished, and the Chief's oven is ready, the other householders begin to bring in their contributions, which will consist of food (fish chiefly), mats, native cloth, or anything esteemed or scarce with the people who are to receive it. Now these householders have not themselves contributed all they bring, but each will have reported to his or her friends or neighbours, who, as a rule, respond, and what is called "help their friends or relatives." Of course, the Chief's contribution of both food and property will more than exceed all the rest put together. The food and property is then piled in heaps, and, with a number of whales' teeth, is presented to the producers either by the Chief himself or his "Matanivanua" in a short speech, which is generally followed by some order, or general information, or instruction. Opportunities of this kind are seldom lost by a Chief, who generally finishes by showing them the benefits accruing from industry and peace, or of administering some reproof for misconduct to any person or Chief of town present. Being thus dismissed the producers take possession of the food and property, and it is divided between the householders who have assisted towards the entertainment. Of course, by far the larger portions are put aside into the Chief's yam store. There is another kind of Lavaka-ing gardens

which ought perhaps also to be described. It may be called the Chief's personal or family garden for the year. He will probably send to a district to say that he wishes the said district to provide the "contents of the yam hills" of his garden, that is the "sets." This messenger does not go empty-handed. The Chief then proceeds to "lavaka" the digging of his garden upon his own particular "Qali's" towns, who clear, dig, and hill up the ground, which may occupy one, two, or three days, according to the size of the ground or number of hands employed. The Chief daily provides the food, but that is all. It is then reported to the Chief of the district that the ground is ready, and as at the first intimation of the Chief's desires, a meeting of the elders of the town is called, they decide the number of yams each man is to contribute, which will probably be one or two, or if it be a very large garden, perhaps three each; this arranged, and the day for planting fixed, the Chief of the district (Buli) dispatches his messenger to say "we come to plant the garden on such a day;" then, as in the other case, provision is made, with perhaps this exception, the Chief does the whole of it himself, though there may be voluntary contributions by some of his people (which are always acknowledged when the yams are dug). The day arrives, the garden is planted amidst general rejoicing by the planters, to whom great license is allowed, and who indulge in witty and sarcastic sayings at the expense of the Chief's own "Qali," giving and answering call to each other's toasts, and wishing in various forms, success to planting and an abundant year. Then comes the presentation of food and property; the latter greatly exceeds, though plenty of both is expected, and considered Chief-like. I have seen a hundred whales' teeth presented, besides mats, native cloth, &c., in abundance. As before, a speech will be made, orders issued, reproof and advice given on any matter which may affect the general weal. When the planters return to their homes, and if there has been a good supply of food, &c., they spread the news as they go, extolling the Chief's power, greatness and liberality. And here the Chief has often a special object quite apart from getting his garden planted. Supposing he has reason to believe a district has become disaffected towards him, or disturbed in itself from any cause whatever, he will call them to do that, or some other kind of work, and generally, with the best results, he removes the disaffection, and sends them to their homes well pleased and more loyal than when they came. With very little difference, excepting, perhaps, in detail, and a more limited application, the same system is followed by all Chiefs of inferior

grade; such as the Chief's relatives, &c., Chiefs of tribes, down to heads of households, each calling upon his own "Qali," tribes, or family to help him, and making a compensating return to his helpers; and when the Chief has not been up to the mark in the latter, I have known a tribe to appeal to the supreme Chief, saying, "We went laden to plant our Chief's garden, and have returned hungry and empty-handed;" which would result in the said Chief being reproved and exposed, and perhaps the tribe told they need not work for him again unless first remunerated, though the latter privilege would hardly be taken advantage of unless he were not their direct Chief, but from whom they know they will derive benefits in some other way, which advantage Fijians never lose when opportunity is favourable, even against their own Chiefs. The same system, with nearly all the same arrangements, applies to house building. The work is apportioned out to the several towns or tribes to be engaged. The owner of the house providing food, &c. It is only in some parts of Fiji, or under peculiar circumstances, where direct pay is made to housebuilders.

The "lala," as exercised in connection with canoe building, has but slight differences, which, however, have been pointed out as oppressive to the particular town or tribe who provide food for the carpenters, and otherwise attend upon and assist them generally during the building; but it is probable because it is not always known that there is in one way or another a constant drain made upon the Chief by the said towns; and besides benefits they derive from the carpenters living amongst them, they are often exonerated from assistance in other work to which their neighbours are called. The Chief provides the carpenters with tools, &c., and makes periodical gifts to them, or upon the fittings of certain pieces of woods, or the completion of particular parts of the canoe. When finished, the Chief's orders go out that upon a day named the canoe will be launched, the carpenters paid, &c.; when all contribute both food and property, which, when handed over to the carpenters, are divided amongst them according to their grade, or to the time they may have been employed on the canoe. After launching (that is, if it be a canoe of importance), wherever a new canoe puts in, large quantities of food are presented, amidst general rejoicing, and the Chief who has completed such an undertaking is greatly extolled, and the carpenters praised for the character of the work done. Of course, ropes, sails, and tackling generally have to be provided, the former is frequently done by the Chief's own immediate retainers, or town's people, and the mats

are lavaka-'d over perhaps the Chief's whole territory, each town's portion being named, which is generally 100 fathoms of the narrow matting; and as soon as it is ready is brought in, which may be in about a fortnight after the order has been received, and in due form presented. All the mats are plaited by the women.

The next, perhaps, in order to be considered, and by far the most difficult to describe, is the custom of lavaka-ing food for any public occasion, or the visit of Chiefs and strangers from other provinces; and also when a Chief, say a Roko, is travelling through his own province either for pleasure or on the business of the State; in each case, on his arrival in any town, food is at once prepared for him and his followers, the townspeople each contributing their quota. If his visit has been announced, food will be ready cooked awaiting his arrival; then, if his stay be prolonged for a few days, each town in that particular district will contribute their portion for each daily entertainment, and will be "lavaka'd" by the Chief or Buli of the district, who simply sends to each town, saying, "The Chiefs are in our midst, staying at the town of——." Then, in the case of a Chief or Roko visiting another province, which is generally a previously-arranged matter, and often with a specific object, his intended visit will have been announced, and, it may be, definite arrangements made, as to which towns are to take part in preparing the entertainment. As soon as he arrives, messages are sent out, and the food comes in; generally in such a case the day of the visit is fixed, and, as a Chief never goes to visit another empty-handed, he never returns so. On this day there is a mutual exchange of presents. The guest having handed over his, then receives the return presents. The former are generally divided out to the contributors of food and property, or to those towns upon whom the Roko has been lala-ing during the visit. At such exchanges of civilities between Fijian Chiefs of high rank, large canoes, and other of the most valuable of Fijian property, change hands. The worst feature, probably, of these feasts is, that such a frightful waste of good food generally occurs, because a Chief must always provide more than is necessary, and try to excel his guest, or he loses caste in his eyes and those of his retainers; and when these visits are more of a public or national character the waste and destruction is most deplorable, and I have known, when such a Chief's visit has been prolonged, a district left in a state of want and famine. In dividing the property (that is, presents) of a visiting Chief, it is considered quite a matter of the Roko's or host's own pleasure

whether or not he divides a portion as above described to each town or tribe, but it must not be forgotten that all that a Chief possesses is regarded as public property, and is available for such purposes, and generally finds its way amongst his people; and again, on the other hand, all that is possessed by the people or tribes is regarded by them as really the Chief's, and at his service, though, of course, questions of polity and the Chief's concern for his people's welfare, and to retain their unbroken loyalty, always influence the exercise of his power or prerogative. Even in the old times, these rights were very seldom exercised to the extreme, and only under peculiar circumstances, or in connection with their mythology. But, excepting perhaps in a few parts of the group, this exercise of extreme power has passed away, and individual property is now respected. The character of a truly good ruling Fijian Chief is consideration for the welfare of his people; to conserve their interest and promote their increase, is his great object and concern; he is the parent or patriarch of his people; and a Chief without these characteristics is called among his fellows "a Chief with but a commoner's heart."

The above appears to be the object and manner in which the "lala" authority is exercised in the usual, ordinary, and regular course of things.

There are, however, a few other instances in which the "lala" authority is exercised, but I think they ought to be called special or extraordinary, and it may be said with some truth, perhaps, to be of recent introduction, but this is only in reference more particularly to its object. The first instance is "lavaka"-ing work to be done for white settlers, which is generally of two kinds, such as house-building, contract, or plantation work.

A Chief will often exercise his "lala" authority for some special or public object. His people, or some portion of them want, say a vessel, or he himself desires to purchase one, and arrangements are made accordingly, the amount and time for it to be raised are all talked over with his elders, and the portions of money or produce to be supplied by each district, when for a time a whole province may become so engaged. This has been a great convenience to Chiefs, and no serious infliction upon the people. But in some parts of the group it has been carried to such excess that often for months the people have been engaged in purchasing something or other for their Chief, or paying a debt for some article or articles he has got from the trader, which, after a day or two's amusement therefrom, he has thrown aside like a toy, while

his people have been oppressed and enslaved through his fancies. Another and more commendable instance is, when I have known a Chief raise a whole province to clear an old road, or make a new, and perhaps important one, and in this way fifteen or twenty miles have been cleared in one day.

Another instance, during the late sickness, though it hardly is a case of pure "lala," exemplifies the exercise of power. The Chief of Bua declared all gardens and food common property, as the people were suffering more from want of food than from disease, many having to go a considerable distance to their own gardens; thus, in a great calamity or public emergency, a Chief could exercise his authority, and it would be responded to by his people, and public good and convenience be conserved thereby.

It is hardly necessary to the present question to describe the exercise of the "lala" in times of war. It is then simply absolute over life and property through the whole community and over all they possess, but indemnities of war paid by the conquered party at the time or after are always divided amongst the warriors.

There are a few instances where "lala" is exercised over particular classes of the community. Two are worthy of notice, viz., the fishing tribes, and the carpenters, or the canoe-building tribes. Each class considers itself specially and directly under the Chief's immediate command. The fishermen have a large share in preparing for the entertainment of visiting Chiefs, or for large gatherings on important occasions, and the fisherman's share in the divisions of property is always an important one.

Turtle fishing is different from any other kind. A Chief desiring turtle caught sends first a whale's tooth to the tribe with a request that they will put down their net, which means "prepare for turtle fishing." As soon as the canoe with the net on board is afloat, a large present is then made to them, when they proceed to work. The capture of the first fish is rewarded by a whale's tooth and other property, and each succeeding fish by some present, with the addition of a whale's tooth, until the tenth is brought in, when a feast is given by the Chief to the fishermen, and considerable property presented, which ends the fishing for that occasion, unless the Chief wishes more caught, when the same thing is repeated. A Chief generally looks well to his fishermen, and sees that they are properly provided with canoes and other requisites.

Fijian carpenters or canoe builders have been described as the lowest vassals of a Chief; whilst in some respect this may be true, they nevertheless possess some very exceptional privileges; and,

although they are only supposed to work when and where the Chief consents or directs, they are well paid for what they do, and are well cared for by the Chief himself, or whoever they may work for; but it is next to impossible to get them to do work (canoe building) excepting through their own Chief.

There is just one other form where the rights of exercising the "lala" appears to be recognized, and it is by levying a fine upon any district, town, or tribe, of either labour or produce, for some offence or misdemeanour, such as neglecting to carry out any special order or command of the Roko's, or that of a Buli, or Chief of a town, or for committing any act of violence, evil deed, or the destruction of the property of their neighbours; also for any act of disrespect to their own or other known Chief of rank, for any act of disloyalty, or for any disturbance amongst themselves. Any of those having been proved after inquiry, a fine is inflicted, and the tribe town, or district, as the case may be, has to do a certain amount of work, as roadmaking, perhaps, or to pay so much in kind to the Chief, who, if compensation has been awarded to the injured, hands over the amount, and retains the balance for a common or public purpose. I have known in cases of theft, when it was found impossible to discover the culprits, whose continued depredations became a common nuisance, the infliction of a fine upon the district or neighbouring towns to compensate the losers, not only stop their doings, but, as a rule, lead to the discovery of the perpetrators; as the natives say, with considerable truth, it makes every innocent man a detective. It also acts most salutarily upon neighbouring districts.

The above appears to be the various forms and instances, both regular and extraordinary, where the exercise of the "lala" is considered by natives as right, proper, legitimate, and honourable, to which the people readily respond and submit. This is so much so, that whenever a trial has been made to do away with the "lala" as an institution, a greater difficulty has been experienced with the people than with the Chiefs. The latter say, "If we receive less property we shall simply have less to give away."

It will be seen that, in the above descriptions, I have sought to confine my remarks to the exercise of "lala" in its legitimate character, and have not noticed the voluntary and spontaneous contributions of the people to their Chiefs, which is so often spoken against by foreigners, who either do not understand it, or have the impression that it is simply the result of a secretly conveyed intimation on the part of a Chief, which is altogether a mistake. Such expressions of sympathy and affection to a Chief are frequent and

characteristic, and never pass unrewarded or unacknowledged by him. But it is entirely distinct from the "lala," and is simply and purely the expression of respect and regard the people consider their Chief's due.

The principal abuse in the exercise of Chief's authority, is by High Chiefs' sons, and relatives of the Rokos, perhaps, and Chiefs of lower grades, or their retainers, who go about from place to place levying tribute—or, in other words, black mail—of all kinds of produce or native property, and who are never slow to make use of the Supreme Chief or Roko's name and authority, when such can be done with safety, to secure their object and oppress and impoverish the people. This kind of thing is not called "lala," but "vakasaurara," that is, oppression, or "forcibly taking away," and the perpetrators are called "nai vakacaca," or spoilers.

Another case may be given, which is, when a Chief, for some cause or other, has got into debt, and is unable to pay, and he adopts one of two expedients, or in some cases both, to raise funds. He "lavaka's" produce of some kind or other. It may be at per head among the males, or so much from each town. In some cases, if the amount be large, a Chief will appeal for assistance to a Chief of another province, who will generally accede to the request. In this way large districts are kept all but exclusively at such work for months, to the neglect of their usual avocations, which, if it occur during planting season, causes gardens to be neglected, and consequently, after the debt is paid, more or less distress prevails amongst the people.

The second case is the "lava"-ing of men, to go and work under certain arrangements, say so much per head to be paid to the Chief supplying the men, or, perhaps, the men's wages are hypothecated, and in such cases town and districts have been thinned of all their able-bodied and young men, sometimes for from two to three years. I would here notice that this is different altogether from the ordinary mode of obtaining Fijian labour, where presents are generally made to the Chief, and divided amongst the relatives of the men leaving, when both parties are well enough satisfied. Each of the above forms of "lava"-ing men is of modern origin, and the result of settlement of whites in the Group.

The foregoing is as nearly as possible a description of what is generally supposed to be the institution of "lala," but which, far from being "lala," is in reality simply the arbitrary exercise of authority of Chiefs over the people, an authority probably pure enough originally, but corrupted from time to time by capricious and tyrannical rival Chiefs.

There is another custom so nearly allied to the above, which is known as begging, but in a Fijian sense it means much more, as the party solicited is not always free to refuse, and a native is always ashamed to refuse to give anything asked of him. For this last reason only they will not unfrequently give, if solicited, all they possess.

Before closing this paper, the custom of solevu-ing ought perhaps to be noticed; though it does not come under the head of "lala," it is very nearly allied to it, and often calls it forth. A Chief or Chiefs, or the people of a province, district, or town, being in want of some articles, will send to those of another province, district, or town, and request them to solevu, naming the articles they are in want of, and perhaps the articles they will bring in return. This being accepted, the day will be fixed, the proposing parties, unless otherwise specially arranged, visit their friends to present their property and receive what is given in return, and both lots are again divided out to the contributors only, so that it will be seen the custom partakes very much of the nature of an ordinary market or fair.—*Correspondence relating to Fiji* (c-1624 of 1876).

Archæology.

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EXCAVATIONS AT CRANBORNE CHASE.[1]

THESE two splendid volumes are the beginning of a series intended to contain a minute record of the work of examination of the antiquities on and near his own property to which General Pitt-Rivers has determined to devote the remaining portion of his life. The author has long been known as one of the most distinguished of living antiquaries and anthropologists ; and the combination of archæological and anthropological attainments which he possesses is probably unique. It must be accounted, therefore, a happy event for science that he succeeded to property so rich in relics of the past as the Rivers estates, and that he did so under circumstances which admitted of his dedicating his leisure to the investigations here recorded. Nor can any student fail to sympathise heartily with him when he says that, with the ample harvest before him and "with the particular tastes that I had cultivated, it almost seemed to me as if some unseen hand had trained me up to be the possessor of such a property, which, up to within a short time of my inheriting it, I had but little reason to expect."

The work before us is prefaced with a short statement of the manner in which the author came into this inheritance, and of the condition in Lord Rivers' will requiring him to change his name from that of Lane-Fox which he had already adorned by his contributions to anthropology. A general description of the district follows, and an account of the staff he organised and the method in which the excavations were carried on. All this is valuable ; nor is any apology needed for the fulness of detail concerning those excavations and their results which forms the bulk of the volumes. Weighty are the words General Pitt-Rivers uses in reference to this ; and they ought to sink deep into the mind of every antiquary. He says:—"Excavators, as a rule, record only those things which appear to them important at the time, but fresh problems in Archæology and Anthropology are constantly arising, and it can

[1] EXCAVATIONS IN CRANBORNE CHASE, NEAR RUSHMORE, ON THE BORDERS OF DORSET AND WILTS, 1880-1888. By Lieutenant-General PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L. Vol. I., 1887, and Vol. II., 1888. Privately printed.

hardly have escaped the notice of anthropologists, especially those who, like myself, have been concerned with the morphology of art, that, on turning back to old accounts in search of evidence, the points which would have been most valuable have been passed over from being thought uninteresting at the time. Every detail should, therefore, be recorded in the manner most conducive to facility of reference, and it ought at all times to be the chief object of an excavator to reduce his own personal equation to a minimum." The maxim conveyed in the last sentence has been faithfully acted on in the explorations around Rushmore; and by means of the careful descriptions and measurements, and the clear and accurate maps and drawings provided for us in these volumes we are placed as nearly as possible in the position of having watched with our own eyes the work as it proceeded. It would be safe to say that no such record as this has ever been produced. In these pages we learn how much has been lost by the ignorance and the carelessness of so many of the earlier explorers, even among professed antiquaries.

The first volume is occupied with the examination of a Romano-British village on Woodcuts Common, just within the borders of Dorsetshire, and of a few pits and two dykes nearer to Rushmore, in Wiltshire. The second volume describes the opening of some barrows (at one of which the late Prof. Rolleston assisted a short while before his death), the discovery of another Romano-British village, this time on Rotherley Down in Wiltshire, and excavations made at Winkelbury Hill on the property of Sir Thomas Grove, overlooking the valley of Broad Chalke. The most remarkable result obtained has undoubtedly been the finding of skeletons of a diminutive dolichocephalic race of men who appear to have occupied the villages referred to during the Roman period. The measurements of their skulls and limb-bones would shew them to have had an average stature for males of 5 feet 2·6 inches, and for females of 4 feet 10·9 inches. With regard to these measurements, however, it may be observed in passing that one of the skeletons unearthed on Rotherley Down, and pronounced to be that of an aged man estimated to have been 4 feet 8·5 inches in height, was found with a bronze ring on one of the fingers (it is not stated *which*) of the left hand. The interior diameter of the ring is given as 0·68 inch, a size certainly large for a person so short. Who were these diminutive villagers? This is a problem full of interest, the solution of which might throw light on other questions perplexing alike to the historian of this island and to the anthropologist. General Pitt-Rivers does not spend much time in discussing it; but he offers

two suggestions;—first, that they are survivors of the Neolithic population driven into this out-of-the-way region by pressure from the Celts and other invading races,—a hypothesis to which the crouched position of many of the interments and the markedly dolichocephalic and hyperdolichocephalic skulls, he thinks, lend countenance; and, secondly, that they are remnants of a larger race of Britons, by which we understand him to mean some tribe of Brythonic Celts, "deteriorated by slavery, and reduced in stature by the drafting of their largest men into the Roman legions abroad." This suggestion he considers to be perhaps supported by the comparatively large size of their females. At present it is clear we have no means of arriving at a conclusion on the subject: we must await further explorations in this and other parts of the country.

The remains laid bare both at Woodcuts and at Rotherley disclose continued occupation of the villages for a lengthened period by a peaceful, poor, agricultural and pastoral people, probably down to the English conquest. At Woodcuts there seems to have been a small colony in somewhat better circumstances than their neighbours; and one portion of the village (the south-east quarter) it is conjectured was the compound of a chief. Of the skeletons found in this village, only one was buried in a grave apparently dug for the purpose; and that one was in the remote corner of the south-east quarter. Here the body lay extended. The crouched position was the favourite, though not the universal, attitude of burial; but so far as can be judged, the difference of attitude does not indicate any difference of race or social position. There was no attempt at orientation, such as the author discovered in the Anglo-Saxon graves at Winkelbury. The bodies were frequently placed in pits cut in the chalk. The number of these pits is considerable; and what uses they were intended to serve is doubtful. That they were not cut for graves seems certain, for the bodies are never at the bottom. They have the appearance of being used as receptacles for rubbish flung in from time to time; and the human bones are found in the filling, sometimes even close to the top.

Of the religious beliefs of this mysterious people little, if anything, can be gleaned. None of the interments are accompanied by anything suggestive of the belief in a posthumous existence. Nothing was brought to light that would indicate the objects or mode of worship; and the only thing that can be said with any confidence is that Christianity had assuredly not reached this wild upland. Two objects doubtfully supposed to be, the one a charm, and the other a reliquary, were uncovered at Rotherley. Three

of the skeletons at Woodcuts were in situations from which foundation sacrifices might be inferred. Two of these were under the main rampart, one on the north side and the other on the south. The third lay beside the flue of a hypocaust in the south-east quarter, as if it had been buried under the eaves or threshold of a house—perhaps that of the chief before referred to—which the hypocaust was intended to warm. But there is nothing to confirm the conjecture of sacrifice. Indeed the regular appearance of all three of these burials (all extended), and the presence of nails which may have been coffin nails in the interment beneath the northern rampart, seem to weigh against it. It may be observed that the villages were both so poor that there were no traces of house-foundations of a permanent character. Wattle-work covered with clay was the material of which the dwellings were built. Consequently, even had they been inhabited by a tribe known to have practised human sacrifice at the laying of foundations, we should not expect to recover evidence of the practice, save at the utmost in cases such as those before us, namely, the main ramparts and the chief's residence. And we are not aware that any evidence has been recorded of this custom in Britain: but it may be worth the while of future explorers to be on the look-out for it. Only one cinerary urn was found.

But if we turn from the religious beliefs and practices to the material civilization of the occupants of these villages we can learn much. The chief metallic substances used are bronze and iron. The fibulæ, of which a considerable number were found, are of Roman type, of various and sometimes elaborate and elegant shapes; and some of the safety pins possess the most modern improvements. Brooches of mosaic, as well as of beautifully moulded gilt bronze, were a luxury not unknown. Rings, of Roman manufacture, of bronze, iron, and other metals adorned fingers whose girth could not have been very much less than that of the fingers of taller races. Bangles, buttons and other ornaments were also worn. Tweezers and earpicks were articles of the toilet. Not only knives but spoons were used in the manipulation of food. Keys and locks and hinges secured the lids of chests, if not the doors of houses. Relics such as the foregoing, though not absolutely confined to the wealthy quarter of Woodcuts, are of course more numerous there than elsewhere in these two villages; and coins are far more abundant at Woodcuts than at Rotherley, fifteen only having been found at the latter to 197 at the former, of which 4 at Rotherley and 54 at Woodcuts could not be identified. The Roman coins in both villages shew a

curious gap in the first half of the third century; and the latest coin found at Rotherley is of Tetricus, whose power Aurelian brought to an ignominious end in 272. At Woodcuts the series is continued for about 80 years more, down to Magnentius. This would seem to point to a longer lease of life for the latter community.

Some of the most interesting and important relics are the specimens of pottery. General Pitt-Rivers' carefully compiled statistics in reference to these specimens throw unexpected light on the history of the villages. The table given in the second volume shews exactly where the different kinds of pottery were found, the result of which is that while both better and worse qualities of pottery were picked up everywhere there is nevertheless a distinction in the classes of vessels which indicates that both sites were inhabited before Roman civilization had penetrated thither. The Dorsetshire labourer at the present day uses a kind of narrow-necked jar or bottle, provided, not with handles, but simply with eyelet holes for suspension by a cord. These holes are known as the Purbeck handle, from their prevalence in the district. Fragments of vessels provided with the Purbeck handle were discovered, not merely in surface trenching, but also in the pits.

The only difference, so far as can be judged from the plates, between these and the specimens from Woodcuts and Rotherley is that the latter is somewhat better finished, though they are all described as coarsely made. The holes are a little more than half an inch in diameter. It is easy to see how a true handle would develop; and this is made clear by means of the drawings and sections given in the work. The first step of the process is by thinning the rudimentary handle and bringing it forward from the rounded surface of the vessel so as barely to admit the tip of the finger and thumb. But this is an improvement which seems to have been added after the invention of a coarse bead rim. Pottery of the latter description is common throughout the villages, but markedly in the pits, though the improved handle is rarely found in the pits. Another form of vessel is scattered over the surface and lies in the drains and ditches, but only very occasionally in the pits. This is a vessel with a rim apparently made to fit a cover. The cover does not seem to have been found, a difficulty which may be explainable by the supposition that the cover was of wood, and has therefore perished. The surface also bears vessels having a rim modelled like a twisted cord. Both these kinds of pottery are of later date than the bead rims or the Purbeck handles, and later still is the New Forest ware. The pottery called by this name was common during the Roman

occupation in and around the district indicated in its name. It was a native manufacture, of a very advanced type, and frequently of great elegance of form. But the most beautiful of all is the red Samian ware, whereof large numbers of fragments were found. In one of the ditches at Woodcuts eighteen pieces were lying in a black seam of refuse dispersed over a space of about seven feet. These were carefully put together by Mr. Ready of the British Museum, who was enabled to reconstruct out of them a bowl $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, one small chip only being missing.

Considerable ingenuity is shown in the manufacture of articles of bone. Many of these articles were no doubt made on the spot, and might well have occupied the leisure of a community where the arts of peace flourished. Among the relics were found several specimens of the metatarsal and metacarpal bones of a sheep bored throughout their length, and some having one or two transverse holes. It is suggested that these were for winding string or thread; and one of them is scratched as if by some such use.

Of fragments of quern stones, whetstones, pounders and other implements of stone a large number were found. Flint scrapers, too, were not uncommon, and suggest that they were still in use for some purposes, as, for instance, the preparation of skins. Knives and arrowheads of flint were rare, as we might expect if the site had been settled, as other facts seem to show, only shortly before Roman times. The iron implements are numerous, chiefly consisting of domestic and agricultural utensils, and showing as may be gathered from such as have been already enumerated, a comparatively advanced civilization, and not a little direct Roman influence.

Little can be learnt of the general habits of the people beyond the facts above stated of their poverty and of their peaceful agricultural and pastoral character. There is some reason to suspect infanticide from the number of remains of newborn children unearthed, especially at Rotherley. This would be consistent with the poverty of the settlement; but the evidence is not conclusive. The animal food used included horses as well as sheep and oxen, roe deer and perhaps dogs. At the wealthier village of Woodcuts oysters were also eaten, but apparently no other molluscs. The horses were small, not exceeding 11 or 12 hands in height and bearing a general resemblance to the Exmoor pony. The sheep were long-legged and small, and belonged to a variety now only represented by the St. Kilda breed.

It seems clear from the comparative shallowness of the wells

that the rainfall in those early days must have been much greater than now, and consequently the soil was much more saturated with moisture. The extensive ditches are also evidence to the same effect. Probably the land was covered with forest, and the bare chalk-hills which are now so characteristic of the scenery of our south-eastern counties were then clad with trees. This is borne out by the testimony of classic historians. Pythias alludes to Britain as a land of clouds and rain; and if there be any substratum of facts beneath the mythical and highly-coloured description of Procopius it must lie in some such condition of things.

We have only been enabled to touch in a perfunctory way on a few of the many interesting questions raised in this admirable record; and the space which remains to us will not admit of our discussing the other explorations, valuable though they are. They comprise a number of barrows at Rushmore, and a camp, barrows and pits and an Anglo-Saxon cemetery on Winkelbury Hill, not quite a mile and a half from the Romano-British village of Rotherley. One important matter, however, connected with the camp we must mention. It is situated at the extremity of a tongue of land stretching northwards into the Broad Chalke Valley, and is surrounded and protected on three sides by a steep descent. On the fourth side it adjoins the high upland of the Wiltshire downs, and is defended by ramparts and ditches. What is remarkable is the wide openings, or gateways, which divide these ramparts. The top of the declivity is surrounded also by a rampart, but between it and the rampart which defends the southern side of the camp are openings, that on the western side being 115 feet wide and that on the eastern side 55 feet wide. The southern rampart is in two portions, of which the eastern half is advanced 120 feet further to the south than the western half. The space between is open, and looking at it directly from the south the opening is of the width of 90 feet. There is no trace of any disturbance of the ground between, so that these openings were part of the original design of the camp, and greatly reduced its defensive strength. The reason for this is a problem which General Pitt-Rivers' military knowledge renders him peculiarly fitted to discuss. He observes that the arrangement "points obviously to a necessity which must have existed for large openings for the ingress or exit of a considerable body of men or animals in a short time under pressure from without," and suggests that it may have been "constructed for the purpose of quickly driving in, when attacked by a neighbouring tribe, the animals which in ordinary times were kept grazing on

the downland to the south of the camp." The argument with which this ingenious suggestion is supported is, like all the rest of the work, worthy of the most careful consideration. To us it seems to attain a high degree of probability.

It will be seen that the work before us is as fruitful in new questions as it is in accurate data for the solution hereafter of those questions as well as of others that already await solution. Nor is this small praise; for the new questions raised by any discovery always mark the real advance made by that discovery. But the chief lesson the volumes teach is how much may be done by explorations carried on in the severely scientific spirit and with the attention to the most seemingly trivial details that have deservedly placed General Pitt-Rivers in the very first rank of English antiquaries, and have enabled him by his explorations at Rushmore and elsewhere to add so much to our knowledge of the remote past. Government appointments are not always conferred on the worthiest objects; but never did a government act with a truer instinct than when General Pitt-Rivers was made Inspector of Ancient Monuments. Our only regret is that his powers are so absurdly limited. We earnestly hope that the day may speedily come when, setting aside the exaggerated notions of rights of private property which are so fondly cherished in some quarters, all Ancient Monuments and their contents shall be declared to belong to the nation and be placed absolutely under the control of some duly qualified official, subject only to reasonable claims for actual, and not fanciful, damage inflicted in the course of any explorations, and protected by severe penalties from interference not authorised and not carried out under strict scientific and official superintendence.[2] In the meantime General Pitt-Rivers has shown us how much may be done by properly organised research. These two volumes ought to give an impetus to the movement in that direction originated in the pages of this Review. We can conceive no better purpose to which the funds of the Society of Antiquaries and the energies of the various local archæological societies and field clubs can be put than the

[2] In the December number of this Review, p. 251, is an account of the opening of a barrow on Drummond farm, in the parish of Kiltearn, Ross-shire, in the presence of Sir Hector Munro, owner of the property. It is a favourable specimen of the method of the ordinary explorer, and nothing can be more instructive than to compare and contrast it with General Pitt-Rivers' procedure. No drawings appear to have been made, but the vagueness of the measurements and other details, and the folly of replacing the bones, instead of carefully preserving them, together with the other contents of the barrows (for another had been opened ten days before) and with full descriptions, in some museum is manifest.

training, under so experienced an explorer as the author of the *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, of a younger generation of archæologists in the methodical exploration and study of the remains of antiquity yet untouched in different parts of the country. It is impossible to say what knowledge of importance not merely national might then be recovered to mankind. The results of all such investigations ought, we think too, to be published at the expense of the nation, and not left like these to be borne by private munificence or to be entombed in the records of any societies however large and influential. They would in that way be made accessible at a minimum of expense to all students.

If we may, without appearing ungracious, make one suggestion in reference to the work now under review, it is that an index of relics be provided in future volumes. The tables are most careful and exhaustive; but if it be desired to ascertain whether any specific relics have been found, and where, it is necessary to examine the tables line by line. An index would enable the enquirer to see this at a glance. We know the difficulty of index-making in such a case as this; and we certainly do not mention the matter as a deduction from the value of the book, but simply in the hope that General Pitt-Rivers may be able hereafter to lay all who are interested in his labours under a still greater debt of gratitude to one who has already raised so noble a monument to his own devotion to anthropological science.

We must not conclude this notice, inadequate at the best, without referring to the museum at Farnham where General Pitt-Rivers has placed the various articles he has recovered from the custody of the soil. There they are duly ticketed and described; and accurate models of the villages and models on a larger scale of the particular finds have also been placed there, where they may be studied in the very neighbourhood and in connection with the very places where the discoveries were made. It is a matter of congratulation for all who are interested in the elevation of the masses of our fellow countrymen to learn that the Museum has proved a great attraction to the working men of the district, and that on Sunday afternoons more than 100 persons, and on special holidays between 200 and 300 persons, visit it. Here is an example which more of our landowners and wealthy men might follow if they had any real desire to benefit their neighbours or to disseminate knowledge.

E. SIDNEY HARTLAND.

History.

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THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT EXCHEQUER AT WESTMINSTER.

THE Exchequer is perhaps more closely connected with the Archæology of Westminster than any other secular institution before the reign of "the English Justinian." It is true that from this date the ancient palace was the fixed seat of the Law Courts, in which the Barons' Chamber was thenceforth merged, but so long as the Curia and Exchequer were distinct, though parallel departments, the latter really monopolized the official establishment at Westminster. It may be urged, however, that in this archæological aspect the Curia is the older court, held here, possibly, in King Edward's day in the White Hall or Painted Chamber, and transplanted by the Red King to a more dignified habitation in the Great Hall with which it has ever since been associated. But it is obvious that this view of the matter entirely assumes the permanent or official establishment of the Curia at any one centre. In truth it had no such establishment, but followed the king from one palace to another, its members being for the most part "curiales" or "familiares" as expert as any Barons of the Exchequer, but differing from the latter in this important particular that they had no *impedimenta* in the shape of a chequered table, a score or so of iron chests stuffed with rolls and books of reference, an equal number of binns full of tallies and writs for every English county, and a smelting furnace, but could assemble and decide off-hand a knotty point of law between sunrise and Chaplain Roger's hunting-mass.

Therefore the Great Hall of Rufus must not be looked on as the home of the Curia before the 13th century, for it was not necessarily used as a court-house, even when the Court happened to be at Westminster *de more*, or for any other purpose than a council, a coronation feast, or some other imposing ceremony. In any case, however, when the king, after some three days' stay, had recommenced the round of his more favoured hunting-lodges, Westminster knew the Curia no more until the next fitful visit of royalty, and

absolutely no trace of its official existence was left behind except the Records of the Court, bundles of rolls and bales of writs, which appear to have been deposited in the Treasury of the Receipt. Now it is the existence of the latter as an essential department of the Exchequer which constitutes the difference between this latter court and the Curia and explains the existence of a permanent staff under the Treasurer and Chamberlains at Westminster. The Barons of the Exchequer themselves were scarcely distinguishable, in the time of which we treat, from the Justices of the Curia. Both were equally "curiales" and "familiares," and the members of one court were equally versed in the routine of the other, up to a certain point. It is only here and there that an expert stands out as a specialist in jurisprudence or finance, a Glanvile or a Fitz-Neale. These Barons then made little longer stay at Westminster than their brethren of the Curia though the period and scope of their work were rigidly marked out for them; but at the end of the short session they left behind them all the apparatus of their office in charge of their deputies, the clerical staff of the Receipt. The President and Constable and "curiales" of the pattern of Master Brown went to follow the court; the Treasurer and Chamberlains to hover between the Camera and Treasury; while the legal Barons went on circuit in the provinces for the nice adjustment of scutages and assarts. The Marshall only was left with his prisoners and tallies to dispose of. But in the Lower Exchequer, or Receipt, the Deputy Chamberlains, the Treasurer's clerk, and divers clerks and serjeants would be found hard at work on occasion long after the Barons had adjourned. It is true that during the recess the majority of these clerks would return to their normal employment, being paid only for the session, those detained on the King's business being recognizable by the extra allowances awarded them,[1] but even so some regular official must be in constant residence at Westminster. Therefore when the final act of the session is accomplished, that is to say, when, after compiling and checking (with much wrangling in their respective masters' honour) and sealing the summonses to the Sheriffs against the next session, the clerks and scribes of the Chancellor and Treasurer have returned to the Chapel or Scriptorium; when the four Tellers have started in charge of a treasure train of lumbering carts and great wooden hutches, that there may be no mysterious leakage of silver pennies, and the Deputy Chamberlains have donned armour and mounted horse as their escort to scare away marauders according to the terms of their

[1] *Pipe Rolls* of the period under London and Midds. or Hampshire.

office, and the remaining officials have taken a holiday like their betters, and finally the Marshall, after having seen the Usher of the Barons' Chamber safely under weigh with the summonses to be served upon the Debtors of the Crown in every shire, has himself departed to change the air of vaults and jails for the breezes of the Wiltshire Downs; even then the permanent establishment of the Exchequer is represented by the Usher of the Receipt, who keeps the keys and goes the rounds of the building night and morning, while the domestic servants of the absent Usher of the Barons' Chamber give heed that there is no leakage through the tiles upon the chequered table, and that the moth and rust are excluded from the hangings of the walls, and the linen blinds of the windows,[2] being overlooked in turn by the keeper of the King's Palace, who is also warden of the Fleet Prison.[3]

So far the permanent existence of the Exchequer appears to be established and these contemporary indications are confirmed by the unbroken evidence of its later history since the beginning of the 13th century. A difficulty now arises in locating this permanent establishment, at Westminster itself in the first instance and subsequently at any particular site within the confines of the Royal Palace there.

The tradition of an earlier age has fixed the original site of the Treasury of the Kings of England, whether of the Saxon or Norman line, at Winchester, and with this Treasury the same tradition connects the first germ of an Exchequer or Audit of the revenue. The subject is one of great difficulty arising from the obscurity of description which characterises the contemporary references to date and scene of action. But it is at least possible to evolve a reasonable theory in explanation of the conflicting evidence of an Exchequer and Treasury apparently existing at more than one centre during the reign of Henry II.

In the first place we must recognise the fact that the Exchequer was nominally as much a "deambulatory" Court as the Curia itself, although from obvious motives of convenience we find it usually fixed in one central spot. Thus we have instances in the reign before mentioned, and even later, of an Exchequer held at any one of the great towns or royal residences without any further reason apparent than that it was required for the time being to "follow the King." We even find the chief contents apparently of the Treasury, bullion, plate, or regalia, and records, moved on

[2] *Pipe Roll* 23 Hen. II. *et seq.*
[3] *Pipe Roll* 9 Hen. II. *et seq.*

several occasions with great labour at a heavy expense from Westminster or Winchester to the temporary abode of the Court or even beyond sea. The explanation is to be found in the purely personal rather than official nature of the establishment, which like the Curia had its first origin in the informal session of the King's household officers in the very Chamber of the Palace.

In the course of a century, however, this crude system had been refined upon, with the result, as we have seen, that both Curia and Exchequer had now an independent session, the places of those officials whose presence could not be spared from the household being supplied by deputies.[4] The Curia being unencumbered with official baggage could meet in one palace as well as another, to which circumstance we owe the well-known picture of the peripatetic suitor of the period,[5] while the place of the Treasury and Exchequer was supplied by the Camera or Ministry of the Privy Purse replenished by forestalling the farm of a local officer[6] or by relays of treasure from the old and new capitals, and audited by certain quasi-Barons of the Exchequer in their original capacity of gentlemen of the bed-chamber.[7] But it would still happen on certain occasions, the significance of which is in most cases now lost to us, that the King would be content with nothing less than the view of the whole operation around the chequered board and melting pot, and in such cases there was no alternative but for the Barons to set in motion the long procession of treasure-wains or to commission the royal "smack"[8] for a passage across the Channel, convoyed in each case by the Deputy Chamberlains clad in unaccustomed mail and girded with the rusty Treasury swords.[9]

Otherwise, however, the royal treasure was both audited and hoarded at Westminster or Winchester and the only important point is which of these two capitals should be regarded as the official seat of the Exchequer and Treasury.

On some former occasions in connection with the subject of the official custody of Domesday Book,[10] I attempted to decide this interesting question in favour of the Westminster site, but though

[4] "Quia propter majora et magis neccessaria . . . . avelli non possunt."—*Dialogus* i. 5.

[5] Palgrave, *Engl. Commonwealth* ii. lxxv.

[6] "Et in camera Regis per breve Regis."—*Pipe Rolls*, *passim*.

[7] Camerarii, also called Milites or Barones, see *Fantosme* (Rolls ed.), line 2021-3.

[8] The "esnecca Regis" of the Pipe Rolls.

[9] See also *ante* and *Dialogus* i. 3.

[10] *Athenæum*, Nov. 27, 1886; *Domesday Commemoration*, 1888; *Antiquary*, Sept., 1887.

I was able to refer to numerous instances of an Exchequer and Treasury settled at Westminster in the reign of Henry II., it was pointed out at the time by a well-known scholar,[11] who supported the claims of Winchester with equal emphasis, that for every instance in favour of the former site, another equally conclusive could be advanced on behalf of the latter from contemporary records and chronicles. Therefore according to the estimable practice of the "compendious Mr. Madox" in similar cases: "I leave every man to his freedom of judging therein as he shall see cause."

NOTICES OF AN EXCHEQUER AND TREASURY AT WINCHESTER OR WESTMINSTER IN THE REIGN OF HENRY II.[12]

1156	"Treasure"	conveyed to	Cricklade and beyond sea	from Winchester.
,,	,,	,,	Shoreham	Westminster.
1157	Regalia	,,	St. Edmunds	Winchester.
1158	"Treasure"	,,	Carlisle	,,
,,	Regalia (and Tallies) conveyed to Worcester			,,
1159	"Treasure"	conveyed to	beyond sea	,,
1161	"Record Chest"	,,	London	,,
,,	"Treasure"	,,	beyond sea	,,
1162	,,	,,	,,	,,
1163	Plate	,,	Berkhamstead for Xmas	,,
1164	"Record Chest"	,,	London (Easter)	,,
,,	,,	,,	Northampton (Mich)[13]	,,
,,	Exchequer at Westminster (Michaelmas.)			
1165	"Treasure"	conveyed to	various palaces	,,
1166	,,	,,	,,[14]	,,
1169	,,	,,	Southampton	,,
1170	,,	(and Regalia) conveyed to	Southampton	,,
1172	,,	conveyed	during the whole year	,,
1173	,,	,,	to Normandy *and back*	,,
,,	,,	,,	Winchester and elsewhere ,,	Westminster.
1174	,,	,,	,, ,,	,,
,,	,,	(and Hawks, &c.,) conveyed	during the whole year	from Winchester.
1175	"Treasure"	conveyed to	Gloucester	from Westminster.
1176	,,	returned to	London.	
,,	Charter dated at the Exchequer at Westminster.			

[11] Mr. J. H. Round in the *Antiquary* for June and July, 1887.

[12] Printed *Pipe Rolls* and Eyton's *Itinerary*, I have verified most of these from the original rolls.

[13] This is the entry so much relied on by Mr. Round in his article in the *Antiquary*. His argument is that the Exchequer being known to be at London at Easter and at Northampton at Michaelmas the despatch of this "Record Chest" from Winchester to both those sessions indicates a normal centre at the old Saxon capital. As a matter of fact the Michaelmas Exchequer was at Westminster and therefore this chest had nothing to do with that Exchequer. I am convinced myself that it contained only certain Regalia, and as the King was in London at Easter (though not at the Session of the Exchequer as Mr. Round supposes) the whole proceeding is explained by the natural supposition that the chest in question like the bulk of the contents of the Winchester Treasury "followed the Court" and was not required for fiscal purposes.

[14] And yet we find a suitor paying his fines into the Treasury at Westminster in these two years.

1177 Easter Exchequer at Westminster.
,, "Treasure" conveyed to Winchester and back to London.
,, ,, ,, ,, from Westminster.
,, Treasury at Winchester has to be repaired.
1179 "Treasure" conveyed to London from Winchester.
,, ,, ,, Winchester ,, Westminster.
,, Plate ,, Southampton ,, Winchester.
,, "Treasure" ,, after the King ,, Westminster.
1180 ,, ,, to Woodstock ,, ,,
,, Dies ,, from Winchester and returned.
,, "Treasure" ,, to London from Winchester.
,, Treasury implements purchased at Winchester.
,, Exchequer at Westminster, Michaelmas.
,, "Treasure" sent out from Westminster to different mints throughout England to be recoined and returned there.
1181 Plate sent out from Westminster.
,, "Treasure" conveyed to Winchester where the King kept Xmas.
1183 Exchequer at Westminster.
1184 ,, ,, ,,
,, Charter dated at the King's chapel at Westminster.
1185 "Treasure" conveyed throughout England from Westminster.
,, Plate ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,, "Treasure" now sent direct to Southampton ,,
1186 ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,, New furniture for the Winchester Treasury.
1187 The Swords of ,, ,, ,, furbished.
,, "Treasure" conveyed abroad from Winchester.

It must be remembered in connection with the term "Treasure" that two different species of bullion were included therein, namely, coin and plate including regalia and jewels. I have strong reasons for believing that both species were separately hoarded as they undoubtedly were a century later, and that the Winchester treasury was especially designed to accommodate the latter until the middle of this reign, after which date the regalia, &c., were usually deposited in the Abbey of Westminster. The coined treasure on the other hand was throughout received and hoarded at Westminster in the Treasury of the Receipt with the Seal and Records being drafted thence as required into the Camera or Wardrobe. This accounts for no mention being made of regalia or plate in the inventory of this Treasury in the *Dialogus* and I shall be able to show on another occasion that the entire contents of the Abbey Treasury in 1303, valued at £200,000,[15] consisted of plate and jewels.

It may also be gathered from the above notices that there was undoubtedly a central Treasury at Winchester but that in the majority of cases this was used as an emporium in connection with the transport of bullion (and especially the regalia and plate) as

[15] Pike's *History of Crime*.

well as other supplies *via* Southampton or other sea-ports to the Continent during the almost incessant wars of the first twenty years of the reign. After the great rebellion of 1173-4 however a great change seems to have taken place coinciding with the re-organization of the Curia and Exchequer in the interests of the Crown and the prominence of the official element which had its permanent headquarters henceforth at Westminster.[16] Again at the end of the reign on the renewal of the war the Treasury at Winchester was once more utilized, but having fallen into decay it required certain structural repairs and a new plant, while the Treasury swords actually required to be cleansed of the rust which they had contracted during the ten years that the Chamberlains and Clerks had been in permanent residence at Westminster. I do not, however, rely so much upon this view of the position of the Exchequer and its belongings, as upon certain independent notices which seem to me to offer conclusive evidence in favour of the Westminster site during the great part of the reign.

It is evident from the description of the author of the *Dialogus*, himself the King's Treasurer at this time, that the Exchequer and the Treasury were both at one place. Thus he states that there were in the Treasury certain records and regalia which he specifies and which were used in the "daily business of the Exchequer."[17] And again he says in several places and most distinctly that the Great Seal was kept with the above in the Treasury which it never left except when it was carried from the Tower to the Upper Exchequer to be used by the Barons, leading us to suppose that the Treasury was contained in the Receipt.[18] Finally he fixes the position of this Exchequer at Westminster by the mention of a payment for ink for the whole year in both Exchequers made to the Sacristan of St. Peter's, Westminster.[19] We have also the evidence of the Pipe Rolls from the twenty-second year of the reign for the regular allowance of woollen and linen cloth and other furniture for the several chambers of the Exchequer out of the farm of London. Finally there is the unique statement of a suitor of the period verified by the Pipe Rolls that he paid certain sums into the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer in the 11th and 12th and 13th years of the reign, and it can be shown by a curious coincidence that he made these payments at Westminster.[20]

[16] Stubbs' Preface to *Benedict Abbas* (Rolls Series).

[17] *Dialogus*, i. 14.

[18] *Ibid*, i. 5; i. 14.

[19] *Ibid*, i. 3.

[20] *Excheq. T. of R.*, $\frac{80}{43}$.

I have collected many other evidences of the same kind, but like those already mentioned they all point to the same conclusion, namely, that whenever the position of the Exchequer is mentioned, which it rarely is, it will be found to be at Westminster, except on those rare occasions, when, like the Curia, it followed the King. I now come to the remaining point and here I should like to say that I offer an opinion with the greatest diffidence upon the archæology of Anglo-Norman Westminster. The position of the Exchequer therefore, which I shall attempt to fix, must be looked on as purely conjectural, for although the cumulative evidence in support of it is very strong, we are, I believe, absolutely devoid of any direct allusion to this site before the end of the 13th century.

The original position of the Exchequer chamber seems to have been on the north-east side of Westminster Palace. There is indeed nothing to prove this except the immemorial tradition of the position of the Receipt in that quarter, and the fact of the later transfer of the Exchequer Court to the north-west side of the Hall of Rufus after the incorporation of the Barons' Exchequer with the Common Law Courts. We may assume, however, that the "House of the Exchequer" was situated in the New Palace and not in the Old Palace. The former was admittedly an abortive product of regal ambition extending (in spite of Stow's ambiguous reference) no further than the Great Hall.[21] This then was used from the first as an official apartment, and before long other buildings of an equally formed character were grouped round it, including, in the middle of the 12th century, a State Chapel and the Exchequer House. On the west side of the Hall of Rufus there may have been some temporary buildings, though it is difficult to conjecture their official use, for the Constabulary and the more domestic offices of the Household dignitaries were probably located in the basement of the old Palace. There was one other building within the precincts of the New Palace, which has a greater interest than any other in connection with the Exchequer. This is the specula, or watch-tower, "near unto the river Thames," in which the author of the *Dialogus* sat when he was "in residence" at Westminster.[22] This tower may be with some confidence identified with the Norman structure which formerly abutted on to the east side of the Great Hall. It may possibly be further identified with certain "chambers" which we

[21] It is not clear whether the Council Chamber (afterwards the Star-Chamber) was part of the original extension of the New Palace here referred to. We first hear of "new houses" on the north-east side under Edw. III.

[22] *Dialogus* i., Preface.

know were provided for the convenience of the Barons at a slightly later period. This tower, communicating directly with the official staff of the King's chapel and also with the Curia and Camera in the interior of the Old Palace, and directly overlooking the Exchequer House with its precious contents, is the real key to the position of the ancient Exchequer. The description of this tower as "juxta fluvium" may have been necessary to distinguish it from another tower at the south-west angle of the old Palace walls, being indeed the point furthest removed from the river, and which might be described in contra-distinction to the other as "juxta ecclesiam." The restored building of the Confessor was in Norman and Angevin times the residential portion of the Palace of Westminster. This contained the King's houses, that is to say a suite of "chambers," on the first floor, as the name implies being placed over the low vaulted "cellars" which were then probably used as such, and as the offices of the several household functionaries. The kitchens and stables and slaughter-house, &c., were more probably distinct from this block which formed the east wing of the Old Palace. The communication between the old and new Palaces was apparently at the north end of the same wing, but the direct route from one enclosure to the other was no doubt by a path or covered way from the north-east side of the old or white hall. This gave access to the gardens and the river equally, or by passing through the west door of the Chapel to the Watch Tower and Exchequer House and the south-east side of the New Palace yard. But whatever may have been the exact situation of the Exchequer House we are enabled to form a fairly good idea of its interior plan from the description of the *Dialogus*.

Here we have a superior and an inferior Exchequer, both apparently contained in the same building, for though the appellation of Upper and Lower may have been merely used to designate their respective importance, we cannot ignore the descriptive sense of those terms where majus and parvum would otherwise have seemed more appropriate: and, indeed, we find that the Upper Exchequer is also called majus (just as its officers were called majores) when it was desired to describe its importance rather than its position. Moreover, there are several references in the *Dialogus* and elsewhere to the Exchequer House (*Domus Scaccarii*) as a single building. In the account of the trial of the Pyx given in the above-mentioned work, we also find that the Assayer carried the Pyx, containing the sample coins selected by him from the heaps undergoing the process of counting and weighing in the Receipt,

from the Lower to the Upper Exchequer, and after the coins had been examined, and the Pyx sealed by the Barons, he returned, as it would appear, accompanied by the overseers nominated on both sides once more to the Receipt, where the Smelter, "forewarned" of their approach, had fanned his furnace to the necessary heat. Then, as soon as the operation was fairly accomplished, the party returned to the Upper Chamber to weigh the molten silver in the presence of the Barons. Each Exchequer was probably divided into two chambers, the upper containing the Court-Room and Council Chamber, and the lower a Counting-House, also used as a Scriptorium, and a Treasury. There were two Ushers or Door-keepers, the principal one of whom held a quasi-hereditary office in the Upper Exchequer. It was his duty to admit only those who had business to the "outer chamber," and none but the Barons to the "inner chamber." It is significant that throughout the reign we find this officer paid out of the farm of London. The Usher of the Receipt was specially charged with the custody of the Treasury door, and he also provided all the necessary implements at a fixed rate, including ink, purchased by him from the Sacristan of Westminster. Especial emphasis is laid in the *Dialogus* on the fact that unlike every other member of the Exchequer, the Usher of the Upper Barons' chamber (who was employed at the close of the session in serving the new summonses on the Sheriffs), the Usher of the Receipt was employed as a permanent domestic servant of the Treasurer and Chamberlains. This is a proof that the Exchequer Treasury formed a permanent department at Westminster, and thus disposes of the suggestion that after the session the officers of the Exchequer were transferred to Winchester, together with the contents of the Treasury. It was probably also the duty of the senior Usher to see that the Barons' chambers were duly swept and aired during the recess, for we read that he was assisted in his duties by the servants of his family. In a record of the fifth year of Edward II. we read that the Barons sent for the two ushers of the Exchequer at Westminster before the recess, and directed them as to special precautions to be taken for the custody of its contents, and this later notice may be fairly considered as explanatory of the earlier practice indicated in the *Dialogus*.

It will not perhaps be necessary to multiply instances of this nature. I have carefully refrained from attempting to trace anything more beyond the bare outline of the position of the Exchequer at Westminster, fearing to lessen the value of the authentic evidence available, however meagre, by combination with the more copious,

but hopelessly confused details which exist from the thirteenth century onwards, when, through disastrous fires and ambitious schemes of reconstruction, the external position and internal arrangements of the ancient houses were changed beyond all hope of recognition. The nature of the principal changes that were made in the official economy of the Royal Exchequer can, however, be roughly ascertained, and will be found to consist in the complete separation of the Barons' Chamber, now dignified with the real instead of the honorary appellation of a Court, from the Lower Exchequer, and its removal to more commodious premises on the opposite side of the Great Hall. The Receipt, however, still retained its ancient site until comparatively recent times, now occupying, apparently, both floors of the Exchequer House, and administered by an augmented and more dignified official staff, but retaining with the new establishment all the ancient usages and practice of the old, so that at the present day we are able to verify the descriptions of the *Dialogus* from existing records, whether of the Queen's Remembrancer or the Lord Treasurer's, whether of the Exchequer Court or the Treasury of the Receipt.

Such was the position of the Exchequer at Westminster as I have liked to figure it to myself from the time of Chaplain Roger to that of Archdeacon Swereford. On another occasion I hope to be able to discuss its subsequent evolution, and especially to explore the mine of archæological material which underlies one of the most romantic episodes of the Middle Ages—the great robbery of the Treasury in 1303—together with a later and hitherto unnoticed crime of the same nature in the reign of good Queen Bess.

HUBERT HALL.

NOTES ON JEWS FROM THE PIPE ROLLS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE historic interest attaching to the early Treasury accounts contained in the Pipe Rolls is too well known to require any description from me. "The whole framework of English society," says Bishop Stubbs, "passed annually under the review of the Exchequer," and the Pipe Rolls are the record of that survey. We learn above all how the Kings of England obtained the sinews of

war and peace and thus raised themselves to that commanding position which did so much to make England England before any other country in Europe had attained national unity. Among the main instruments by which the astute Norman and Angevin Kings obtained financial predominance, was the usury of the Jews, which performed the function of a sponge, sucking up the spare cash of the larger and smaller barons and of the smaller monasteries, and then being squeezed dry on suitable occasions into the King's Exchequer. The comparative importance of this source of income was shown conspicuously 33 Hen. II., when £60,000 was obtained from the Jews of England against £70,000 from the rest of the King's subjects. (see Nos. 71-82.)

I have, therefore, thought it would be interesting and useful to collect and arrange chronologically the many Jewish items to be found in the Pipe Rolls of the Twelfth century, so far as these are in existence.[1] I have stopped at 1 John (1199-1200), as by that time a special branch of the Exchequer was fully organised as "the Exchequer of the Jews." Of this some account is given in Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, ch. vi., and Dr. Gross has recently described its organisation and functions in a masterly way.[2] I shall be content if the following items serve to throw some light on the relation of the Jews to the Exchequer before they were fully organised by the *Capitula de Judæis*, 5 Ric. I., and thus prepare the way for Dr. Gross's investigations, which only begin with the thirteenth century.

I have annotated each item so as to bring out the points of interest, and I would here only remark that the Exchequer was enriched by nearly every piece of business done by a Jew or Jewess Whether he wished to recover a debt from a Christian or get justice done to his son, if he transgressed the law or wanted to know what it was, if he wished to enter into partnership with a Jew or proceed against him, if he wished to cross the sea or remain in England, if he wished to wed or not to wed, even if he wished to be divorced, he had to pay a fine to the King. Above all his death was a windfall to the Treasury; either all his debts were seized and sold to other Jews or retained in the King's hands, or his heirs had to pay a fine for a fair share of his moneys.[3] Besides this general interest, the items throw light on the personal relations of the Jews of the

[1] See preliminary note to the items.

[2] "The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages," in *Papers of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition* ("Jewish Chronicle" Office, 1888).

[3] It is but fair to add that the early Kings of England were equally all-grasping towards their other subjects. See a similar enumeration in Miss Norgate's *England under the Angevin Kings*, vol. i., p. 27.

time, their names and relationship and social customs. I have endeavoured to call attention to these and other points in my annotations.

PIPE ROLLS—31 Hen. I. (1130-1)—1 John (1199-1200).

[Those for 31 Hen. I., 2, 3, 4, Hen. II., 1 Ric. I. have been published by Rev. J. Hunter for the Record Commission, 5-12 Hen. II. by the Pipe Roll Society. I have gone through the remaining Pipe Rolls of the Twelfth Century at the Record Office. Some of the items have been already given by Madox's *History of Exchequer*. I quote generally from the quarto edition in two vols. A few references without Roman numerals are from the folio edition. Other items I found in Bishop Stubbs' edition of Hoveden, pref. to vol. III., and Madox's MS. materials in the British Museum, *Add. MS.* 4542.]

1.—And the same Richard son of Gilbert owes 200 marks of silver for the help which the King gave him against the Jews about his debts. 31 Hen. I., Essex, M 296. [The King gained in two ways by helping Christian debtor against Jewish creditor as here, or *vice versa* as Nos. 4, 5, and *passim*.]

2.—Jacob the Jew and his wife render count of 60 marks of silver for the plea which was between them and the men of Westminster Abbey. They quit themselves to the King by King's writ. 31 Hen. I., Lond. p. 146.

3.—The Jews of London render account of £2000 for the sick man whom they killed. In the treasury £620, and by payments by King's writ to Rubi gotsce 100 marks of silver and to Manasser the Jew 80 marks of silver and 64 shillings and twopence . . . for William son of . . . and to Abraham the Jew 15 marks of silver and again to Rabi gotsce 80 marks of silver and they owe £1166 13s. 4d. 31 Hen. I., 15a (M i. 229). [An enormous sum; probably some charge of magic was involved. Rubi gotsce—Rabbi Joce or Joseph: his son was Isaac fil Rabbi the chief English Jew in Ric. I.'s time. Rymer; *Fœdera*, i., 51 (ed. 1816)].

4.—Rubi Gotsce and other Jews to whom Earl Ranulf was indebted, owe 10 marks of gold for that the King might help them to recover their debts against the earl. 31 Hen. I., 15a Lond. (M i. 227).

5.—Abraham and Deuslesalt, Jews, render account of one mark of gold that they might recover their debts against Osbert de Leicester. 31 Hen. I., 15a Lond. (M i. 227). [Deuslesalt=Dieu le saut=Isaiah.]

6.—Richard son of William renders count of 20 shillings for a slain Jew. 2 Hen. II., r 2, m 2, Canteb.

7.—Sheriff of Oxfordshire renders count of 100 shillings from the donum of the Jews. 2 Hen. II. 2, 7 m. 1.

8.—And [Cr.] by payment by King's writ to Isaacs the Jew son of Rabb. £47 6s. 8d. 3 Hen. II. r. 1 m. 1. Essex. [The son of the Rubi gotsce of No. 3, henceforth he is mentioned simply as Isaac the Jew except in Ric. I.'s charter where he again occurs as "Ysaac fil Rabijoce."]

9.—The Sheriff of London renders count of 200 marks for the Jews. The Sheriff of Lincolnshire renders count of £40 for the Jews. The Sheriff of Oxfordshire renders count of 20 marks for the Jews. The Sheriff of Cambridge renders count of 50 marks from the donum of the Jews. The Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk renders count of £44 6s. 8d. for the Jews of Norwich, £30 for the Jews of Thetford, £15 for the Jews of Bungay. 5 Hen. II. 5b. 8a. 2a. [These were probably all the communities of Jews in England (M. i. 222) though we find isolated individuals at Newport and Canterbury in Richard of Anesty's accounts of his borrowings about this time. Palgrave *Engl. Common.* vol. ii., also at Winchester see next No.]

10.—Gentill the Jewess owes £15 for that she may not wed a Jew. 6 Hen. II. 6b. Winton. [She pays it next year.]

11.—William of the Isle renders count of the ferm of Lincolnshire . . . and [Cr.] by payment by King's writ to Aaron the Jew £29 8s. 10d., which are counted to him in the ferm of the county and owes £12 4s. 9d. He renders count of the same debt in the treasury £2 6s. 9d. new money for £2 4s. 9d. blank money, and £10 in two tallies, and is quits. 12 Hen. II. Rot. i. mem i. Linc. [The great Aaron of Lincoln, see Nos. 24, 42, 56, 70. In other parts of the same roll the Sheriffs of Norfolk, Yorkshire, Hants, Essex, Rutland, Cambridge, Oxford, and Bucks claim similar credit for sums paid to him amounting in all to £587 3s. 10d.]

12.—Hubert de Lalega and Richard fil Osbert render count of £4 13s. 11d. blank of the old form of Bucks and Bedford, and £17 10s. new money [Cr.] By payment by King's writ to Isaac the Jew £4 18s. 7d. new money and £0 13s. 11d. blank. And to the same £17 10s. 0d. new, and are quits. 12 Hen. II. Rot. i. mon. ib. [Son of Rabbi Joce *vide* Nos. 3, 4, 8, 22, 24. The Sheriffs of Kent, Northampton, Gloucester, Dorset, Essex, Bucks, Oxford, Lancashire, Norfolk, Cambridge, Devon, Hants, claim similar credits in other parts of the roll for sums amounting in all to £743 13s. 10d., the cash balance of their ferms. In 8 Hen. II., the amount was £102 13s. 4d., in 9 Hen. II. £26 16s. 8d., in 10 Hen. II. only £12 11s. 3d. In 14 Hen. II. the honor of Eye settles with the King by payment to Isaac of the large sum of £479.]

13.—Abraham fil Rabbi owes £2000 for an amerciament. The King orders that nothing more be exacted from him for this Roll but let them be erased from the roll by his own writ. 12 Hen. II. 10b. [A brother of Ysaac fil Rabbi of preceding No. The sum is enormous=probably £100,000 at the present day.]

14.—Samson, Jew, son of Samuel, owes 3 marks of gold for a writ to have his debts, but is not to be found. 14 Hen. II. [The entry is repeated 16 Hen. II., with the addition "But he has fled to France." The full entry is kept in the rolls of the 18th, 19th, and 21st years. It is clear that Samson had "done" the King by first getting a writ to collect his debts and then decamping to France without paying the £18 (of silver) which he owed the Treasury.]

15.—Comitissa Jewess of Cambridge and her sons and the Jews of Lincoln render an account of 7 marks of gold for the Lincoln Jewess whom a son of Comitissa married without the King's license. 15 Hen. II. 12b. Lond. and Midd. [A son David fil Comitissa is mentioned 6 Hen. II. 5a. Canteb., and another, Isaac, 25 Hen. II., see No. 33.]

16.—Josce Jew of Gloucester owes 100 shillings for an amerciament for the moneys which he lent to those who against the King's prohibition went over to Ireland. 16 Hen. II. 5b. (M. 379).

17.—Benedict Jew of Norwich, son of Deodatus, renders account of £20 for the sacred vestments which he took in pawn. 16 Hen. II. Norf. and Suff. [Paid the following year M. i. 228.]

18.—Adam de Cathemen renders count of lxvj.'s and viii. pence from the money of Hugh Orb an usurer. 16 Hen. II. 5b. Berks.

19.—The same sheriff renders count of 12s. 8d. from the chattels of Radulf de Valle an usurer. 17 Hen. II. 6b. Warn. [There are other entries relating to Christian usurers or usuresses Cf. Madox 237. It is a moot point whether Jewish chattels did not belong to the King on the death of Jews *quâ* usurers not *quâ* Jews.]

20.—The Jews of Cambridge owe half a mark of gold for having an agreement amongst themselves. 18 Hen. II. Canteb. [They pay next year. This probably refers to some important case brought before the *Beth-Din* or ecclesiastical tribunal of the Jews at Cambridge. Cf. Nos. 34, 50, 75, John confirmed to the Jews a charter legalising such tribunals. *Rot. Cart.* i. 93.]

21.—Jacob, Jew of Newport, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold, for a plea between him and William de Muntfichet. In the treasury 60s. and owes 60s. 18 Hen. II. Essex and Hertf. [Pays and is quits. 20 Hen. II.]

22.—Jurnet, Jew of Norwich, and Isaac son of Rabbi, owe 4 marks gold that the King may grant a partnership between them of their chattels. 21 Hen. II. Lond. and Midd. [The entry remains till 29 Hen. II., when it is added "but they could not yet have it (the partnership)." Cf. No. 39.]

23.—Avigay, who was the wife of Jacob, owes 200 marks to have custody of her boys. 21 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [Pays 22 Hen. II. by King's writ to Edmund Blund. This Avigay (Abigail) is frequently mentioned in the transactions of the time, and her son Abraham became one of the chief men of the London community.]

24.—(The Sheriff accounts for the ferm of the counties) And [Cr.] by payment by King's writ to Aaron of Lincoln and Ysaac Jew, £80. 22 Hen. II. Dorset and Somerset. [The Sheriff of Northumberland pays in a similar way £68, the balance of the ferm to the same two Jews who, as we have seen above (Nos. 11, 12), were unofficial ferm gatherers. See also No. 30.]

25.—Richard Malebysse renders count (and is quits) of 100s. for his relief. 22 Hen. II. Honour of Eye. [He was the ringleader of the York massacre. It seems that he was getting into money troubles 15 years before.]

26.—Serfdeu, Jew, owes 10 marks gold [£60 silver] for having the debts of his father. 22 Hen. II., Hantsc. [Pays and is quits, 23 Hen. II. This is a common form of entry. Thus next year Ursell accounts to the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk for 10 marks for the same.]

27.—Cresselin the Jew owes one mark of gold to have seisin of the land which Adam de Port of Wales had mortgaged to him. 22 Hen. II., Hantesc. [Repeated 23 Hen. II. and in 26 Hen. II., with the addition, "But he has not got it," which is probably explained by the next entry in which Adam de Port accounts for 2000 marks as a fine for his land. Cresselin is a diminutive of Deulecresse, see No. 80.]

28.—Cresselin, Jew of Winchester, renders count of 100 marks for an amerciament. Cr. by king's writ to Cresselin himself of 100 marks for 100 bezants which he had paid to the king himself. 23 Hen. II., Sudhantesc. [The King had "let him off" considerably as a bezant was only 2s. a mark, 13s. 4d. Cf. Nos. 27, 39, 69.]

29.—Jurnet Jew renders count of 2000 marks in which he was fined by the King at Winchester on his crossing the straits. Benedict the Jew renders count of £500 of the fine which he made to the King on his crossing for an amerciament. Josce Quatrebuches renders count of £200 for the same. Brun the Jew renders account of 3000 marks for the same. 23 Hen. II. 11b. (M. i. 226.) [Josce Quatrebuches pays next year. Jurnet owes £266 12s. 3d. then and £26 later. Benedict only owes £4. 25 Hen. II. Brun still owes £400 of this. 27 Hen. II. *rot ult.* and £20 of that 29 Hen. II. 13 Qy. was this the occasion when Henry took the richest Jews over to Normandy till a certain tallage was paid ?]

30.—The Sheriff renders count of the ferm of Devonshire, he pays [the *cash* balance of] 7 marks to Benedict son of Sara and Moyses and Deodatus the Bishop and Vives Jews. 23 Hen. II., Devonesc. [The same firm receive similär cash balances this year from the Sheriffs of Kent, Surrey, Norfolk, Lincoln, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Oxfordshire, and the honours of Boseham and Conan and the Jews of London, amounting in all to £1003 5s. 1d., practically all the spare cash owed to the King. Josc of York renders in similar way 26 marks from Oxford, and another firm consisting of Brun, Josce Quatrebuches, Jornet, and Benedict Jornet's brother (see No. 29) receive £100 from Southampton. The same applies to the two following years. The King doubtless found it more convenient to have a banking account with the Jews on which he could draw instead of draining the counties of ready-money, while the Jews could make arrangements for local Jews to receive the Sheriffs' balances and lay out the money in loans to the neighbourhood. At least this is how I interpret these items as well as Nos. 11, 12, 24.]

31.—And [Cr.] by payments by writ of Richard de Luci to Deodatus Bishop of the Jews and Benedict son of Sara and Mosse his brother and Vivo Jews, £84 12s. 24 Hen. II. 9b. Lond. and Midd. (M. ii. 206.) [Deodatus = Elchanan, 'Bishop of the Jews,' *i.e.*, one of the *Dayanim* or ecclesiastical assessors who adjudicate on ritual and other questions among Jews even to the present day in all Jewish communities.]

32.—Mosse the Jew owes 5 marks for right to 11 marks and 4 shillings against Henry de Minar and to 10 marks against Hugh de Bellocampo. 25 Hen. II., Hereford.

33.—Benedict brother of Aaron and Benedict son of Isaach and Benedict son of Jacob render count of £6 for one mark of gold to be quits of the pledges of Isaac son of Comitissa. 25 Hen. II., City of Lincoln. [This Isaac is

probably the very son of Comitissa of Cambridge for whose marriage a fine was paid 15 Hen. II. (see No. 15). He was himself the father of R. Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah (=Comitissa), the author of the Hebrew "Onyx Book," the most important literary production of the early Jews of England. Moses would thus be born about 1170 and would have met Isaac of Tchernigoff (see No. 41) when he was about 12-15 years old. Moses died somewhere before 1215. Stow gives the inscription on his tombstone. (*Survey of London*, ed. Thoms, p. 15)].

34.—Benedict the Jew owes three marks to have respite in the plea between him and Moyses the Jew. 26 Hen. I., Boseham. [Disputes between Jews were generally settled before their own *Beth-Din*; there was a threat of excommunication against those who applied to the Gentile courts.]

35.—Abraham, Jew of Coventry, owes one mark to be quits of the appeal of Beleasez [Jewess of Oxford, see No. 38.]. 26 Hen. II. Lond. [This debt has to be seen to by the Sheriff of Warwickshire. 28 Hen. II. Abraham had returned from London to his native place.]

36.—Nicholas the convert owes half a mark for a default. 26 Hen. II. Chent. [Conversion of Jews began early; we find references to them *temp.* Will. Rufus., and there is an interesting letter of Anselm about one.]

37.—Jeremias the Jew renders count of one mark for Isabella the convert whom he personated. Quits. 26 Hen. II. Bucks. [Converts lost all their property which escheated to the King on conversion. Jeremiah had probably attempted to save something in the case of Isabella.]

38.—Beleasez, Jewess of Oxford (renders count) owes £100 for having respite in the plea between her and the clerk of the Count of Ferrars. 26 Hen. II. Oxinef.

38.—From the pleas of the Court. Samuel the Jew owes 5 marks of gold as an amerciament for a Bill of Divorce. 26 Hen. II., 6b Norhant. (M i. 227).

39.—Cresselin Jew owes 3 marks silver to have licence for a concord with Jornet, his sister's son. 27 Hen. II. Sudhants. [The King claimed to be compensated for debts to firms which would not escheat to him on the death of a member of it as would be the case with debts to individuals.]

40.—Piers [?] Dulesalt, Jew of Exeter, renders count of 10 marks that the King might take charge of his boys. 27 Hen. II. Devenesc.

41.—Ysaac of Rochester, and Ysáác of Russia, and Ysaac of Beverley, Jews, render count of 10 marks to be quit of a charge that they were said to have exchanged (*cambirisse*), 27 Hen. II., Sudhantesc. [This Isaac of Russia, possibly the first Russian in historic times who put foot on English soil, is referred to by R. Moses ben Isaac in his "Onyx Book" in the following way:—"R. Iza of Tchernigoff told me that in the tongue of Tiraz, *i.e.* Russia, they call a brother-in-law *Beleia*." Cf. Harkavy, *Die Juden und die slavischen Sprachen* (Heb.), p. 62.]

42.—Brun the Jew owes £400 of the fine he made with the King at his transfretation. But they ought to be required from Aaron of Lincoln and Ysáác and Abraham, son of Rabbi, and Ysáác of Colchester, his sureties, who have acknowledged that they received those £400 from his chattels in old money and paid it to the servants of the King in presence of Wm. Rufus. Brun owes £40 for the deficiency of the aforesaid £400. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [See No. 29. The old money was depreciated 10 per cent. and Brun still owes the amount of the depreciation. He never pays it.]

43.—Benedict, son of Josce Quatrebuches, owes 40 marks that the King may hear his plea against Abraham Jew of London, and if it does not concern him that nothing more may apply to him. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd.

44.—Benedict the Jew of Norwich owes 500 marks because he was present at a concord made touching the King's peace and of these 300 are that he might have peace for his chattels that he sold to Aaron and Abraham and Isaac of Colchester and to Joce of York. 28 Hen. II., Nordf. [He still owes £40 13s. 4d. in 31 Hen. II. On the Colchester Jews mentioned here see chap. in Cutts' *Colchester* ("Historic Towns"), contributed by present writer. Joce was the head of the York community and began the celebrated massacre in 1190.]

45.—Hakelin son of Josce Quatrebuches £28 15s. 8d. that he may be quits for the soldier whom he struck. 28 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [Qy. was Adam de Colebrooke the soldier, see following No.]

46.—Josce Quatrebuche owes 40 marks that his son Hakelin might be dealt with according to justice in the Plea between him and Adam de Colebrooke. 28 Hen. II. [See preceding number. Is this a case of two birds with one stone ?]

47.—Abraham, Jew, son of Rabbi, owes 40 marks and four horns of which the fourth shall be worth more than the three. 28 Hen. II., Lond. [I quote this for its quaintness. Might the horns be the sacred ones used by Jews on their New Year's Day ?]

48.—Benedict, Jew of Canterbury, renders count of 20 marks because he had demanded a debt on account of his brother by his charter which had been paid to him. Ysaac the Jew renders count of 20 marks because he denied what he had said before in the King's court. Jacob and Ysáác of Canterbury owe one mark of gold for having the debt which Folquier Folet owed them. 29 Hen. II., Chent.

49.—Debts to the King from beyond the sea by writ of Will Ralphson. Josce, son of Abraham, owes half a mark of gold for right to a debt against Richard de Verdun, another half mark against William de Rouen, and 2½ marks against William de Trouville and Thomas de Briancon. 29 Hen. II., Lond. and Midd. [The debtors seem to be Normans, and it would appear that they were collected in Normandy by the King's officials.]

50.—Josce Salvage renders count of 10 marks for a respite of the pleas between the Jews of Lincoln on the surety of Aaron the Jew. [And twelve others do the same for several amounts amounting in all to 43 marks.] 29 Hen. II., Linc.

51.—Benedict, brother of Aaron, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold to have in peace his mortgage of Barewe. Benedict, son of Ysaac, renders count of £6 for one mark of gold to have his mortgage of Easling. Abraham, son of Aaron, owes £6 for one mark of gold to have his debts. 29 Hen. II. Linc.

52.—Peytevin of Eye owes one mark of gold to have custody of the son of Jacob of Newport, together with his chattels, and to have the debts and mortgages for the purposes of the said Jacob. 29 Hen. II.

53.—Sancto, Jew of Edmundsbury, renders account of 5 marks to be acquitted of taking in pledge vessels appointed for the service of the altar. 29 Hen. II., 2b Nordf. and Suff. (M i. 226). [Cf. No. 18. There is a reference to this in Jocc de Brakelond's *Chronica*, p. 2 and note 106.]

54.—The same sheriff renders count of 3 marks of Regina the Jewess for the debt which Walter of Westbury owed her and one mark from the same period for the debt which Ralph de Chinton and William son of Richard owed her. He has paid into the treasury in two tallies and is quits. 29 Hen. II., Oxford (M i. 233). [Cf. Nos. 4-5. Regina probably paid by two tallies carrying indebtedness to her which now passes to the King, thus becoming bills of exchange.]

55.—Manescr Jew of Ipswich owes 4 ounces of gold for having his rights of 20 marks against William of Verdun and Bertram his brother. Duzelina widow of Mosse with the Nose ["Nosey Moses"] owes 5 marks for having the debts of her husband on the surety of Jacob the Priest and Sanson his brother.

Abraham of Norwich owes 1 mark for a right to 6 marks with interest against Hugh de Oisi. Solomon of Ipswich owes one mark for certain seven marks which he might claim against Hugh de la Hosi. Jurnet Jew of Norwich owes £270 6s. 8d. of the amerciament which remained of the amerciament of 6000 marks. 29 Hen. II., Nordf. and Sudf. [Cf. No. 67.]

56. —Brun the Jew renders count of £1000 out of the 2000 marks of the fine he made with the King at Waltham and of which Aaron of Lincoln has to answer for 500 marks. 30 Hen. II., Lond.

57.—Samuel the Jew renders count of two marks of gold to have the house which he bought but which Peter Adamson deprived him of. Peter fil Adam renders count of £10 because he bought the house which Samuel the Jew had bought and this is prohibited. Bonenfant the Jew renders count of 10 marks for having the pledges which he had given for the aforesaid house. 30 Hen. II., Norhantesc. [The three entries tell their own story. Bonenfant, who pays the highest fine, had sold to Peter fil Adam a house really belonging to Samuel (see next No.). The King draws advantage from all three parties.]

58.—Samuel, Jew of Northampton, owes one mark for Margaret, Jewess of

London, to have licence for an agreement of marriage of his son and Margaret's daughter. 30 Hen. II., Norhantese. [See preceding No.]

59.—Solomon of Gipeswich [Ipswich] owes one mark for certain 7 marks for which he may distrain against Hugh de la Hose. 30 Hen. II., Nowf. and Sundf.

60.—Solomon and Jacob, Jews of Bedford, owe 3 marks for right to six marks and 3 shillings against William Williamson. [The King gets a huge proportion of the debt, but in 33 Hen. II., it is added, "but he (William) is dead, and has neither land nor heir," so that neither king nor Jews get anything]. 31 Hen. II., Beds.

61.—Josce le Salvage owes 2 marks for right to 7 marks against Ralph of Cornwall of the debt of Nigel de Flobose. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [Ralph was probably Nigel's security for that sum. Observe the large proportion of the debt gained by the King when it came before the courts of justice. This entry is followed by several others of Lincoln Jews claiming debts.]

62.—Jacob, sister's son of Aaron and Benedict his son owe one mark of gold because they kept back the charters of Benedict of the Bail which had been acquitted on the surety of [name illegible]. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [They pay next year. See next entry.]

63.—Benedict of the Bail owes 4 bezants for him, and for fat Manasser, and Vives son of Deulecresse, and Josce son of Samuel, to have their charters from Benedict son of Jacob, and from Jacob sister's son of Aaron. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [See preceding entry.]

64.—Benedict, son of Aaron, owes 20 marks for right to £4 8s. 8d. against Meus Jew of Lincoln. 31 Hen. II., Linc. [Benedict does not seem to gain much by his action having to pay four times as much as the debt.]

65.—Bonefey, Jew of Worcester, owes one mark gold for a respite to the King's court of the amerciament for a novel disseisin. 31 Hen. II., Wiresces. [One of many proofs that Jews could hold land.]

66.—Copin the Jew of St. Edmunds owes 20 marks to have right to the chattels which Slema his mother committed to Santo the Jew. 31 Hen. II., 3b. [Jewesses are frequently mentioned as doing business. See Nos. 15, 23, and 54. Santo has appeared before, see No. 53.]

67.—The Jews of England owe 5525 marks and a half for the amerciament of Jurnet of Norwich whose charters they have for acquitting the same. 32 Hen. II., (M i. 227). [He had been amerced in 6000 marks: he takes up 474½ marks and hands over all his deeds to the community who must therefore have been *incorporated* in some way by this date. He probably left England at this date, and returns 35 Hen. II. See No. 55, *ad fin.* Jurnet was probably deprived of all his possessions for having married a Christian heiress, Miryld, daughter of Humphrey de Havile, who also escheated her lands. See Blomefield *Norfolk* iv. 510.]

68.—Benedict, Jew of Rochester, renders count of one mark of gold for having his deeds which the Sheriff holds. 32 Hen. II., Chent.

69.—Cresselin the Jew owes one mark for having seisin of the lands of Bosinton and Mapledore Well. 32 Hen. II., Sudhants. [Continued to 2 Ric. I. when it is added "but he is dead and has no right."]

70.—And to Helyas Ostiar [the Usher] one mark for carrying summons through England about the debts of Aaron and to the same 12d. for wax for sealing the same summons. 33 Hen. II., 3b. [Aaron's treasures were also seized and were lost on crossing the channel. *Benedict the Abbot*, ed. Stubbs, ii., p. 5. Aaron's debts were so numerous as to require a special branch of the Exchequer to look after them. Even after many of the debts had been paid the King held nearly £5000 worth of them 15 years later. Helyas was the regular 'sompnour' of the Exchequer (M. 719).]

71.—Of the debts of the Jews we take no account for the present because our Lord the King has taken a quarter of their chattels. 33 Hen. II., 3b (M i. 222). [They were therefore valued at £240,000 against £700,000 for the rest of England. See note to No. 82.]

72.—Jacob Aaron's sister's son renders count of 20 marks for an amerciament for taking off a priest's cap and for the deed of Gerard de Sailly. 33 Hen. II., Lincoln.

73.—Benjamin and Josce and Deulecresse, sons of Benjamin, owe 2 marks of gold for having their reasonable part of the debts and chattels of their father. 34 Hen. II., Oxinef.

75.—The Jews of Exeter render count of one mark gold for a fine for pleas which were between them in common. 34 Hen. II., Devenes.

76.—Mosse fil Benedict owes 15s. for one ounce of gold for his rights to the chattels of his father against Lia Jewess and her sons. But he cannot be found. 34 Hen. II., Glocest.

77.—Jheremias, Jew of Dunestaple, renders count of £12 for 2 marks of gold because he could not convict the charter of Leo for falsity. Quits. 34 Hen. II., Devenes.

78.—Josce, son of Morell, owes 46 marks for having right to the debt which Robert de Vallibus owed to his father. 34 Hen. II., Nordf.

79.—Benedict, son of Josce Sorel, owes 2 marks because he did not keep the fine which he made with Brun the son of Benedict the soldier [a Jew], on which Abraham son of Rabbi holds security. Benedict of Rising owes 20 marks for having his reasonable part of his own chattels and debts. 34 Hen. II., Glocestre.

80.—Deulecresse, Jew of Finchelesfield, renders count of 20 marks for waste and purpreestures. 34 Hen. II., Essex and Hertford. [Deulecresse = *Deus-eum crescat* = *Heb.* Gedaliah.]

81.—Deulecresse of Rising son of Benedict owes 2 marks for having his reasonable part of the lands and chattels of his father-in-law. 34 Hen. II., Nordf.

82.—Of the aforesaid debts of the Jews we take no account at present because of the Tallage which our Lord the King is taking from them. 34 Hen. II., 2a (M i. 222). [Cf. No. 71. It was on this occasion that the Jews of England contributed £60,000 against £70,000 as tenths from the rest of the King's subjects: Gervase of Cant., i. 222. The "aforesaid debts" only refer to some in London.]

83.—Leo Jew of London owes 4 marks for licence to come to terms with Deulebenie of Chichester. Lond., 35 Hen. II. [Deu-le-benie = *Heb.* Berachjah for which Benedictus is also used.]

84.—Deulebenie Jew of Chichester owes 5 marks for licence to come to terms with Leo Jew of London. ib. Sudsex. [Two birds with one stone.]

85.—Samarias the Jew owes 11 marks for having the mortgages and debts of Helyas his son who is dead. 35 Hen. II. Devenes. [Next year it is added "But he has not yet had either debt or mortgage."]

86.—Lia Jewess of Bristol owes 10 bizants for having an agreement between her and her children drawn up in presence of the Jews, and 20 marks for having her fair share of the chattels and debts of Benedict her husband. 35 Hen. II. Glouc. [Lia = Leah.]

87.—Jurnet Jew of Norwich owes 1800 marks for having residence in England with the goodwill of the King. (M. i. 228.) 35 Hen. II. Nordf. and Sudf. [He probably returned to England at this time. Cf. No. 67.]

88.—Isaac of Hich owes 9 marks for not being prosecuted but he is not to be found. 35 Hen. II., Essex. [The entry occurs again 5 Ric. I. where Isaac is still left owing.]

89.—Ysaac son of Rabbi owes £200 that he may be quit of the whole tallage that King Henry [the King's] father made at Guildford on taking up the Cross and of which he should pay £100 on the Sunday when they sing "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," and of the rest £30 per annum till those £100 are quite paid off. 35 Hen. II., Lond.

90.—Abraham son of Rabbi owes 2 ounces of gold that he might be recognised [as owner ?] of the land of Malesward which Robert Cusin seeks and that the summons before the justices errant may come before the Chief Justiciar. 36 Hen. II., Lond. [There is a subtle touch of irony in the choice of a Sunday on which the Jew has to pay up.]

91.—Benedict the Jew owes 3 marks because he detained the rents of his lord. The same Sheriff renders count of 9 marks of the community of the Jews. 1 Ric. I., Sudhants. [Each entry offers an interesting problem. What was the exact relation of a Jew and "his lord"? How far and in what way were the Jewish "communities" organised and recognised by the government?]

92.—Abraham son of Avigay owes one mark of gold because it is not contained in his deed from the Count of Arundel that the Manor of Rowell is his mortgage as it ought to have been. 1 Ric. I. [Avigay = Abigail.]

93.—Josce son of Benjamin of Oxford owes 10 marks for an amerciament for

treasure trove of gold which he bought without the consent of justice. ib. Oxenford.

94.—Slema Jewess of St. Edmund owes 20 marks for right to her debts and pledges. Jumet Jew of Norwich owes 6 marks for right to thirty pounds against Benjamin of Oxford. 1 Ric. I., 3b Nordf. and Sudf.

95.—Samuel de Stanford owes 10 marks for having his debts against William de Colville. But he is dead and his chattels and pledges are in the King's hand. Ibid. 4b Linc. [Cf. No. 164.]

96.—For hiring carriage to carry Jews of York to London 8s. Ibid 5a. Evenvich. [They were not all killed then.]

97.—Brun the Jew owes £350 of the amerciament of 2000 marks for which he made fine with the King at Waltham.

Aaron Jew of Lincoln, Abraham son of Rabbi and Isaac of Colchester owe £400 of the chattels of Brun the Jew which they received in old money of the fine which he made with the King at his crossing over the straits. 1 Ric. I., Lond. and Weston.

98.—Benedict son of Jacob owes 2 ounces of gold that his case may be heard in the King's court between him and Deodatus and Jacob Jews. ib. Lincoln.

99.—Of the proceeds of the lands and chattels of the men who fled on account of the assault on the Jews in the city of York. Ibid. Everw. [William of Newbury mentions that they fled to Scotland.]

99*a*.—Samuel, Jew of Newcastle, owes 20 marks because he called a warrant which he could not have. 2 Ric. I., Nordhumb.

99*b*.—Cresselin, Jew, owes 40s. for right to £11 against the Abbess of Ramsey. 2 Ric. I., Sudhants. ["But he is dead and has no right" it is added in the following entry.]

100.—Debts of the Jews for the Guildford Tallage placed by the chancellor on the roll. Isaac son of Rabbi [Joce] renders count of £200 of the arrears of the Tallage of Guildford for which he made fine with the Chancellor to pay £30 per annum in two instalments . . . and he still owes £75. 2 Ric. I. 12b. (M. 251.) [See No. 89.]

101.—Jacob, Jew, son of Samuel of Northampton, owes £500 for the debts and chattels of his father of which he ought to pay 120 marks, viz. 60 at Easter and 60 at Michaelmas. 2 Ric. I., Norhants.

102.—And in his [the Sheriff's] surplus which he has below in the account of the land of the men who fled for the assault on the Jews of York £59 . . . . David de Popelton renders count of 20 marks for the Jews. 2 Ric. I., Everwich. [The last entry is followed by 50 other names; the whole amount of fines 342 marks.]

103.—Of those who paid up for the aforesaid pleas [on the Jews] the same Sheriff renders count of fourscore and eleven marks and 10 shillings of the amerciament of the men of York for the Jews, whose names and debts are noted in the Chancellor's roll which they paid into the Treasury. Paid in the Treasury by 58 tallies and is quits. 2 Ric. I., Everwich.

104.—Avegay, Jewess of London, owes £62 3s. 4d. of the balance of 200 marks which she owed to our Lord the King's father of the tallage at Guildford of which she has to pay £20 per annum. 2 Ric. I. Everwich.

105.—Josce son of Lia of Bristol renders count of one hundred shillings of the second thousand marks which the Jews of England promised our Lord the King. 3 Ric. I. (M. i. 233.) [cf. No. 43.]

105a.—And to Joseph and Roger, clerks of the King in the Exchequer of Aaron [of Lincoln] two marks and a half for a gift by King's writ. 3 Ric. I. 11b. Lond. and Midd. [See Nos. 27, 54.]

106.—Of the debts of Aaron. [Under this heading are enumerated in the rolls 3-5 Ric. I. Bucks 4 items, Wilts 3, Worcester and Warwick 21, Canteb 1. Becks 1, Norf. 19 and 16, Sussex 1, Oxford 7, Cumberland 6, Gloucester 2, York 80 (including 20 Jews), Hereford 5, Northampton 28, Hants. 7, Lond. and Middl. 40, Shropshire 3, Linc. 186, in all 430 debts amounting to about £1500.]

107.—Arrears of the Tallage of the Jews of London made at Guildford. 3 Ric. I., Lond. and Middl. [Follows a list of 38 names owing about £2860. Similar lists in this and following years occur for Essex 12 (£400), Sussex (£285), Kent 12 (£140).]

108.—Josce de Ebor owes 12½ marks for a silver vessel. 3 Ric. I., Everw. Of

Aaron's debts. [But he was dead having been killed last by R. Yomtob at the York massacre. This debt must have been brought against his estate.]

109.—Robert de Hœsel owes 20 marks for his fine for the debts which his father owed to the Jews of York. 3 Ric. I., Everwich. [From this and other entries it is clear that the burning of the promissory notes in York Minster did not help the York Jews' debtors much. Cf. No. 12.]

110.—Margaret, who was the wife of Benedict son of Sarra, owes 20s. for having had her debt unjustly against Robert Williamson de Evlega. 3 Ric. I., Sudsex.

111.—Of the debts of Aaron. Deulebenie of Rising owes 100 marks on the surety of the Earl of Arundel. 3 Ric. I., Nordf. Benedict, Jew of Chichester, owes £100 on the surety of the Earl of Arundel. Ib. Sudsex. [This was one of the ways in which the King got a hold on the Barons by means of the Jews to whom they were indebted. Hence the clauses in Magna Charta against the transfer of Jews' debts to others.]

112.—Benedict, brother of Jurnet, owes £140 of the arrears of 10,000 marks. Ursell son of Brun 30s for the same. Sancto, Jew of St. Edmund's, owes 42s. for the aforesaid arrears. Samson of Bungay owes 100s. for the same. 3 Ric. I., Nordf. [This casual mention is the only reference I know of to a tallage of 10,000 marks which was probably in the time of Hen. II.]

113.—Deodatus, Jew, owes 6 marks and 8s. 10d. for a writ about 20 marks. Ursel son of Pulcella owes 5 marks because he did not give up to Ysaac his debt. Matathias the Jew owes half a mark because he has confessed what he previously denied. Sarra the Jew and her sons owe 23s. 3d. for having right to 5 marks and 3s. 3 Ric. I., Lincol. [Notice again the large proportion of the debt claimed by the King.]

114.—Ranulf de Glanville owes one mark because he confessed that he had received from Samuel, Jew of Northampton, who owed it for a concord between Margaret of London and their sons and daughter. But it should be required in Norft. 3 Ric. I., Norhant. [See No. 58.]

115.—The town of Ospringe owes 20 marks because it did not make hue and cry for a slain Jew. 3 Ric. I., Chent. [Was this during one of the riots at the same-time as the York massacre? The town still owes the sum as late as 6 J.]

116.—Josce son of Leo of Warwick owes 100 marks for his fine and for having the debts and chattels of his father. 3 Ric. I., Winc. and Warw.

117.—Of the amerciaments of the men of the city for the assault on the Jews. 3 Ric. I., Lincoln. [Follows a list of 80 names. It has hitherto been thought that the Jews of Lincoln escaped, but this entry would seem to show the contrary.]

118.—Jacob, Jew of Winton, owes £50 of the £100 which Ursell the husband of Drua his daughter gave Drua herself in dowry before she can have those £100. 3 Ric. I., Oscimf.

119.—Josce Crispin and the two daughters of Morell and their pledges owe 100s. for their share of the books of the said Morell. 3 Ric. I., Nordf. [This Morell was probably Samuel son of Solomon of Falaise who is known among the Tosafists or Glossators of the Talmud as "Sir Morell of England," cf. Steinschneider, *Cat. Lib. Heb. Bodl.*, No. 7068.]

120.—Judas the Bishop [levesq] owes 50s. of his receipts which he had received from the Christians of Lincoln. 3 Ric. I., Linc. [Doubtless as compensation for the riot. On "Bishop" see No. 31.]

121.—The sons of Benedict the Jew owe 700 marks to have the lands of their father and of his debts according to his charters. 3 Ric. I., Everw. [The duplicate charters had been burnt by the rioters in York Minster. Benedict had died in London after being forcibly converted. His sons desire to have his debts on the sole authority of the counterfoils in their possession without comparing them as usual with the originals.]

122.—Richard Malebysse owes £20 to have his forest rights as he had them in the time of Henry the King's father. 3 Ric. I., Everwicu.

123.—Benedict son of Josce Quatrebuches owes 200 marks that he might have the charters and chattels of his father and an accord between him and Ysaac and Abraham sons of Rabbi, and that he might not (without special direction from the King) be impleaded for concealing his father's chattels. 4 Ric I. 11 Lond. and Midd.

124.—Richard Malebysse renders count of 20 marks for having his land again till the advent of the King which had been seized in the hand of the King on account of the slaughter of the Jews at York, and that he and Walter de Carton and Richard de Kukeney, his squires, might have the King's peace till the advent of the King. 4 Richard I. (M. 334). William de Percy, Knight and Picot, Roger de Ripun and Alan Malekuke owe 5 marks for the same. Ibid. [All these were connected together, see Stubbs' *Hoveden* iii. p. xlv. note. R. Malebysse was the ancestor of the Beckwithes and nephew of Agnes Percy.]

125.—Samuel and Israel sons of Abraham owe 500 marks for the fine which they made to have £500 of the debt of William de Guinx which he owed to Aaron for a charter and the charter was returned to them. 4 Ric. I., Lond.

126.—Leo, Jew of Worcester, owes 20 marks that he might be bailed out of the King's prison in which he was placed for a forcible entry into the hospital of Worcester. The same owes 10 marks for having his rights to £20 against the Abbot of Persora. 4 Ric. I., Wincest. [It is not clear whether the entry was a case of burglary properly so called or a case of enforcing an illegal claim. The former would probably have been more severely punished. Leo pays next year.]

127.—Vives son of Josce owes half a mark for a surety for the Jews of Cambridge. Vives brother of David renders count of 40s. for the same, Boncoie 10 marks for the same, David son of Cypora 5 marks for the same. 4 Ric. I., Canteb. [Cypora=Zippora. Many Jews are mentioned as the sons of their mother possibly because their father had been converted, but Cf. contra the case of Abraham son of Avigay whose father's name we know from No. 23.]

128.—Judas, Jew of Bristol, owes two ounces of gold for an inquisition made in a chapter of the Jews whether a Jew ought to take usury from a Jew. 4 Ric. I. [The chapter of the Jews was the *Beth Din* or ecclesiastical tribunal presided over by the three *Dayanim* or "Bishops." There could only be one reply in face of Deut. xxiii. 20, but this could be and was evaded by geting a Christian "man of straw" to act as intermediary. The Jew lent to the Christian, the Christian to the other, and took usury.]

129.—Of the debts of Aaron, Robert, Earl of Leicester, owes £452 6s. 8d. on Blenford and Kingston in Dorset, and Sepwich and Hakemot and Compton and Colingburn and Everley, Wikingston and Turmsdeston and Belgrave and Shep church and Androdesly and Normanton and Seldton. And £37 by another charter. 5 Ric. I. 8 Waur. [See Nos. 27, 50. By 3 Jo. it appears that he had paid off this £240 6s. 8d. to Aaron himself. By that date, 15 years after Aaron's death, 146 of his former debtors owed £4737 1s. 6d.]

130.—Benedict son of Isaac the Jew owes £100 and one mark of gold "de obol. Musce" or ten marks of silver for his fine for charters of Aaron bought from the Chancellor. 5 Ric. r. 3. m. 1. [Madox confesses his ignorance of what *Musce* means. It was better business for the King for other Jews to take up the debts of a Jew deceased as *he* could not charge interest and they could. While in the King's hands a Jew's debt lay dormant.]

131.—Mosse son of Abraham owes £24 6s. 8d. on his house. Deulecresse de Winton owes 34 marks on his house and lands. 5 Ric. I., Sudhants. [These were among Aaron of Lincoln's property.]

132.—Aaron brother of Leon of Dunstable owes 20s. for having right to 30s. against Hugh fil Yvon and for 20s. against Ric. fil Essvj and for 2 marks against Robert Blund. Mosse son of Mosse owes 20s. for a debt of 5 marks against Calford de Lega. Josce son of Mosse owes 4 shillings for 20s. against Gilbert Passelewe. 5 Ric. I., Bucks. and Berks. [Observe the large proportion of the debt claimed by the King nearly one-quarter on the average.]

133.—Aaron son of Samuel of Northampton owes 100s. because he denied what he said before. Vives son of Jacob owes 15 marks for the same. Hakelin son of Josce owes one mark for the same. 5 Ric. I., Norhant.

134.—Ursell of Gipeswich and Ysaac of Bedford and Seignure of St. Edmund render count of 50 marks for having custody of the chattels of Ysaac, Jew of St. Edmund, which are reckoned at £120 (who was killed at Thedford) for the benefit of the heir of the deceased. 5 Ric. I., Bucks and Berks.

135.—Richard Basset owes £22 for a fine made for all the debts which he owed

to Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, on the day he was alive and dead. 5 Ric. I., Norhant.

136.—Of the debts of the Jews which they owed to the aforesaid Aaron [of Lincoln] see in the roll of the preceding year where the names of debtors and debts are noted of which this is the sum, viz. £396 4s. 8d. 5 Ric. I., Everw.

138.—The citizens of York render count of 10 marks for having their hostages who were at Northampton on account of the slaughter of the Jews. 5 Ric. I. [No one was punished, says William of Newbury. The hostages were therefore only a precaution against a fresh outbreak. But no Jews were living at York at this date as there is no contribution from York in a list of contributors to a Tallage of 5000 for this year preserved at the Record Office. Q. R. Misc., 556, No. 2.]

140.—The heirs of Mosse le Riche, Jew of Gloucester, owe 300 marks to have the debts of the aforesaid Mosse. 6 Ric. I., Glouc.

141.—Mosse son of Isaac owes half a mark because Jornet was not prosecuted. Jornet the Jew renders count of one mark for a false charge. Solomon son of Cresselin owes 3s. 4d. because Jornet was not prosecuted . . . son of Master Moss renders count of 3s. 4d. for the same. 6 Ric. I., Sudhant. ["Master" probably means physician.]

142.—The citizens of Lincoln ought to reply about their amerciaments which are demanded from them for assaults on the Jews according to what is contained on the roll of the preceding year. For which they have not responded because they have not yet come to the account to be paid thereon. 6 Ric. I., Linc.

143.—Benedict Pernaz, Jew of Lincoln, owes £12 for William of Olingchen of the aforesaid debt of Aaron which he has confessed in presence of the Barons he ought to pay for him. 6 Ric. I., Linc. [Pernaz=*Parnass* (Heb.) the name still used for the President of the Congregation.]

144.—Deulecresse son of Benjamin owes 50s. for Benedict son of Deudone which the same Benedict owes the King for the debts which he enacted from the said Deulecresse. 6 Ric. I., Oximf.

145.—Leo, Jew of Gloucester, owes 20 marks for that he was accused of being of the Society of Outlaws. 7 Ric. I., 13, Glouc. (M i. 229).

146.—Deulesalt, Jew, owes 60 marks that he may have respite till the coming of the King of the plea concerning the charter of Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, which the said Deulesalt was said to have concealed. 7 Ric. I., Lond. and Middl.

147.—Judas son of Duedone owes 20s. for having right to 40s. against Copin son of Besia. 8 Ric. I., Essex. [The King's share of a debt seems greater when Jew owes to Jew. Qy. because it was illegal according to Jewish law? Cf. No.]

148.— . . . Jew owes 3 ounces of gold for a stupid saying. 8 Ric. I., Nordf.

149.—Alexander the Abbot and the Convent of Melsa owe one mark that it may be inscribed on the Great Roll that it has been put on record by the Baron that they have produced a charter of Aaron the Jew of quittance of the debt of William Fossard which charter was released to the said William in presence of the Barons. And these are the words of the charter:

"Know all men reading and hearing these letters that I, Aaron, Jew of Lincoln, by the attestation of this my charter have cried quits to William Fossard of all the debt which he or his father owed unto me; and I testify that he is quit of the debt which he owed either to me or to Josce of York or to the remaining Jews mentioned, viz. Kersun, Elyas, Sanson, Ysaac Jew of Pulcella, or Pulcella herself, or Deulecresse of Denmark, up to the feast of St. Michael in the year of the incarnation of the Lord, MCLXXVI. This quit claim I have made him for MCCLX marks from which the monks of Melsa have acquitted him towards me. And it is to be known that I have handed over to him certain charters of this debt and if I have any others still in my possession I will hand them over as soon as possible."

And that according to this record it was decided by the said Barons that nothing should be demanded from the said Abbot and Monks of the debt which is demanded from the aforesaid William out of the debts of Aaron, viz. £510 13s. 0d. 9 Ric. I., 4b Everw. (M i. 238). [This entry

contains the earliest "Starr" known. The whole transaction is given in *Chron. de Melsa*, ed. E. A. Bond., i. 173.]

150—Deulecresse and Judas his brother owe 40s. for bail for their mother. 9 Ric. I., Sudhants. [This is included among "Aaron's Debts:" why I know not.]

151.—Abraham, Jew of Winchester, owes 40 marks that he may be bailed out (replevied). 9 Ric. I., Sudhants.

152.—Abraham son of Aaron owes 3 ounces of gold for having his rights of 13 marks and 4s. against Elyas his brother. 9 Ric. I., Linc.

153.—Peter Blund, Jew of London, owes 40s. for having his rights against Rodulph son of Willeom of the debts of his father of 100s. and against Will. Puntiel the guardian of the land and heir of Roger of Crokeslea of a debt of the said Roger of £10. 9 Ric. I., London. [Peter Blund and his wife Miriam are mentioned in a document at St. Paul's as obtaining a quitrent of land at the corner of Fish Street. *Hist. MSS. Com.*, IX. 22b.]

156.—Josce son of Isaac owes 2 marks for having his rights to £13 against Roger of the Dead Sea. Mosse of Cambridge owes 20s. for having right to a debt of £10 10s. 0d. against Galfred de Caxton. 9 Ric. I., Lond. [The names of the Christian debtors are the interest here. Is the latter the first known Caxton?]

157.—Ysaac, Jew, owes 1 mark for his oath. Sabcoe, Jew, renders count of 1 mark for his oath. 9 Ric. I., Hereford in Wales.

158.— . . . son of Isaac owes 3 ounces of gold to have his rights against the heirs of Benedict of Chichester and Yvelin of the mortgage of John of Tusgos. Alfild who was [wife of] Isaac owes 5 marks for having right of 10 marks against Nichol son of Ysaac. Solomon, Jew of Arundel, owes 2 marks for right to £12 against John of Cumb. 9 Ric. I., Sudsex. [Alfild seems a very Saxon name for a Jew's wife.]

159.—Tallage of burgesses and manors of the King. Joseph Aaron owes 7s. 4d. of the balance of £40 which he received from the Sheriff of Worcester on which he rendered count in the roll of the seventh year. 9 Ric. I., Glouc. [Joseph Aaron was afterwards one of the Justices of the Jews, see No. Here again we have a case of a Jew receiving the cash balance of the Sheriff's account. Cf. Nos. 11, 12, 30.]

160.—Abraham, Jew of Lincoln, son of Aaron, owes one ounce of gold to have a writ for justicing Tom son of Godwin and John his brother for a debt which they owe him. Jacob the old man of Lincoln owes 2 ounces of gold to have a record of the county of Lincoln on the appeal which Benedict of the Bail and Mosse his son made against him and his fellows in the same county. 9 Ric. I., Linc.

161.—Gentilia the Jewess, daughter of Samson, owes 4 ounces of gold to have an inquest whether her father died a Jew or a Christian and to have his charters. 9 Ric. 1., Everwick. [Jews seem to be coming back to York. Or does the entry refer to the death of Samson at the York massacre when many Jews offered to be baptized?]

162.—Benedict of Rising owes 20 marks to have a reasonable part of the chattels and debts of Benedict son of Josce Sorel. 9 Ric. I., Glouc. [The entry is repeated next year.]

163.—And Aaron the Jew of Lincoln owes 509 marks as is contained there. [roll 8.] But Benedict de Tallemunt answers for this in his accounts. 10 Ric. I., 12a. [Benedict was a justiciar of the Exchequer of the Jews.]

164.—Robert de Braibroe renders count of 10 marks of the ferm of Bitebroe. In the treasury nothing. And by payments to the said Robert 10 marks by King's writ because it was recorded by Simon de Pateshull and Benedict [Jew] of Tallemunt, Wardens of the Jews, that Richard, miles of Bitebroe, who had pledged the said land of Bitebroe to Samuel of Stanford, had made fine with the aforesaid Simon and Benedict in the past year by 15 marks (for which the said Benedict has to answer) that his account may be audited to see whether he be quit of his debt, namely of 50 marks for which he had pledged the said land to the Jew beforementioned by means of money received from the aforesaid pledge from the time when it was pledged. And the account being made before the aforesaid and [two] others it was adjudged that the said Richard should be quit because, as the above-mentioned declared, more than the fifty marks had been received from the said pledge, that is from the time of

King Henry up to the time of the said account, and as the said Richard was quits with the said pledge last year and the said Robert has not the said pledge this year and is thus quits. 10 Ric. I., 8 Roteland. [The debt must have fallen into the hands of the King in 1 Ric. I., by the death of Samuel (*vide supra*, No. 95). The same lands were pledged to Aaron of Lincoln for £10 at 2d a week interest, in 1179, see Brit. Mus. *Add MS.*, 24,510 f. 181. Aaron must have sold the debt to Samuel before his debt or it would have come into the King's hands. The justiciars of the Jewish Exchequer are the first mentioned; it appears, however, that there were two others, Henry de Winchester and Joseph Aaron the Jew (Madox, 745).]

165.—The Jews who are noted in the Roll of the preceding year under the title "Of the debts of Aaron found by the Chancellor" owe £136. 10 Ric. I., Norf.

166.—Jurnet, Jew of Norwich, and the other Jews who are noted in the Roll of the preceding year under the title "Offerings of the Jews of the time of King Henry," owe £4432 7s. 11d. for the reasons that are noted there. And besides Abraham son of Rabbi owes 4 horns of which the fourth equals the other three. But B. de Talemunt answers for this in his account. 10 Ric. I., Lond.

167.—Avigay the Jewess and other Jews who are noted under the title "Arrears of the tallage of the Jews of London and Guildford," owe £3122 7s. 2d. for the arrears that are noted in the preceding Roll. But B. de Talemunt answers for this in his account. The Jews that are noted under the title "Of the offerings of the Jews by Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury," owe £9 and 15 bezants as are noted in the preceding Roll. But B. de Talemunt answers thereon in his account. 10 Ric. I., Lond.

168.—Samuel of Bungay and other Jews that are noted in the preceding Roll owe £37 6s. 8d. 10 Ric. I., Nordf. and Suff. [Similarly Jews of Cambridge owe 19 marks, of Worcester 30 marks. These and the preceding entries are the beginning of a separation of accounts between the Great and the Jews' Exchequer. Benedict de Talemunt, a Jew, was one of the Justiciars or Wardens of the Jews and began this year to take over the Jewish debts from the Great Roll to a separate account.]

169.—And in guarding the bringing to Westminster of the moneys collected from the debtors of the Jews together with the Jews appointed for this by Benedict de Talemunt, 10s. by King's writ. 1 Job., Nordf.

170.—Thomas de Eton owes £40 and one palfrey worth 7 marks for the debts of Benedict and Josce Jews of York because it is an escheat of the King. 1 Jo., Everwick (*Add. MS.*, 4542). [These were the two Jews at the head of the York community, 1 Ric. I., cf. Will. of Newbury, *sub anno*. The King did not lose by the massacre but he did by the destruction of documents in the Cathedral afterwards. Some escaped destruction as Thomas of Eton finds here to his cost.]

171.—Jacob, Jew of Northampton, renders count of 300 marks to have his debt which the Abbot of Popewell owes him . . . But he answers in the roll of account of Benedict de Talemund. 1 Jo., Norhants. [Similarly Jews of Oxford, Kent, and Norfolk (sums of £1223 and £236 16s. from Aaron's debts) are transferred to Benedict's roll which would thus contain indebtedness amounting to the large sum of £9452 11s.]

172.—Elyas, Jew of Gloucester, renders count (and is quits) of 10 marks for one mark of gold to be quits of his appeal which Samuel son of Mosse de Riche and Vives son of Benedict and Hamnot Hoeth and John the convert have brought against him for the money of the aforesaid Mosse and for a certain carbuncle of his. 1 Jo., Glouc.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

Literature.

—:o:—

INDEX NOTES.

OLD ENGLISH DRAMA, NO. 5.—*The Lamentable and trve tragedie of M. Arden of Faversham in Kent, who was most wickedlye murdered by the meanes of his disloyall and wanton wyfe who for the loue she bore to one Mesbie hyred two desperat ruffins Blackwill and Shakbag to kill him, wherein is shewed the great mallice and discimulation of a wicked woman the vnsatiable desire of filthie lust and the shamefull end of all murderers.* Imprinted at London for Edward White, dwelling at the lyttle North dore of Paules Church, at the signe of the Gun. 1592. [Reprinted by A. H. Bullen, 1887.]

Æsop, fable of quoted, iii. 6.
Alehouse ruffians of London, i. 1.
Alehouses, tenpenny, v. 1.
Apprentice, London, ii. 2.
Astrology, birth-hour marks destiny, ii. 2.

Backgammon, see "tables."
Beer, "a cuppe of beare," iii. 5, v. 1 ; barrel of, v. 1.
Beraide, befooled, iv. 3.
Birth, pride of, i. 1 ; iii. 5.
Bookes, to be out of her bookes, i. 1.
Breakfast, i. 1.
Brewer's cart, v. 1.
Brocage, i. 1.
Brute, rumour, i. 1.
Burning, sentence of for murder, v. 5.

Canterbury, alluded to, v. 5.
Cockshut light, twilight [the time when the net, termed a cockshut, was spread for snaring woodcocks], iii. 2.
Coins, angels, v. 1.
Coltstaff, v. 1.
Constable, parish, v. 1.
Copsemate, companion, [see Nares] iii. 5.
Corrival, for rival, iv. 1.
Costerd, v. 1.
Coysterel, [see Nares] iii. 2.
Criminals, see "gallows."

Dag, a pistol, [see Nares] iii. 6.
Dice, silver, i. 1.
Dinner at the ordinary in London, ii. 2 ; iii. 3.
Domestic customs, see "breakfast," "dinner," "invitations," "letter writing," "rushes," "supping."
Dreams, the force of, iii. 3.
Dress, description of, ii. 1. ; see "silken gown," "slipshoe.

Faversham, abbey of, i. 1.
———, inn, flowre deluce, at, iv. 3.
Forslowde, neglected, delayed, iii. 5.

Gadding, iv. 4.
Gadds Hill, alluded to, v. 4.
Gallows, "a maide may beg one from the gallows of the shriefe," from the popular idea that a virgin might save a criminal from the gallows by offering to marry him, i. 1.
Game at tables, v. 1.
Giglote, a wanton, [see Nares] iii. 5.
Greenwich, alluded to, v. 5.
Guns, described, iii. 6.

Highway robbery on Raynham Down, iii.
Hock [hough] Monday alluded to, iv. 3.
Horn, as sign of cuckold, iv. 4.
Horse, travelling by, iii. 6.
Hue and cry, v. 4.

Inn signs, lattice, v. 1; nages head, ii. 2; salutation, iii. 4.
Invitations to dine and sup, iii. 6.

Jack of Faversham, allusion to, as a noted coward, iii.

Kissing, customs of, i. 1.

Lands, grants of church, alluded to, i. 1.
Lattice of an inn mentioned, v. 1.
Letter writing, i. 1; ii. 2.
Link, for lighting, v. 1.
London, alehouses, i. 1.
——— Aldersgate Street, ii. 1.
——— Apprentices, ii. 2.
——— Billensgate, iii. 2.
——— Blackfriars, ii, 2.
——— Nages Head, ii. 2.
——— Ordinary, ii. 2; iii. 3.
——— St. Paul's, stalls in, ii. 2; walking in, ii. 2; iii. 2, 3.
——— Salutation Inn, iii. 4.
——— Smithfield, v. 5.
——— Thames Street, v. 1.
Lordaine, a clownish idle person, iv. 1.
Love letter, ii. 2.
Love tokens, " dagger sticking in a hart," i. 1.

Mayor as executive officer, v. 1.
Mermaids song, allusion to, i. 1.
Methridate, an antidote to poison, i. 1.
Moon, influence of on wives, iv. 2.

Napkin, gold knit, iii. 4.
Needles, Spanish, [the making was first taught in England by Elias Crowse, a German, temp. Eliz. In Queen Mary's time a negro made them in Cheapside, but would not teach his art.—See Howe's *Stow*, 1631 p. 1038], i. 1.

Oaths, the force of, i. 1; see "Zounds."
Ordinary, eighteenpence, London, ii. 2; iii. 3.
Osbridge [Ospringe] in Kent, alluded to, v. 5.
Oyster boat, v. 4.

Painting of portraits alluded to, i. 1.
Pathaires [there seems to be no meaning to this word—Bullen] iii. 5.
Pesant, a term of reproach, i. 1; ii. 1.
Planchers, planks, i. 1.

Platforme, plan, scheme, ii. 1.
Poison drawn from oil colour of a picture, i. 1; ratsbane, v. 1.
Populos [perhaps used for thick, compact—Bullen], i. 1.
Portrait painting, alluded to, i. 1.
Potfinger, to play with a wenche at, iv. 3.
Proverbs "forewarnde, forearmde," i. 1; "he whome the devil drives must go perforce," iv. v.

Ratsbane, a poison, v. 1.
Raynham Down, alluded to, iii. 4, 6.
Ring, marriage, i. 1.
Rochester, alluded to, ii. 1; iii. 6.
Rushes strewn on the floor, v. 1.

Sailors of Faversham, iv. 4.
Sconce, a block house, a small round fort [see Nares], v. 1.
Scotland as a place of refuge for criminals, v. 1.
Seals attached to deeds, i. 1.
Semell, cement, iv. 1.
Sheppey, Isle of, alluded to, ii. 1; iii. 6; iv. 1.
Shurland, in the Isle of Sheppey, alluded to, iii. 6.
Signs, trade, in St. Paul's, ii. 2.
Silken gown, dress of a nobleman's steward, i. 1.
Sittingburgh, or Sittingbourne, alluded to, v. 4.
Slipshoe, v. 1.
Somerset, Duke of, grant of Abbey of Faversham by, i. 1.
Souned, swooned, iii. 6.
Statute, 37 Edward iii., alluded to, i. 1.
Steward of nobleman's house, i. 1.
Stolen goods, ii. 1.
Sword, the right to wear, i. 1.
Supper time, iii. 5, 6.
Supping at the ordinary, ii. 2.

Tables, game at [backgammon] v. 1.
Tales, telling of, a custom, iii. 1. 6.
Trade, gentleman engaged in, i. 1.
Trugges, contemptuous term [see Nares], i. 1.
Trulles, contemptuous term, i. 1.
Trusse [see Nares], iii. 6.
Tysing speach, i. 1.

Wales, as a place of refuge for criminals, v. 1.
Wall, taking the, v. i.
Wealth, troubles of, described, iii. 5.
Witchcraft and sorcery, love obtained by, i. 1; iii. 5.
Women, characteristics of, i. 1.

Zounds, an oath, ii. 2, 6; iv. 3.

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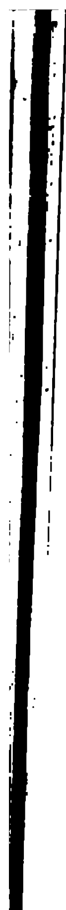

INDEX

TO THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL REVIEW.

I.—INDEX NOTES.

ABU, Mount, stone inscription of Samarasimha (Vikrama) Samvat, 109.
Achill, stone monuments in the island of, 56.
Ad Montem, see "Theydon Mount."
Akropolis, inscriptions found upon, 56.
Aldborough, Roman remains at, 337, 342.
Allerton, North, see "North Allerton."
Alresford, Roman remains at, 96.
Altars, Roman, 97, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341.
Alter der Runenschrift im Norden, 200.
America, the Pyramid in, 56.
Amotherby, Roman remains at, 337.
Amphoræ, Roman, 96, 99.
Andernach, die vorgeschichtliche Ansiedelung in, 349.
—— die vorrömischen, römishen und fränkischen Gräber in, 349.
Ankeräxte in Brasilien, über die Verbreitung der, 200.
Ankerhold, discovery of an, at the church of St. Martin, Chipping Ongar, Essex, 266.
Annam, see "Binh-Dinh."
Antiquities, the treatment of small, 55.
Archæology in Scotland: its past and future, 266.
—— Christian, in Museums of Rome, Florence, and Milan, 109.
—— the systematic study of, 266.
—— Vitulonian, 56.
—— in Western Europe, Epitome of pre-historic, 56.
Architecture, opening address to the section, Leamington Meeting, 1888, 267.
Ardmarnock, Argyleshire, A vitrified Fort at Rhufresean, 267.
Argyleshire—Ardmarnock, 267.
Arkesden, Roman remains at, 96.
Armour, Roman, 338.
Arncliffe, Roman remains at, 337.
Ashdon, see "Bartlow Hills."
Audley End, Roman remains at, 96.
Augenschwärze, altägyptische, 200.
Australasia, Queries on the lizard in the Folklore of, 200.
Australie: la terra, la flore, la faune et l'homme, 349.

BACON, Sir Nicholas, The walking staff of, 266.
Bainesse, Roman remains at, 337.
Bakhshali Manuscript, 349.
Balkerne Hill, Roman road at, 102.
Ballygunnermore, County Waterford, "Casey's Lios," 55.
Balmagir, County Wexford, memorial slab to Sir Nicholas Devereux, Knight of, 55.
Barnsby, Roman remains at, 337.
Bartlow Hills, Roman remains at, 96.
Baths, Roman, 98, 99, 337, 339.
Beads, Egyptian and Irish, 55.
Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, monuments and effigies in, 267.
Bells, Roman copper, 337.
Berberbevölkerung in Marokko, Eintheilung und Verbreitung der, 200.
Betelkauen (Betel-chewing) bei den Malaiischen völkern, besonders auf Java und Borneo, 200.
Billericay, Roman remains at, 96, 101.
Binh-Dinh, Les tours Kiams de la province de, 109.
Birdbrook, Roman remains at, 96.
Birmans, sur la juxtaposition de caractéres divergents à propos de cranes, 349.
Bishops Stortford, Roman road at, 101, 102.
Boissy Island, New Guinea, note on a mask from, 200.
Bords du Célé, Une sepulture troglodyte sur les, 348.
Borneo and Java, betel-chewing in, 200
Borough Bridge, Roman remains at, 337.

Borstendorf in Mähren, das Urnenfeld von, 349.
Bos primigenius, insbesondere über seine coexistenz mit dem Menschen, 200.
"Bosh," Arabic origin of, 349.
Bowden, the Cross of, 267.
Bowes, Roman remains at, 337.
Brabourne Cross, Derbyshire, 55.
Bracchium, see "Richmond."
Bracelets de Lignite, Jayet, Bois d'if, ou terre agglomérée, 348.
Bradford-on-Avon, Saxon church of St. Lawrence, 54.
Bradwell-Juxta-Mare, Roman remains at, 96.
Braintree, Roman road at, 101.
Brasilien, über die Verbreitung der Ankeräxte in, 200.
Brer Rabbit and Brer Fox, 109.
Bridge Roman, 339.
Bridlington, Roman remains at, 337.
Britain, Roman inscriptions found in, 56.
Britford Church, 55.
Bronze, note sur l'origine de certaines formes de l'épée de, 349.
—— situles en, des musées d'Este et de Bologne, 109.
Bronzes, archaic Irish, 266.
—— Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341.
Buddhist literature of Ceylon, vicissitudes of, 56.
Bustum, Roman, 337.

CAMBODUNUM, see "Slack."
Camboricum, see "Saffron Walden."
Camps, Roman, 96, 99, 100, 337, 338, 339.
Camulodunum, see "Colchester."
Canarien, L'industrie de la pierre chez les anciens habitants de l'Archipel, 109.
Canewdon, Roman urns at, 96.
Canfield, Roman remains at, 96.
Capillaire, l'art, chez les peuples primitifs, 108.
Carchemish-Jerablûs, reliefs at, 56.
Carnaby, Roman milestone at, 337.
Carthorpe, Roman bells at, 337.
Cæsaromagus, see "Dunmow."
"Casey's Lios," Ballygunnermore, 55.
Castle Dykes, Roman remains at, 337
Castle Hedingham, Roman road at 101.
Castle-Longford, 55.
Çatloltq of Vancouver Island, Myths and Legends of the, 56.
Caton, notes on an inscribed stone at, 55.
Catterick Bridge, Roman remains at, 337.
Causse de Rocamadour, Monuments préhistoriques du, 349.
Cawthorne, Roman Camps at, 338.
Celtes, recherches pour servir à la plus ancienne histoire des, 348.
Cemeteries, Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 337, 339.
Cemeteries, see "Saida."
Ceylon, vicissitudes of the Buddhist literature of, 56.
Chantry Chapel on the Bridge of Salford, 55.
Charters of Manchester and Salford, 55.
Chelmsford, Roman remains at, 96, 101.
Chrétienne, les sources de l'archéologie, dans les bibliothéques de Rome, de Florence et de Milan, 109.
Cherokees, Myths of, 109.
Cheshire, Folkmoots of Lancashire and, 55.
—— local courts of criminal and special jurisdiction, 55.
—— tokens, 17th century, Lancashire and, 55.
—— Church Lawton, 55 ; High Legh, 55.
Cheshunt Field, Roman remains at, 96.
Chesterford, Roman remains at, 96.
Chesterton, Roman road at, 101.
Chevelure féminine, notes d' archéologie sur la, 348.
Chigwell, Roman road at, 101.
Chinghiz Khan and his ancestors, 56.
Chipping Ongar, discovery of an Ankerhold at St. Martin's Church, 266.
Chishall, Roman Furnaces at, 96.
Christian Archæology, sources of, see "Chrétienne."
Church Lawton, Manor Records of, 55.
Churches — Bradford-on-Avon, 54 ; Bridford, 55 ; Chipping Ongar, 266 ; Downton, 55 ; Edington, 55 ; Gotland, South, 266 ; Warwick, 267.
Citadel of the German Knights, 56.
Clementhorpe, Roman sepulchral inscription, 338.
Cliffe, Roman inscribed stone at, 338.
Clifton, Roman coins at, 338.
Cloaca, Roman, 98.
Coffins, Roman, 97, 100, 337, 340, 341.
Coggeshall, Roman remains at, 96.
Coins, British, 55 ; Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341.
Colchester, Roman remains at, 97-98, 101.
Cole-harbour, Roman road at, 101.
Compoti records at Church Lawton, Cheshire, analysis of, 55.
Cookridge, Roman remains at, 338.
Corporations and Mayors, Maces and Swords of State, belonging to several, 267.
Court Baron records at Church Lawton, Cheshire, analysis of, 55.

Court Leet records at Church Lawton, Cheshire, analysis of, 55.
Courts, the ancient local, of criminal and special jurisdiction in Lancashire and Cheshire, 55.
Cremation site for Roman, see "Bustum."
Cross of Bowden, 267.
Cupid, bronze statuette of, recently found at Frindsbury, 266.
Cyttiau'r Gwyddelod, and their inhabitants, on the circular huts sometimes called, 267.

DANBURY, Roman furnaces at, 98; road at, 101.
Danube, la source du, chez Hérodote: recherches pour servir à la plus ancienne histoire des Celtes, 348.
Danum, see "Doncaster."
Deeds preserved at the East Hall, High Legh, Cheshire, 55.
Delgovita, see "Foulness."
Derbyshire—Brabourne Cross, 55.
Derwentio, see "Malton."
Devereux, Sir Nicholas, a Knight of Balmagir, and his wife, memorial slab to, 55.
Dioula Dougou et les Sénéfs, le, 109.
Dominicains, R.P., Memoire relatif aux fouilles entreprises parles, 349.
Doncaster, Roman altar at, 338.
Dougou et les Sénéfs, Le Dioula, 109.
Downton Church, 55.
Dresden, anthropological and ethnographical museum, 200.
Dunmow, Roman road at, 98, 102.
Dunnington, Roman altar at, 338.
Durolitum, see "Romford."

EASTHAM, Roman remains at, 98.
Eastness, Roman inscribed sarcophagus, 338.
Eboracum, see "York."
Eburacum, see "York."
Eckartsberga, zur statistik der Körpergrösse in, 200.
Edington Church, Wilts, 55.
Egyptian and Irish beads, 55.
Eland Hall Wood, Roman coins found in, 338.
Elmdon, Roman remains at, 98.
Elmstad Market, Roman road at, 102.
Enceintes préhistoriques, 349.
English mediæval church organ, 55.
Eocene, human footprints in, 56.
Epée de Bronze, note sur l'origine de certaines formes de l', 349.
Epping, Roman pottery and road at, 99, 101.
Erfurt, zur statistik der Körpergrösse in Kreisen, 200.
Essex—Chipping Ongar, 266.
Europa, zur Frage der ältesten Beziehungen zwischen Mittel-und-Sud, 349.
Europe, Western, epitome of prehistoric archæology in, 56.

Fibulæ, Roman, 96, 99, 337, 340.
Fifield, Roman furnaces at, 99.
Filey, Roman remains at, 338.
Fimber, Roman remains at, 338.
Folk-lore of Australasia, queries on the Lizard in, 200.
— — in India (Southern) 200; India (Western), 56; of Moquis, 109; Pennsylvania Germans, 109; Salsette, 56.
——— Medicine, Old Welsh, 267.
Folkmoots of Lancashire and Cheshire, 55.
Ford Meadow, see "Sturmere."
Ford Street, Roman road at, 101.
Fort, a vitrified, at Rhufresean, Ardmarnock, Argyleshire, 267.
Foulness, Roman road at, 101; assumed to be Delgovita, 340.
Fox, Brer, Brer Rabbit and, 109.
Frindsbury, bronze statuette of cupid recently found at, 266.
Fryerning, Roman pottery at, 99.
Furnaces, Roman smelting, 96, 98, 99, 101.

GAINFORD, Roman altar at, 338.
German Knights, citadel of, 56.
Germans in Pennsylvania, folk-lore of the, 109.
Glass, Roman, at Colchester, 97.
Gleichberg, Kleinen, bei Römhild, zwei noch nicht erklärte La Tène-Funde vom, 200.
Gloucester, Roman remains recently found in, 267.
Gloucestershire—Gloucester, 267.
Gosback, Roman remains at, 99.
Gosfield, Roman road at, 101.
Gotland, South, and Wisby, some churches of, 266.
Gräber in Andernach, die vorrömischen römischen und fränkischen, 349.
Grabungen in den Jahren 1881, 1882, und 1883, Fortsetzungdes Berichtes über die, 349.
Gravelthorpe, Roman statuette at, 338.
Graves in Wynaad, Southern India, recent diggings in pre-historic, 55.
Grays, Roman bronze figure at, 99.
Gray's Thurrock, Roman remains at, 99.
Green-harbour, Roman road at, 101.
Greta Bridge, Roman remains at, 338.
Grymes Dyke at Stanway, Roman remains at, 99.
Guisborough, Roman remains at, 338.
Gurjara inscriptions, 200.

Haaruntersuchung, Bemerkungen zur anthropologischen, 200.
Hadleigh, Roman road at, 101.
Hadstock, Roman remains at, 99.

Haidahs, "What befel the slave-seekers," a story of, 109.
Halifax, Roman camp at, 338, 339.
Hallingbury (Great), Roman remains at, 99.
Hanover, Urgeschichtliche Notizen aus, 200.
Harkirke find (of Saxon coins), 55.
Harlow, Roman bronze figure at, 99.
Harwich, Roman road at, 102.
Hatfield Broad Oak, Roman remains at, 99.
Haverhill, Roman road at, 101.
Hayshaw Moor, Roman leaden ingot at, 339.
Hazeleigh, Roman remains at, 99.
Hazlehead, Roman inscribed stone at, 339.
Head, terra cotta, in Munich, 56.
Hedingham, Roman road at, 101.
Helperthrope, Roman remains at, 339.
Hempstead, Roman road at, 101.
Hengwrt MS. 34, extracts from, 267.
Hennweiler, die Hügelgräber bei, 349.
Heybridge, Roman bronze patera at, 99.
Heydon Hill, Roman remains at, 99.
High Legh, Cheshire, notes on deeds preserved at the East Hall, 55.
Higham Causey, Kent, Roman road at, 101.
Hindu dates, calculations of, 200, 349; methods and table for verifying, 109.
Hittite monuments, unpublished or imperfectly published, 56.
Holdgate, Roman remains at, 339.
Holstein, die Körpergrösse der wehrpflichtigen im Gebiete der Unterelbe, insbesondere in, 200.
Home, a squire's, in King James' time, 267.
Hovingham, Roman remains at, 339.
Huddersfield, Roman altar at, 339.
Hügebgräber, die, bei Hermweiler, 349.
—— vom Loibenberge bei Videm an der Save in Steiermark, 349.
Huggate, Roman remains at, 339.
Hull Bridge, Roman road at, 99, 101.

Iceanum, see "Chesterford."
Ilkley, Roman remains at, 339.
India, southern—Folklore in, 200; prehistoric graves of Wynaad, 55.
—— Western, Folklore in, 56.
Indians—Mississagua, 109; Omaha, 109.
Indice céphalométrique en indice crainiométrique, un mot sur la conversion de, 349.
Indo-Scythian Coins, *Zoroastrian* Deities on, 56.
Inscriptions, Roman, 337, 338, 339, 341.
Inventions and books of secrets, bibliographical notes on histories of, 267.
Inventory of articles in 1725, 266.
Ireland, Romans acquainted with, 55.
—— gold ornaments and bronze weapons found in, 266.
Irish and Egyptian beads, 55.

Jade, 55.
Jagapala, Rajim stone inscription of, 56.
Jakuten, das Schmamanentum der, 349.
Jains, sacred literature of the, 349.
James, a squire's home in the time of King, 267.
Japan, ethnographisch-hygieinische Studie über Wohnhäuser in, 200.
Java and Borneo, betel-chewing in, 200.
Jenisejer, uber die culturzustände der, 349.
Jerusalem, note sur la methode employée pour traces le plan de la rotonde du saint-sépulcre à, 349.
Jewellery, Roman—see "Personal ornaments."

Kamarane, observation ethnographiques dans l'ile de, 109.
Kamerun, Reise in, 200.
Kananese Ballads, a selection of, 109.
—— inscriptions, 56.
Kellnsey, Roman remains, 339.
Kelvedon, Roman remains at, 99.
Kent—Frindsbury, 266.
Kiams de la province de Binh-Dinh, Les tours, 109.
Kilham, Roman remains at, 339.
Knights, citadel of German, 56.
Körpergrosse, die, der Wehrpflichtigen im Gebiete der Unterelbe insbesondere in Holstein, 200.
—— zur statistik der, in Kreisen Erfurt, Weissensee und Eckartsberga, 200.
Kourion, an archaic patera from, 56.
Krakauer Landesausstellung, 1887, die ethnographie auf der, 349.
Kreisen Erfurt, zur statistik der Körpergrösse in, 200.

Lancashire, Pre-Norman sculptured stones in, 55.
—— and Cheshire,—local courts of criminal and special jurisdiction, the ancient, 55; Folkmoots of, 55; tokens of the 17th century, 55.
—— Caton, 55; Manchester, 55; Salford, 55.
Langside, notes on the battle of, 267.
Latton, Roman road at, 101.
Leaden works, ancient, 55.
Leadwork, English ornamental, 54.
Leamington Meeting, opening address to the section of architecture at, 267.

Legh (High), notes on deeds at East Hall, 55.
Legiolum, see "Pontefract."
Lexden Road, Roman remains at, 99.
Little Waltham, Roman road at, 101.
Lizard, queries on the, in Folklore of Australasia, 200.
Lokakala reckoning, a note on, 200.
Loibenberge, die Hügelgräber vom, bei Videm an der Save in Steiermark, 349.
London, Roman roads radiating from, 101.
Longford Castle and Longleat, 55.
Longleat, 55.
Louisiana, customs and superstitions in, 109; nursery tales of, 109.

MACES and swords of state belonging to several Mayors and Corporations, 267.
Malaiischen Völkern, besonders auf Java und Borneo, das Betelkauen bei den, 200.
Malton, Roman remains at, 339.
Manchester and Salford, charters of, 55; and the neighbourhood, notes on deeds referring to, 55.
Manor records, Church Lawton, 55.
Marks Tey, Roman remains at, 99.
Marokko, Eintheilung und Verbreitung der Berberbevölkerung in, 200.
Mask, note on a, from Boissy island, N.E. New Guinea, 200.
Mayors and Corporations, Maces and swords of state, belonging to several, 267.
Medallion, Roman glass, 97.
Medicine, old Welsh Folk, 267.
Mersey, Roman remains at, 99.
Messing, Roman remains at, 99.
Meux, Roman pavements at, 339.
Mile stones, Roman, 337, 340.
Minh-Mary, note sur les tombeaux de Tu Duc et de, 109.
Mississagua Indians, notes on the history, customs and beliefs of the, 109.
Mithra à Edesse, le culte de, 349.
Monotheism, 56.
Monuments, Hittite, 56.
Moorfund von Mellentin in der Neumark, 200.
Moquis, legend of the snake order of the, 109.
Mosaics, notes on Christian, 56.
Mosquée d'Omar, note sur la methode employée pour tracer le plan de la, 349.
Mounds, Roman, 96, 339, 340.
Mount Bures, Roman remains at, 99.
Munich, terra cotta head in, 56.
Museen, ueber ethnographische, 348.
Myths of the Cherokees, 109.
—— and Legends of the Çatloltq of Vancouver Island, 56.

NESS, Roman sarcophagus, 339.
Neumark, Moorfund von Mellentin in der, 200.
New Guinea, note on a mask from Boissy Island, 200.
Norden, das Alter der Runenschrift im, 200.
North Allerton, Roman remains at, 339.
Norton, Roman remains at, 339.

OCELLUM, see "Kellnsey."
Ockenden North, Roman remains at, 99.
Old Ford, Roman remains at, 99.
Olicana, see "Ilkley."
Omaha Indians, glimpses of child-life among, 109.
Omar, note sur la methode employée pour tracer le plande la mosquée de, 349.
Ongar, Roman road, 100, 101.
Organ, the English mediæval church, 55.
Ornaments, Roman, personal, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 337, 339.
Ostraka, die griechischen, 349.
Othona, Roman remains at, 100; Roman road at, 101.
Oxford Cathedral, recent discoveries in, 267.

PALEOETHNOLOGIE en Suisse, la, 349.
Paleolithics, hafted, 56; in Pennsylvania, 56.
Paléontologie stratigraphique de l'homme, Essai de, 348.
Patellæ, Roman, 340.
Patera, Kourion, an archaic, 56; Roman, 96, 97, 99, 100, 101.
Patrington, Roman remains at, 339.
Pavements, Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 337, 339, 340, 341.
Peet Hall, Roman road at, 102.
Peet Tye, Roman road at, 102.
Pennsylvania, Folklore of Germans in, 109; Paleolithics in, 56.
Perse, Les races humaines de la, 109.
Pesaro, Maitre Hercule de, orfèvre et graveur d'epées au 15e siècle, 109.
Peuples primitifs, L'art capillaire chez les, 108.
Pfeile aus der Torresstrasse, 200.
Piercebridge, see "Piersbridge."
Piersbridge, Roman remains at, 339.
Pontefract, Roman bridge at, 339.
Pottery, Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341.
Pyramid in America, 56.
Pyrenees, Central, Roman antiquities in Touraine and, 267.

QUENDEN Newport, Roman road at, 101.

RABBIT, Brer, and Brer Fox, 109.

Rajim stone inscription of Jagapala of the Kulachuri year 896, 56.
Ramsden Belhus, Roman stone coffin at, 100.
Rayleigh, Roman remains at, 100, 101.
Reeth, Roman chape of sword sheath, 339.
Regenbogenschüsselchen am Rhein, 349.
Rhufresean, Ardmarnock, Argyleshire, a vitrified Fort at, 267.
Richmond, Roman remains at, 339.
Ridgwell, Birdbrook and Sturmere, Roman remains at, 100.
Riveling, Roman metal plates at, 339.
Rivenhall, Roman remains at, 100.
Robin Hood's Bay, site of Dunus Sinnis, 339.
Rochford, Roman remains at, 100.
Romford, Roman remains at, 100.
Roues à clochettes, les, 349.
Rudstone Parva, Roman milestone at, 340.

SACHALINER Ainoschädel, 200.
Saffron Walden, Roman remains at, 100, 101.
Saida, une nécropole royale decouverte à, 109.
Saint-Paul, Trois-Chateaux, 55.
Saka era, the epoch and reckoning of the, 200.
Salford—Chantry Chapel on the bridge of, 55; charters of, 55; Notes on Woden's Ford and Woden's Cave in, 55.
Salisbury, seals of the Bishops of, 55.
Salsette, Folklore in, 56.
Samarasimha (Vikrama) Samvat, Mount Abu, stone inscription of, 109.
Sanscrit and old Kanarese inscriptions, 56.
Sarcophagi, Roman, 99, 337.
Saxon church of St. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon, 54.
Scarborough, Roman remains at, 340.
Schmamanentum der Jakuten, das, 349.
Scotland, Archæology in: its past and future, 266; the systematic study of, in, 266.
Scratchbury camp, 55.
Sculptures, Roman, 337, 340, 341.
Seals of the Bishops of Salisbury, 55.
Secrets, Inventions and books of, bibliographical notes on histories of, 267.
Seele, die Unsterblichkeit der, nach altägyptischer Lehre, 349.
Sénéfs, Le Dioula Dougou et les, 109.
Settle, Roman remains at, 340.
Shawfield Mansion in 1725, Inventory of articles at, 266.
Shires, Welsh: a study in constitutional history, 267.
Shoebury, Roman remains at, 100, 101.
Sible Hedingham, Roman mirror, 100.
Sicile, Études sur la sigillographie des rois de, 109.
Sigillographie des rois de Sicile, Études sur, 109.
Silex altägyptischen Ursprungs, zwei bearbeitete, 200.
Sirpourla d'après les inscriptions de la collection de Sarzec, 348.
Situles, les, en bronze des musées d'Este et de Bologne, 109.
Slack, Roman remains at, 340.
Slave-seekers, what befel the: a story of the Haidahs on Queen Charlotte's Island, 109.
Slings and sling stones, 56.
Snake order, legend of the Moquis of, 109.
South End, Roman road at, 101.
Sowerby, Roman coins at, 340.
Stane Street, Roman Road at, 101, 102.
Stanway, Roman remains at, 100.
Steiermark, die Hügelgräber vom Loibenberge, 349.
Stones—sculptured and inscribed, 55, 56; Roman, 97, 98, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342.
Stratford, Roman remains at, 100, 101.
Strethall, ancient way at, 101.
Sturmere, Roman remains at, 100.
Sudbury, Roman road at, 101.
Suisse, la paléoethnologie en, 349.
Swinton, Roman remains at, 340.
Swinton Park, Roman remains at, 340.
Swords of State, maces and, belonging to several Mayors and Corporations, 267.

TABAKSPFEIFE, Waffe signalrohr oder, 200.
Taboet-feest, W. R. Winter and D. M. J. Schiff, Het Hasan-Hosein of, 200.
Tadcaster, Roman bridge at, 340.
Tehari, two incriptions from, 200.
Templeborough, Roman remains at, 340.
Tène-Funde, zwei noch nicht erklärte, vom Kleinen Gleichberg bei Römhild, 200.
Thaxted, Roman remains at, 100, 101.
Theydon Mount, Roman remains at, 100.
Thorne, Roman remains at, 340.
Thorpe on the Hill, Roman moulds for counterfeiting coins at, 340.
Thundersley, Roman road at, 101.
Thurstonland, Roman coins at, 340.
Tiar-Chan, la kaslgarie et les parses au, 349.
Tilbury, East, Roman road at, 101.
—— West, Roman remains at, 100.
Tiles, Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 340.
Tokens, Lancashire and Cheshire, 55.
Tolleshunt Darcy, Roman urns at, 100.

Tolleshunt Knights, Roman pavement at, 100.
Toltecs, an historical nationality, 109.
Topcsfield, Roman remains at, 100.
Toppingho Hall, Roman road at, 101.
Torfschwein, über das sogenannte, 200.
Torresstrasse, ueber Pfeile aus der, 200.
Totham (Little), Roman remains at, 100.
Touraine and the Central Pyrenees, Roman antiquities in, 267.
Transformismus, ueber den, 200.
Trenchers, a set of twelve, 267.
Troglodyte sur les Bords du Célé, Une sepulture, 348.
Tu Duc et de Minh-Mary, note sur les tombeaux de, 109.
Tumuli der römischen Periode, 349.
Tunisie, notice sur l'industrie mégalithique en, 348.

UBIERSTADT, Die Anfange der, 348.
Urnenfeld, das, von Borstendorf in Mähren, 349.
Urnenharz, 349.
Urns, Roman, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 337, 338, 340.
—— types of sepulchral, 55.

VANCOUVER Island, myths and legends of the Çatloltq of, 56.
Vases, Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101.
Vetulonia and early Italic Archæology, 56.
Vikrama, see "Samarasimha."
Villas, Roman, 96, 98, 99, 100, 340.

WAFFE, signalrohr oder Tabakspfeife, 200.
Wakering (Great) Roman remains at, 100.
Walls, Roman, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 337, 341, 342.
Waltham, Roman coins at, 100.
—— (Little), Roman road at, 101.
Wanstead, Roman remains at, 101.
Warwick, monuments and effigies in St. Mary's Church and Beauchamp Chapel, 267.
Warwickshire — Leamington, 267 ; Warwick, 267.
Washington, notes on local names near, 108.
Wasse, signalrohr oder Tabakspfeife, 200.
Waterford Co.—"Casey's Lios," Ballygunnermore, 55.
Wbierstadt, die Anfänge der, 348.
Weissensee, zur statistik der Körpergrösse in, 200.
Well, Roman remains at, 340.
Welsh, Folk Medicine, old, 267.
—— nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, observations on, 267.
—— shires, a study in constitutional history, 267.
Wenden, Roman furnaces at, 101.
Westmoreland—Whinfell Tarn, recent discoveries of prehistoric remains in, 266.
Wetzmarken und Näpfchen an altägyptischen Tempeln, 200.
Wexford Co.—Balmagir, 55.
Whinfell Tarn, Westmoreland, recent discoveries of prehistoric remains in, 266.
White Notley, Roman remains at, 101.
Wies in Mittel-Steiermark, urgeschichtliche Forschungen in der Umgegend von, 349.
Wighton, Foulness assumed to be Delgovita, 340.
Wiltshire — Britford, 55 ; Downton, 55 ; Edington, 55 ; Salisbury, 55.
Wisby and some churches of South Gotland, 266.
Witham, Roman remains at, 101.
Wixoe, Roman coins at, 101.
Woden's Ford and Woden's Cave in Salford, Notes on, 55.
Wolnhäuser in Japan, ethnographisch-hygieinische Studie über, 200.
Wormingfield, Roman remains at, 101.
Wynaad, Southern India, recent diggings in prehistoric graves in, 55.

XOCHICALCO, une visite aux ruines de, 109.

YELDHAM, Roman road at, 101.
Yézoer Ainoschädel, 200.
York, Roman remains at, 340, 341 ; roads leading to, 342.

ZAFARNAMA-I-RANJIT Singh of Kanhayya Lal, a notice of the, 56.
Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian coins, 56.
Zürich, der Ursprung der Stadt, 200.

II.—ARTICLES, CORRESPONDENCE, &c.

ABBEYS — Croyland, 53; Fountains, 259; Lilleshall, 53; Rosedale, 52; Strata Florida, 53; Valle Crucis, 260.
Aberdeenshire—Clatt, 261.
Aborigines of Victoria, 236.
Abyssinia, ethnographical collections relating to, 158.
Accident, notes on crime and, in Norfolk in time of Edward I., 201-215.
Acropolis, archaic Greek statue found in the, described, 178.
Adamana, Soudanese tribe, collections from, 154.
Admiralty Islands, ethnographical collections from, 222.
Aeginetan Temple, head of Athena on west pediment of, 181.
Africa, ethnographical collections from, 153-163.
—— Central, ethnographical collections at Vienna, 15.
——— rights of wives in, 193.
—— South, ethnographical collections relating to, 162-163.
African races and tribes, see "Abyssinia," "Akra," "Ama-Tembos," "Ama-Zulus," "Ashanti," "Bakuba," "Balunda," "Bantus," "Bari," "Basuto," "Baya," "Betchuana," "Bongo," "Bor," "Bushmen," "Danakil," "Dinka," "Djur," "Fan," "Gallas," "Hereros," "Kabyles," "Kaffirs," "Latuka," "Mandingoes," "Mbum," "Mombila," "Monbuttu," "Niam-Niam," "Shilluk," "Somalis," "Soudan."
Agriculture of Northern Portugal, 285.
Ahts, tribe of Vancouver's Island, 80.
Akra negroes, ethnographical collections relating to, 155.
Alacalufs (Fuegian tribe), weapons of, 152.
Ale provided for public festivals out of common lands, 35.
Algiers, ethnographical collections relating to, 153.
All Saints, numerous dedications to, before twelfth century, 270.
Altar, Roman, discovered at Carlisle, 51.
Amahuaga (Brazilian tribe), ethnological collection relating to, 146.
Ama-Tembos (South African people), collections relating to, 163.
Ama-Zulus (South African people), collections relating to, 163.
America (Central), ethnographical collections relating to, 15, 18, 85-88.
—— (North), ethnographical collections relating to, 74-85.
——— tribes of, see "Blackfeet," "Dakota," "Zunis."
America, widow succession among totem tribes, 193.
—— (West Coast), ethnographical collections relating to tribes of, 77-85.
—— tribes of, see "Ahts," "Haidas," "Quakutl," "Vancouver's Island," "Thlinkits."
—— (South), ethnographical collections relating to, 15, 88-90.
—— races of, see "Brazil," "New Granada," "Patagonia," "Peru," "Terra del Fuego."
Amida (Buddhist deity), representations of, 305.
Amitabha (Buddhist deity), representations of, 300-301, 302.
Amritsar, japan of, 235.
Amsterdam, ethnographical museum at, 6.
Amulets, Siberian, 229.
Amyclean Apollo, described, 178.
Anahurac, objects from, in Paris Museum, 86.
Anam, ethnographical collection in Paris Museum, 236.
Ancestor images of Bongos, 157; of Niam-Niams, 157.
—— worship, Chinese, 297; Congo tribes, 297; Greeks (ancient), 170; Indians (North American), 87.
Anchorite Islands, ethnographical collections from, 222.
Ancon, burial ground at, 89-90.
Andaman Islands, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Andros, archaic pottery found at, 91.
Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Winkelbury Hill, 383.
Aniconic objects, Hellenic, 169.
Anthropology, physiological, important collection illustrating, at Florence, 17.
Antrim—Portrush, 254.
Apprentice, action against master by, 204.
Arch, unimportance of in differentiating architectural styles, 238.
Archæological discoveries and work, quarterly summary of, 50-54, 251-266.
Archæological Societies of Great Britain, Index notes to transactions of, 266-267.
Architects, mediæval, objects of, 242.
Architrave, Romanesque decoration of, 245.
Archivolt, Romanesque decoration of, 245.
Argyleshire—Iona, 49.
Arizona, Ethnographical collection relating to, 85.
Armour, plated, New Guinean, 224.

Arowaks, Guinean tribe, axe-heads used by, 151.
Arrow heads, flint or glass used by Fuegians, 152.
Ashantis, ethnographical collection relating to, 155.
Ashbee (H. S.), *La Société des Amis des Livres de Lyon*, (letter), 142-143.
Asia, ethnographical collections from, 225-236, 289-311.
—— Minor, ethnographical objects from, 226.
Asiatic Museum, St. Petersburg, Mohammedan coins at, 27-28.
Assembly, right of, maintained at Aston, 36.
Assyrian sculpture, resemblance to Greek, 176.
Aston (Oxfordshire), Village community at, 29-44; constituents of, 41-42; grass-cutting at, 40; land (methods of cultivating), 39; four-year course, 39; land holding at, 33; manor, rights of lord of, 38; lots, 40; waters (common), 40.
Atkinson (Rev. J. C.), *Derivation of Place Names*, (letter), 199.
Atlpsta, forest demon, masks representing, 83.
Aurora (New Hebrides), folk tale from, 90-91.
Australia, aborigines of, stone circles of, 313.
—— ethnographical collections from, 218.
Avenue to stone circles represents underground gallery, 314.
Axes, iron, of Congo tribes, 159; of the Fan tribes, 161; stone headed, used in Brazil, 151.
Axe-blades, New Guinean, 224.
Azingarat, pottery of, 235.

Bahnson (Dr. C.), *Ethnographical Museums*, 1-18, 73-90, 145-163, 217-236, 289-311.
Bakaïris, stone axe-heads used by, 151.
Bakubas (tribe of the Congo), ironwork of, 159, 160, 161.
Bali, ethnographical collection relating to, at Münich, 15.
Balneth, Freebench custom at, 187.
Balshall, Freebench custom at, 187.
Balunda (tribe of the Congo), ironwork of, 159-160.
Bampton, battle between Welsh and Saxons at, 30; Domesday record of, 42-43; manors of, 29-31.
Banivas (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 149.
Bantu (people of South Africa), ethnographical objects relating to, 163.
Barclay (Isabella), *Cornish Dialect Words*, (letter), 199.
Barfreston church, restoration of, 53.
Bari (tribe of Upper Nile), collections relating to, 156-157.
Barnard's Inn, use by learned Societies of, 263.
Barons of Exchequer, 387.
Barrows—Bampton, 29-30; Grey Mare and Colts, 51; Kiltearn, 384; Rushmore, 383; Stonehenge, 320; Winkelbury Hill, 383.
Basket work, Fuegian, 152.
Bastian, Professor, arranges ethnographical collection at Berlin, 11.
Basuto collection at British Museum, 163.
Battiks, mode of manufacturing, 231.
Battakes (Sumatran tribe), collection relating to, 231.
Baya, Soudan, shields from, 154.
Bedfordshire—Millbrook, 264.
Beele, see "Fenham."
Begota, ancient South American centre of civilization, 89.
Bell (Edward), *On the distinction between Romanesque and Gothic*, 237-251.
Beltane, Celtic festival, 133.
Benares, japan of, 235.
Bengal, collections relating to, 234.
Bennetsfield, modern megalith at, 47-48.
Bent (J. T.), *The Pisan Game*, 57-66.
Ben-ten, see "Sarasvati."
Bering Sea, tribes of, ethnographical collections relating to, 76.
Berkshire—Enborne (East and West), 188-189; Northstoke, 52.
Berlin, ethnographical museum, 6, 11, 12, 76, 77, 78, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 146, 148, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 158, 162, 163, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 231, 234, 235, 236, 290, 292, 295, 296.
Berwickshire—Ayton, 284.
Betchuanas (South African tribe), collections relating to, 163.
Beverley Minster, round-headed arches discovered in, 263.
Bickington (High), rights of widow at, 188, 195, 196.
Birch bark work of Golds, 230.
Birnini, totem found at, 91.
Bishamon (Buddhist deity), 305, 307.
Bissagos Islands, weapons from, 155.
Blackfeet, North American tribe, collection relating to, 85.
Boddhisatvas, Chinese Buddhistic cult, 301-302.
Bombay, wood intarsia of, 235.
Bonework, Eskimo, 75.
Bones, prehistoric, discovered at Otley, 50.
Bongo (tribe of White Nile), collections relating to, 156-157.
Book clubs, general rules of French, 143.
Books sold in porch of St. Peter's, Sandwich, 284.

Boomerang, Australian invention, 218.
Bor (tribe of Upper Nile), collections relating to, 157.
Borneo, ethnographical collections relating to, 15, 231.
Bororos (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 149.
Borough-English, widow succeeds to all husband's lands under custom of, 191.
—— in Africa, see "Heirship."
Bothwell Castle, excavations at, 53.
Botley, portion of prehistoric canoe discovered at, 254.
Botocudes (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 150.
Bougato (Buddhist deities), representations of, 305.
Bow, cross, used by Fan tribes, 161.
Boxwell church, proposed restoration of, 53.
Brahma, representations of, 305.
Brass ornaments of African equatorial tribes, 158.
Brassington, prehistoric bone cave discovered at, 254.
Braunston, custom of Freebench at, 187.
Braybrooke church, restoration of, 262-263.
Brazil, ethnographical collections from, 145, 151.
—— tribes of, see "Bakaïris," "Banivas," "Bororos," "Botocudes," "Cadiocos," "Caingangs," "Macusis, "Mandrucus," "Maranon (Upper)," "Puris," "Suyás," "Terenos," "Ticunas," "Uaupes.
Breast-plates used by Easter Islanders, 220.
Bremen, ethnographical collections in museum of, 78.
Brigit, Celtic goddess, 124.
Bristol, law-suit settled in St. Peter's Church, 284.
Britain, Roman inscriptions in, 267.
British North America, ethnographical collections relating to, 85.
—— Museum, ethnographical collection at, 6, 11, 88, 90, 155, 158, 162, 163, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 227, 290, 296.
———— terra-cotta work in, 54.
—— Saints, early dedications to, 273-274.
Brokenborough, derivation of, 105.
Bronze bracelets discovered at Colchester, 198.
—— ornaments, discovery of supposed Anglo-Saxon, at Crayford, 52.
—— statuettes (Chinese) of Kuan-yin, 302.
—— vessels, Ashanti, 155.
Bronzes, Japanese, 294.
Bucklers, wooden, New Guinean, 224.
Buddhist deities, representations of, 298-300.
Bulgarian ethnographical collection at Leipzig, 13.
Bull, the Lord's, origin of, 34.
Bulls, the sixteens of Aston to provide to run on common pasture, 33-34.
Burmah, ethnographical collection relating to, 236.
Burying grounds (old), near St. Fillans, Perthshire, 102-104.
Bushmen of South Africa, 163.

CACHLADHU, curing stone at, 104.
Cadiocos (Brazilian district), ethnological collection relating to, 150.
Caffres, ancestor veneration among, 165; cattle, riches of, 165; chief selects "great wife" when old, 165; circumcision among, 164; eldest son of "great wife" heir, 165; heirs, subordinate, 165; junior right among, 165; physical peculiarities of, 166; polytheism among, absence of remains of, 164: religious belief, absence of, 164; secret rites of, 164, 166; spirits, belief in, 164; witch doctors among, 164.
—— ethnographical collections relating to, 163.
Caingangs (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 150.
Cambridge, discovery of Saxon cemetery at, 51.
Cambridgeshire—Cambridge, 51; Limblow Hill, 51.
Camp, British, at Winkelbury Hill, described, 383.
Camulodunum, see "Colchester," 92-93.
Cannibal ceremonies, preparation required for, among Quakutls, 82.
Cannibalism, North American Indian, 82.
Canoe, portion of prehistoric, discovered at Botley, 254.
Canoes, Fuegian, 152; Tschuktsches, 227.
Canongate Cross, Edinburgh, intended removal of, 263.
Carved work—African (Equatorial), 158; Eskimo, 75; Fans, 161; Golds, 230; Indian (North American), 80; New Zealand tribes, 220; Tschuktsches, 227.
Canterbury, Eadmer's description of old church, 215.
—— ethnographical museum at St. Augustine's College, 311.
Cardiganshire—Strata Florida Abbey, 53, 260, 261.
Carlisle, Roman altar and sculptured slab discovered at, 51.
Carolines, ethnographical collections from, 222.

Caschibo, Brazilian tribe, ethnographical collection relating to, 146.
Castles—Guildford, 53; Norwich, 263.
Catharine of Sienna, legend of regarding Pisan game, 58.
Cave, prehistoric bone, discovered at Brassington, 254.
Cedar tree used by Indians of North America, 79, 80.
Celebes, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Celtic Myth and Saga, a Survey of Recent Literature, 110-142.
—— deities, 122, 124, 125, 128-132; mythology, sources of, 112; sepulchral remains discovered near Elvedon, 50, 51; story telling, 118.
Cemeteries—Acon, 89; Cambridge, 51; Dunira, 102; Kindrochet, 103; St. Fillans, 102; Tanis, 346; Winkelbury Hill, 383.
Central America ethnographical collections relating to, 85-88.
Cerro de las Palmas, primitive human figures from, 86.
Chalceia, analogy between, and the Samhain, 132.
Chapman (George), *May Day*, Index notes to, 286-288.
Chastity, Indian requirement of, in widow holding property, 194.
—— term on which widow holds lands in a manor, 188-190.
Cheshire (Lancashire and) Antiquarian Society, Index Notes to papers in transactions of, 54-56.
Chian school of Greek sculpture, 183.
Chibchas (Brazilian tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 89.
Chichenitza, casts of reliefs from, 86.
Chief, Fijian—rights of, 367-372; holds property for benefit of people, 372.
China, ancestor worship in, 297.
—— and Japan, ethnographical collections relating to, 15, 16, 289-311.
Chittagong, ethnographical collection from, in Berlin Museum, 235.
Chota-Nagpur, collection relating to, 234.
Christchurch, protection of ruins at, 53.
Christiania, ethnographical museum at, 6.
Christy ethnographical collection—see "British Museum."
Church Porch, 283-284.
Church restoration, 259.
Churches—Ayton, 284; Bristol, 284; Clatt, 261; Dunwich, 284; Edinburgh (St. Giles), 284; Ricall, 284; Sandwich (St. Peter's), 284; Southampton, 284.
—— Dedications of, 268-279.
Churchyards, fairs, games and business forbidden in, in England, 284.
—— in Germany, 284.
Circumcision among Caffres, 164.
Cist at Kindrochet, 103.
Cistvaens, prehistoric, discovered at Kiltearn, 252.
Classic and Gothic architecture, distinctions between, 244-248.
Clatt church, discovery of font in, 261.
Clergy, criminality of in Norfolk, temp. Ed I., 205-206, 210-211, 212-214.
Clifton, Domesday account of, 353-354.
Clouston (W.A.), The Book of Noodles, *review*, 70-72.
Club-heads, New Guinean, 224.
Codrington (R.H.), *A Folk-tale from the New Hebrides*, 91.
Coel, King, said to have erected walls of Colchester, 95.
Coffin, prehistoric, found at Rosedale, 52; Roman, found at Colchester, 197; Roman, found at York, 336.
Coggeshall, description of St. Nicholas chapel, 264-265.
Coin clipping in Norfolk, 212.
Coins at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 19-29.
—— discoveries of, 51-52, 255-256.
—— Mohammedan, at St. Petersburg, 22-29.
—— catalogues of, 23-24.
——Roman and British found at Woodcuts Common and Rotherley, 380-381.
Colchester—lease granted in church porch, 215; Roman antiquities found at, 197-198; Vase, 94.
—— Museum at, 311.
Colour element in Gaelic place names, 45-47.
Columba, St., prophecy attributed to, 108.
Community, Village, at Aston and Cote, 29-44.
—— constituents of, 41; origin of, 196-197; permanence of, 18; widow, position of, in, 190.
Conception of Cuchullain, Irish legend, 118.
Conference, archæological, at Burlington House, 15th, Nov., 1888., 265.
Confucius, bronze statuette of, 298.
Congo territory, ethnographical collection relating to, at Dresden, 14, 158-161.
—— peoples of, fetish worship among, 160-161.
Conibo, (Brazilian tribe), ethnographical collection relating to, 146.
Copenhagen ethnographical museum, 74, 85, 155, 163, 218, 220, 227, 231, 235, 291, 311.
Copper plates, Haidan mark of wealth, 78.
—— vessels, Ashanti, 155.
—— work of the Loango coast tribes, 162.
Copyhold tenure in Portugal, 285.

Cornwall, ancient rights of widow in, 195.
—— dialect words of, 199.
Cossey church, restoration of, 263.
Costumes, see "Dresses."
Cote, village community at, 29-44.
County Court, suitor at, 66-69.
Court Baron, widow's right of free bench in, 188.
—— county, suitors at, 66-69.
—— Exchequer, originally deambulatory, 388.
—— hundred, suitors at, 69.
—— law, held in porch of St. Peter's, Sandwich, 284.
—— manor, of Bampton, case regarding, 32.
Cowries used by tribes of equatorial Africa as ornaments to straw-plaiting, 158.
Cows, curing stone for, at Cachladhu, 104.
——, sixteens of Aston claimed fee for feeding on common pasture, 34.
Cranbourne Chase, excavations at, 377-385.
Crania, dried, of New Guinea, 224-225.
Crayford, discovery of supposed Anglo-Saxon bones and ornaments at, 52.
Crime, notes on, in Norfolk in time of Edward I., 201-215.
—— punished by "Lala" in Fiji, 374.
Cross bow used by Fan tribes, 161.
Crosses, ancient, proposed society for restoration of, 262.
Crowland, see "Croyland."
Croyland Abbey, the preservation of, 53; restoration of, 260.
Cuchullain, conception of, Irish legend, 118, 129, 130-131, 132, 139, 140-141.
Cuckfield, freebench custom at, 187.
Culchalzie, curse of, 48-49.
Culture-hero in Irish tradition, 122, 129.
Cumberland—Carlisle, 51.
Cup-marked stones—Dalginross, 103; St. Fillans, 102-104.
Curing-stones—at Cachladhu, 104; St. Fillans, 102-104.

DAI-KOKOU (Buddhist deity), 305.
Dai-koku (Japanese deity), representations of, 307.
Daï-niti (Buddhist deity) representation of, 305.
Dakota (North American tribe) collection relating to, 85.
Dalginross, cup-marked stone at, 103.
Danakil (tribe of equatorial Africa) collections from, 157.
Dances—Hamatsas, 83; Nutmatl, 81; Quakutl, 81.
Dancing House, fittings of, from Vancouver's Island, 83.
Dancing in churches common in Spain and S. America, 284.
Danish ethnographical museum, 3, 4.
Dankali, see "Danakil."
Danu, Irish deity, 124.
Dartmouth, church restoration at, 54.
Daubeny, Sir Giles, removal of tomb, 259-260.
Dawlish, freebench custom at, 187.
Dedications of churches, 268-279.
Defenneh, recent discoveries at, 346-348.
Delos, archaic statue found at, 172.
Delucidating, 144.
Demon of the Forest, masks representing, 83.
Deodands in Norfolk (temp. Ed. 1.), 201, 202, 211.
Deputation might attend court for Lord, 67-69.
Derbforgaill, Irish legend regarding, 139, 140.
Derbyshire—Brassington, 254; Little Chester, 254.
Devonshire—Bickington (High), 188; Dartmouth, 54; Dawlish, 187; Exeter, 53; St. Brannock, 53; Torre, 188.
Dharmaraja (Buddhist deity), representations of, 302.
Dialect words—Cornish, 199; Yorkshire, 199.
Diana, statue of, in British Museum, 54.
Diarmaid, a Celtic Solar hero, 132-133.
Dinka (tribe of Upper Nile), collections relating to, 156, 157.
Discoveries, quarterly summary of in Great Britain, 50-54; 251-266.
Dis Pater (Chthonian deity), 124-125.
Ditcheling, Freebench custom at, 187.
Djur (tribe of White Nile), collections relating to, 156.
Dju-ro-djin (Japanese deity), representations of, 307.
Dog's foot, impression of, on tile at Colchester, 198.
Dolmen represents cist in stone circle, 313.
Domesday measures of land, 350-360.
—— historical importance of, 41-42.
—— village communities unnoticed by, 44.
Dominik Bilimek, ethnographical collection relating to, 88.
Don (Welsh deity), 124.
Dorchester, see "Gorwell," "Kingston Russel."
Dorsetshire—Dorchester, 51; Gorwell, 51; Kingston Russel, 51; Stockwood, 187; Woodcuts Common, 378; Yetminster, 187.
Dower, distinct from widowhood customs, 185.
—— Germanic origin of, 92.
Drama, index notes to old English, 286-288.
Dresden, ethnographical museum at,

6, 14, 150, 155, 218, 220, 222, 223, 231, 232, 236, 289, 290.
Dress—of Golds, 230; Japanese, 294; New Zealanders, 220; Tschuktsches, 227; Upper Maranon (women's), 146.
Drills, Eskimo, 77.
Druidism, Celtic, 128, 135.
Dummer, prehistoric pottery, human bones, flints discovered at, 253-254.
Dunira, cup-marked stone at, 102; cemetery at, 102.
Dunwich, manor court held in the church, 284.
Durango, objects from in Paris Museum, 86.
Durham—Beele, 284; Ebchester, 187; Fenham, 284; Fenwick, 284; Holy Island, 284; Weardale, 187.
Dyaks, ethnographical collections relating to, 231; glazed ware of, 231.
Dyawets (Dyak vases), superstitions connected with, 231-232.
Dyuku (Soudan), Fetish costumes, 154.

EARLE (J.), *Handbook to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, 360-363.
Earthenware, primitive—Mexican, 86; Indian Isles, 231.
Easter Island, ethnographical collections relating to, 14, 219, 220-221.
Ebchester, discovery of supposed Roman gateway at, 51.
Edward I., notes on crime in Norfolk in time of, 201-215.
Egypt exploration fund, memoirs published by; Tanis, 343-348.
Egyptian art, influence of, on Greek sculpture, 181.
Elephas Primigenius, discovery of remains of, at Southall, 50.
Eleusis, fragment of archaic Greek statue found at, 173.
Elk, proposed exhumation of, at German, 50.
Elvedon, sepulchral remains discovered near, 50, 51.
Ely (Talfourd), *Petrie's Memoirs, published by the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, 343-348.
Enborne (East and West), widowhood customs at, 188-189.
Eskimos, ethnographical collections relating to, 74-77.
—— tribes of, see "Ingalik," "Tschuktsches," "Unalaska."
Essex—Coggeshall, 264-265; Wickham, 267.
—— Roman remains in, index notes to, 92-102.
Estanzuela, primitive human head from, 86.
Ethnographical Museums, 1-18, 73-90, 145-163, 217-236, 289-311.
Ethnographical museums, correct aims of, 9-10; methods of arranging, 307-310.
Ethnographical collections in Royal cabinets, 4.
Ethnography, increasing difficulty in obtaining materials for study of, 6, 7, 8.
Evans (A. J.), *Stonehenge*, 312-330.
Evil-eye, charm against at Cachladhu, 104.
Exchequer, site of the ancient, at Westminster, 386-396.
—— house of, 393-396.
Exeter, demolition of old house in, 53.
—— Synod of, 1285, forbids games in churchyards, 284.

FAIRS in churchyards made illegal, 1285, 284.
Fallow, fourth part of holding at Aston, 39.
Fan (Gaboon) tribes, ethnographical collections relating to, 161-162.
—— cross bow used by, 161.
Fantis, ethnographical collections relating to, 155.
Farnell (L. R.), *The Origins and Earliest Developments of Greek Sculpture*, 167-184.
Farnham, local museum at, 385.
Feeding bottle discovered at Colchester, 198.
Felony in Norfolk, temp. Ed. I., 203, 204.
Female heirship, origin of widow succession, 191.
Fenham, Fenwick, and Beele, tithe corn of, gathered in Fenham Chapel, 284.
Fenian or Ossianic cycle of Irish tradition, 114, 115, 116, 119.
Fenwick, see "Fenham."
Fetish costumes—Ashanti, 155; Soudanese, 154.
—— masks, Ashanti, 155.
—— objects from Loango coast (inlaid with glass work), 162.
—— worship (Congo tribes), 160-161.
Fibulæ, Roman—discovered at Llantwit-Major, 256; Romano-British, found at Woodcuts Common, 380.
Field, common of Aston, 39-44.
Fight, sham, at Pisa, see "Pisan game."
Fiji, ethnographical collections from, 222
—— service tenures in, 367, 376.
—— rights of lala of supreme chief, 367-372; chief's lala limited to own Qali, 367-368; chief finds portion of lalà feast, 368-369; lala for canoe-building, 370-371; carpenters' tools found by chief, 370; method of lavaking food, 371; special lalas, 372; fishing tribes and carpenters chief's vassals, 373-374; use of lala as means of punishment, 374.

Fiji, property, in, held to belong to chief, 372.
—— chiefs supposed to hold property for benefit of people, 372.
Finchley Church, repairs at, 263.
Finnish ethnographical collection at Leipzig, 13.
Flint arrow-heads, Fuegian, 152.
—— implements found at Woodcuts Common and Rotherley, 382.
Florence, ethnographical museum at, 6, 16, 90, 219, 220, 223, 226, 229, 231.
Flores, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Flute for charming evil spirit, 148.
Folk-lore, art illustrations to, 288.
Folk-tale from the New Hebrides, 90-91.
Foreign periodical publications, index notes to, 108-109, 200, 348-349.
Forest Demon, masks representing, 83.
Fountain's Abbey, excavations at, 259.
Four-year course, method of cultivation at Aston, 39.
Framfield, widow takes all yard-lands at, 191.
Freebench, custom of, not general, 185, 187.
—— not uniform, 186.
—— see "Widowhood in Manorial Law," 184-197.
Freeholders, rights of, in County Courts, 66, 67.
French book clubs, general rules of, 143.
Fuku-roku-dju (Japanese deity), representations of, 307.
Furniture, New Zealand, 220.
Further India, ethnographical collections from, 236.

GABOON TERRITORY, ethnographical collection relating to peoples of, 161, 162.
Gaelic place-names, colour element in, 45-47.
—— Prophecy concerning Iona, Old, 49-50, 107-108.
Gallas (tribe of Upper Nile), collections relating to, 157, 158.
Game, the Pisan, 57-66.
Gaol, Delivery Roll of, 14 Ed. I. (Norfolk), 201.
Garuda (Buddhist deity), representations of, 306.
Gateway, discovery of supposed Roman, at Ebchester, 51.
Geographical Commission (French) assist in forming ethnographical Museum, 1, 2.
German, Isle of Man, proposed exhuming of an elk at, 50.
Giglioli (Prof.), ethnographical collection of, 17.
Gilbert's Islands, ethnographical collections from, 224.
Gilyaks (Siberian tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 226, 227, 229.
—— pre-historic stone implements of, 230.
Glamorganshire—Llantwit Major, 254-257.
Glass arrow-heads, used by Fuegians, 152.
—— work, Loango fetishes inlaid with, 162.
Gloucester, Roman pottery, pavement, and house discovered at, 254.
Gloucestershire—Bristol (Mayor's Chapel), 260; Boxwell, 53; Gloucester, 254; Tockington, 51.
Godeffroy, Museum, ethnographical collection in (now at Hamburg), 12.
Gods, Indian, 235.
Golds (Tungusic tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 226, 227, 229.
—— dress of, 230; weapons of, 230; birchbark work of, 230; carved work of, 230; pre-historic stone implements of, 230.
Gomme (G. L.), *Permanence of the Village Community under successive Conquests* (letter), 18; *The Village Community at Aston and Cote in Oxfordshire*, 29-44; *Widowhood in Manorial Law*, 184-197; *Art Illustrations to Folklore*, 288; *Local Museums in Great Britain*, 311; *Earle's Handbook to the Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, 360-363.
Gorwell, Gray Mare and Colts, 51.
Gothic and classic architecture, distinctions between, 244-248.
Gothic, Romanesque and, on the distinction between, 237-251.
Gow (J. Macintosh), *Notes on Cup-marked Stones, Old Burying-grounds and Curing or Charm Stone, near St. Fillans, Perthshire*, 102-104.
Graves discovered—Kiltearn, 252; Peterborough Cathedral, 257-258; Strata Florida Abbey, 261; Valle Crucis Abbey, 260.
Grave-figures (Congo), 160-161.
Grass, order of cutting at Aston, 40.
—— stewards at Aston, elected by the sixteens, 33.
Gray Mare and Colts, barrow called, protection of, 51.
Greek sculpture, origins and earliest developments of, 167-184.
Greenland, collection of ethnographic objects from, 74-75.
Guana Juato, objects from, in Paris Museum, 86.
Guardian Spirits (Shaman), 228.
Guatemala, ethnographical collection relating to, 88.
Guildford Castle, preservation of, 53.

Guinea Coast, ethnographical collections relating to, 155.
Gujarat, niello work of, 235.
Gwyl Awst, Welsh feast, connected with Sun-god myth, 132.

HAGUE, La, ethnographical Museum at, 6.
Haidas (N. American tribe), ethnographical collection relating to, 78, 80.
Hall (Hubert), *The site of the Ancient Exchequer at Westminster*, 386-396.
Hamatsa, Quakutl caste, 82-83.
Hamble, river, portion of pre-historic canoe discovered in, 254.
Hamburg, ethnographical collection at, 6, 12, 88.
Hampshire—Botley, 254; Christchurch 53; Dummer, 253-254; Merdon, 187; Southampton, 284; Twyford, 51; Winchester, 388.
Happiness, seven gods of (Japanese deities) representations of, 306-307.
Hartland (E. S.), Clouston's Book of Noodles, *review*, 70-72; *Excavations at Cranborne Chase*, 377-385.
Haussa (Soudanese tribe), collections from, 154.
Haverfield (F.), *Roman Inscription in Britain* (letter), 267.
Hawai, ethnographical collections from, 219.
Hedjaz, ethnographical objects from 226.
Heirship of the youngest among the Kaffirs of Africa, 163-166.
Herefordshire—Marden, 187; Orleton, 187.
Hereros (South African tribe), collections relating to, 163.
Hero tales of the Gael, Nos. 1-16—see "Celtic Myth and Saga."
—— Irish, 119-121.
Hertford, derivation of, 105.
Hibbert Lectures on the origin and growth of Religion, see "Celtic Myth and Saga."
Hide, Domesday, 351.
Highlands, North, notes from, 45-50.
Hindustan, Berlin ethnographical collection from, 235.
Holmj (Captain), ethnographical collection relating to Eskimo, 74-75.
Holy Island, Monks of, converted a chapel into a tithe barn, 284.
Homestead of Aston, extent of, 39.
Hotei (Japanese deity), representations of, 307.
Hottentots, lost characteristics of, 163.
House, remains of Roman, discovered at Gloucester, 254.
Household utensils—Chinese, 292; Japanese, 292; peoples of Upper Nile, 157.
Human Sacrifices, Celtic, 133.
Hundred, long, 350.
Hunting weapons of Tschuktsches, 227.
Huntleys', mural tablets of, in Boxwell church, 53.
Hyksos, monuments of, 343.

ICHTHYOSAURUS, remains of an, discovered near Yeovil, 50.
Iconic Hellenic sculpture, archaic, 167-184; originally represented heroes or inferior deities, 170; divergence of fetish and idol, 171; head first developed, 171; development of the arms, 177-182; development of lower limbs, 179; of the nude figure, 180; early development of the free statue, 175-177; draped prior to nude figures, 177; terra-cotta figures, 174.
Idols—Chinese, 292, 295, 298; Congo tribes, 160-161; Easter Islanders, 220; Indians, 235; Japanese, 296, 303; Shuman, 228; Tahitian, 219.
Igorrotes (Phillipine tribe), collections relating to, 231.
Inari, (Shintoistic deity), representations of, 304.
Incas, traces of civilization of, in Brazil, 146-147.
Incontinency, cause of loss of widows' lands, 188-190.
India, ethnographical collections relating to, 6-9, 15-16, 233-236.
—— idols of, 235.
—— religious life of, Stolpe's collection illustrating, 235-236.
—— village comunities of, stationary character of, 18.
—— widow's rights in, 192.
—— (Further) ethnographical collections from, 236.
—— Museum, London, ethnographical collection in, 6, 9, 233, 234, 235, 236, 311.
—— illustrations of native art in, 233-234.
Indian Islands, ethnographical collections from, 15, 230-233.
—— see "Battakes," "Borneo," "Celebes," "Igorrotes," "Java," "Manoboes," "Negritoes," "Nias," "Sumatra."
—— (North American), masks, 77.
Infanticide, evidence of, at Rotherley, 382.
Ingalik (Eskimo tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 76.
Inn, Barnards', use of by learned Societies, 263.
Innuit (Eskimo tribe), ethnographical collections regarding, 76.
Institute, Index Notes to papers read at Royal Archæological, 1887-8, 54-56.
Instruments, musical, see "Musical."
Insurrection in Fiji, punished by Lala, 374.
Intarsia, wood, of Bombay, 235.

Iona, old Gaelic prophecy concerning, 49-50, 107-108.
Irayes, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Ireland, Index Notes to papers in Journal of Royal Historical and Archæological Association of, 54-56.
Irish early history, division into periods by Professor Zimmer, 138.
—— heroic tradition, cycles of, 114.
—— manuscripts, unhistoric character of, 115-116.
Iron industry of Central Africa, 159.
Isle of Man—German, 50.
Ivory horns of peoples of Upper Nile, 157.

JAFFA, Ceylon, rights of widow in, 193.
Jagans (Fuegian tribe), weapons of, 152.
Jagor, collection of, at Berlin Museum, 11.
Jaipur, japan of, 235.
Japan, ethnographical collections from, 8, 15-16, 289-311.
Japan, Indian manufacture of, 235; Japanese manufacture of gold, 293.
Java, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Jennings (J.V.), *Delucidating*, 144; *Yorkshire Dialect Words*, 199.
Jews, notes on, from the Pipe Rolls of the twelfth century, 396.
Jiso (Buddhist deity), representations of, 306.
Jivaros (Brazilian tribe), collections relating to, 50, 147.
Jomard, proposer of Ethnographical Museums, 123.
Judy, early Punch and, shows, 364.
Junior Right—see "Heirship."
——, widow succession through, 191.
Jurupari, Brazilian evil spirit, 148.

KABYLES (North African tribe), 153.
Kaffirs—see "Caffres."
Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, ethnographical collections from, 223.
Kaï-tchi (Buddhist fabulous beast) represented in pictures, 302.
Kakemonoes—Chinese, 292; Japanese, 296.
Kamis (Shintoistic deities), representations of, 303-304.
Kamtschadals (Siberian tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 226.
Kanikas (Indian tribe), collections relating to, 234.
Karens (Nothern India) rights of widow among, 193.
Kashmir, collection relating to, 234.
Katherine, St., churches rarely dedicated to, 272.
Keltische Studien, von H. Zimmer. See "Celtic myth and saga."

Kensington (South) Museum, 225, 290.
Kent—Barfreston, 53; Crayford, 52; Milton-next-Sittingbourne, 259; Sandwich, 284.
Khasis, method of cutting and raising stones, 318; stone circles of, 318.
Kiltearn, prehistoric graves mounds opened at, 252, 384.
Kindrochet, cup-marked stones at, 103
King William's Island, ethnographical objects from, 224.
Kingston Russel, Stone Circle near, 51.
Kirkby Mallory Church, restoartion of, 263.
Klemm, ethnographical collection at Leipzig, 13.
Knives, iron, of Congo tribes, 159.
——, shell (Fuegian), 152.
Kuannon (Buddhist deity), representation of, 305.
Kuan-ti (Taoistic deity), representations of, 299-300.
Kuan-yin (Buddhist deity), representations of, 300-302.
Kunstkammer of the House of Brandenburgh, 11.
Kweï-sing (Taoistic deity), representations of, 300.

LACKER work, Japanese, 293.
Lala Fijian Service tenure, 367-376.
—— in Fiji, abuse of, 375-376.
Lanarkshire—Bothwell Castle, 53.
Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, Index notes to papers in transactions of, 54-56.
—— Ormskirk, 263.
Lancehead, extraordinary length of, on the Congo, 159.
Land Charters, Earle's Handbook to, 360-363.
—— Domesday, measures of, 350-360.
—— Measures of, see "Hide."
Lands, common, allotted for performance of specific duties (at Aston), 35; allotted to provide for public works, 35; rights of community over, 37.
——, suit at County Court, burden on specific, 66-67.
Lane-Poole (Stanley), *Coins at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg*, 19-29.
Lava-ing workmen in Fiji, 367.
Lavak-ing food and work in Fiji, 367.
Lawsuit settled in St. Peter's, Bristol, 284.
"Laying-out," method of land marking, 40.
Leabhar na h-Uidhre, origin of Irish sagas in, 117.
Lease-hold farms rare in North Portugal, 285.
Leather work—Ashanti, 155; Soudanese stamped, 154.
Leicestershire—Kirkby Mallory, 263.

Leinster, Book of, 117.
Leipzig, Museum für Völkerkunde, ethnographical collections in, 6, 13 89, 90, 152, 163, 220, 121, 231, 292, 294, 295.
Lemon (J.V.), *Early Punch and Judy Shows*, 364.
Leper's Island, folk-tale from, 90-91.
Leyden, ethnographical collection of Siebold in museum of, 2, 6, 230, 290, 292, 311.
Lilleshall Abbey, excavations at, 53.
Limblow Hill, tumulus destroyed at, 51.
Lim-pao (Taoistic deity), representations of, 299.
Lincolnshire—Croyland, 53, 260.
Lin-pai, Chinese ancestor worship tables, 297.
Littleberry, Domesday account of, 352.
Little Chester, Romano-British pottery discovered at, 254.
Littlecot, Freebench custom at, 187.
Llantwit-Major, Romano-British pottery, coins, remains of villa, pavement, tesseræ, fibulæ, morteria, discovered at, 254-257.
Lludd, Celtic deity compared with Zeus, 126.
Loango Coast, ethnographical collections relating to, 162.
Locks and Keys, Romano-British, found at Woodcuts Common, 380.
Lohans (Buddha's chief disciples), representations of, 302.
London, ethnographical collections, see "British Museum," "India Museum," "Kensington, South."
Lorillard City, objects excavated at, 86.
Lots, portions of common land allotted by, 40.
Lug-nassad, Irish feast, 132.
Lyon, La Société des Amis des Livres de Lyon, 142-143.
Lyons, Musée Guimet, 6, 18, 290, 295, 296-297, 299, 301, 302, 303, 307.

Macusis, (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 149.
Mahem in Norfolk, temp. Edw. i., 202.
Malay Archipelago, ethnographical collections relating to, 14, 230, 231, 232.
Mandara, Japanese Buddhist pantheon, description of representation of, 304-305.
Mandingos (Senegambian tribe), ethnographical collections from, 155.
Manoboes, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Manor Court of Bampton, case regarding, 32.
—— held in Dunwich church, 284.
Manor Court, rights of Lord of, at Aston, 38.
Manorial Law, widowhood in, 184-197, 267.
Manslaughter in Norfolk, temp. Edw. i,, 203, 205.
Maponos, Celtic god, identified with Apollo, 123.
Marañon, Upper, inhabitants of, 146, 148.
Marden, Freebench custom at, 187,
Markets in churchyards made illegal in 1285, 284.
Marquesas Islands, weapons, ornaments, and utensils, 220.
Martin (C. T.), *Witchcraft in the Sixteenth Century*, 280-282.
Martyrs, churches dedicated to, 272.
Mary, the Virgin, numerous dedications to St., 270.
Masks—Ashanti, (fetish), 155 ; Brazilian, 148 ; Congo tribes (of Mukishi, professional dancers), 161 ; Eskimo (carved), 77 ; Hamatsan, 83 ; Indian (carved), 77, 81 ; Japanese (dramatic), 295 : Jurupari (an evil spirit), 148 ; New Guinean, 244; Nutlmatl, 81, 83, 84 ; Quakutl (carved), 81 ; Soudanese (fetish), 154 ; Ticuna, 150 ; Upper Nile tribes, 157.
Massai, ethnographical objects from, at Hamburg, 12.
Masson (Donald), *Notes from the North Highlands*, 45-50 ; *Old Gaelic Prophecy concerning Iona*, 107-108.
Matheson, John, megalith erected by, 47-48.
Mathura, cotton printing of, 235.
Maya civilization, collection for study of, in Berlin Museum, 87-88.
Mayor's Chapel, Bristol, restoration of, 260.
Mbum, (Soudan), shields from, 154.
Meadow, common, of Aston, 39.
Measures of Land, Domesday, 350-360.
—— Hide, 351.
Megalith, a modern, 47-48.
Megalithic circles near Sinai, 313.
Melanesia, ethnographical collections from, 221-225.
—— races of, see "Admiralty Islands," "Anchorite Islands." "Carolines," "Fiji," "Gilbert's Island," "Kaiser Wilhelm's Land," "Micronesia," "New Britain," "New Caledonia." "New Guinea," "New Hebrides," "Pelew," "Solomon Islands."
Merchandise sold in porch of Ricall church, 284.
Merdon, custom of Freebench at, 187.
Mexico, ethnographical collections relating to, 18, 85-88.
Michael the Archangel, churches dedicated to, usually on hills, 271.

Micronesia, ethnographical collections from, 221-225.
Middlesex—Finchley, 263 ; London, 53, 260, 263 ; Southall, 50.
Midlothian-Edinburgh, 263, 284.
Milan, ethnographical collection at, 16.
Millbrook church, Bedfordshire, delapidation of, 264.
Millstone, death caused by, in Norfolk, 201-202.
Milton-next-Sittingbourne, church restoration at, 259.
Minskip, discovery of Roman urn, millstones and coin, near, 51.
Miramara, objects from, in museum at Vienna, 88.
Models, Shaman curative, 228.
Mohammedan coins at the Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 22-29.
Mollond at Wickham, 267.
Moluccas, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Mombila, (Soudan), shields from, 154.
Monbuttus (African tribe), smithwork of, 155, 156, 159.
Montezuma's banner in Vienna museum, 88.
Monuments, Order in Council for protection of certain, see "Nine Stones," "Gray Mare and Colts," "Kingston Russel," "Wigtown."
—— preservation of, in Tunis, 216.
Morgengabe, 190.
Mortaria, Roman, discovered at Little Chester, 254 ; at Llantwit-Major, 256.
Mosaic brooches, Romano-British, found at Woodcuts Common, 380.
Moscow, Oriental coins at, 28-29.
Mosil, specimen of silverwork of, at St. Petersburg, 29.
Mound dwellings, orientation of entrances, 315.
Mounds, prehistoric, opened at Kiltearn, 22.
Mountain-Ash used as cow charm in Perthshire, 104.
Mukishi, professional dancers of the Congo, masks used by, 161.
Mundrucus, (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 149-150.
Münich, ethnographical collection at, 6, 15, 148, 226, 231, 235, 292.
Murder in Norfolk, temp. Edw. i., 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207.
Museum Association, formation of a, 54.
Museums, Ethnographical, 1-18, 73-90, 145-163, 217-236, 289-311 ;—Amsterdam, 6 ; Berlin, 6, 11-12, 76, 77, 78, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 146, 148, 150, 151, 153, 155, 156, 158, 162, 163, 218, 219, 220, 222, 223, 225 226, 227, 228, 231, 234, 235, 236, 290, 292, 295, 296 ; Christiana, 6 ; Copenhagen, 74, 85, 155, 163, 218, 220, 227, 231, 235, 291, 311 ; Dresden, 6, 14, 150, 155, 218, 220, 222, 223, 231, 232, 236, 289, 290 ; Florence, 6, 16, 90, 219, 220, 223, 226, 229, 231 ; Hague, La, 6 ; Leipzig, 6, 13, 89, 90, 152, 163, 220, 221, 231, 292, 294, 295 ; Leyden, 230, 290, 292, 311 ; London—British Museum, 6, 88, 90, 155, 158, 162, 163, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 227, 290-296—India Museum, 6, 233, 234, 235, 236, 311—South Kensington, 225, 290 ; Lyons, 6, 18, 290, 295, 296-297, 299, 301, 302, 303, 307 ; Milan, 16 ; Münich, 6, 15, 148, 226, 231, 235, 292 ; Oxford, 6, 219 ; Paris, 11, 85, 86, 90, 150, 153, 155, 162, 218, 220, 221, 222, 226, 292, 311 ; Prague, 16, 163, 231 ; Rome, 6, 16, 88, 89, 146, 147, 151, 157, 158, 163, 218, 222, 223, 226, 227 ; Rotterdam, 6 ; Salisbury, 6 ; Stockholm, 6, 90, 152, 159, 227, 235, 295 ; Turin, 16, 88 ; Venice, 6, 16, 157, 158 ; Vienna, 6, 15, 88, 148, 149, 150, 156, 157, 163, 219, 220, 221, 222, 231, 235, 291.
—— methods of arranging, 307-310.
—— local, in Great Britain, 311.
Musical instruments, Japanese, 294.
Myth and Saga, Celtic, 110-142.
Mythology, Aztec, materials for study of, 86-87.
—— Celtic, sources of, 112.

NAN-KIEU-LAÔ-DZIN (Taoistic deity), representations of, 299.
Negritoes (Philipine tribe), collections relating to, 231.
New Britain, ethnographical collections from, 221-222.
New Caledonia, ethnographical collections from, 221.
New Granada, ethnographical collections relating to, 12, 88-90.
New Guinea, ethnographical collection relating to, 14-17, 221-223.
—— axe-heads, 224 ; bucklers, 224 ; clubheads, 224 ; crania (dried), 224-225 ; masks, 224 ; stone implements, 224 ; throwing sticks, 224.
New Hebrides, ethnographical collections from, 222.
—— folk-tale from, 90-91.
New Zealand, ethnographical collections from, 220.
Niam-Niams (Soudanese tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 156-157, 161, 231.
—— ironwork of, 159 ; shields of, 154.
Nias, ethnographical collection relating to, 17.
Nicholson (Brinsley), *Heirship of the youngest among the Kafirs of Africa*, (letter), 163-166.

Nicobar Islands, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Niello work of Gujarat, 235.
Nile-Lands, ethnographical objects from, 155-158.
Nilgiri, collection relating to, 234.
Nine Stones, protection of, 51.
Noodles, the Book of, by W. A. Clouston, *review*, 70-72.
Norfolk, Notes on crime and accident in, temp., Edw. i., 201-215.
Norfolk—Cossey, 263; Norwich, 263.
Norham Church, Edw. i., receives oaths of competitors for Scottish Crown in, 284.
Norman Architecture, parent of Gothic, 240-241, 242; an independent style, 241.
Norse influence on place names, 106.
Northamptonshire—Braunston, 187; Braybrooke, 262-263; Peterborough, 257-259.
Northstoke, restoration of church, 52.
Norwich Castle, conversion of, into a museum and art gallery, 263.
Nottinghamshire — Southwell, 187; Worksop, 53.
Nuada, Celtic deity, compared with Zeus, 126.
Nutlmatl, North American Indian sect, masks of, 82-83, 84; religious dances of, 82.
Nutt (Alfred), *Celtic Myth and Saga; a survey of recent literature*, 110-142.

Officials of village community at Aston, list of, 34.
Ogma, Celtic god of eloquence, identified with Mercury, 123.
Olympia, bronze statuette found at, described, 179.
Onas (Fuegian tribe), weapons of, 152.
Open air assembly at Aston, 33.
Orientation of stone circles, 315, 326.
Orleton, custom of Freebench at, 187.
Ormskirk Church, removal of benches from, 263.
Ornaments, personal — Anglo-Saxon, found at Cambridge, 51; Marquesas Islands, 220; Romano-British found at Woodcuts Common, 380; Samoa, 220; Sandwich Islands, 220; Tahiti, 220.
Ossianic, or Fenian, cycle of Irish tradition, 114, 119, 133.
Ostyaks, (Siberian tribe), ethnographical objects relating to, 226-229.
Otley, papal seal discovered at, 52; prehistoric bones found at, 50.
Ownership, fixity of, a feature of commonfield system, 39.
Oxford, ethnographical collection at, 6, 219.
Oxfordshire—Aston, 29-44; Bampton, 29; Cote, 29-44.

Palenque, castes of reliefs from, in Museum of the Trocadero, 86.
Panja, Shaman figure of deceased, 229.
Paris, Musée de Trocadero, ethnographical collection at, 6, 11, 85, 86, 90, 150, 153, 155, 162, 218, 220, 221, 222, 226, 236, 292, 311.
Parliamentary Papers, notes from; Lala or Fijian Service Tenures, 367-376.
Pasture, common of Aston, 39.
Patagonia, ethnographical collections from, 151-152.
Pavements, Roman, discovered at Colchester, 197; Gloucester, 254; Llantwit Major, 255; Tockington, 51.
Pelew Islands, ethnographical collection, 14.
— — pillars from, 222.
Pell (O. C.), *Domesday Measures of Land*, 350-360.
Peacock (E.), *Dedications of Churches*, (letter), 268-279; *The Church Porch* (letter), 283-284.
Pembrokeshire—Roche Abbey, 263.
Persia, ethnographical collections from, 225.
Perthshire—Clachladhu, 104; Dalginross, 103; Dunira, 102; Kindrochet, 103-104; St. Fillans, 102-104.
Peru, ethnographical collections relating to, 12, 17, 88-90.
Peruvian art, influence of, in Brazil, 147.
Peterborough Cathedral, Anglo-Saxon grave discovered in, 257-258; carved sedelia found in, 257-258.
Petrie (W. F.), Memoirs published by the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund, 343-348.
Picture-writing of New Zealanders, 220; Pelew Islanders (on pillars), 222.
Pilasters, importance of, in Romanesque architecture, 246.
Pillars covered with picture-writing from Pelew Islands, in Dresden Museum, 222.
Pingahs, Soudanese, 154.
Pipe Rolls of the twelfth century, notes on Jews from, 395——
Pipe-stems, Indian carved, 81.
Pipes, Eskimo, 77.
Pisan game, 57-66.
Place-Names, Gaelic, colour element in, 45-47.
— — derivation of, 104-107, 199.
Plaitwork of the Loango Coast tribes, 162.
Plaster casts illustrating race types of New Guinea, 222.
Plated armour, New Guinean, 224.
Polledraria, terra cotta female figure from, 179.
Polynesia, ethnographical collections relating to, 218-221.

Polynesia, races of, see "Easter Islands," "Hawai," "Marquesas," "New Zealand," "Samoa," "Sandwich Islands," "Tahiti," "Tonga."
Porch, Church, 283-284.
—— South, 215.
Portrush, pre-historic flint celts discovered at, 254.
Portugal, Northern, agriculture of, 285; copyhold tenure in, 285; leasehold tenure in, 285; tillage in, 285.
Pottery, pre-historic, found at Dummer, 253-254.
—— Roman, found at Gloucester, 254.
—— Romano-British, found at Little Chester, 254; Llanwit-Major, 255-256; Rotherley, 380-381; Woodcuts Common, 380-381.
—— Arizonan, 85; Azingaratan, 235; Bahamas, 91; Nile races, 156; Peruvian, 89; Upper Marañon, 146.
Prague, ethnographical collections in Museum, 16, 163, 231.
Price (J. E.), *Roman Remains in Essex*, 92-102; *Roman Remains in Yorkshire*, 330-342.
Priest, when to attend County Court, 67.
Prisons (Norfolk, temp. Edw. i.), condition of, 210; insecurity of, 209-210.
Property in Fiji, regarded as belong- to chief, 372.
Prophesy, Gaelic, concerning Iona, 49-50, 107.
Ptoan Apollo, archaic statue described, 173.
—— temple of Apollo, bronze female figure found at, 178.
Punch and Judy Shows, early, 364.
Punjab, collection relating to, 234.
Purbeck handle found applied to Romano-British pottery at Woodcuts, 381.
Puris (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 149.
Pu-taï (Buddhist deity), representations of, 302.

QUAKUTL (N. American tribe), ethnographical collection relating to, 78.
Quakutl tribes, masks of, 81, 82.
—— cannibal ceremonies of, 82.
Quetzalcoatl, statue of, in Trocadero, 86.

RAJPUTANA, collection relating to, 234.
Rakans (Buddha's disciples), Japanese representations of, 307.
Rathlin Island, pre-historic flint celts discovered at, 254.
"Raven and the Sun," Indian carvings relating to tradition of, 81.
Reeve, when to attend County Court, 67.
Religion, Hibbert Lectures on the origin and growth of, see "Celtic Myth and Saga."
—— importance of in sociological history, 111-112.
Rendlesham, derivation of name, 105.
Requay, Peru, vases with modelled figures, 90.
Revue Celtique, vol. ix., Nos. 1-3, see "Celtic Myth and Saga."
Rhys (John), Origin and growth of Religion, see "Celtic Myth and Saga."
Road, traces of a Roman, discovered at Llanwit-Major, 257.
Roads, absence of, preserves continuance of village communities, 31.
Roche Abbey, excavations at, 263.
Roman remains, index notes to—Essex, 92-102; Yorkshire, 330-342.
—— antiquities found at Colchester, 197-198.
—— inscriptions in Britain, 267.
—— law, influence on dower, 191-192.
—— stations in Essex, 92.
Romanesque as a development of classical architecture, 238-239.
—— and Gothic, on the distinction between, 237-251.
Rome, ethnographical collections at, 6, 16, 88, 89, 146, 147, 151, 157, 158, 163, 218, 222, 223, 227.
Rosedale Abbey, Yorkshire, discovery of stone coffin at, 52.
Ross-shire — Bennetsfield, 47; Culchalzie, 48; Kiltearn, 252, 384.
Rotherley Down, Romano-British village at, 378.
Rotterdam, ethnographical museum at, 6.
Rottingdean, freebench custom at, 187.
Round (J. H.), *Suitors at the County Court*, 66-69; *The South Porch*, (letter), 215; *Widowhood in Manorial Law* (letter), 267.
Rowan (mountain-ash), Perthshire cow-charm, 104.
Russian ethnographical collection at Leipzig, 13.
Rye (Walter), *Notes on Crime and Accident in Norfolk, temp. Edward I.*, 201-215.

SACRIFICIAL VESSELS, Indian, 235.
Saga, Celtic Myth and, 110-142.
Sailors, turbulence of foreign, in Norfolk, 202.
St. Brannock Church, near Barnstaple, restoration of, 53.
St. Fillans, cup-marked and curing stone and old burying-grounds, 102-104.
St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, intended restoration of, 53.
St. Giles, Cripplegate, repairs at, 260.
St. Petersburg, Oriental coins at, 22-29.

Salisbury Museum, 6, 311.
Salmon skin, use of by Golds, 230.
Saltaire, derivation of name, 105.
Samarkand, coins from mint of, at St. Petersburg, 26-27.
Samhain, Celtic festival, 132.
Samoa Islands, weapons, ornaments and utensils from, 220.
Samos, Hera of, archaic Greek statue described, 178.
Sandal (Mount) on the Bann, prehistoric flint celts discovered at, 254.
Sandwich, law courts and schools held at and books sold in St. Peter's church, 284.
—— Islands, ethnographical objects from, 219-220.
Sarasvati, spouse of Brahma, representations of, 305-307.
Sardinian statuettes, terra-cotta, in British Museum, 54.
Saunderton church, restoration of, 263-264.
Saxon documents, Earle's Handbook to land charters and, 360-363.
School held in porch of St. Peter's, Sandwich, 284.
Sciongot, figure of deceased Ostyak, 229.
Scotland, Notes from North Highlands, 45-50.
Scottish saints, dedications to, 274.
Sculpture among the tribes of the Congo, 160-161.
—— origins and earliest developments of Greek, 167-184.
Seal, discovery of a Papal, at Otley, 52.
Seamer, church restoration at, 53.
Senegambia, ethnographical collections relating to, 155.
Sennines (Taoistic demi-gods) representations of, 299.
Sepulchral origin of Stonehenge, 313.
Service tenures in Fiji, see "Lala."
"Sets" division of "laying out," 40.
Shakya-Muni (Buddhist deity) representations of, 300.
Shamans (Siberian religious quacks) 228; gods of, represent deceased Shamans, 228; claim intercourse with dead, 229.
Shang-ti (Taoistic deity) representations of, 298.
Shelford, Domesday account of, 355-356.
Shell-knives, Fuegian, 152.
Shield used in Pisan game, 62.
—— Soudanese wicker, 154.
Shifford, tenants of certain lands take part in election of sixteens for Aston, 36.
Shilluk (tribe of Upper Nile), collections relating to, 156, 157.
Shintoism, Japanese creed, 303-304.
Shotover, derivation of name, 105.
Shows, early Punch and Judy, 364.
Shropshire—Lilleshall Abbey, 53.
Siam, ethnographical collections relating to, 14, 236.
Siberia, ethnographical collections relating to, 12, 17, 226, 230.
——tribes of, see "Gilyaks," "Golds," "Kamtschadals," "Ostyaks," "Tschuktsches."
Siebold (P. F. Von S.) ethnographical collection of, acquired by Leyden, 2.
Signifer, monument of, in York Museum, 334.
Silver ornaments of African equatorial tribes, 158.
Simpson (H. F. Morland), *Bahnson's Ethnographical Museums*, 1-18, 73-90, 145-163, 217-236, 289-311.
Sinai, Megalithic circles near, 313.
Situla found at Defenneh, 347-348; near Elvedon, 51.
Sixteens, persons performing duties of Court Baron at Aston, 35; rights of, 33-35.
Skeletons, prehistoric, discovered at Kiltearn, 252-253, 384.
—— of dolichocephalic men exhumed at Rotherley Down, 378-379; at Woodcuts Common, 378-379.
Smith-work of Nile races, 156, 157.
Snails used by Eskimo for inlaying, 77.
Solevuing, Fijian custom, 376.
Solomon Islands, ethnographical collections from, 221.
Somalis (tribe of equatorial Africa) collections relating to, 157, 158.
Somersetshire—Taunton Deane, 187; Yeovil, 50.
Sons, dependence of during life of mother in India, 193-194.
Soudan, states of, ethnographical collection relating to, 153-154.
Southall, remains of Elephas Primigenius discovered at, 50.
Southampton, wool stored in a church, 284.
South Sea Islands, ethnographical collections from, 218-225.
Southwell, Freebench custom at, 187.
Spalding (F.) *Roman Antiquities found at Colchester* (letter), 197-198.
Spear-heads of the Fan tribes, 161.
Sphinx found at Colchester, 94.
Spirits, figures of Shaman Evil, 228; Guardian, 228.
Spoons, American Indian carved, 80.
Stabbing in Norfolk, temp. Edw. I., 203.
Statues, development of early Greek, 168; records regarding, 169.
Statuettes, terra-cotta, in British Museum, 54.
Stevenson (W. H.) *Derivation of Place-Names*, 104-107.
Stockholm, ethnographical museum at, 6, 90, 152, 159, 227, 235, 295.

Stockwood, Freebench custom at, 187.
Stolpe, Dr., ethnographical collection of, at Stockholm Museum, 6.
Stone Circles—Kingston Russel, Dorchester, 51; Stonehenge, 312-330.
—— ritual signification of, 314.
—— sepulchral origin of, 315.
Stonehenge, 312-330.
Stone implements from Bahamas, 91; Brazil, 150, 151; Gilyaks, 230; Golds, 230; New Guinea, 224; tribes of North-West Coast of America, 78-79.
Stones, Greek sacred, 170.
—— precious, Chinese cut, 292.
—— Roman sculptured, discovered at Carlisle, 51.
Strata Florida Abbey, excavations at, 53, 260-261.
Straw-plaiting, Soudanese, 154.
Succession of widow to husband's lands, see "widowhood."
Suffolk—Dunwich, 284; Elvedon, 50, 51; Minskip, 51.
Suitors at the County Court, 66-69.
Sumatra, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Sumbava, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Sun-hero in Irish tradition, 122-123, 128, 129-131, 132.
Sun-myth, "Conception of Cuchallain," a, 132.
Surrey — Farnham, 385; Guildford, 53.
Sussex—Balneth, 187; Cuckfield, 187; Ditcheling, 187; Framfield, 191; Rottingdean, 187.
Suyás, stone axe-heads used by, 151.
Swords, iron, of Congo tribes, 159; Fan tribes, 161.
Syria, ethnographical objects from, 226.

Tahiti, idols from, 219.
Táin bo Cuailgne, Irish epic, 118, 135, 141.
Tamo, see "Dharmaraja."
Tanagra, terra-cottas from, in British Museum, 54.
Tanis, 343-348.
Taoistic deities, Chinese, 299.
Tarentine terra-cottas, Chthonian, 174.
Tatooed heads, New Zealand, 220.
Taunton Deane, custom of Freebench at, 187.
Tea-ceremony, Japanese, articles illustrating, 295.
Tear bottle, discovered at Colchester, 198.
Teotihuacan, primitive statuettes from, 86.
Terenos (Brazilian district), ethnographical objects from, 150.
Terra del Fuego, ethnographical collections from, 151-152.
——tribes of, "Alacaluf," "Jagans," "Onas."
Terra-cotta figures, Mexican primitive, 86.
Tesseræ, Roman, discovered at Llantwit Major, 255; at Twyford, 51.
Thlinkits (North American tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 12, 80.
Thomsen arranges Danish ethnographical collection, 8.
Throwing sticks of Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, 224.
Thunder-bird, Nutlmatl masks relating to myth of, 83.
Ticuna masks at Münich Museum, 150.
Tillage, method of, in North Portugal, 285.
Timor, ethnographical collections relating to, 231.
Tockington, Roman villa and pavements discovered at, 51.
Tonga, ethnographical objects from, 219.
Torre, rights of widow at Court Baron at, 188.
Torture used as admission to North American Indian castes, 84.
Totem tribes—Birnini, 91; Indian, 79-80; North-West Coast of America, 78.
—— widow succession among, 193.
Treasure trove in Norfolk (temp. Edw. I.), 212.
Treaty signed in Ayton Church, 284.
Triliths in stone circles, 327, 328, 329, 330.
Trinity, Chinese higher, representations of, 299.
Tschugatsches (Eskimo tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 76.
Tschukt Indians, Krause's collection relating to, at Hamburg, 12.
Tschuktsches (Siberian people), ethnographical collections relating to, 226-227; canoes of, 227; carving of, 227; dress of, 227; implements similar to Eskimo, 227; hunting weapons of, 227.
Tshai-Shin (Taoistic deity), representations of, 299.
Tunis, preservation of monuments in, 216.
Tunisian industry, historical continuity of, 216.
—— pottery, 216.
Tunja, ancient South American centre of civilisation, 89.
Turan, ethnographical objects from, 226.
Turin, ethnographical collections at, 16, 88.
Twyford, remains of Roman villa discovered at, 51.

UAUPES (Brazilian tribe), collection relating to, 149.
Uhde, Mexico, objects from, in Berlin Museum, 87.
Ultonian cycle of Irish tradition, 114, 138.
Unalaska (Eskimo tribe), ethnographical collections relating to, 76.
United States, ethnographical collections relating to, 85.
Urn-burial, evidence of Anglo-Saxon, at Cambridge, 51.
Urns, discoveries of prehistoric, at Kiltearn, 252; Roman, at Llantwit-Major, 256; at Minskip, 51; Romano-British, at Woodcuts Common, 380; Anglo-Saxon, at Cambridge, 51.
Utensils, household, from Marquesas, 220; Samoa, 220; Sandwich Islands, 220; Tahiti, 220.

VALLE CRUCIS Abbey, mediæval tomb discovered at, 260.
Vamp horn in Braybrooke Church, 262.
Vancouver (West), ethnographical collection relating to, 78.
Vases, Roman, found at Colchester, 198; prehistoric, found at Dummer, 253-254.
Vazes (Javanese tribe), 231.
Venice, ethnographical museum at, 6, 16, 157, 158.
Vessels, sacred, of Chinese, 292.
Victoria, Aborigines of, probable extinction of, 236.
Vienna, ethnographical museums at, 6, 9, 15, 88, 148, 149, 150, 156, 157, 163, 219, 221, 231, 235, 291.
Vill, representation of, 67; suit from at County Court, 67.
Villa, Roman, discovered at Llantwit-Major, 255-257; Tockington, 51; Twyford, 51.
Village Community at Aston and Cote, 29-44.
—— Domesday, not mentioned in, 44: isolation of, 30-31; officers of, 34; origin of, 196-197; permanence of, 18; rights of proprietors in, 37; similarity of English and Indian, 35; widow, position of, in, 190.
Villeinage in Norfolk (temp. Edw. I.), 214.

WARWICKSHIRE—Balshall, 187.
Waters, common, at Aston, 40.
Weapons—African equatorial tribes, 158; Ashanti, 155; Congo tribes, 159; Golds, 230; Indian Isles, 231; Japanese, 294; Loango Coast, 162; Marquesas, 220; New Zealand, 220; Samoa, 220; Sandwich Islands, 220; South Sea Islands, 18; Tahiti, 220; Tschuktsches, 227; Upper Nile, 157.
Weardale, Freebench customs at, 187.
Weaving in the Congo district, 159-160.
—— Indian skill in, 79.
—— of the Loango Coast tribes, 162.
Welsh traditions, Professor Rhys on, 121.
Wen-Shang-ti-Kiun (Taoistic deity) representations of, 300.
Westminster, site of the ancient Exchequer at, 386-396.
Westminster Abbey, removal of tomb from, 259-260.
Westmorland, the fifth Earl of, imprisoned for witchcraft, 280-283.
Whales-teeth used as means of payment in Fiji, 368, 369.
Wickerwork of the Loango coast tribes, 162.
Wickham, Molland at, 267.
Widow (Hindu) may raise up issue to deceased husband by a relation, 194.
Widowhood, customs of, distinct from dower, 185.
—— in Manorial Law, 184-197, 267.
Wife, eldest son of Caffre "great" heir, 165.
Wight (Isle of), derivation of word, 105.
Wigtown, protection of ancient monuments near, 51.
Wigtownshire—Wigtown, 51.
Wiltshire—Littlecot, 187; Rotherley Down, 378; Rushmore, 378; Winkelbury Hill, 378.
Winchelsea, derivation of name, 105.
—— violence of sailors of, temp. Edw. I., 202-203.
Winchester, Royal Treasury at, 388.
Winged women, Melanesian folk-tale of, 90-91.
Winkelbury Hill, excavations at, 378-379, 383; camp at, 383.
Winterbourne Abbas; the Nine Stones, 51.
Witchcraft in the sixteenth century, 280-283.
—— doctors in Caffraria, 164.
Wood carving of Nile races, 156.
—— probably used before stone in Greek statuary, 172, 176.
Woodcuts Common, Romano-British village at, 378-382.
Wooden emblems, Archaic Greek, 167-168.
Woodlands selected as home of village community, 30.
Wool stored in a church at Southampton, 284.
Worcester, derivation of name, 105.
Worksop, intended enlargement ofth church of the Augustine Canons at, 53.

YAMMA (Buddhist deity), representations of, 306.
Yard-land at Aston superseded the hide as a unit of holding, 35-36.

Yard-land at Framfield, widow succeeds to, 191.
Yebis (Shintoistic deity) representations of, 307.
Yeovil, remains of an ichthyosaurus discovered near, 50.
Yetminster, Freebench custom at, 187.
York, importance of, as Roman station, 331-332.
Yorkshire—Beverley Minster, 263; Clifton, 353; Fountains Abbey, 259; Otley, 50, 52; Ricall, 284; Rosedale Abbey, 52; Seamer, 53; York, 331-332.
Yorkshire—dialect words, 199.
—— Roman remains in, 330-342.
Yucatan, objects excavated at, 86-87.

ZEMPOALA, ethnographical collection relating to in Berlin Museum, 87.
Zen-zaï (Buddhist demon), 301.
Zimmer (H.), Keltische Studien von, see "Celtic Myth and Saga."
Zoan, remains of, 343.
Zunis (North American tribe) collection relating to, 85.

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