

BRITISH REMAINS ON DARTMOOR.

BY SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.

IN most countries noticed in ancient history we still find traces of the early inhabitants; and the monuments which remain enable us to form some idea of their customs and their mode of life.

Sometimes, indeed, these records of the past are scanty and imperfect; and this may cease to surprise us, when we remember that one people, most noted for their industrial prosperity, and for the extent of their colonization and commercial enterprise—the Phœnicians—have not left a single monumental record, by which their former greatness could even be surmised; and so few vestiges remain of their public or private works that, were it not for some sepulchral *cippi* and inscriptions, and the evidence of sacred and profane history, we should scarcely know of the existence of that remarkable nation.

It is therefore satisfactory to find some records of our own early ancestors still existing in this country; and though not of any excellence in an architectural point of view, they afford us some notion of the abodes, as well as of the sepulchres, of the Britons, of their rude masonry, of their skill in raising ponderous stones, and of the success they had acquired in fortifying their camps before the Romans entirely subdued the manly spirit of that brave people.

These records occur in many parts of our island, particularly in the mountain districts; but in a hilly country of great extent it was often thought sufficient to defend the outskirts, and to prevent the passage of an invader through its valleys; and we therefore find that the strongest camps of Dartmoor are on the side most exposed to attack from the valley of the Exe, and the lower part of the Teign, and Dart; the rest being thought sufficiently secure, from the nature of the ground, and from the little temptation offered to marauders by its wild and barren aspect. This character of the country enabled the Damnonian Britons long to enjoy their freedom; and though the Anglo-Saxon monarchs had possession of Devonshire, and extended their dominion to the Tamar (which was made

by Athelstan its western boundary, separating it from Cornwall), the inhabitants of the Dartmoor hills retained a greater degree of independence than any people within the southern part of the kingdom, and displayed the same dislike of Saxon rule as in the days when they joined the Danes in their inroads from the coast. And even when the district had been subjected to English rule and some of the inhabitants had been slaughtered or driven from it, those who dwelt, or took refuge, in the secluded parts of that wild country, long preserved their liberty and many of the early customs of their ancestors.

The name *Damnonii*, *Dumnonii*, or *Danmonii*, which was applied by the Romans to the people of Devonshire, and also to some of the mountaineers of Somersetshire, and to those of Cornwall, is, like the word "Devon," derived either from *Dwfn-neynt*, "deep valleys," or from *Dan-y-mynydd*, "under the mountains;" but though the latter would well apply to this region, it must be confessed that *Dwfn* is more readily converted into *Dumn* and *Devon*.

The formation of large roads over the hilly country of Dartmoor has long since altered its ancient character, and deprived it of that appearance of seclusion, and that difficulty of access, for which it was once so remarkable; but any one who, leaving the high road, wanders amidst the hills on either side, may still form an idea of the previous aspect of that inhospitable region, and of its natural strength against hostile intrusion. This security, while it enabled the early Britons to dispense with numerous camps on Dartmoor, induced them to choose it as a favourable locality for their most sacred monuments; and circles, cromlechs, and other highly venerated remains abound in this secluded district. Many of these might even be visited in an excursion from Exeter, provided one or more nights were passed at some of the small, but not uncomfortable inns, of Dartmoor; but before I mention the antiquities, or the order in which they might be visited, I shall offer some remarks on the classification and character of British remains.

They may be classified under the following heads:

- I. The sacred circle.
- II. The circle-carn, and concentric-circle, and the *carn* or heap of stones, etc.

- III. The barrow, tumulus, the Celtic *crug* or mound, and the Saxon *Low*.
- IV. The kist, or *cist-vaen* ("stone chest").
- V. The avenue, or parallelithon.
- VI. The cromlech.
- VII. The *Maen-hir*, or "long stone."
- VIII. The *tolmen*, or *maen-an-tol* ("holed stone").
- IX. The *logan*, or "rocking stone."
- X. The rock idol.
- XI. The rock basin.
- XII. The markings and concentric rings on stones.
- XIII. The hut-circle, domed and bee-hive hut.
- XIV. The walled village and pound.
- XV. The boundary line.
- XVI. Roads.
- XVII. Bridges.
- XVIII. Camps and other military defences.

1. Of the sacred circle the most noted examples are, Stonchenge; Abury; Stanton Drew; Long Meg and her daughters, near Penrith; the Keswick circle; Arbor Lowe; the Scorhill or Gidleigh circle, the Greywethers, and Fernworthy, and that near Merivale bridge, on Dartmoor; the *dauns* or *danse-muen* (or the Merry Maidens) near Bolleit, that of Boscawen-ûn, the Nine Maidens near Boskednan, and the three circles called the Hurlers, in Cornwall; that called Rollditch, Rolldrich,¹ or Rollbright, in Oxfordshire; the Devil's Arrows, in Yorkshire; and the hoar stones in Shropshire; the circles of Addington, near the Medway in Kent; of Hathersage moor, in Derbyshire; and others, in England; and in Scotland, one near Calendar and Dunkeld; and another near Inverness called the Clachan;² that of Classernich or Callernish, in the Hebrides; and the four circles of Stennis, in the Orkneys; and in Wales, one near Whitland Abbey, Caermarthenshire; and that of Rhosmaen in Radnorshire; with many others.

Stonehenge is too well-known to need any detailed description; I must, however, beg to differ from those who think it was erected after Roman times, at "the end of the fifth century," and that the Britons learnt from the Romans a style of building with large stones, which was never

¹ Abury is also called Rolldich by the peasantry.

² "Stones," v. p. 29.

adopted by this people. Nor can I admit that the outer circle of Stonehenge is composed of forty stones, when it is evident that it had only thirty (or at most thirty-one); and as there is every appearance of the rude stones of the inner circle (which were originally fifty-six or fifty-seven) being older than the more finished ones of the outer circle, I cannot consider them "votive stones added *after* the original design was completed." Their earlier date is sufficiently evident from the difficulty experienced in making the truncated ellipse of the later "trilithons," in the centre of the circle, accord with the position of the inner ellipse, which is composed of the smaller and older stones;¹ for these last, had they been placed there at a later period, would have been so disposed as to suit the position of their larger neighbours. Nor can I believe that the Druids were only found in the Isle of Anglesea, because "no classical or *native* authors mention having met with Druids in this island out of that one locality;" nor that an explanation of the form of "the inner choir of Stonehenge" is to be obtained by turning "the lamp of Indian Buddhism on these hitherto mysterious arrangements," and by "comparing it with the numerous examples of choirs in all Buddhist churches;" and still less can I believe that "Buddhism, in some shape or other, or under some name that may be lost, did exist in Britain before the conversion of its inhabitants to Christianity."

The diameter of Stonehenge, north and south, is 96 feet 6 inches inside, and 106 feet to the external face of the stones; that of the smaller inner circle about 80 feet. It stands on an area of about 340 feet in diameter, enclosed by a low mound, with a long avenue leading to it from the east.

Abury is of much larger dimensions, the diameter of its circle being 1080 feet; and the platform on which this stands has an average diameter of about 1130 feet, surrounded by a deep ditch and a lofty vallum, which extends the total diameter to 1440 feet. Within the great circle are two others, each 330 feet in diameter; and in the centre of one of these are large upright blocks,

¹ It is possible that those behind what is called the altar (one of which has a longitudinal groove running up it) may have been substituted for older stones of the inner ellipse.



very similar to those of the circle itself, which are supposed to have been a sanctuary.

At Stanton Drew, the largest circle is 380 feet by 347 feet in diameter (measuring from the centre of the stones); the next is 130 feet, and the smallest circle about 96 ft.

At Arbor Lowe, the inner platform is 167 feet in diameter, and the circle itself about 123 feet, the stones having fallen very irregularly.

The circle of Gidleigh, on Dartmoor, has a diameter of 88 feet; and that near the avenues, above Merivale bridge, measures 60 to 65 feet.

The three called the "Hurlers," which stand in a line, one behind the other, are respectively about 100 feet, 124 feet, and 103 feet in diameter; and the great circle of Stennis, in Orkney, which consists of large stones, varying from 13 feet 9 inches to about 6 feet above the ground, is about 340 feet in diameter, and stands on a platform about 366 feet in diameter, surrounded by a fosse. There are many others in various parts of England, Scotland, and Wales; but those here mentioned will suffice to show the general size of the so-called sacred circles.

That called the "nine ladies," on Stanton Moor, in Derbyshire, has a diameter of about 36 feet, and another at Throwlsworthy, on Dartmoor, measures 23 feet; but these two do not properly come under the denomination of sacred circles; and, as I shall have occasion to observe, are probably sepulchral, like the circles surrounding cairns and subterranean chambers. If it is true that the French call circles "cromlechs," the name may have been originally applied to them from their frequently surrounding tumuli which enclose within them cairns, cists, cromlechs, or subterranean chambers; and the term *dolmen*, "stone-table," given by the French to cromlechs, as well as to large sepulchral chambers above ground, is not inconsistent with the form of either of these monuments.

Many, indeed, are of opinion that all the so-called sacred circles are sepulchral monuments, whatever may be their dimensions or arrangements. This may, however, be doubted. For even if we find interments within them, this fact does not decide the question; since it has been a common custom in many countries to bury the

dead within the precincts of buildings used for worship. (See below, on the avenue, in class v.) Some have supported that opinion, by the assertion that the Britons never had temples; that their religion forbade them to worship within a covered building; that their prayers were always offered in the open air, and that no roof was permitted to interfere between the votary and his God. But the objection does not apply very suitably to a circle of stones, which had no roof, and which presented no more visible interference between the heavens and the priesthood, than the trees, beneath which they are said to have performed their sacred rites.

Indeed, we are actually told by ancient writers, that the inhabitants of our island, before the invasion of Cæsar, had temples; which, whether roofed or no, would receive that name from strangers; and Diodorus (ii, 47), on the authority of Hecataeus of Abdera, notices the *circular temple* (*vaos*) of the sun, with a beautiful grove, or sacred enclosure (*τεμενος*), and describes the harpers or bards, who chanted the praises of the god in that temple. The objection, then, to some kind of sacred enclosure or temple, may be easily removed; and whether closed or open, it would, by the Greeks, have been equally designated as a *vaos*. And though other writers inform us that they worshipped in groves, and that the hostility of the Roman conquerors was directed against these, when they invaded that most sacred stronghold of Druidism, the Isle of Mona (Anglesea), there is no reason to conclude that the sacred grove was not separated from the surrounding space, or from the rest of the wood where they lived;¹ and Cæsar says the Druids held assemblies, and pronounced legal decrees and judgments in the same consecrated place.² It can scarcely be supposed that the limits of the holy spot, where they offered prayer or sacrifice, and pronounced judgment, was not defined by some durable boundary, such as a circle of stones, to indicate its sanctity and to prevent the intrusion of the profane; and the same idea of a "sacred enclosure" has been retained from the earliest times to the present day, in

¹ "Nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis."

(Lucan, *Ph.* i, 356.)

² Cæs., *B. G.*, vi, 13.

a word of the same meaning, *Llan*, which was transferred to their churches by the Welsh, on the introduction of Christianity.

Nor can we always take the *early ordonnances* of a religion as a sure guide respecting the customs admitted into it at a later time. Even supposing (which it is not) that a circle of stones was opposed to the early British and Druidical idea of worshipping in the open air, this would not be conclusive evidence against its adoption at a later time. The Scandinavians are said to have abstained from all worship in temples; and the Eddas make the same remark as the Bible, that God dwelleth not in temples built by hands; and the old Icelandic religion, which forbade its followers to represent the supreme Deity under any corporeal form, or to confine him within the enclosure of walls, commanded them to worship him in woods and consecrated forests. Yet the Scandinavians had their stone buildings, circles, as well as cromlechs, and carns; and Iceland is as famed for its great temples, as Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.¹ The Israelites too, no longer satisfied with their tabernacle, built for the Deity a stone temple, like the nations that surrounded them. Even the Egyptians are said of old to have propitiated their gods simply with prayers and incense;²—a custom very different from that which obtained during all the periods when their religion and customs become known to us from the monuments; and if Vitruvius states (i, 2) that the temples of Jove, the sun, and moon, and some others, were “sub dio, hypæthraque,” it would be a great error to conclude that they were open like our circles. And though some future antiquary, judging from what he may read in the early history of Christianity, and from the fact that the Christians acknowledged the second commandment, forbidding man to make a graven image, and fall down before it, may be disposed to deny the possibility of images having been introduced into any Christian church for that purpose, it is not less a fact that they have been made for centuries, and have been treated like older pagan idols.

Nor, if such stone monuments were (as some have sup-

¹ V. Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, pp. 89, 109, B. ed.

² Macrob., *Saturn.*, i, c. 5. “Nunquam fas fuit Ægyptiis pecudibus aut sanguine, sed precibus et thure solo, placare deos.”

posed) of a still earlier people than the Celtic-Gauls and Britons, is it probable that these two people, when first converted to Christianity,¹ would have constantly revered them; opposed, as they are said to have been, to their previous religious feelings, and belonging to an old people with whom they had no sympathies, or community of habits? Had they only possessed their sacred groves, and never felt any reverence for stone monuments, they would not have entertained superstitious feelings towards them; and yet we know that several severe prohibitions were issued against their "worship" by more than one council and royal edict, in the 4th and 5th centuries of our era; and the council of Nantes threatened severe penalties against those who venerated "*lapides in ruinosis locis.*" Nor was this always sufficient; and it was found necessary to destroy and *bury* many of them, to prevent similar superstitious practices among the Christians of Gaul and Britain.² The well-known expression in the Highlands, on inquiring of any one whether he is going to church, "*am bhail thu dol do'n clachan?*" "are you going to the stones?" seems also to point to the old custom of treating stone monuments as places of meeting for a religious purpose.

The link, therefore, is not wanting between the Druids

¹ In our modern times, when some have wished to foster an antagonism of races, an attempt has been made to connect the Celtic tribes with the Papist, and the Anglo-Saxon with the Protestant creed, in this kingdom; but it is a shallow pretence; and of the five Celtic tribes, the Scotch, Irish, and Manx, the Welsh and Cornish, one only (the Irish) is Roman Catholic, the four others being decidedly Protestant. What the French may be, does not concern us. Moreover, it was the English who first introduced Popery into Ireland, as the Anglo-Saxons had before done into England; and the old British church continued to flourish in its purity, and independent of Rome, till the Anglo-Saxons, on their conversion by Augustin, persecuted the Celtic inhabitants of these islands, and at length supplanted the original form of worship so long established among that anti-papal race.

² I cannot subscribe to the opinion that the conversion of the Britons to Christianity would necessarily lead to the destruction of all the monuments of their former superstition. This is not confirmed by experience. The Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and other sacred monuments remain: many temples were actually converted into churches, (as Christian churches were adopted for *mosks* by those most bigoted people the Moslems and their converts); and the early mosaics and paintings of the Christians admitted heathen representations, as Charon, Orpheus, Cupids, the river god of the Jordan, and various emblems, into their own sacred subjects, if they happened to be thought suitable to them; and the basilica became a church merely because the temple was still occupied. I do not certainly wish that the Christians had destroyed more pagan monuments; but if some of them had adopted fewer of the superstitious customs of their predecessors, it would have been infinitely better, and priestcraft would not so long have triumphed over common sense.

and the stones; and as the superstitious feeling in favour of stone remains continued even after Christian time, it is only reasonable to conclude that these were not of a people whose religion had been supplanted by Druidism, but rather of one which had exchanged its older stone sanctuaries for the churches of its new creed. And while I perceive no difficulty in attributing them to our Celtic predecessors, and find no necessity for seeing in them the works of an earlier race who inhabited Britain and Gaul, I am still less disposed to assign to them a late date after the conquest of this island by the Romans.¹

The number of the stones or monoliths composing the circles varies considerably, as well as their height and dimensions. Some are eight feet in height, others in the same circle not more than three or four feet; a short one is often placed next to another nearly double its height; sometimes all the stones are about the same size and form; and in some circles they are placed nearly equidistant from each other; in others at very irregular intervals; and occasionally one stone outtops all the rest; but nowhere, except at Stonehenge, are they linked together by lintel-stones, requiring them to be of the same uniform height.

The statement of some antiquaries that they are (or should be) nineteen, or multiples of that number, is not confirmed by experience; nor is twelve a number "more frequently found than any other;" and they do not range in number "from twelve to thirty-seven." Mr. Rowe very properly rejects this latter assertion, and adds, "in some instances we found the number 27; but we also observed circles consisting of 25, 15, 12, 11, and even 10, the height of the stones above the surface ranging from $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet to 18 inches," those in the latter cases having "probably been mutilated." Indeed, we find the number ranges from 8 to about 78, the former in the Isle of Mull, the latter in the great circle of Abury. "The circumference," says Mr. Rowe, "varies from 36 to 360," which last he gives to "the Grey Wethers, the largest it is believed in Devonshire"; but as the diameters of its two circles are respectively 104 feet 6 inches by 105 feet, and 103 feet by 104 feet, their average circumference can only be 314 feet, or

¹ See my paper in this *Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 109-10.

at most 315 feet. The number of stones in the southern circle at the Grey Wethers was 27, of which 7 are still standing: of the northern, 9 are standing, 7 fallen, and the rest have disappeared in the swampy ground, or have been carried away; and both circles appear to have had about 24 or 25 when first erected. The height of the stones in both differs less than in many other circles, being from 2 feet 7 inches to 3 feet 10 inches broad, and about 4 feet to 4 feet 2 inches high (*above* the ground); and the *entire* height of the largest is from 6 feet to 6 feet 10 inches. Those of the Merrymaidens, near Bolleit in Cornwall, are also nearly of equal height, measuring from 3 feet 10 inches to 4 feet; and 16 of them are still standing, out of the original 19 or 20; for unless an unusually large space was left between two of them, the number must have exceeded 19. Mr. Edwards, however, who admits that one of the spaces had "nearly double the average interval," thinks that 19 was the original number; and some suppose that it was always customary to make one of the intervals much wider than the rest. This is very remarkable in a circle, described by Mr. Auldjo, in the Isle of Mull, standing in what is called "the field of the Druids." It has a diameter of 42 feet, and consists of 8 stones, placed at unequal distances, the intervals being 14 feet, 9 feet 2 inches, 15 feet, 13 feet 6 inches, 15 feet, 11 feet 6 inches, 14 feet, and 22 feet; but this last, if none has been taken from it, bears an unusual disproportion to the other intervals.¹ The stones measure from 3 to 4 feet in height above the ground, and at the distance of 118 feet to the west is a single long stone, rising about 9 feet above the ground, and a smaller one to the south 15 feet 6 inches from the circle. In the centre is no mound, and no appearance of a cairn or cist.

The number of the stones in the outer circle of Stonehenge was 30, and about 56 or 57 in the older inner circle, as I have already stated; but at Abury, the large circle may have consisted of 78 monoliths, of which 20 still remain. The smaller circle at Stanton-Drew is composed of 8 stones; the large circle has lost too many to enable us to ascertain its original number (it was probably about 38); and the third has 10 remaining out of 18, the original number, two of which are a little out of their place.

¹ V. Journal of the Arch. Institute, vol. v, p. 217.

That of Arbor Low has about 40 stones remaining, all fallen; but many of them are mere fragments, and may not have been separate stones: the largest is 13 feet long by 7 feet broad, and in the centre of the circle are two large blocks, thought to be remains of a cromlech or of an altar. The circle of Gidleigh, or Scorhill, has twenty-six now standing and six fallen, out of about 55, though the spaces vary too much to enable us to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of the real number. That near the avenues of Merivale bridge had originally 10, very nearly at equal intervals, of which 9 are now standing, the largest being only 1 foot 10 inches high, and 2 feet broad; and the circle of Boscawen-Un has 16 standing and 1 fallen, out of 18 or 19, the original number, many of which are about 4 feet high; and near the centre is an upright stone about 9 feet high, thought to belong to a cromlech, or a sanctuary. Of the Hurlers, no one of the three circles is sufficiently preserved to enable us to ascertain the original number of its stones. In the first, to the south, two only are standing, in the second ten, and in the third six; but the first and third may each have had about twenty-four, and the second about thirty or thirty-one.¹ I do not attempt to mention the number of stones which compose all the large circles in England, Scotland, and Wales; nor do I pretend to decide respecting the stones found in the centre of some of them. But I may observe that, besides the one just mentioned at Boscawen-Un, and those in Abury and Arbor Low, is an upright block in the circle of Callernish in the Hebrides (see below in class v.); in Stonehenge a large stone is placed flat on the ground; and the Giant's Ring, near Belfast, is said to have a "dolmen or altar in the centre."

With regard to the position of the circles, everyone will perceive that they do not occupy the highest point of the hill; they often stand near its summit, but are rather on the first slope than on the actual apex; and the same observation applies to cromlechs also, while cairns are frequently placed on the highest part. I have also observed that many sites of circles and other ancient monuments

¹ The curious intersecting circles of Botallak, in Cornwall, represented by Borlase in plate xvi, and that of Boskednan, near Sennor (*ib.*, pl. xv), no longer appear as in his time.

are now swampy, and almost inaccessible after wet weather, showing a great and unexpected change since the days of their erection.

Some have thought that the intervals or intercolumniations between the monoliths were filled with smaller stones, or earth; but this is disproved by the absence of any remains, or of a mound, indicative of such an arrangement, except in those of a decidedly sepulchral character, where the stones are frequently placed close together, round a tumulus or cairn; and some circles in Jersey, about 21 feet in diameter, have smaller upright stones between the larger ones, covered by a slab forming a sort of recess, bearing some analogy to those in the ortholithic remains near Crendy in Malta, and the Isle of Gozo. But these require a separate examination, as do the cromlechs, avenues, longstones, and other megalithic and ortholithic remains in India, Malabar, Persia, Syria, Circassia, the Crimea, Minorca, Africa, and other countries. I shall only here observe that Mr. Rhind, in his interesting memoir on ortholithic remains in Africa (*Archæologia*, vol. 39), has enumerated the following: a circle near Tangiers, and other rude megaliths in Morocco, and in Algeria, near Zebdou, to the south of Tlemecen; a cromlech at Tiaret, one hundred miles from the sea, in Oran, the capstone of which measures 65 feet by 26 feet, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, raised 40 feet from the ground, with steps cut to ascend it, and three *basins* or square troughs cut upon its upper surface, the largest three feet on each side, and communicating with each other by channels four inches broad and of less depth than the basins. Some "longstones" are in the neighbourhood, still standing; and about twelve miles from Algiers, on the plateau of Bainam, is a great assemblage of cromlechs; and near Djelfa, several tombs composed of four slabs covered by one or two others, each surrounded by a single or double circle of rude stones, about nine inches high, in which district a stone celt has been found. At Sigus, near to Constantine, are other tombs, and in the same province some megaliths (*dolmens*); in Kabylia one or more cromlechs, and others in the regency of Tunis; and in the Zenzur district Dr. Barth speaks of a trilithon 10 feet high, with a lintel 6 feet 6 inches in length.

That the custom of placing stones in a circle was not confined to particular countries is evident from the remains found in different parts of the world. Moses is said to have built "an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars according to the twelve tribes of Israel" (Exod. xxiv, 4); and Pausanias mentions a circle of stones near Cheimarrus,¹ and says the Thracians built their temples round, and open at the top; but it is by no means probable that these resembled the circles of Britain; nor do I perceive anything beyond a very usual custom of sitting in a circle (when assemblies were held in the open air), in the often quoted sentence of Homer (*Il.* xviii, 504)—

“Κήρυκες δ’ ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυνον· οἳ δὲ γέροντες
Εἶλατ’ ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ.”

And even if our circles were used as places of assembly, the members did not certainly sit upon those very unpolished and uncomfortable monoliths, whence, in many cases, their voices would have been inaudible after all the trouble they had undergone in ascending them.

It is indeed an opinion of some eminent Welsh scholars that the "sacred circles" were places of assembly; and we may reasonably suppose that they were used as a place of judicial, as well as of religious meeting;² but there is nowhere any appearance of the stones in the form of chairs said to have been set up within the circle or place of assembly, nor any traces of the three "station stones" placed, the one to correspond with the eastern cardinal point, the other two to face the rising sun on the longest and shortest days, with a larger monolith in the centre of the circle, from which diverging lines could be drawn so as to point severally to the three "station stones," as stated in the Iolo MSS. (p. 445).

Certain monoliths do remain outside the circle at Stonehenge, on the periphery of the enclosure that surrounds it; but radii drawn from the centre, or from the altar stone, to the points where the sun rises on the longest and

¹ Πλησίον δὲ αὐτοῦ περιβολὸς ἐστὶ λίθων. (*Paus.*, ii, 36.)

² In the Isle of Man, three miles from Peel, is a circular mound of earth, about twelve feet high, ascended by a flight of steps cut into the turf on the east side, which, from its name, Tynwald,—answering to the Thingwall of Iceland, appears to have been a place of judicial assembly. It is surrounded by a ditch and rampart. But it differs from the circles of stones, which are also found in the Isle of Man, as at Glen-darragh.

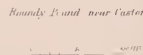
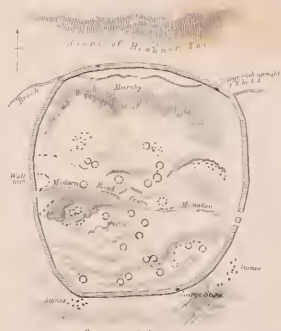
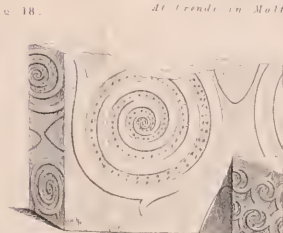
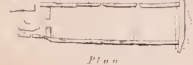
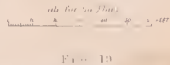


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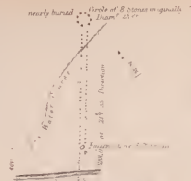


Fig. 2. This one 7' high.



Fig. 3. Circles and Avenue between Haverlee and Beach, Dartmoor.

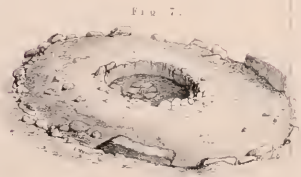


Fig. 8. Open Rh. ... a Hearth as found when excavated.

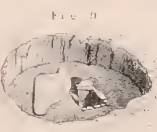
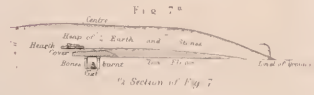


Fig. 11. and the ... in the excavation.



Fig. 13. Modern Tomb, the Dar Shagreen.

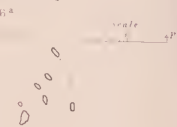


Fig. 14. Concentric Circle and part of an Avenue near Cadbury.

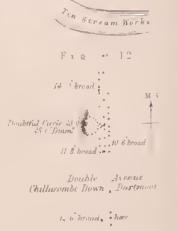


Fig. 15. Double Avenue (Dolcombe Down, Dartmoor).

shortest days, do not correspond with any of those stones. I had supposed that they marked the natural division of the circle by its radius, or sixty degrees, beginning from the east; but I since find that their position is not sufficiently accurate to verify this conjecture.

I shall now proceed to notice certain small circles, some of which are met with on Dartmoor. One of these is at Throwlsworthy Warren. (Plate 1, fig. 1.) It is only 23 feet in diameter, and probably consisted of twelve monoliths, of which eight only now remain. But though small, its importance is shown by the avenue or parallelithon which extends from it to the distance of 400 feet, and which, when entire, may have continued about 93 feet farther. At the distance of 283 feet from the circle the ground falls, and hence the avenue, making a slight bend to the right, from $213^{\circ} 35'$ to 215° (or an angle of $1^{\circ} 25'$), runs 78 feet, and then to $216^{\circ} 25'$ about 33 feet; but if it ran to the longstone, as some have imagined, which lies considerably to the right, it must have deviated still farther even from its last direction to $233^{\circ} 40'$, at an angle of about $17^{\circ} 35'$, to the distance of 117 feet. This, however, is far from probable, as the large stone forms part of a later wall, and may not occupy its original site. In this avenue the stones are of small size, though rather larger than in the avenues at Castor, and other parts of Dartmoor, some being 3 feet 3 inches in height; and at the distance of 197 feet from the circle is one of unusual size, being 5 feet in breadth, which has fallen across the avenue. Such occasional large stones are not unusual, but it is difficult to say whether they were placed there by chance, or for any special purpose. The circle, with its parallelithon, is very similar to the two below Black Tor and Hayter Tor, near Prince Town, except that each of these last has within it a carn, or a tumulus, which is evidently sepulchral. But I am inclined to think with Dr. Wilson¹ that some at least of the smaller stone circles belong to the "sepulchral class." That of the Nine Ladies on Stanton Moor in Derbyshire, before mentioned, though not enclosing a carn, and not connected with any avenue, appears also to be sepulchral, as are many others formed of concentric² rows of stones placed at the extremity or in the centre of avenues. In

¹ Prehist. Ann. of Scotland.

² Ib., p. 114.

this, too, the nine stones are not equidistant, two of the spaces being about double those on the opposite side.

Such circles come more properly under the class of circle-carns.

II. Carns, circle-carns, and concentric-circles, which may be divided into four heads: the *carn proper* (fig. 2), or heap of stones (fig. 3); the *circle-carn*, a low heap of stones and earth, surrounded by a circle of stones, generally placed upright or on their edges; the *concentric-circle-carn* (fig. 4), having similar upright stones in the carn itself; the *concentric-circle* without any carn or mound within it (fig. 5); to which I may add the *small circle without a carn*, but with an interment in the centre. The carn proper is too well known to need any description; but I shall have occasion to mention some peculiarities of those on Rhôssili down in speaking of the carns I there opened.

Those below Hayter Tor are really concentric-circle-carns, and have each an avenue running from them. The northernmost one is 31 feet 6 inches in diameter, and consists of fourteen upright stones, forming the outer circle, of which ten are standing, the original number having probably been fifteen:—at the different intervals (reckoning from the entrance to the avenue to the southward) of 4 feet 6 inches, 5 feet 10 inches, 5 feet 4 inches, 3 feet 2 inches, 5 feet 1 inch, 3 feet 2 inches, 3 feet 4 inches, 1 foot 2 inches, 1 foot 7 inches, 5 feet, 2 feet 8 inches, 5 feet 1 inch, 2 feet, and 8 feet 8 inches, which last was originally divided into two intervals of about 2 feet 3 inches and 4 feet 2 inches, allowing a space to this interval equal to the breadth of the avenue itself. (Fig. 6). The stones vary as well as the spaces between them, being (in the same order from the avenue to the south) 3 feet 1 inch, 1 foot 7 inches, 1 foot 3 inches, 2 feet 11 inches, 2 feet, 2 feet 11 inches, 2 feet 3 inches, 3 feet 7 inches, 2 feet 4 inches, 4 feet, 3 feet 6 inches, 1 foot 11 inches, 2 feet 3 inches, and 3 feet 3 inches (the next being wanting); and their greatest height is about 3 feet 5 inches above the ground. They surround the carn or mound, in which are other stones apparently placed in concentric-circles; and the avenue, 4 feet 2 inches in breadth, or 6 feet 1 inch external measurement (rather broader than that of Throwlsworthy), extends in a direct line from the circle

to the distance of 418 feet, where it is terminated by a large monolith, now fallen, measuring about 25 feet long by 2 feet 3 inches. Beyond it is a small stream, now distant about 120 feet, which may have formerly been within 10 or 12 feet of this terminal stone; but there is no appearance of the avenue having extended to the water's edge. And that it was not a general custom for avenues to lead to a river is evident from those in other places, and the southern parallelithon here extends from the carn to the high ground without even approaching the stream. Those, too, above Merivale bridge are in an elevated position, far distant from the river, and are terminated by a single upright stone; and at Castor they are not only distant from the Teign, but even if they had extended more than half-a-mile would have reached a portion of its banks which, from their steepness, rendered an approach to the water inconvenient and even difficult. The southern carn below Hayter Tor has no longer any circle surrounding it. The mound itself is 27 feet to 29 feet in diameter, and distant about 6 feet from its neighbour, which it nearly touched when its outer circle was standing, and probably equalled in size; and within it may be traced several of the inner stones beneath the heather that covers it. Its avenue begins as usual with a stone of larger dimensions than its neighbours, and measures 3 feet 4 inches in breadth, or 5 feet including the stones of both rows; but as it has been much injured, it only now extends to the distance of 205 feet, and its original length can no longer be determined; one of the streamworks of tin, so common in these districts, has cut its way across it and the other avenue. To the westward, beyond the external limits of both of them, is another carn, 22 feet to 23 feet in diameter, unconnected with these or any other avenue. About 140 feet beyond this carn the steep bank has been supported by masonry. These three carns are doubtless sepulchral; and the same may also be said of the concentric circle near the centre of the southern avenue above Merivale bridge, which is 12 feet 9 inches in diameter, and has in its outer row eight, and in the inner three, stones. Its position and dimensions, as well as the form of this and the neighbouring parallelithon to the north, may be seen

in my plan (vol. xvi of this *Journal*, pl. 7): together with the fallen cromlech; the circular cist, or sepulchral chamber, 14 feet 6 inches in diameter, walled with low upright slabs, in a mound or carn to the south of that avenue; the sacred circle; and the longstone, about 100 feet beyond it. The northern parallelithon also affords a satisfactory illustration of the custom of placing a large upright stone at either end of an avenue.

At Castor again is a concentric-circle carn (fig. 6*a*) which is 27 feet 6 inches in diameter, and is composed of 4 concentric circles, the innermost consisting apparently of 3 stones, two of which are rather larger than any of the rest. This may have formed part of a cist or sepulchral chamber. The outer circle has now 9 stones, the second row has 6, and the third 8; but the three rows may have consisted of 15, 10, and 10; though from the very unequal intervals in this, as in most circles, it is always difficult to determine their original number. Like the circle of Throwlsworthy, it stands at the end of an avenue, 3 feet 6 inches in breadth internally, and 554 feet in length, terminated at each end by two large monoliths. Those at the end nearest the circle are respectively 11 feet 4 inches and 7 feet in length. They have both fallen, and lie partly across the avenue; and the position of their broadest extremity, or base, might lead us to suppose they stood originally about 5 feet from the side of, rather than in a line with, the avenue. They are 13 feet from the circle, and this added to the 554 feet makes the total length of the avenue 567 feet.

Another avenue at Castor, 4 feet 10 inches in width, and about 382 feet in length, terminates with a carn, containing a cist, or coffin, 7 feet in length, standing on the brow of the low hill, or bank, to which the avenue ascends; and beyond this, after an interval of about 300 feet, is another avenue, 473 feet long, leading to a "long stone," or "*Maen-hir*," from which it is said to have continued to a cromlech now destroyed, a distance of about 690 feet. For this cromlech, however, the only authority is derived from three stones called the "Three Boys"; but they may have been large stones terminating the avenue; and I have not yet met with a real cromlech approached by an avenue. (See plate 6 in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, p. 113.)

It is evident, then, that not only simple cairns, or heaps of stone, but that those surrounded by a circle of upright stones placed at intervals, and sometimes in concentric circles, were sepulchral; and I may mention another instance of a concentric circle on the hills called Rhôssili Down,¹ in South Wales, 31 feet in diameter, which, though not presenting any positive signs of interment, must, from the number of cairns about it, have been a tomb. It consists of three concentric rows, the stones placed upright, and as usual at different intervals.

About 1900 feet to the south of this and lower down the hill of Rhôssili Down are other cairns. One of these (fig. 7) which by the kind permission of Mr. Talbot I was enabled to open and examine, is a low mound of earth and stones, about 3 feet to 4 feet high, surrounded by a circle of large upright stones, placed some on their sides, others on their ends, at different intervals. It is 33 feet in diameter, including the stones, few of which remain of the original circle. In the centre, at the depth of about 2 feet, is an artificial floor of clay, upon which I found what appeared to be a hearth, composed of seven flat stones carefully fitted together, and upon them a mass of charred wood (fig. 7); the remains, as I at first imagined, of the fire of a human dwelling. On further examination, however, a large slab was discovered, below one corner of this hearth (fig. 9), measuring 3 feet 3 inches by 2 feet, and from 4 to 6 inches thick; and this covered a cist, or chamber, 1 foot 8 inches long, by 1 foot 5 inches broad, and 1 foot 8 inches deep, composed of small upright slabs, with others forming its floor, and containing the much decayed residue of burnt bones. Two or three vertebræ of the spine sufficed to show that they were human. They had probably been deposited in an earthenware vase, long since entirely decomposed; and small fragments of pottery were found in other cairns in the same locality. The only new feature, therefore, in British sepulture presented by this cairn consisted in the presence of the burnt wood, and the hearth on which it had been lighted; and whether these were intended to mislead, or the charcoal was taken from the pile on which the body was burnt, or was the residue of some

¹ The importance of this district in former times is shewn by its numerous camps, and I hope to be able to describe it more fully on a future occasion.

ceremonial fire like the Beltan¹ of Scotland, it is difficult to determine. The stones of the hearth, having evidently been long exposed to great heat, were not evidently blackened by a fire once accidentally lighted upon them; and the fact of their being found at the depth of two feet below the summit of the mound, precludes the possibility of their having been used at a later time. The same mark of fire was found on the stones forming a sort of floor in other carns, or simple heaps of stone not surrounded by a circle, on the same Rhôssili downs; which floors are a peculiarity not met with in ordinary carns. The floor consists of three or more large flat slabs from 1 foot 3 inches to 3 feet in length, at the depth of 2 feet from the present summit of the heap, and on these the body had probably been burnt, and afterwards deposited, though now entirely decomposed, and leaving only a greasy black residue of the burnt substance, about 4 inches deep, upon the slabs. In another large carn on the same hills about 50 feet in diameter, was a more complete floor of large slabs, at the depth of 2 feet 3 inches below the level of the ground above which the carn rises to the height of 4 feet (or 6 feet 3 inches above the floor); though time has diminished much of the original height of the carn.

Such care in the burial of the dead at once refutes the notion of carns being the tombs of malefactors. No one would take the trouble of ascending the highest hills to show their hatred of them by throwing stones on their graves; the most conspicuous places were always the most honoured; and the saying "I would gladly carry a stone to his grave," applied throughout Wales to those whose memory is revered, is sufficient evidence of the ancient custom.² At the old parish church at Radnor it was usual, until stopped by the present incumbent, for everyone who attended a funeral to carry a stone in his hand, and to cast it on a heap at the outside of the churchyard-gate; and if the saying "*carn di wyneb*," "a carn be on your face," used in Wales as a malediction, might be supposed to argue

¹ Probably from *tan* (fire); but I cannot connect the first part of the name with the god Bel, or Baal, a god unknown to the Britons.

² With the Jews, the heap of stones was placed over malefactors (Josh. vii, 26; viii, 29), and over Absalom (2 Sam. xviii, 17); but our ancestors were not Jews, though a late writer has pronounced us to be two of the lost tribes,—one established in England, the other in Wales!

in favour of the former opinion, it is only necessary to observe that this arose from a Christian prejudice against an ancient custom, and was a wish that the person might be buried like a heathen.

In another carn on Rhôssili Down I found some rude pottery on a clay floor 2 feet below the surface of the ground, with the remains of burnt wood; and this carn was also surrounded by a rude circle of upright stones. In all cases cremation had been adopted, and not the simple *burial* of the body; but both cremation and burial were adopted in our island, often at the same period, and even in the same interment, as among many other ancient people; so that neither process evidences a priority of age.

British pottery is generally of coarse texture, and is decorated with no ornamental designs of a higher class than mere punctures with a pointed instrument, or lines arranged in zigzag or reticulated lozenge patterns, like those of any primitive age; but considerable care is sometimes bestowed on the ornamentation of certain smaller cups, which were buried with the body though never used to hold burnt bones. The fragments, however, found at Rhôssili were destitute of all ornament.

On Cosden Down, on Dartmoor, are several carns; one of great size, which is a simple large heap of rough stones; another, merely a level space, 78 feet in diameter, surrounded by small loose stones varying from 8 inches to 1 foot in length, placed close together; about 70 feet from which is a larger one, 67 feet in diameter, encircled by upright stones placed close together, having in the centre of its level area a *cist-vaen*, once covered with, and composed of, large slabs; and 160 feet beyond this, to the northward, is a circle-carn, in the form of a mound surrounded by upright stones varying from 1 foot 10 inches to 3 feet 6 inches in height: not unlike that at Tredeneck in Cornwall, mentioned by Borlase (p. 219), and the usual circle carns. It is 50 feet in diameter; and overgrown with heather.

The custom of placing stones of various dimensions round the carn, or the tumulus of earth, is common in many countries; and this with certain modifications of the sepulchral mound I shall notice in speaking of the tumulus or barrow.

Some carns, or heaps of stones, have been called bea-

cons, and it is probable that they were occasionally used for that purpose, and that signal fires were lighted upon their summit; but from the position of many of them in low places it is evident that this was not their primary, or general, intention. Carns are, however, mostly on the summits of very high hills, and are common throughout our island; and one, evidently used as a beacon, is in the highest part of the camp on Bury Holmes, a fortified peninsula below Rhôssili; another in a camp on Clack Hill, to the west of Wooton Bassett; and others in various places.

III. The *tumulus*, or barrow of earth, *crug*, or *low*, needs no description; and its various forms, as in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, are well known.

To it the Celtic name *crug* (pronounced *creeg*) signifying a "heap," or "mound,"¹ properly belongs; though this is applied to any heap even of stones. The modern *low* or *law* is derived from the Saxon *hlaw*. *Hlaw*, or *lowe*, signifies in like manner a tumulus of earth, and is the common name in our northern counties, for those ancient barrows in which the Britons buried their dead: sometimes, as in their other sepulchres, unburnt, the body crouched up and placed on its left side, or in a sitting posture; and sometimes burnt, the ashes being placed in a vase of coarse earthenware, which was occasionally inverted over them. Arms and other implements, beads and various ornaments, were deposited in the tomb; and I observed a finely preserved bronze dagger under the head of a skeleton in a *low*, or tumulus, opened in 1851, by Sir John Harpur Crewe, in Staffordshire. Here, too, as in other of these lows, a bed of charcoal was found, on which the body appeared to have been placed; and two flint javelin heads were discovered near the body.

Some are of opinion that the *tumulus*, or barrow, is a Saxon, not a British, sepulchre; but this is an error; for though the Saxons raised tumuli over their dead, their mode of placing the body differed from that of the Britons, and may readily be distinguished by the body being placed at full length on its back, and by the objects buried with it. Indeed, by far the greater number of

¹ It is even applied to heather, from its growing sometimes in tumps, or round masses.

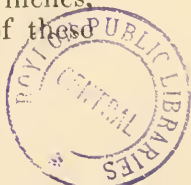
tumuli in this island contain British interments; and the Saxons often buried their dead in the upper part of British barrows.

The *tumulus* has been the most usual monument raised over the dead in all ages; sometimes merely of earth, sometimes as a cairn, or heap of stones; and *tumuli* are found in the Troad, Dalmatia, Greece, Italy, Scandinavia, and indeed throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

The *tarabéel* of Ethiopia, in the Dar Shaigéa (fig. 10) are lofty mounds, 30 or 40 feet high; but some have the peculiarity of being surrounded at their base by rows of small stones of various sizes; which last is sometimes imitated to this day in the graveyards of the present Moslem inhabitants, who there raise small *tumuli*, instead of the ordinary oblong grave-mound, so like to our own. Such *tumuli* are common in the province of Dongola; they are about 6 feet high, with a circle of small black stones round the base (fig. 11), and a few white pebbles on their summit; but the *tarabéel* are paved, or cased, at the lower part, with a layer of flat stones placed on the surface of the mound, which is itself of rough stones and rubble; and the casing perhaps extended originally to the top.

The pyramid of Egypt, Ethiopia, and Mexico, is a more adorned and perfect kind of stone *tumulus*; and whether containing a small *cist*, or a spacious chamber and its passage built of massive stones (as in the *chamber-cromlechs*), or in the form of a circular mound raised on a well-built stone basement, as in Etruria, it is the same idea carried out in a different manner.

iv. The *cist* (kist) or *cist-vaen*, "stone chest," generally contained the body, unburnt; but sometimes, when of small size it held the burnt bones. That of Cosden and of Castor, I have already noticed; and it is too generally known to need any description; but as it varies in form and character, I have divided the *cist* into three kinds: 1. The chest formed of four or more slabs covered by one or more flat stones, containing the entire body, and about 7 feet long. 2. The *cist-vaen*, "stone chest," or coffin, generally of one stone (or the rock hollowed out, or of four slabs, covered by a larger one), 2 feet 3 inches long, by 1 foot 2 inches, or internally about 1 foot 10 inches, by 10 inches, and 1 foot 2 inches deep. One of these



is preserved in the Truro museum, and contains burnt bones. Sometimes two cists were cut in the rock, side by side, covered by the same set of slabs; as in a field near the old British camp of Grongar,¹ in South Wales. There are one or two instances of cists in hut circles, or houses.

v. The *avenue*, or *parallelithon* I have already mentioned (under the head of carns, class ii, pp. 36, 37, 38). They are generally composed of monoliths of considerable size, when attached to sacred circles, as at Abury, Stanton-Drew, and some other places; but of smaller stones when leading to carns and other sepulchral monuments, where, as I have stated, they frequently occur. Indeed, their presence before these might be used as an argument in favour of the so called sacred circles having been tombs, like the circle-carne; but the probability of processions having taken place to a temple, as well as to a tomb, and the custom of burying within the precincts of the former (as Christians did in their churches) having been so general in many countries, we can scarcely draw that inference from their presence before those circles. Nor does the fact of interments being found within such circles decide the question.

The passage into the sepulchral chambers of the so-called cromlechs, in the Channel Islands, is probably the same idea as the avenue leading to cists and carns, on a limited scale; and though buried beneath the mound that covered the whole monument, it may have been intended as a mark of respect, and a type of the processional ceremony, by which the mourners for a deceased friend were introduced to the last resting place of his honoured remains.

Avenues are generally straight, and not sinuous, as some have supposed; and if they sometimes curve, this may be attributed to the nature of the ground; and though the great avenue at Carnac² winds in various directions, it does not bear any resemblance to the form of a snake.³

¹ Grongar Hill. See Dyer's poem in Johnson's *English Poets*, vol. lviii. It is probably called from the round form of the camp on its summit, *cron* or *gron* signifying round. (Cf. *corona*.)

² *Carnac* is thought to be the adjective form of *carn*, which last is often applied to a number of stones even though not placed in a heap: *ac* is a very common Breton termination.

³ See vol. xvi of this *Journal*, pp. 111-15.

At Callernish, or Classernich, in the Isle of Lewis, one of the Hebrides, is an avenue of cruciform shape (described in Wilson's *Prehist. Ann. of Scotland*, p. 115), attached to a circle "60 feet in diameter, with a column in the centre, measuring 13 feet in height," from which the avenue stretches to the north, while single rows (of stones) "placed towards the other cardinal points complete the cruciform arrangement of the whole." The greatest length of its avenue is stated to be 558 feet; "by Macculloch, about 680 feet," and it formerly held a place among sacred monuments; but its sepulchral character has now been determined by the discovery of two chambers in the centre of the circle: one, 6 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 3 inches; the other, 4 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 1 inch; in the former of which human bones were found. (*Pro. S. Ant. of Scotl.*, vol. iii, Part I, p. 112.)

Occasionally, but rarely, a double avenue has been met with (or three rows of stones), as on Chillacombe Down, to the west of Grimspound, which is 15 feet in total breadth, and runs nearly due north (by compass) from a large stone which appears to have marked its limits on that side, to a distance of about 280 feet, and probably extended originally more than 60 feet farther to the south, being there cut through by a streamwork.

Avenues are also found in other countries; one is said to be near Hit, on the Euphrates, leading to a circle of upright slabs; and in India, besides many ortholithic remains in various places, are avenues at the village of Mushmaie, near Chirra Poonjee, and others leading to the latter place on the Cossyah, or Kasia, hills.

vi. Cromlechs appear in all places to have been sepulchral. I have divided them into five kinds:

1. Three-pillared, or cromlech proper, having the cap-stone supported on three upright piers or slabs, as Lanyon¹ Quoit (plate 2, fig. 1), Pendarvis or Caer Wynen Quoit (fig. 2), Drewsteignton (fig. 3), Kit's Coty house,² and others.

That such cromlechs had originally only three sup-

¹ This having been thrown down was restored by Lieut. Goldsmith after he had replaced the Logan stone; but as the position of the cap-stone *differs* from others in being *quite horizontal*, it may not be placed exactly as of old. Those of dolmens, or sepulchral chambers, are level.

² This name recalls the common Celtic word for "huts" or "cots," *cyttiau*; sing., *cut* or *cwt*.

porters I have already shown (in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, p. 113, *note*); and beneath the capstone of the one near Craig Madden castle, in Stirlingshire, there is actually no room for a fourth.¹ The Pierre des Fées, near Reignier, in Savoy, has also three supporters, all of granite (fig. 4); and those in Anglesea, described by Mr. Longueville Jones, in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, vol. iii, p. 41-43, are chiefly on three piers. That of Manorbeer (*maen-aur-pir*) near Tenby has three, low and slab-shaped, with a cap-stone measuring about 15 feet 6 inches in length, by 8 feet 6 inches, and 1 foot 9 to 4 inches in thickness, which, before it slipped off its southern supporter, may have rested also on the adjacent rock. It was probably the monument of some one who had perished in the sea below.

In Malabar, two of these three-pillared cromlechs have been found; and though they are not immediately connected with our own, it is interesting to know that similar monuments are met with in very distant countries.

The size of the cover, or cap, stone, varies considerably, like its supporters. That of Lanyon measures 18 feet by 8 feet 4 inches; and the supporting stones are 5 feet high. That of Drewsteignton is 15 feet long, by 10 feet in breadth, its lower face being 6 feet 2 inches from the ground, and the weight has been estimated at about 16 tons 16 lbs.; the solid contents being 216 cubic feet. There is another cromlech near Lanyon village, which has fallen. (Fig. 5.) The cover stone is about 13 feet, by 10 feet; and of its three supporters the highest may have been about 6 feet.

2. The four-pillared cromlech stands on four upright slabs, like the Chiun, or Che-ûn, quoit, in Cornwall. (Fig. 6.) The Malfra quoit (fig. 7) and the smaller *dolmen* near Saumur, in France (fig. 8), seem also to have been originally four-sided cromlechs; and those described by Mr. Rhind, in Algeria, already mentioned in p. 12 (fig. 9), are of the same form. Eighty of these are in a space covering not more than ten or twelve acres; their four slabs form, as usual, a rectangular chamber; the size of the cap-stone varies from 7 feet by $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, to 9 feet by 7 feet; and others were found by Mr. Gregory, in the regency of

¹ V. Prehist. Ann. of Scotland, p. 66.

Tunis, near Thala. Of a similar kind appear to be most of the numerous cromlechs in India, mentioned in Mrs. Graham's *Journal of a Residence in India*, in Colonel Hamilton Smith's *Nat. Hist. Hum. Species*, p. 344, and in *Pr. Soc. Ant. Scotl.*, vol. i, Part I, pp. 92, 94; some of which are circular, and some have only three sides. Similar monuments are found in Circassia and Syria; and one is described by Dr. Beke, to the east of the Jordan, as "a perfect Kit's Coty House."

On Rhôssili down in South Wales, are two cromlechs, 310 feet apart, each standing at the end of a mass of ruins, which appears to have been once enclosed by a circular wall, now thrown down (fig. 10). They appear also to have had four supporters to the cover, or cap-stone, which, in the northern one, has slipped off, as at Zennor and Malfra, and the under side, when standing on the supporting slabs, was about 5 feet 1 inch, to 5 feet 5 inches from the ground, on which its lower end now rests. Around them is a circle of fern, probably indicating other remains below it. They are called "swine's houses," probably a corruption of "Sweyne's houses," and may have received that name from a battle said to have been fought on these hills with the Danes, in the 900; though not built by those passing plunderers, who, too, are said to have been defeated on that occasion, and to have lost their ships, burnt by the Britons. They are also too far from the coast (which is not within sight of them) to mark a spot inhabited by the Danes; or selected by them as a place of interment. They are also of much greater antiquity.

Some cromlechs stand on a platform, slightly raised above the adjacent ground; but I know of none that have been covered by a tumulus, or mound of earth, of which they formed the chamber. Such cromlechs, within a tumulus, are distinct from these, and I have classed them under the head of *subterranean chambers*.

3. Many-pillared cromlechs, with several supporters, either slabs or rectangular pillars, as at Trevethy (fig. 11)

¹ The Irish (like the Gaelic of Scotland and the Manx) is a different branch of the Celtic tongue from the Welsh; and in answer to those who pretend that the difference has grown up in later times, it is sufficient to say that it was as different in the time of St. Aidus, who lived in the early part of the 500, as it is now; and the same kind of distinguishing peculiarities have always been maintained from the earliest times.

and Zennor¹ (fig. 12) in Cornwall (at the latter of which the cap, or cover-stone, has slipped off the piers that once supported it), and Arthur's stone (fig. 13) in Gower, South Wales, near which are one large and several small earns on the same hill.

The Trevethy² cromlech is of unusual height, being about 16 feet from the ground to the highest point of the cap-stone, where it is pierced by a small round hole close to the upper corner. The cap-stone is 16 feet in length, by 10 feet, and the upright piers or slabs are six in number. At Zennor, the cap-stone has slipped off its supporters, and rests with one end on the ground. It measures 17 feet 6 inches, by 9 feet 4 inches, and is about 1 foot 2 inches in thickness, and like all those in Cornwall is of granite. It has seven upright piers; but Arthur's stone has nine; which, as usual, do not all touch the cover-stone, and this, instead of being comparatively thin, and resembling a slightly convex slab, is a massive block, 13 feet 3 inches long, by 7 feet, and 7 feet thick. It was once larger, about one-quarter having been broken off;³ and out of the nine short piers which stand beneath it, and form two chambers or compartments, four only touch or support it. Its site is slightly lower than the surrounding ground, and is much encumbered with fragments of stones, some of which have been brought there from the neighbouring earn, and did not form part of a mound, or tumulus, with which some have fancied it was once covered. It is called "*maen ketti*." Some have attributed it to a Christian saint; others relate how St. David split it in two, to show the pagans it was not a holy monument; and some, at the present day, have erroneously fancied the surface-water beneath it to be an ancient and holy spring; but neither is the name, *ketti*,⁴ derived from a saint, nor is the water a spring; and the water and the

¹ Borlase, in plate 21, p. 223, represents Zennor cromlech having its cap-stone in place. It has since partly slipped off its supporters, and rests with one end on the ground.

² *Trevethy*, or *Tre-beddau*, means "town of graves." If it signified "three graves," as some have supposed, it would have been *tre-bedd*. In both cases the name points to its sepulchral character.

³ Camden speaks of it as already broken in his time, to make millstones. It is quartz conglomerate of the old red sandstone.

⁴ May not *ketti* (properly *ceiti*) have the same origin as "Kits Coty house" in Kent? (*V. supra*, p. 45.)

stones have been more than once cleared out, and brought back again ; the first by natural drainage, and the latter by young people, who believe that by throwing stones beneath the cromlech, and placing a honey cake upon it, they will, while crawling round it on their knees at midnight, see, in a vision, the person they are destined to marry ; some, too, have been thrown in by idle boys.

4. *Chamber-cromlech.* Of this there is a remarkable example in the *great dolmen* near Saumur (fig. 14), near Poitiers, which is very similar to another in the Touraine, and to a fourth at Antequera, in Spain.

That near Saumur is 61 feet in length, by about $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet in breadth, with walls of four large slabs on each side, those on the left (as you enter) measuring respectively $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet, $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 12 feet, and 20 feet in length, 8 feet 8 inches high, and about 2 feet thick ; covered by a lintel and three roof stones, one of which is 24 feet 6 inches square, and from 2 to 3 feet in thickness. The walls are 8 feet 8 inches high, and the end slab is 23 feet 6 inches in length. It has a doorway 4 feet wide, between two large upright slabs, and an entrance passage extends before it to the distance of 19 feet 3 inches.

The *dolmen* near Essé, about two miles from Poitiers, called Roche des Fées, is built in like manner with walls of upright slabs, supporting a roof of large flat blocks ; and another of great size is near the village of St. Antoine du Rocher, about ten miles north-west of Tours. That of Antequera, in Spain, described by Don Raphael Mitjana, is very like the great Saumur *dolmen*, being covered with five roof stones, of 16 feet, $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet, $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet, 16 feet, and 23 feet in length, by from 18 feet to 27 feet in breadth, and having a similar short passage in front, of one stone in length. Its internal length is $86\frac{1}{2}$ Spanish feet, by 22 feet, and 10 feet $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches high ; surpassing in its dimensions that of Saumur ; but as it is covered by a mound of earth artificially heaped upon the roof, it should rather be classed under the head of *subterraneous chambers* than *chamber-cromlechs*.

5. The subterranean chamber, though not properly a cromlech, has received that name, as the Cromlech du Tus, in Guernsey ; which is a chamber lined with large upright slabs, covered by a roof of one stone, and having

a passage leading into it, formed in like manner of upright slabs covered by large lintels. Over it has been raised a tumulus of earth, which is surrounded by a circle 60 feet in diameter; and from the chamber, which is in the centre, a passage leads to the edge of the circle, where it is closed by a large stone (*v. vol. i. of this Journal*, p. 26).

Some cromlechs may be of late date, and erected in Roman times; for in the ground beneath one in Wiltshire Roman pottery has been discovered (*v. Arch. Cambrensis*, 3rd ser., No. xvii, p. 80). As they are not monuments of the Saxons, being found in Gaul, Savoy, Spain, Wales, and other countries where the Saxons were not established, it is evident that this one in Wiltshire was either of a Romano-British period, or was used for a Roman interment some time after its erection.

The name cromlech has been supposed to be derived from *crom* (Irish *cromb*), signifying "bowed," or "bending," and to be applied from the convex form of the capstone; though it has been objected that this name was unknown till after the end of the 1500; and it is certainly not in Davis's Dictionary of 1632. *Cromm*, however, a feminine form of the word *crom*, is there found for "curved," *eromen*, in Welsh, is a "dome" or "cupola," and *crommen* is applied to the hollow (tympanum) under the gable end of a house. *Llech* is an old word, used at least as early as 500 A.D., and probably long before that period. But their age is unimportant; they are Celtic words, and no one requires them to have been current in the time of the Druids. And as "cromlech" is a name used by the peasants, who do not borrow names from books or learned authorities, there is every probability of its being an old word.

VII. The *maen-hîr* (pl. *maenau-hirion*) or "longstone" (the *men-hîr* or *Peulvan*¹ of Brittany, and the French *pierre levée*) is common in Cornwall, on Dartmoor, in Wales, in Scotland, and in France.

From the word *hîr* has probably been derived the name *hoar* (stones)—applied with that most common habit of adopting a name of somewhat similar sound in lieu of an older one of a different meaning; in the same manner as

¹ *Van* or *vaen* is, by mutation, the same as *maen* (stone); *m*, as usual, being changed into *v* or *f*, and probably related to the Hebrew *aben* (stone), whence *bench*, "he built," the Arabic *bena*. *Pill* in Welsh is a "shaft" or stem."

John Dory and Jeandoré are substituted for il Janitore, and Jerusalem artichoke for gira'sole (sunflower). Thus again the "imp stone," on Tadley common in Berkshire, has originated in the three letters IMP of "imperator" remaining on a Roman milestone; and the catstone is that which marked the site of an ancient battle ("cad") of British times.

"Longstones" are acknowledged to be sepulchral monuments; the remains of human bodies have been found beneath them, and the custom of raising such monuments to the dead is of the oldest date, and by no means confined to any one country. They were erected on some occasions as memorials of remarkable events; and the pillar of Beth-el ("God's house," or rather here "God's abode") has often been cited in confirmation of this fact; though the stone which Jacob set up, and on the top of which he poured oil, after it had served him as a pillow (Gen. xxviii, 18), was small in comparison to these monuments; and as in early times in Greece a rude stone or pillar was both an idol and a monumental record, so in Hebrew the same word signifies a *cippus* and an image, as in Leviticus xxvi, 1, where we translate it a "standing image." The word *mutzebeh* (מצבה), however, implies anything "set up," and is derived from נצב, "erected" or "planted," like the Arabic *nuseb*, to "erect"; and a similar word was used in Phœnician for a *cippus* or monument. The *mutzebeh* was also set up by Jacob as a funereal cippus over the grave of Rachel (Gen. xxxv, 20).

The word *Βαυυλία*, so evidently related to Bethel, and derived from the Phœnician, was also applied to sacred stones. It was under the form of a conical stone that Venus or Astarte, was worshipped in Cyprus, and at Emesa (as represented on the coins); and the black stone of Mekkeh is a remnant of this early worship.

The upright stone was also a boundary mark (as in Gen. xxxi, 51, 52), for which purpose many in our own island have been used; and the Greek name, *κίωον*

¹ The Latin *bascauda* is the Welsh *basged*, a "basket," from *basg*, "plaiting." It was an old British name, as Martial tells us (xiv, 99),

"Barbara de pietis veni *bascauda* Britannis,
Sed me jam mavult dicere Roma suam."

Juvenal (xii, 46) mentions "*bascaudas* et mille escaria."

("column") was applied to a sacred monument, and even in early times to an idol, as well as to a $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta$ or funereal *cippus*, and to any column.

I do not, however, suppose that the "long stones" of Britain were ever treated as idols. They were, probably, always sepulchral; and were also adopted for this purpose in our island in Christian times, many bearing Latin inscriptions recording the names of persons buried beneath them. They are then frequently surmounted by a cross, and ornamented with the interlaced work so common in Ireland, which has rather hastily been denominated the Runic knot,¹ and which has been supposed by some to have been copied from the basket work for which the ancient Britons were so noted. One of them, with this interlaced ornament, near Liskeard, bears an inscription purporting that it was of Dongerth, king of Cornwall, who was drowned in 872 A.D.; another of Carausius, the son of Canimorus, a Romanised Briton, is near Lostwithiel; another a quarter of a mile from the noted stone near Lanyon, called *men scryffa* "the inscribed stone," bears the name of Riolobran, son of Cunoval; and others are found in various places. Ogham inscriptions also occur on many longstones in Ireland, and on some few in Scotland and Wales, which have been attributed to Christian time.²

Longstones are often from 8 to 12 and 15 feet in height; and that of Plounéour in Brittany, measures 32 feet 6 inches. They are numerous in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, and other countries; but should not be confounded with those placed at intervals "with a wall of dry masonry, or earth, between them;" nor with those built into the walls of circular pounds, or enclosures, composed of large stones; nor with the occasional one in a sacred circle which outtops its smaller neighbours. They always stand alone, independent of any others; and if two or more are sometimes found within half a mile of each other, they do not form part of a circular, or any other, arrangement. And when, as at Castor, a long-stone occurs in an avenue, it is the simple monolithic monument to which

¹ It was common in Roman times, and has even been found in the Somaui country, south of Abyssinia. *V. Proc. S. Ant. Scotl.*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 91.

² See Mr. Pettigrew's paper, "On Ogham Inscriptions," in *Journal*, xvii, 293-310.





the avenue of small stones leads, and is in the same relation to them, as a earn, or a circle, in a similar position. Occasionally a long-stone may be the remnant of an avenue which consisted of many of these gigantic ortholiths, but it does not then come under the denomination of *maen-hir*, or "long-stone," as a Greek column once forming part of a peristyle does not bear any relationship to one erected as a monument. An avenue is also terminated by a stone loftier than the rest, but this is not a "*maen-hir*"; nor is the "long-stone merely the single remaining supporter of a fallen cromlech, as some have supposed. Nine or ten are still standing in Gower, and many in other parts of Wales; and about Boscowen, in Cornwall, are several, though so many have been destroyed there, as in other parts of the country.¹

(To be continued.)

ON THE HILL FORTRESSES, TUMULI, AND SOME OTHER ANTIQUITIES OF EASTERN DEVON.

BY PETER ORLANDO HUTCHINSON, ESQ.

IN giving some account of the antiquities of eastern Devon, my paper must necessarily be discursive; and as I am limited for time, I shall condense as much as possible. I dwell mostly on the pre-Norman period, though I may now and then descend cursorily to later times.

To begin with the hill fortresses. For the sake of clearness, I will attack the eastern side of the county first, and then proceed westwards. (See Map on plate 3.) During the earliest times of which we have any historical knowledge, it is supposed that the river Axe was the dividing line between the Danmonii of Devon, and the Morini, a tribe of Gaul that had established themselves in Dorsetshire.

Several camps in this part of the county I omit noticing,

¹ *Errata*.—P. 23, line 19, after "*Dwfn*" read "*or Duvn*"; p. 27, line 2, after "see below" read "p. 44"; p. 28, line 14 from bottom of page, for "when their religion and customs become known to us from the monuments," read "when those monuments were erected which make known to us their religion and customs."

elephant and castle distinguishes the supply from the African Company: the former two are on the reverse between the arms of the cross, the latter under the bust.

From 1697 to the present time I have found no record of any coinage having taken place in Exeter, or indeed in any town out of London, except some silver and copper tradesmen's tokens, differing in size and value.

Having brought the few remarks I was desirous of offering on the subject of the Exeter coinage to a close, I will only further remark, that the number of Greek and Egyptian coins that have been discovered in the city are supposed to have been brought here by Mediterranean merchants or Roman auxiliary troops, and probably by each of them.

BRITISH REMAINS ON DARTMOOR.

BY SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.

(Continued from p. 53.)

VIII. The "holed stone," *Tolmen*, or *men-an-tol* of Cornwall, is of very uncertain use. A good specimen of it still remains near Lanyon in Cornwall (Plate 2, fig. 15). The stone is 4 feet 2 inches broad; with a circular hole 1 foot 6½ inches in diameter; and its original height above ground was probably the same as its breadth. One upright stone stands before and another behind it, distant each 4 feet; and 9 feet from the foremost of these is another upright stone in a slightly different direction from the axis of the holed stone, and its two companions. A fragment also lies near this outer stone, and another near the foremost one.

The word *tol* or *dol* in Welsh signifies a "ring," "loop," or "bow;" and differs from the *dol* of the French *dolmen* translated "stone table." Another Celtic word, *dól*, signifies "lamentation" (*dolor*).

It has been thought that some ceremony was performed by joining hands through the aperture; and Wilson¹ states that at the marriage ceremony in Orkney the "contracting parties join hands through the perforation, or more properly

¹ Prehist. Ann. of Scotl., p. 302.

speaking the ring, of a stone pillar ;” and a similar custom was prevalent in Iceland of holding “a less bulky ring, when parties entered into mutual compacts.” In Cornwall they think that certain complaints of children are cured by passing them through this hole ; and the same superstition seems to be retained in other places, where they pass children through a hole in a tree, as a cure for rickets.¹

At the *Torre dei Giganti*, a large ortholithie building in Gozo, very similar to that near Crendi in Malta,² is an upright stone perforated with a hole of diamond shape (fig. 16), and a short distance before it is a small pillar terminating in a tapering point. In the same ruins are scroll ornaments of peculiar shape (fig. 18), and that emblematic device found also in the ruins of Crendi, which resembles one commonly placed at the feet of the goddess Astarte (fig. 17).

The holed stone above the bed of the Teign, near the sacred circle of Gidleigh Common, or of Scorhill, has been formed by the action of water, and not by human agency ; and those so common on Dartmoor, in which the hole is a mere socket, not passing through them, are of late date, and made for imposts to gates, which turned in the socket in lieu of a hinge. One of these is figured by Borlase (Plate xiv, fig. 3, p. 179). The hole is about 5 inches in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep.³

IX. The *Logan*, or rocking stone, has been supposed by many to be solely attributable to human agency ; but, as in the case of the rock-basins, it is probable that it was *originally* a natural formation, converted by artificial means into a miraculous object ; human hands aiding to complete what the disintegration of the lower part of a large mass of overhanging rock rendered it easy to convert into a rocking stone. If nature had worn away the underpart of all these blocks sufficiently to make them rock, it is not very probable that she would have stopped in her work, or that the stone would have ceased to decay as soon as it reached that desirable state ; and it is more reasonable to conclude that a crafty priesthood, having found some one or more stones so poised as to move on being pushed, completed the incipient disin-

¹ See Pettigrew's *Medical Superstitions*, p. 74.

² There are other similar remains in these islands, and one is at the head of the great harbour. It seems from their position that they were made by a people coming from Africa, where ortholithie remains are found.

³ V. *infra*, p. 32.

tegration of others for their own purposes. Pliny mentions a rough crag at Harpasa in Asia, resembling these logans, which he says could be moved by one finger ("Cautes stet horrenda uno digito mobilis." *Nat. Hist.*, ii, 96); and Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.*, i, 1021) speaks of stones placed on the summit of tumuli, which moved with the wind. Borlase (p. 180) after saying that Ptolemy Hephæstion mentions the Gygonian stone, which could be moved by the stalk of an asphodel, observes that the word Gygonius is purely Celtic, "*gwingog*" signifying "*motitans*, the rocking stone;" and this word in Welsh means "wriggling," or "struggling."

Many are met with in various parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, France, Spain, and elsewhere; and as they are not in the same formations, the argument in favour of similarity of natural origin cannot be maintained. The word *logan* is analogous to the Welsh *Llogi*, "to shake;" but the rocking stone is called in that language *maen sigl* or "shaking stone," and *siglo* means to "shake" or "rock."¹

x. The large masses of natural rock, which have been called "*rock idols*," and "*Druid altars*," are numerous on Dartmoor and elsewhere, especially in granite and gritstone districts. It has been the opinion of some that they were selected as types, or representations, of the gods;² but though it is probable that a superstitious people might attach some idea of sanctity to objects of so peculiar a character, there is no evidence to substantiate this conjecture. One of the most remarkable is that of Constantine in Cornwall, called the *maen* ("stone") rock, and the Cornish pebble. It is 30 feet long (or 37 feet 4 inches to the extreme point), by 18 feet 3 inches, and 13 feet 6 inches high, and beneath the north end is an open passage from one side to the other. On the summit, and on the rocks immediately below it, are numerous rock basins; which, though they have now the appearance of being altogether naturally formed, may have been partly artificial, and afterwards corroded by the action of the atmosphere, and made into their present irregular shapes.

This, and the large masses of rock below Carn Brea, the Cheesewring, and others similarly isolated, have been con-

¹ *Log* and *rock* are very similar, *r* taking the place of *l*; and in Arabic we have also *rook* to "shake" or "rock."

² Borlase, p. 171, 172.

sidered objects of worship ; and some have been called *Gorseddau*,¹ “places of assembly,” or as Borlase terms them, places of elevation (p. 117) whence the Druids pronounced their decrees ; but their purpose is doubtful ; and though some superstitious reverence may have been felt for such remarkable works of nature, there seems to be no authority for giving them the actual rank of Druidical idols.

It must, however, be observed that M. Fouquet describes some natural rocks in France, the surface of which has at a remote period been drilled with holes ; and others having a narrow passage extending round their base, the upper part of which has been broken into small fragments ; and both these he conjectures to have served as altars.

XI. The *Rock-basin* I have already noticed ;² but while I pointed out the fact of certain large basins of particular form being probably artificial, I have shown that by far the greater part are of natural formation, both in the granite and gritstone formations. The few which are entirely, or partly, artificial are the exception. I apply the same remark to them as to the rocking-stones, that the priesthood took advantage of what was already formed by nature,³ and converted certain hollows into basins of a more perfect character, by which they sought to impose on a credulous people ; and the fact of our finding some in rocks not acted upon in the same manner by natural causes suffices to prove that they were in those instances entirely due to human agency. On the capstones of the large cromlechs in Northern Africa similar basins, but rectangular in shape, the largest 3 feet square and evidently cut by man, have been found, with shallow troughs leading from one basin to another “not so deep as the basins, and four inches broad”;⁴ and Mr. Rhind also found on the summit of one of the long upright blocks, in the ortholithic ruins at Malta, which is 20 feet high, a “flat bottomed basin, 3 feet 8 inches long by 1 foot broad, and 10 inches deep,” hollowed out by the hand of man. And though M. Fouquet has never seen any on cromlechs⁵ (or dolmens), we find from the very unquestionable authority

¹ Gorsedd, “a supreme seat”; gorseddu, “to preside”; singularly like the Arabic *korsi*, a chair or throne.

² Journal, vol. xvi, pp. 101-108.

³ On similar deceptions, see Colonel Hamilton Smith's *Nat. Hist. of the Human Species*, p. 35, note.

⁴ Suprà, p. 33.

⁵ Fenton (Hist. Pembrokeshire, p. 24) mentions a basin cut on the top of a cromlech at Trefculhweh near Fishguard.



Fig. 1.



Beehive Hut, Brown Willy, Cornwall.

Fig. 2.



Hut circle, near Castor, Dartmoor.

of Mr. Rhind that they do occur there, as well as on rocks, and that they are attributable to human agency.

XII. The *concentric rings* and markings on stones have also been mentioned by me,¹ and I therefore think it unnecessary to add more on this subject. But it is satisfactory to know that others have since been found in Northumberland, and that a description of them, as well as of those above alluded to, will shortly be given by Mr. Tate, of Alnwick; whose son has lately discovered a singular emblem carved on one of the fallen "trilithons" at Stonehenge. Convoluted ornaments are common on many megalithic monuments, as at New Grange, in Ireland; at Gavr Innis, in the Morhiban; and even at the Torre dei Giganti, in Gozo,² where they resemble rude Greek scrolls (see plate 2, fig. 18).

XIII. The *hut-circle*, *domed* and *bee-hive* huts (see plate 7, figs. 1 and 2), I have described in a paper on Carn Brea, published in the Annual Reports of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 1860, and I have offered some remarks on their construction in vol. xvii of this *Journal*. Hut-circles abound on Dartmoor.³ They are invariably circular. The rectangular one among those above Merivale Bridge is evidently of much later date, having been built over the wall of an older enclosure; and the same remark applies to the few met with in other places. They are generally about 23 feet in diameter (internally). The stones forming their walls, which are often from 4 feet to 8 feet in length, are placed upright, or on their ends, or on their edges, close together, sometimes in one, sometimes in two rows; with a doorway consisting of two upright stones covered by a lintel. Some few have a triple row of stones in their walls, and the upper blocks either lie across them, or follow the circular direction of the walls, the conical roof having been made of rafters covered with bushes, straw, or other perishable materials.

I shall presently have occasion to show⁴ that the hut-circles of Northumberland were very similar, in their form,

¹ *Journal*, vol. xvi, pp. 118-121.

² Gozo di Malta, already mentioned in p. 23, 112. If I have occasionally introduced what I have said before in this, or other papers, I hope that allusions to the same subject will excuse the repetition.

³ It is remarkable that the Celtic name for "hut," *cwt*, or *cwt* (pl. *cyttiau*) signifies also "roundness."

⁴ *V. infra*, p. 120.

dimensions, and general character, to those of Southern Britain; and this fact is the more important since some have imagined the latter to be of very late date, and the mere rude huts of English miners. It is true they *may* have been inhabited to a late time, but neither this nor modern occupancy would alter their original date; and though they may have continued to be inhabited, and some to be built on the same model, in those secluded districts, during Saxon and even later times, they have not less claim to be of the family, and to illustrate the character, of older British habitations. Walls of such ponderous blocks are not such as miners would stop to construct, however gladly they might avail themselves of them if already built; many are in places where no mines ever existed, and the same type of hut-circle is found from the north to the south of our island. In some other parts of Britain the roof was domed, and formed of small stones; but such huts are readily distinguished by the mound in their centre, formed by the materials of the fallen dome.

The bee-hive huts are built of large stones, varying in size according to the nature of the rocks that supplied them, and the roof consists of slabs overlapping each other till they reach the centre, which is capped by a single block. An instance may be seen in vol. xvii of this *Journal*, plate 1, and a full account is given of some in Ireland in vol. xv of the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, as well as in Mr. Petrie's admirable work on the "Round Towers of Ireland." See also my paper in *Report, R. Inst. Cornwall*, 1860.

There is another kind of house roofed like the bee-hive hut with overlapping stones, but constructed in the thickness of a massive wall, a good instance of which may be seen at Chysoster, near Penzance, and which has been well described in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* (vol. xviii, pp. 39-46) by Mr. Blight.

Hut-circles are often scattered over a large space, as in the neighbourhood of Prince Town, on Dartmoor; on the way to Hayter Tor, and near the tramway to King Tor, in the same neighbourhood; on the north of Hessary Tor; about Throwlsworthy; about Castor; on the hill opposite, and due north of, the rocking-stone of Rippon Tor; and in various parts of Dartmoor. Those above Merivale

bridge¹ are very interesting and very accessible, being close to the high road from Prince Town; and their position and the extent of ground they cover may be seen from my plan in plate 8; which is a continuation of that I previously gave in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, plate 7, to illustrate the question of the form and direction of avenues or *parallelolithons*. Among them will be seen the rectangular house already alluded to, which I have shown in my above-mentioned paper on Carn Brea to be of later date than the hut-circles; and in the same locality are some low oblong mounds, the date and object of which are uncertain, though I believe them to be of very late time (see the plan).

In one or two instances a *cist-vaen* has been found within a hut-circle: one below Hound Tor, another among the many huts between Prince Town and Leedon Tor, and another below Rippon Tor; though this last appears rather to come under the denomination of circle-carn. It is however very possible that an individual may have been buried in his own house, which at his death became his tomb.

In some parts of Britain the huts were doubtless of reeds and stakes, as described by Diodorus, and many had mere wattled walls; and this seems to be confirmed by the Celtic word *adail*, "building," signifying really "wattling."

XIV. The *walled village*, and *pound*. The former, on Dartmoor, consists of a mere wall of circumvallation, built of large stones placed upright on their ends, or on their edges, or sometimes flat on the ground as in horizontal work; and the upper blocks are placed, as in large hut-circles, either across the thickness of the wall or in the line of its direction. In many walls a principle of construction has been adopted, which I have also observed in those of the Cyclopean building called the Torre dei Giganti, "Giant's tower" in Gozo (already mentioned).² This consisted in fixing tall upright blocks here and there upright in the ground, with a row of large stones on their edges in the space between them, the upright blocks serving as binders, and preventing the intermediate ones from sliding sideways out of their places.³

Of these walled villages the most remarkable is Grims-

¹ The spot obtained the name of "the plague market" during the plague at Tavistock, from the market held there at that time.

² Pp. 112, 115.

³ Vol. xvii of this *Journal*, pl. 3.

pound, below Hamilton Down.¹ It has a diameter of 502 feet by 447 feet, including the walls; and twenty-five hut-circles still remain within its area. The walls are from 9 feet, or 9 feet 4 inches, to 10 feet 10 inches in thickness, composed of large granite blocks, one of which measures 7 feet in length by 4 feet in breadth; another 8 feet 10 inches by 2 feet 3 inches; and a third 9 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. A stream of water runs through one end of its area; and its position is well chosen to command the passage over the hills, and to intercept the communications through this part of the country. Here no doubt the old road passed from the east side of Dartmoor, traversing this difficult hilly country towards the west; and the position of the old bridge (at what is now called Post bridge) shows that it ran in former times directly in the line of Grimspound and of the valley in which it stands, between the heights of Hamilton and Hooknor Tor. The stones of the walls are far from being "thrown loosely together," as has been stated; and its site has not been chosen without due consideration of its merits in a military point of view. For though we should now consider it to be commanded by the hills on either side, the summit of one of which (Hooknor Tor) is distant only 1330 feet, this was no objection in olden times for the position of a fortified town; and the strong city of Mycenæ, in Greece, is more immediately under a lofty hill, from which every movement of the garrison could be descried; and the same may be said of Greaves-ash in Northumberland, and other places. And as the object at Grimspound² was to stop the enemy at this pass, it would be a matter of very little importance whether one or two agile spies ascended the hills to watch the operations of the garrison. Its hut-circles are of the usual size and construction; some being 16 feet 8 inches, others 15 feet 10 inches, 13 feet 10 inches, 12 feet 3 inches, or 10 feet 7 inches in diameter, and the doorways are generally turned towards the south.

On its eastern side was the entrance to the place, about 15 feet to the south of the present passage, which has been

¹ This name is common in various parts of England, from Northumberland to Devonshire and Surrey; and is often more properly written Hamble-dun, or Hamil-dun. "Down" is merely a repetition of the last part of the name, "dun," hill.

² Some derive this name from the Celtic *grym* "strength," rather than from the Saxon *grima*.



HUT CIRCLES ABOVE MERIVALE BRIDGE.



forced through the wall, and by which the modern road leads towards Manaton ; and in that part some fallen long-stones, now nearly buried in the ruined wall, mark the site of the gateway, of which they formed the pillars. The present entrance, on the west side, is also forced through the wall. Various blocks of stone lie in the extensive area of the place, and close to the walls are heaps of smaller fragments used at a later time by shepherds as a temporary shelter. Grimspound is an irregular circle, and the ground has a gradual slope from south to north. (See my plan in plate 2, fig. 19). It is said to stand about 1740 feet above the sea.

Other "pounds" or circular enclosures of smaller dimensions are met with in various parts of Dartmoor ; but none of the same importance as Grimspound, and few contain more than one or two hut-circles. That near Castor, called Roundy-pound, is strongly built, the walls being 6 feet 2 inches thick, and composed of large blocks, some 7 feet 3 inches, others 7 feet 1 inch long by 3 feet 1 inch broad ; and the diameter of its outer enclosure is 106 feet. It consists of an outer and inner circle. The latter is 47 feet in diameter ; and some of the stones of its massive walls measure 6 feet 7 inches, or 6 feet, in length, by 3 feet 1 inch in breadth (plate 2, fig. 20). The space between the outer and inner circles has been divided into several spaces by walls radiating towards the centre, similar to those at Greavesash in Northumberland, at Chûn Castle, and other places, probably intended for securing and penning sheep. The door of the outer circle opens towards the north-west, that of the inner one to the south, the former being 4 feet 8 inches, the latter less than 3 feet in width.

The "pounds" in the old village above Merivale bridge are less regular, but contain one or more hut-circles (as may be seen from the plan, plate 8). At Throwlsworthy warren is a large "pound" about 90 feet by 70 feet in diameter, and another on the hill opposite Rippon Tor ; and besides the Donnebridge and Erme pounds, there are many others in various parts of Dartmoor. Nor are they peculiar to the south of our island ; and the same kind of walled town¹ is found in Northumberland, at Chesters, Greaves-

¹ The custom of living in towns is implied by the expression still common in Welsh, "*myned a dre*," to go home, being literally "to go to the town" (*tre*).

ash, and other places, having also within its area a number of hut-circles similar in size and construction to those on Dartmoor.

At Greaves-ash, on the Linhope,¹ a tributary of the Breamish, is a fortified position, which consists of three distinct parts: the upper town or citadel; a smaller central fort, probably the abode of the chief; and the main town; in all of which are hut-circles, built of stones placed, some upright, some on their edges, and some horizontally. They are mostly from about 16 to 22 feet in diameter, internally. Similar in general aspect, these hut-circles differ in certain details from those of the south, having the interior paved with rude flat porphyry stones (from the hill on which they stand), and a low bench of similar flat stones extending round the inside of the hut along the wall, about two to four inches above the level of the floor, and measuring about 5 feet in breadth, gradually decreasing to about 1 foot as it approaches the doorway. On this low bench the inmates probably slept, the fire being lighted in the centre of the hut. The doorway itself has a threshold about 3 inches high, forming a ledge against which the door shut from the inside. It is about 6 feet in breadth; and the imposts are built of stones (like the walls), instead of being single upright pillars as in the Dartmoor hut-circles. In other respects the houses are similar to those of the south, the walls low, and probably once covered by a thatched, or other perishable, roof.² The main town (which stands a little lower down the hill than the citadel and central fort) has a double wall of circuit, enclosing an inner and outer area, the former about 213 feet, the latter about 309 feet in diameter. The outer wall is 10 to 12 feet, the inner 5 to 7 feet in thickness; and the citadel, which consists of several compartments, is about 220 feet by 200 feet in diameter: but as the interesting remains of Greaves-ash (which have been excavated through the liberality of the Duke of Northumberland) will soon be described in full by Mr. Tate in the *Journal* of the Berwickshire Naturalists Club, I content myself with these few remarks, sufficing to show that the towns

¹ Its name is derived from its waterfall (*lin* or *lyn*), now called "Linhope spout." *Llyn*, in Welsh, is applied to a lake, or deep pool, even when not under a fall.

² The roofs could not have been "of stone," as there is no heap of fallen materials in the centre.

of our British ancestors were similar in their general character both in the northern and southern parts of the island. Some of the hill towns in Northumberland were inhabited till about 627 A.D., when, as Bede informs us (*Ecc. Hist.*, c. 14), one of them, the royal country-seat of King Edwin, then called *Adgefrin*¹ (now Yevering, where the walls and huts are still visible), was abandoned on the king and the people becoming Christians, and another town was built below instead of it at a place called *Melmin*² (now Milfield).

"Pounds" are also found in Wales; and one on Rhôssili Down measures 60 feet in diameter, with a wall 6 feet 9 inches in thickness, composed of large stones placed on their sides or their edges, and forming its outer and inner face. The "Roundago" of Kerris, in Cornwall, is a similar enclosure, about 120 feet in its smallest diameter but irregularly elliptical, built of large granite blocks,³ two of which, placed as upright pillars, seem to mark the entrance on the south side, though unusually distant from each other. Its south side is partly based on the rock, which there forms a platform; and it now encloses a field within its area. About 280 yards to the northward is a "longstone," 9 to 10 feet broad and 7 feet high (near which, in an adjoining field, is a smaller fallen one with a square trough cut in it, of late time); and in the same direction, and about 280 yards from the first, is another "longstone" at Tresvenneck farm. Similar "longstones" are numerous in this part of the country.

xv. *The boundary lines*, which, like some of the enclosure walls, consist of large upright blocks, often extend for miles over hills and valleys. They abound on Dartmoor, and are found, similarly constructed, in Cornwall, in Wales, and in other parts of the country. They have sometimes been called "trackways"; but as they are evidently single walls, and could not have been used for roads, that appellation does not properly belong to them. Some of the hills over which they stretch bear the traces of early cultivation, especially in Wales; and it has been conjectured that the hill-tops were often cleared and tilled by the ancient Britons, while the lower lands were covered with dense woods.

¹ In Celtic *cyfrin* signifies "secret," and the name Yevering appears to have been substituted from its resemblance to the old word.

² *Melin* is the Celtic word for a "mill."

³ This "Roundago" has been much ruined and altered; many of the stones having been carried away, like others in Cornwall and Devonshire, to serve for other purposes.

XVI. *Roads* of British time are not always easily identified, as many were afterwards used and altered in Roman and later times ; and few perhaps retain their original character. Some however may still be traced ; and there is little doubt that many modern roads pass over the sites of those of our early ancestors ; for all the large towns, as the Caerwents (Venta Belgarum, Icenorum, and Silurum), Caerwysg¹ (Exeter), and many more of pre-Roman time (having British names translated or corrupted by the Romans), had regular communications with others in their vicinity ; and roads extended throughout the whole length and breadth of the land. They were required for trading and other purposes ; the products of the mines were conveyed to the coast opposite to Gaul, and to other places : and the very fact of the Britons having chariots implies roads on which they ran. Cæsar, too, only discovered the ford of the Thames from the road that happened to lead that way, when he advanced by it to attack Cassivelaunus. It is evident also that the positions of several British fortified places (*oppida*) were selected because they commanded the high roads through the country ; and that the roads were often purposely carried in certain directions in order to force an enemy to pass beneath those strongholds on his way to a ford over a river, or to some place of importance which it was thought necessary to protect, by those outworks, from his attack. Such was the camp on St. George's hill, near Weybridge (miscalled "Cæsar's Camp"), which commanded the road from the south towards the ford of the Thames (at Cowey² Stakes), and which was evidently formed there in consequence of Julius Cæsar having previously marched unopposed to the river when he crossed to attack Cassivelaunus (*Bell. Gall.*, v. 18). And this, with other reasons, leads me to conclude that most of the strong British camps that remain were constructed during the period between the invasion of Cæsar and the conquest of Britain by Claudius.

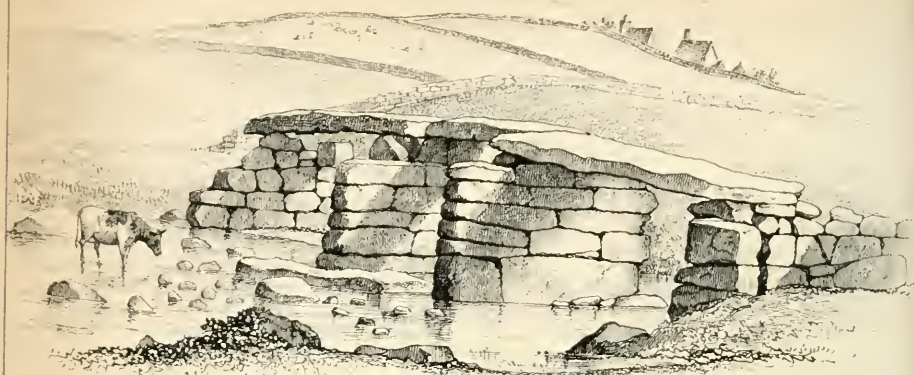
In some hilly districts the old British roads present a less altered appearance than those in places more frequented in later days. One leading from Teigncombe towards the hut-circles about Castor is thought to be British, altered

¹ These names shew that the Romans found towns (not mere camps) already existing, and latinized the old British *gwent* or *went*, and the still older *uisg*.

² Perhaps derived from *ca* or *cau*, "shutting," and *wy*, "water."

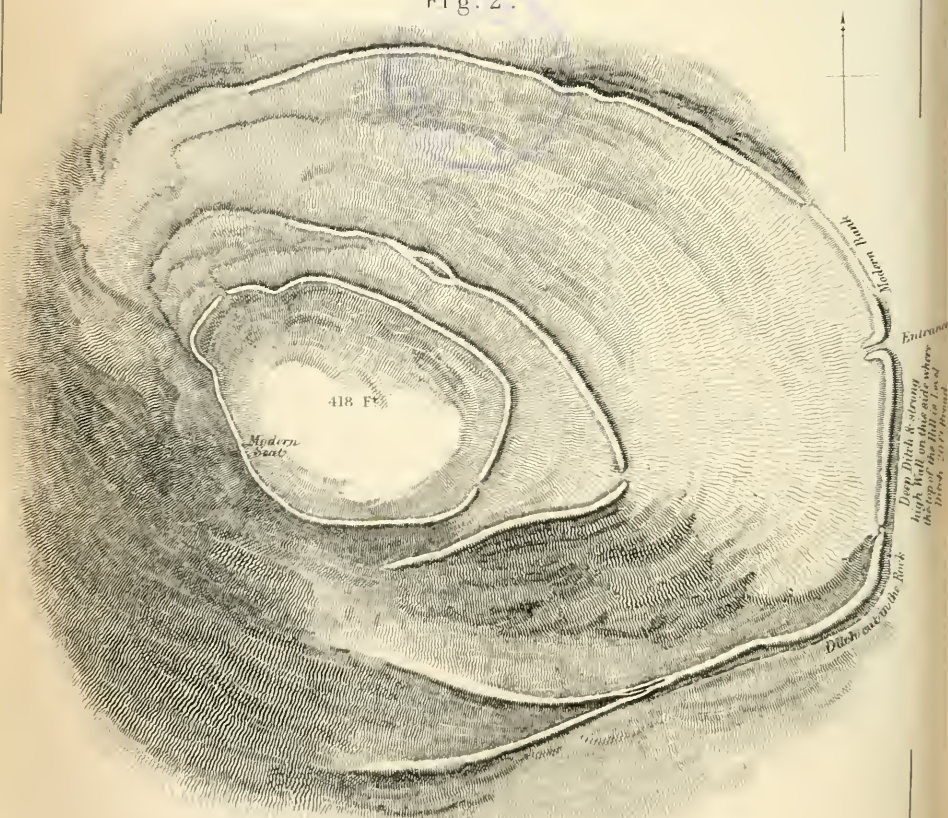


Fig. 1.



Old Post Bridge, Dartmoor.

Fig. 2.



Prestonbury Castle, a British Camp, Dartmoor.

Scale.
0 100 200 300 400 500 FEET

here and there by more recent paving; at all events its general character is similar to that of the old British road, tortuous in parts, and paved (at least after the Roman conquest) with large flags wherever the rock was not present to form a level surface.

Those debouching on ancient camps are evidently of British origin, but they are rarely paved; and paving was probably learnt from the Romans, a fact in some degree confirmed by paved roads having the name "street" (*stratum*) still applied to them. They are for the most part sunken ways, and are furnished with a bank, from about three to four feet high (or with a stone wall on either side), like those on the Rhôssili downs in South Wales, and in various parts of the country, as about the fortified towns at Greaves-ash, and other places in Northumberland.

In mentioning the use of chariots I may observe that the number of Celtic names they bore in Latin is remarkable. The Belgic four-wheeled petorritum is from *pedwar*, "four," and *rhôd*, "wheel"; the Gaulish and British essedum is from *sedd*, a "seat"; the covinus or scythed car is from *cywain*, "to convey"; carrus is from *car*, a "frame" or "drag"; and the Gaulish light rheda is from *rhedeg*, "to run," or from *rhêd*, "a run" (*cf.* currus). The trimarca¹ (*tre-march*, "three horses"), mentioned by Pausanias (x, 19, 9), in the Gallic army signified a horseman attended by two slaves, also mounted men; which accounts for the name.

XVII. *Bridges* of large flat slabs, resting on one or more piers, of which some remarkable instances occur on Dartmoor, have been attributed to the Britons. It is difficult to determine their date. One near Post bridge is a good type of these structures (plate 9, fig. 1). It has three openings, formed by two piers consisting of six tiers of stones in horizontal courses, which presenting a rounded point to the stream, with a similar point at the lower side in order to enable the water to flow past without any eddy or back-water, are constructed on an excellent principle. On these two piers are placed large slabs of stone. The first, measuring 15 ft. by 6 ft. 10 in., occupies the whole breadth of the bridge; the central opening is covered by two slabs, side

¹ The reading *trimaricia* appears to be erroneous; and his saying "the Gallic word for a horse is *marka*," requires it to be *тримарка*. One reading gives *тримаркиа*; and this has been supposed to be compounded of *tri-march-gwys*, the last being a termination signifying "people," as in Lloegwys, etc.

by side,—one 12 ft. 3 long by 4 ft. 3; and the other 3 ft. 11 in breadth (which has fallen into the stream below); and the third is covered by a slab 15 ft. 3 long by 6 ft. It crosses the East Dart; and about five miles farther, on the same road, just before reaching Prince Town, is a smaller bridge over the Blackabrook, of two openings, each covered by a single block resting on a pier between the two banks. There are other larger bridges in this part of Devonshire, some of which have four and five openings; and single slabs laid from bank to bank frequently span smaller streams, like the bridge over the Wallabrook, near the circle on Gidleigh Common; and four hundred and fifty feet beyond this, another over the North Teign, which consists of two long blocks of granite side by side; and here the bank has been carefully supported by masonry. Though these slabs are not the original bridges, they are probably similar to them in the simplicity of their construction; and the many later bridges of the same kind in Devonshire and Cornwall are doubtless copies of the rude types of earlier days.

XVIII. *Camp, caer, dinas, din, and castell.* The four last are Celtic words. *Caer* signifies a camp (like the Latin *castrum*), supposed to be derived from *cae*, “enclosure,” and is applied to any fortified place, and hence to a walled town, as Caerleon, Caerwent, and others. *Dinas* is a “city” or a “fortress,” perhaps originally on a hill; *din* is also a hill fort; and *castell*, a later word, is a “castle.” In parts of Pembrokeshire, as in Ireland, the camp is called *rath*.

Camps are not numerous on Dartmoor; but those of Wooston, Cranbrook, and Prestonbury, are worthy of notice. They are about three miles from Moreton-Hampstead. The title of “castle” is attached to all their names, as is frequently the case with old camps in England and Wales.¹ Wooston Castle lies on the slope of a hill; and a knoll in the lower part of it, immediately above the river Teign, is occupied by the keep, or body of the camp. At the upper part is an outer agger and ditch; to which succeeds a second line of defence with a winding ditch, forming a covertway partly lined with masonry, through which the garrison might make a sortie against an enemy, or retire before him, and reenter the works. It forms, with the other two camps, a combined

¹ In one called Nottle Tor Camp, in Gower, are remains of cockleshells, calling to mind the *kjökken-moddings* of Denmark, on a small scale. (*V. Arch. Cambr.*, Jan. 1862, p. 55.)

system of defence for this locality; and from its upper out-works they are both visible. Cranbrook is on the same side of the river, but not so immediately above its banks. It is on higher ground than the other two; distant from Wooston a mile and two thirds, and from Prestonbury three-quarters of a mile, and in a very commanding position. Its shortest diameter is about 500 ft., its longest about 700 feet from the centre of each agger, which is 21 ft. thick, with a ditch of 12 ft. and an outer agger of 7 ft., and a second ditch of 21 ft.; but these have nearly disappeared on one side, having probably been levelled and removed at a later time. It has two entrances, unusual in British camps of this size, with a projection or tower within the gateway on each side; but it possesses no very peculiar features, and is like many others which occupy the summit of a hill. The beginning of the name Cranbrook may originally have been *earn*, which is applied to any place having stone ruins; the walls being, as usual, built of rough stones.

Prestonbury Castle is a more extensive work. It is said to be "commanded" by Cranbrook Castle; but this term could not be applied to it as a British camp. It is on the opposite side of the river. It consists of an inner area, the keep, which measures 418 ft. by 410 in diameter, and includes rather more than the very point of the hill within its single *vallum*. (See plan in plate 9, fig. 2.) To this succeeds a second line of defence, consisting of a single *vallum*, which envelopes it only on the east, north, and part of the south sides; and the rest, being sufficiently defended by the steepness of the ground, was probably only secured by palisades. From its entrance to that of the inner *vallum* is a distance of 267 feet, and in other parts the two *valla* approach each other to within 50 feet. Beyond the second is a third or outer line of circumvallation, enclosing an area of much greater extent, its entrance being 450 feet from that of the last *vallum*. And here the arrangement I have so often noticed is distinctly carried out, whereby the three successive entrances are placed *en echelon*, or obliquely to each other, in order to prevent each inner one being raked when the enemy had forced the outer gate. These exterior areas, surrounding the keep or main camp, were intended not only to give additional strength to the place, but to hold the cattle, which were driven into them on the approach of



danger, and as I have elsewhere observed, confirm the statements of Cæsar respecting the quantity of cattle and sheep found in British camps when captured by the Romans. The outer ditch of Prestonbury is of great depth, 20 feet broad, and cut through the solid rock, in that part where the level ground required stronger artificial defences; the agger is of great strength, and within its gateway is a reentering mound, or flank wall, on each side of the entrance passage, from which the besieged could throw missiles on the serried mass of the besiegers as they approached the recessed gate:—an arrangement often adopted in British camps. The outer *vallum*¹ extended rather more than half round the inner portion of the camp; but on the S.W. and W. it was discontinued owing to the steepness of the hill, and on the S.S.E. it was divided into two lines of circuit in order to prevent the enemy from availing himself of accessible ground in that direction. Beyond this the palisades alone were continued, being thought sufficient without any agger or ditch to secure that precipitous face of the works, which overlooked the rapid descent to the river.

There is also a camp to the W.S.W. of Ashburton called Henbury (*i. e.*, Hên-bré, “old hill”) Castle, which is computed to contain an area of about seven acres. It guarded the valley of the Dart, and by its commanding position was able to communicate by means of beacons with the south and north to a considerable distance, a mode of conveying intelligence which could be made available from height to height throughout the whole district.

As I hope to have another opportunity of noticing the camps of the Britons, I here confine myself to those on Dartmoor; but before I conclude I beg to explain some remarks made by me in vol. xvi of this *Journal*, where (p. 121, note) I insisted on the relationship between the name Wales and Gael, Gaul, or other forms of that word.²

It has been stated by a most learned authority, the Bishop of St. David's,³ that my remark respecting *gu* being changed into *w* “is not at all applicable to the present

¹ I use *vallum* for the *agger* and its ditch (whether the agger is a wall, or of earth, or of rough stones), together with its palisades; for though originally derived from these last, it came to signify the whole defence.

² I am glad to be confirmed in this opinion by several eminent Celtic scholars, among whom I may mention Mr. E. Norris.

³ In a paper read at a meeting of the Philological Society, Feb. 14, 1861.

question, for here *w* should have been substituted not for *gu*, but for *g*"; and I was certainly wrong in confining my brief remarks to the limits of a note, when I ought to have extended them still farther, and have shown that *w* is also substituted for *g*, though his lordship maintains that "there is no analogy to lead us to expect that this should have taken place in any one instance." I may however observe that we have frequent instances of *w* and *v* used instead of *g*. *Vascones*, *Wascan* in Anglo-Saxon, answers to *Gascons*; *Walinga*, or *Walling (ford)* is *Gallorum (vadum)*; *golpe* is put for *volpe* in Italian; *wage* answers to *gage* in French, and *ware* (beware) to *gare*; and in many other words *g* holds the place of *w*, especially where the *hard sound of g* is required. And, indeed, I believe the Anglo-Saxons, in the appellation they gave to the Welsh, substituted *w* for *g* of the older name which had been applied to that and other *Celtic* people, because this name was easily converted into a word of their own having a meaning supposed to resemble it and to suit the people; and they changed Gael or Gaul into *Wealh*, "foreigner," as the modern Greeks have converted "Babaroï" (Bavarians) into "Barbaroi" (barbarians). This I shall notice more fully as I proceed.

His lordship says that such words as *guard* and *ward* "belong to an entirely different class," the initial being "dropped for facility of pronunciation"; but letters are only dropped in certain instances, and not where the *custom* of one language demands the use of *gu* and the *custom* of another demands that of *w*. He will, therefore, I trust pardon me if I doubt the *g* being "dropped" in such words as *ward*, and if I ascribe the change to the difference in the genius of the language to which they belong. The Arab who says *wardi* for *guardi* ("take care!") does not drop the *g*, he *changes the sound* and adopts his own; as the Greek who says *sems* for *shems* ("sun") does not drop the *h*, but substitutes *s* for the *sh* which he has not; and when a Frenchman pronounces *t* for *th* he does not drop the *h*, but uses another sound.

There are several words in various languages where letters are dropped, as *Andaluz* for *Vandaluz*; and in the Sanscrit *Vinsati*, the Zend *Visaiti*, and the Latin *Viginti*, where the *d* of *dvi*, *dva*, and *duo* is omitted, though preserved in the Slavonic *dva-deset*, and in the German

zwanzig (whence our *twenty*): the *g* of the Welsh *gwyn*, "white," is dropped in *wyn*; and *wy*, "water," was originally *gwy*, or *hwyl*, whence *hwylad*, a "duck," the *gw* being preserved in the names *gwydd*, "goose," *gwyllan*, "gull," and the river *Gwyli* or *Gwili*. These do certainly "belong to a different class." Sometimes, on the other hand, the *g* is added before the *w*; but these changes are not the result of a *lingual custom*, like that of *w* or *v* into *gu*, *gw*, and *g*, in cognate languages, as in the Latin and Welsh *vir* and *gwr*,¹ "man," *viridis* and *gwyrydd*, "green," and so many more, where the change is an established one—not merely an accidental or arbitrary dropping of the initial letter—and where one particular sound is substituted for another. And since we have many instances of the *w* standing in the place of *g*, as well as of *gu* and *gw*, some of which I shall presently have occasion to mention, I do not think I was in error in maintaining the probability of the root of "Wales" and "Gael" or "Gaul" being the same.²

In stating this I did not pretend to deny that *we* received our word "Welsh" from the Anglo-Saxons, nor did I deny that they applied the term *Wealh*, and others, signifying "foreigner" in their language, to the Welsh; all I wished to suggest was that Wales being peopled by a Celtic or Gaulish race, the Anglo-Saxons substituted for that generic name of the race a word of their own language. I did not certainly mean, nor could it be supposed that I meant, "the *Cymry* had ever adopted the word *wal* for a foreigner"; it was never so used by them, nor does a *Cymro*³ now call himself a "Welshman," except while conforming to English custom.

If we adopted the names "Wales" and "Welsh" it was from the previous use of words resembling them by the Anglo-Saxons, as we have derived our name for the capital of Upper Egypt from *Θηβαι* or *Thebæ*, substituted by the

¹ Irish, *fear*; Anglo-Saxon, *Wer*.

² In Wales and Cornwall the Gaulish or Celtic tongue was preserved, and hence the name of the people who spoke it. It is worthy of remark that Max Müller, quoting Weinhold, says "William (the Conqueror) introduced Welsh, *i.e.* French, into England," shewing that the word Welsh was applied to the French as a Gaulish people. (Lect. on Lang., p. 177.)

³ Cambria is a later corruption of *Cymru*, the *b* being inserted, as in many words in other languages: thus, *gwaith Emrys* (our Stonehenge), "the work of Emrys" (a name of Merlin, who was thought to have built Stonehenge, and to have transferred his name to the neighbouring Amesbury) is changed into Ambrosius; the Arabic Al-hamra, "the red" (building) has become Al-hambra; and the Tamar has been called Tambra, etc.

Greeks and Romans for the native name *Tápé* or *Thábé*; and as we adopt the name of *Abooseer* because it was substituted by the Arabs for *Busiris*, from a supposed resemblance between the two names. *Albion*, again, thought to have been given to our country from its *white* cliffs, was the old British word *Alban*, said to be derived from *alb*, "highland";¹ *ginnayn-al-araf*² has been converted by the Spaniards into *generalife*; the Greeks pretended that the name of the goddess *Isis* was from a word of their own implying "knowledge"; *Julia Cesarea* has been changed into *Algezeir*, "the islands" (Algiers); *Fynnon Uisg*, "spring of water," is corrupted into *Phænix* (Park, at Dublin); the nine *maen* ("stones"), the *maen* ("stone") castle, and the (*maen*) stone (paved) way, have become the "nine maidens," the "maiden castle," and the "maiden way"; *buffetier* has assumed the form of "beef-eater"; and numerous other examples of this kind of substitution of one word for another of a somewhat similar sound may be found in most countries.

The Anglo-Saxons were not of course averse to this general custom; and they, too, appear to have corrupted names taken from other languages. *Wealh* in Anglo-Saxon means "foreigner," and *wal* is the same in the Teuto-Gothic tongue, as his Lordship observes; and it may mean so "with reference to language" to which it was applied as being "incomprehensible;" but were *weal* and *wal* given to all "foreigners?" If so, and if all the names we find applied by the Anglo-Saxons to the Welsh were words of various cases, and numbers, signifying "foreigner," there would be no denying that they had that general signification and application; but they were not used to denote *all strangers*; and many of the names given to the Welsh have a corrupted form, such as might be expected in names derived from a foreign source.³

¹ It certainly applies more appropriately to Scotland than to South Britain, and is its name in Welsh. To the Alps it would be well suited. The Swiss say *alp* properly signifies pasture lands on mountains, not mountain peaks.

² "The garden of the (master, or skilful,) architect."

³ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle speaks of the Welsh language as "*Bryt-wylsc*," of the country as "*Brytland*," of the people as "*Bret-Walas*" or "*Bret-Weales*," and of the race as "*Wealcyn*." It speaks of the "*Walum*" with the "*Scottum*" and "*Bryttum*," and calls them also "*Wealun*," "*Welscan*," "*Walas*," "*Wylsca*," "*Wala*," "*Wealan*," "*Welisce*," "*Wyliscan*," "*Weale*," "*Wealles*," "*Wylisce*," "*Walana*," which last name was also given to a people of North Britain. *Wælc*, *Wælcisc*, or *Welisc*, signified "belonging to (*Weale*) Wales."

If *wéalas* simply signified "foreigners," Cornwéalas "Cornishmen," would imply foreigners of that district; but this could scarcely be maintained, especially as its name *Cornubia*, *Cornuualia*, or *Cornwalas*, was actually written in Latin of the time, "*Cornu-gallia*"¹—a fact sufficiently to the point, proving how *w* took the place of *g*, as well as of *gu*; which is further confirmed by the name of *Walbrook*, formerly *Nant-gall*, being derived from *L. Gallus* who perished there;² as well as by the above mentioned name of *Walinga* or *walling* (ford) having been the old *Gallorum Vadum*.³ Again *Bretwalas* is an evident substitute for *Brito-galli*; and there seems little doubt that the Anglo-Saxon appellation *Wala* or *Walas* was applied to the Cynry, or Welsh, from its resemblance to the general and generic name, Gael or Gaul, by which they and other Celtic tribes were commonly known.⁴ And since the Teutonic races did not apply that name to "foreigners" generally, but to *those only* who were considered to be of Gael, or Celtic origin, as the Welsh, Walloons, Northern Italians, and others, there is sufficient evidence of its connexion in the Teutonic mind with the Celtic name of which it was originally a corruption. The names Britain and British are derived from the native word *Prydain*, "beautiful," and *Brython*, "warrior."⁵ And in mentioning this it is not irrelevant to observe that *Brython* was not the name of the race; this was Celtic or Gaulish; of which the Brython or Briton tribes were a branch.

Whatever may have been the origin of the name Celt (Kelt), it is not probable that the Celts would have applied it to themselves if, like Caledonia, it had been derived from the root *cel* "concealed;" but, while I agree with his Lord-

¹ Calacum, or Gallacum, was also the name of Whalhop, or Whallop Castle, in Westmoreland.

² Camden, p. 312.

³ Some supposed it to be Calleva, or Caleba; Camden thinks it was Galena, and that Walwick was Gallana (pp. 807, 849). He then observes, that names which in British "began with *gall*, the English turned into *wall*," and instances "*gall* Sever," wall of Severus; but this was properly *qual*. Some have derived *Walinga* from *qual hên*, old wall; but should not this be *hên qual*? The addition of *rhyl* (ford) might have sanctioned the placing of this exceptional adjective *after* the substantive *qual*.

⁴ The French name for Wales, Pays de Galles, may also be connected with this generic appellation. It matters little whether they called *themselves* Gauls, if they were so called by others.

⁵ Britain may justly say that she has always been the land of "beautiful" women and "brave" men.

ship that they would scarcely have taken to themselves a name implying a "people who dwelt in the covert of dense forests," I think it equally unlikely that the name suggested the idea of "religious mystery;" for if applied to the priesthood it would not have been given to the whole people; and though we English may pronounce the letter C as S, there is no authority for considering the names "*Celi*" (properly pronounced Keli) and "*Selli*" in any way analogous.

We pronounce *cell* as *sell*, but no one would suppose that a word written like the latter was related to *cil* or *kil*; as, for instance, in names such as Kildare, Columb-kil, and Cil-Ifor, in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. And we do not yet know that Celt was derived from the root *cel*.¹

The authority of eminent writers affords little satisfactory information respecting the names of Gaul and Celt (Kelt); but we know that the *Galli* of the Latins were the Κέλται of the Greeks.² Again Γαλατία was the name for Gaul, and Γαλάται (Galatians) for the Gauls of Asia Minor. Galat(æ), then, has as good a claim to be the name of the Gauls as Gall(i); and if the addition of the *t* presents no objection in "*Galatæ*," there is no reason for its doing so in "*Keltæ*;" and *g*, *c*, and *k* are transmutable letters. Galli and Κέλται are names of the same race, the one in Latin, the other in Greek; and if there is no objection to Galatæ, being the name of the Gauls, I cannot really find any to Κέλται being from the same root gael, gal, or gaul.³

The question whether *aqua* might have been originally *asqua* was only thrown out by me incidentally, without any wish to put it forth as an opinion; and his Lordship is no doubt quite right in considering that *aqua* answers to *ap* or *ab* "water"; but I hope he will excuse my observing that it ought not to be considered as *derived from* or "coming from the Sanscrit *ap* 'water,'" being in fact another form of the word in *another cognate language*. I beg him also to pardon me if I state that his objection to my opinion—that the earliest name for a river among a rude people would be "the water;" then "the stream," or the running water, or the river, and then a specification of each stream under a

¹ Some pretend that *celt* is applied to woody, and *gael* to plain, land; but such derivations are very questionable, and it would be quite as allowable to derive *gall*, *gael*, or *gal*, from the Celtic word *gallu* or *gall*, power.

² Κελτοί in Herodotus, ii, 33.

³ Galen says, "Καλοῦσι γοῦν αὐτοὺς ἔνιοι μὲν Γαλάτας, ἔνιοι δὲ Γάλλους."

particular name,—does not appear to be well founded ; and I do not think he has adduced any good argument, or evidence, to disprove it. The frequent occurrence in Celtic names, of *wisk*, *usk*, and *dour*, for rivers, appears to be a stronger argument for my opinion than the solitary instance he brings forward from Sanscrit can be against it. Moreover, the greater antiquity of Sanscrit is not to the point. I do not say that the *oldest people* used those terms ; but nations in their infancy ; and with the infancy of the people whose language was Sanscrit we are unacquainted. What Sanscrit (as we know it), or even any modern language, may do, is not the question. The Sanscrit may have a word implying “river,” and Penjab may be of later date than the Sanscrit name ; but the question is what word was used in the *earliest times* in *each* language. *Uisg*, *dwr*, and *wy*, may be of later date than the Sanscrit, still, like the Persian *ab*, they signify “water” ; they were applied to rivers at an early period of the Celtic language, and they appear to be older than the term “river” (or “running water”) in the *same* language ; as this last is older than the specific names of rivers in the same language. The specific *names* of rivers, too, are often derived from the earlier appellation ; as Rhine, Rhone, Thames, and others.

I am, however, very happy to be corrected in any opinion I may venture to express ; and am greatly obliged to his Lordship for thus reminding me that in such questions our conclusions should not be hasty or premature ; and I hope I may be pardoned for differing (which I do with great deference) from so distinguished an authority.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 22, line 3, for “custom” read “customs.”

P. 23, line 19, on “Devon.”—In confirmation of the old name having been Damnonii, rather than Danmonii, I may mention the Damnii of Scotland and the Domnonii of Armorica.

P. 29, last line but one, on “a religious purpose.”—Fenton (*Hist. of Pembrokeshire*, p. 19) mentions a church built within a sacred circle in Cardiganshire, and another at Berachie in Scotland, arguing that a religious attachment to the spot had been handed down from olden times.

P. 36, line 3, the “(fig. 3)” should apply to the circle-earn.

P. 38, last line, on "avenue."—Since writing the above, I have visited a remarkable avenue near Benton in Pembrokeshire, which consists of much larger stones, and is of larger dimensions, than those of Dartmoor. Some of the stones measure as much as 4 ft. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ft. and 2 ft. to 3 ft. in height, and stand from 10 to 12 ft. apart, though many approach to within 2 ft. of each other towards the northern part, where it divides into two branches. It varies in its direction; being at the southern end quite straight, then turning off abruptly (at an angle of 130°), it continues for the distance of about 620 ft. in a very slight curve, and there, in front of a large mass of rock, it separates into two other branches, one of which descends the hill to the N.E., in a winding course, to the distance of about 1,050 ft. In this part the stones are placed close together as in a wall; but upright, or on their edges, like the rest. The total length now visible is about 2,250 ft.; and its average breadth is 10 ft. 6 from stone to stone, or 14 ft. 6 including the stones. It has the appearance of a road, for which it is still used. Nor is there any monument now remaining to which it could have led; and though all the three branches seem to point towards the rock above mentioned, this is probably accidental. Other upright stones are seen near Benton, on the road towards Williamston, which may possibly be connected with this avenue; and about two miles off is a cromlech.

P. 40, line 3, for "not evidently blackened" read "not blackened."

P. 44, line 2, for "sometimes" read "3. Sometimes."

P. 45, line 18, after "Chillacombe Down" add "(pl. 1, fig. 12)."

P. 47, note, for "same kind of distinguishing" read "same distinguishing."

P. 48, at the end of note 2, add, "Another cromlech, near Newport in Pembrokeshire, is called *Llech y dribedd*."

P. 49, lines 9, 10, for "near Poitiers, which is" read "and one near Poitiers which are."

P. 50, line 21, on "Dictionary of 1632."—That the word cromlech was in use about 1580, is proved by G. Owen's calling the large three-pillared cromlech of Pentre-Evan "*maen y gromlech*"; and he says the people use the name "cromlech," though he thinks it should be *grymlech* ("stone of strength"). With regard to the opinion (stated in the *Hist. of St. David's*, p. 25) that "cromlechs were erected by a people unacquainted with the use of metals, and consequently confined to the sea coast and places naturally devoid of wood," I may observe that they are by no means confined to such localities, but are frequently in places abounding in wood, and far from the sea coast. They prove no more respecting the use of metals than did the erection of the altars mentioned in Exodus xx, 25, and Deut. xxvii, 5, 6, on which "an iron tool" was not to be used. Nor do cromlechs "lie mostly in the trap formation," being abundant amidst the Llandeilo and other Silurian rocks, and the granites of Cornwall.

P. 51, note of "bascauda" should be on "basket-work" in p. 52, line 13.

P. 52, line 19, for "noted stone" read "holed stone."