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ON

THE ROCK-BASINS OF DARTMOOR, AND SOME BRITISH REMAINS IN ENGLAND.

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THE attention of those who have visited Dartmoor has often been directed to the numerous "rock-basins in the granite" of that district; and some interesting observations have lately been made by Mr. Ormerod on the subject, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society* for February 1859.

Intimately acquainted as he is with certain portions of Dartmoor, any remarks made by Mr. Ormerod must be received with great respect; and his memoir is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of that part of the country. He is of opinion that all these rock-basins are of natural formation, and that they are not, as some have been disposed to think, artificial. He produces many arguments to shew that the natural disintegration of the granite accounts for their presence, and for their general appearance; and the number he has examined proves the diligence with which he has conducted his inquiry. But it does not appear that *all* the instances he brings forward bear out his inference. In their form and appearance some of the large basins differ essentially from the smaller ones; and I shall presently shew that similar rock-basins are found in *other rocks*,—a fact which at once negatives the conclusion that they are owing simply to the peculiar decomposition of *granite*.

He states that Mistor Pan, the *only* basin on Mistor, "has been supposed to be artificially formed," and describing it, says, "The sides are nearly perpendicular, leaning slightly back: at the south and easterly side, the highest bed of rock projects slightly, and under this a hole reaches through to the eastern side of the Tor, about two inches above the bottom of the pan. The only other places where similar perforations have been observed, are at Fur Tor and Willistone Rocks. From the northerly side, a lip or channel runs for about five inches in a northerly direction, and then irregularly. At the basin it is about five inches wide, and there reaches nearly to the bottom of the basin. The diameter from north to south is thirty-six inches; from east to west, thirty-five inches; and the longest diameter is from north to south. The depth (at the lip) on the north side is four inches; on the easterly, six inches; on the southerly, five inches; and on the westerly, six inches. The bottom is nearly level, but slopes slightly towards the centre, where it is about half an inch deeper than at the sides. The bottom was covered with small, sharp gravel, consisting chiefly of felspar and quartz, formed by the disintegration of the granite. With the exception of the perforation, and that a lip is not of very frequent occurrence, the above description is also applicable, the dimensions being altered, to nearly every rock-basin with a flat bottom; and there seems to be no reason for considering the origin of this basin different from that of the other basins." (Page 17.)

He then mentions the holes worn in rocks exposed to the direct action of falling water in a river, which has the well-known effect of hollowing out and perforating stone; but which does not appear to be relevant to the question of rock-basins. And he afterwards states (p. 19) that no basins exist on many of the most remarkable Tors to the north of the Teign, nor on Hounter Tor, and some other of these lofty rocks. But he very properly refutes the notion of Dr. M'Culloch, that "the friction of quartz and felspar fragments, not unfrequently found in rock-basins, may have contributed to deepen them, being set in motion during high winds,"—those fragments not being round, but "angular"; and he justly observes, that "the cause suggested by Dr. M'Culloch could not affect the deep basins, as in these cases the particles would be undisturbed by the motion of the

water from wind." He states, however, that the contents of the basins "generally consist of a small angular fragment of quartz and felspar, as above mentioned, and schorl, which sometimes cover the bottom of the basin." (p. 21.) He afterwards observes (p. 22), "During the inclement part of the year these basins are full of water; that, during part of the time, often rapidly alternating with ice. When the warm weather comes on, the water evaporates, and the basins are dried up. From the frequent showers there is then a constant change between the rock being saturated with wet, and being warm and dry"; and he shews the effect which the "alternations of heat and cold, wet and dryness," must have in decomposing the granite; but when he attributes the whole formation of the deepest basins to this action of the weather, and when he supposes that "the eye will discriminate between the Tors where rock-basins would probably be found or not," and that "they are scarcely ever met with where the action of the water has not that particular effect upon the rock," he appears to have been led to generalize too hastily.

I cannot, however, give an opinion in opposition to that of Mr. Ormerod, without expressing my admiration of the fairness with which he makes all his statements; and I feel sure that he will pardon my differing from him respecting the formation of one particular kind of deep circular rock-basin. First, then, I must observe that the fact mentioned by him, of the holes in some of them having been perforated through the rock, is strong evidence of human agency in their formation; 2° the lip, or channel, to let off the water from the basin, mentioned above, also appears to owe its origin to the hand of man; 3° the very *small quantity* of "angular fragments" he noticed at the bottom of the deepest basins, suffices to shew that this is not the accumulation of all the detached particles of the granite, the decomposition of which formed the basin, but merely of those of its sides and bottom, which had become detached by a subsequent disintegration of their surface long after the basin itself had been formed; for the decomposition of all the stone which occupied the space of that basin would not have produced a small, but a very large, mass of decayed granite, even allowing for the lighter particles having been blown away by the wind; and in some of the large basins very little decay of the sides and bottom has taken place,

neither do they contain the necessary fragments or particles proceeding from decomposition of the stone. 4°. The presence of one or more large circular basins on *some one rock remarkable for its form, size, and position*, and the absence of similar basins on other large rocks close to it, of granite of the *same quality*, and liable to the *same action* of the atmosphere, are strong presumption of a *selection* having been made by *man* in the former case; and it would certainly be difficult to explain why a particular rock, as at Carn Brea, near Redruth, in Cornwall (placed, too, as it is within an ancient walled town of British time), should be the *only one* hollowed out by the action of the atmosphere, with upright cavities more than two feet in depth, while so many other rocks in the same locality are destitute of such remarkable basins. I do not pretend to say that a small *natural* cavity may not have been occasionally formed by man into a larger basin: indeed, this is highly probable; and the *idea* of the basin may have been derived, in the first instance, from some of the smaller and ruder natural ones. A parallel case is mentioned by Sir J. Emerson Tennent in Ceylon, where the famous sacred footprint on Adam's Peak has been formed by enlarging a *natural* hollow in the gneiss rock; and neither Buddhism nor Druidism appear to have neglected natural phenomena when they could be made subservient to a religious, or superstitious, purpose. 5°. The circular, or slightly oval form of basins which have their sides nearly *perpendicular*, and a flat bottom, cannot be satisfactorily explained by, or attributed to, decomposition of the stone; and so regular are the sides of Castor basin (which was discovered by Mr. Ormerod in September 1856), that the diameter decreases gradually from the rim to the flat bottom, the depth being two feet seven inches. "The opening at the top" (he observes, p. 18), "as marked by the line to which water stands when it is full, is oval, measuring eight feet from north to south, and six feet eight inches from east to west. A few inches below this level, the basin is nearly circular; the diameter half way down is fifty inches; at the bottom, twenty-four inches; the perpendicular depth is thirty-one inches. The bottom is flat, rounding up at the edges to the sides, which curve outwards in the form of the mouth of a trumpet; and two indentations, caused by decay, run round the basin." It had "not many stones, nor the

small fragments of quartz and felspar usually found in rock-basins"; but a quantity of *spagnum*, or bog moss, and peat, the presence of which was explained by the statement of the old moor man, that "the basin was filled with peat between a hundred and a hundred fifty years ago, to prevent accidents to the sheep." From this, then, it is evident that the disintegrated fragments of the stone were not found even in a basin two feet seven inches in depth; and it is certain that if filled with peat, to prevent accidents to sheep, the shepherds would not have cleared out the decomposed stone in order to supply its place with peat. There is, therefore, neither in this, nor in any similar deep basin, the evidence of that decomposition of the *whole mass* which is supposed to have formed them; and the *small quantity* occasionally met with in those of large size may be readily accounted for by the *subsequent* decay of the inside of the already existing basin.

Mr. Ormerod admits, with his usual candour, that his observations of rock-basins are confined to a portion of Dartmoor; and, I think, if they had extended farther, that he would have found reason to alter his opinion respecting the formation of some of the larger ones, like those in a mass of granite rock at Carn Brea, near Redruth in Cornwall, which have every appearance of being artificial, and made for some particular purpose with great care and labour. They consist of a succession of deep basins uniting into one at the lower part, where a lip, or opening, is formed to enable the collected water to flow off to the ground below. The sides, which are nearly perpendicular, are about two feet high, varying according to the position and surface of the stone; and the bottom of each is smooth and even. The mass of rock, in which the basins are cut, has an inclination towards the lower end where the lip opens; so that the slope of the bottom of each basin follows that of the rock itself, and being on the summit of a hill it is in a position where no fall of water could have worn the rock, or hollowed it into these cavities. From all these facts we have strong evidence against their being solely the result of natural agency.

But what is still more conclusive against the opinion that they are attributable to the peculiar action of the weather on *granite*,—and that, too, on granite of a particular structure,—is, that they are formed in other kinds of stone; and if, as Mr. Ormerod states (p. 22), "the eye will in a short

period discriminate between the Tors where basins would probably be found or not," being "scarcely ever found where it is the character of the Tor to have the perpendicular joints clearly developed," this might be owing to their makers having selected such rocks as were capable of holding water, and not subject to fissures.

They occur also on the Peak of Derbyshire,[1] and in Staffordshire, in *gritstone;* and the numerous granite rocks I have examined in other places, where similar deep circular basins do not occur, offer a strong argument against the selection supposed to be made by nature for their position in *some few* places. Besides, the deep circular basins in the gritstone of Derbyshire and Staffordshire not only resemble those of Dartmoor in their form and general appearance, but are, in like manner, in the neighbourhood of ancient remains; and here, as on the granite Tors, they are evidently placed on certain rocks selected for the purpose, and not indiscriminately *throughout* the hills of the Peak and of the Staffordshire moors. In the gritstone near Hathersage are numerous rock-basins; mostly, it is true, natural, yet some few are evidently made, or enlarged, by man; and to these alone it is my object to direct attention. One of them is on Stanage Edge. It is circular, with upright sides and a flat bottom, having a diameter of four feet by three feet nine inches, and a depth of twenty-one inches (varying to twenty-five, from the unevenness of the upper surface of the rock); and another is at the highest part of Eyam Moor (on the summit of one of three isolated rocks that rise conspicuously above, and about a third of a mile to the west-south-west of a sacred circle), and has, in like manner, upright sides[2] and a flat bottom, and measures two feet six inches by two feet two inches diameter, and nine inches in depth (varying to fifteen, according to the height of the surface of the rock), with a channel on the east, evidently cut to let off the water when it reached the brim on that side.

In Staffordshire, too, the basin on the Ramshaw rocks, called the "Devil's Punch Bowl," is in gritstone; and is

[1] It was while writing this paper, that, having accidentally heard of them, I paid a visit to the Peak in order to examine the gritstone basins.

[2] These, which were evidently once perfectly upright, have since been slightly worn or hollowed below the brim by the action of the wind on the surface of the water contained in the basin, but could not have assumed their present shape had they not been *first* upright.

worthy of notice from its being the *only one* in that locality, which abounds in British remains; and a still more remarkable one, about three paces in diameter, is met with in the British fort of Old Bewick in Northumberland, which is now called by the peasants "the bloody trough" (from a tradition that human sacrifices were made over it by the Druids), and which is of importance from its obvious bearing on the question respecting the natural formation of deep circular rock-basins from the decomposition of the granite in which they are found,—since it is not in granite, nor even in gritstone, but is evidently hewn in a sandstone rock. I may also mention another basin of elliptical form, chiselled out of the solid rock, on the common called *Maes-y-dref*, near Rhyader castle in Radnorshire (see *Archæolog. Cambrensis*, Series III, vol. iv, p. 566), where the rock is neither granite nor gritstone, but of the silurian formation.[1]

Rock-basins, then, are evidently not confined to granite of a particular structure; and though it is sometimes difficult to decide, in granite or in gritstone rocks, whether basins of a certain form and appearance are natural or artificial, there seems to be little doubt respecting the deep round ones with upright sides, even in those cases where they have been corroded by a subsequent decomposition of the stone, which has sometimes worn two or more into one, and given them an irregularity of shape quite at variance with their original circular or slightly oval outline. And this decay seems to have been frequently promoted by the presence of a small channel by which they were made to communicate with each other when originally cut in the rock. This union of several basins into one, may be observed in those at Carn Brea and other places; and in one or two which I have seen, the spout or channel to let off the water is so clearly defined, and so evidently the work of human hands, that it might almost be attributed to the accidental caprice of some much more modern stone-cutters, did we not feel sure that modern labourers look for more profitable employment than adding lips or channels to old rock-basins. And though the junction of two basins is sometimes the result of natural causes, I think we may generally determine which are attributable to human agency, and which to atmospheric influence.

[1] In N. Wales, Adam's and St. Tydech's foot-prints are basins in slate rock.

There is also another fact connected with the large rock-basins, which is pertinent to the question respecting their origin; and this is their presence in localities marked by the vicinity of sacred circles, avenues, and other monuments connected with the religious or funereal rites of the Britons; and in all cases, whether in Cornwall, on Dartmoor, in Staffordshire, the Peak of Derbyshire, in Northumberland, or in Wales, they are always in the neighbourhood of ancient remains. I may also notice one in an isolated rock of granite within the camp of Treen, or Trerhyn ("town of the cape"?), behind the Logan rock in Cornwall, which has evidently been *brought* there, whether natural or artificial.

It is true, as I before observed, that by far the greater proportion of rock-basins are natural; but I think we may distinguish most of those formed by human agency: and to infer that none are the work of man, because so many are naturally formed, is almost tantamount to the conclusion that, because many rocks resemble buildings, all buildings are of natural formation.

I cannot, in so limited a space, enter into all the details of the subject, nor point out the various reasons which enable us to distinguish artificial from natural basins; but after having examined so many in different parts of England, I have no hesitation in saying that even in those which, from subsequent decay of the rock, have lost their original form, there is generally a clue to the distinction between them. And it would certainly be difficult to explain why so large a sediment of decomposed rock is found in the shallow basins; and little, or more frequently none, in the large deep ones which have upright sides and flat bottoms; unless we admit that the former are natural, the latter artificial. The water they hold may evaporate; not so the decomposed stone.

It has been a very general opinion that the large basins were used for some religious purpose, and I do not perceive any improbability in the suggestion. If they are artificial, they could only have been intended for that purpose; being useless for holding potable water in places where springs are close at hand;[1] their spouts shew that the object was not to keep within them more than a certain quantity of water;

[1] At Carn Brea, near Redruth, and on Eyam Moor, are abundant natural springs close to the ancient remains and the basin.

and this, when lying long in them, becomes impure. And if intended for a religious purpose, we can only attribute them to the priests of the religion professed by the people near whose monuments they are found.

The question may not be one of very great importance; but there is another which ought to interest us, and this is the name and religious rites of the people by whom the many ancient monuments in Britain were erected; and as some have doubted the very existence of Druids and their religion in this country, it may not be irrelevant to inquire on what authority those doubts have been raised. It is the tendency of the day to call in question whatever has been hitherto credited: some, therefore, not satisfied with doubting the antiquity of every ruin of early times, have affected to disbelieve the accounts handed down to us by Roman writers concerning the Britons, their priesthood, and their customs; though I must confess that such doubts amount to something more than mere scepticism, when we have numerous records of a people whose ortholithic circles still remain at Stonehenge, Abury, Stanton-Drew, Arbe-Low, and many places in Cornwall, Devonshire, Cumberland, and various parts of this country, as well as in Wales and Scotland, together with cromlechs and various monuments; and when similar records are found in France and other countries once inhabited by tribes professing the same religion, and offsets of the same race, as the early Britons. If we are not to trust to the authority of Roman writers who mention the Druids, what is to be our guide? And if history is to be unceremoniously put aside, on what are we to depend for any information respecting the inhabitants, the manners, and the religion of Britain and Gaul, or the state of any other country of antiquity? We may at once cease to read history, if mere speculations are to take its place. We have circumstantial accounts of the existence of Britons and of Druids in our island, of the stand they made in defence of their sacred retreats, and of some of their ceremonies: at all events they were in Britain when the Romans first landed, and when they afterwards conquered the country. And if not to them, to whom are these strange monuments to be attributed?

Passing in retrospective review the different populations who have inhabited this island, both Christian and

Pagan, let us inquire to whom they can have belonged. 1°. Are they the work of the Saxon race since the introduction of Christianity? Certainly not. 2°. Are they of the same people when pagans? There is evidence of their being of greater antiquity than any monuments in this island; and their occurrence in Brittany and other parts of France, as well as in Savoy, will not admit of their being attributed to the Saxons. 3°. Are they Danish? The localities where they are generally found being those least accessible from the sea, and their position upon the remote hills of the interior, which were so secluded and unapproachable that none but people long accustomed to those retreats would have selected them as the sites of what are most precious in their estimation,—their sacred monuments,—suffice to disprove this. There is also other evidence of their builders having sought protection from enemies coming from the coast, when they selected those spots; and we have ample proof of their not being the work of a people who, if their visits were not quite confined to plundering excursions from the coast, never possessed the remote fastnesses on the hills of Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Wales, Dartmoor, and other parts of the country, in which those monuments are most abundant. 4°. Are they Phœnician? Unquestionably not; as that trading people never sought to settle or penetrate into the interior, visited only a small portion of our coast, and cannot be claimed as the ancestors of any tribe of people either in Britain or in Ireland. 5°. Are they of the Trojans who came under Brût, latinized into Brutus? We only treat this fable with a smile, or suppose it to be corrupted from some fact no longer recognizable. 6°. Are they Roman? Certainly not: and the occasional discovery of "Roman interments" in circles and cromlechs will not prove either of these to have been made by a people who had no such monuments elsewhere; as the age of Egyptian tombs is not altered by the discovery of Greek and Roman bodies within them.

It would be curious, then, to learn from those who doubt their being of the pagan Britons, and who question the existence of Druids in this country, to what people they are to be ascribed; and it would also be satisfactory to know on what plea the authority of the Roman writers, who mention the Druid priesthood of the pagan Britons in this island, is to be set aside. To stop to argue the point would be as

great a loss of labour as to refute the notion of some that cromlechs are natural formations!

We may not be able to state the exact object of all these monuments; nor is it necessary to decide whether the rock-basins were intended for lustral ceremonies, as some have supposed, or for any other rites; and it is far more reasonable to admit our inability to decide upon this and other questions connected with the remains of the ancient inhabitants of our island, than to offer speculations upon them, such as have led to the well known but fanciful theory respecting the serpent-worship, and the arkite ceremonies, of the Druids.

In support of this theory, classical writers have been quoted to shew that the worship of the serpent was an acknowledged part of the religion of Egypt, Greece, and other ancient countries; and certain indications of respect or aversion for it have been both produced for the same purpose. But even if serpent-worship, *properly so called*, were really a part of the Egyptian, Greek, or Roman religions, how does it follow that it was also part of the religion of the ancient Britons? The conclusion in the former case has been too hastily formed from certain expressions of old writers, and from the fact of the serpent being a type, an emblem, or a character in a fable; all which are very different from actual serpent-worship; and though the cross is an emblem among Christians, it is not worshipped by them. Moreover, in the case of the Druids, the fact of the serpent being a type or an emblem has not even been established; and the *anguinum* mentioned by Pliny (xxix, 3) is no more connected with serpent-worship among the Druids, than is the similar nursery tale among the Moslem Arabs, of the snake having a jewel in his head, a proof of serpent-worship in Arabia. It would be as easy to prove that the Druids worshipped the bull Apis; and the oxen of Hû Gadarn (who is said, like Osiris, to be Noah) would be as plausible a groundwork for the existence of arkite ceremonies among the Druids,[1] as any put forth by its advocates. On such conditions, what theories might not be broached? And the assumption that, because some people of antiquity were *supposed* to have worshipped the serpent, the British avenues and temples were *therefore* Dracontia, is both gratuitous and illogical.

[1] Even the learned Bryant only states: "I *make no doubt*.....that the arkite rites prevailed in many parts of Britain." (Vol. ii, p. 471.)

I feel the greatest respect for the ingenuity and industry of those who have maintained it; but it must be confessed that the same learning and extensive research might have been better employed upon a more reasonable hypothesis; and inextricable confusion has been caused by pressing into the same category the most opposite principles, and by confounding together serpents, some of which were types of sin, and others of the good genius; for which the distant Egypt has been ransacked, as well as other systems of ancient superstition. Not only has fancy been resorted to, in order to make the various statements conform to this theory; but in the case of avenues, those most rectilinear in form have been adopted without the least scruple, in support of it, as well as the most irregular and ill defined. Whether an avenue extends from one circle to another, or is unconnected with any circle; whether it terminates in a *cist* (or sepulchral *chest*), or in a long upright stone (*maen-hîr*), or in a cromlech, it is equally pronounced to be an indication of serpent-worship. And yet the inconsistency of attaching the same meaning to every avenue, whatever the monument may be to which it leads, ought to be sufficiently obvious; and though nobody has ever ventured to suppose that *every* road or avenue to a temple, a tomb, or other monument, was in any country connected with *one peculiar* worship, or *one solitary emblem*, a claim is here put forth in *all cases;* without any authority to prove a connection with it *even in a single instance.*

I will not stop to notice all the improbabilities of this hasty conclusion, nor point out the many reasons against the assertion that avenues were indications of the worship of the serpent, or were intended to imitate its form; but I must offer this simple suggestion, that they afford stronger evidence of having served for sacred or funereal processions, like the *dromos* of an Egyptian temple, the avenues to Egyptian tombs, and the long nave of a Roman Catholic church; and were more likely to have been devised by a priesthood in order to impose upon a superstitious people, and to display their own importance, than to shew their respect for serpents. At the same time, I invite attention to the avenues on Dartmoor, below Castor[1] (plate 6), and to

[1] In making a plan of this curious town, I find it contains twenty-five circular houses or huts, supposed to be British; and many similar hut-circles are found in the neighbourhood.

those near Merivale bridge (pl. 7), to prove by their rectilinear direction how little they accord with the form of a serpent; and the double avenue on Chillacombe Down, near Grimspound,[1] as well as the two straight avenues below Black Tor, are equally at variance with it.

One of the avenues at Castor formerly terminated, at its southern extremity, in a three-pillared cromlech (of which, as Mr. Ormerod informs me, the three stones called the "Three Boys" have long been the only remains); and in its straight course to the northward, and about six hundred and ninety feet from the cromlech, it had a long stone (or *maen hîr*), which is still standing.[2] The avenue extends northwards from this long stone about four hundred and seventy feet, and there ceases; but whether it originally ended there, or once continued to the *carn*, which is about three hundred feet farther to the northward, it is difficult now to determine. If so, it changed its direction from N. 16° 20′ E., to due north (by compass). This *carn* contains a *cist;* and from it another avenue descends the hill, in the direction of N. 5° W.; but though at a distance of nearly seven hundred feet all traces of it are lost, it evidently runs in a straight line throughout its existing course. About three hundred and fifty feet from the same *carn*, but without any connexion with it, and bearing from it about N. 2° 30′ E., is a circle, twenty-eight feet in diameter, composed of stones with intervals between them, arranged in three concentric rows round other central stones, which probably belonged to a more important kind of tomb, or sepulchral cromlech; and from this circle another avenue extends in a straight direction, N. 21° 30′ E., to the distance of nearly five hundred and seventy feet, where two large stones seem to mark its northern limit. At its southern extremity also are two long stones (now fallen), one, 7 ft. 4 in.; the other, 11 ft. 4 in. in length: which separate it from the circle. Between these two avenues is a third, which being imperfect at both ends, does not appear to be connected with any monument; but

[1] I regret that the present paper will not admit of my introducing plans and descriptions of this, and other monuments in the neighbourhood of Castor, Merivale, and other parts of Dartmoor.

[2] Mr. Wright, in his most useful work, *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, (p. 53), seems to think that the *maen hîr* is the solitary remaining stone of a ruined cromlech; but in some places, as in an avenue, there is no room for the other stones. In the three-pillared cromlech, too, the three stones are often so placed as not to admit of a *fourth*, which he thinks necessary to complete it.

as it may be traced for about seven hundred feet, running very nearly due south, and has, like the other two, no semblance of a serpentine form, its evidence on this point is equally satisfactory. From its direction pointing exactly to the position of the sacred circle on Gidleigh Common, some have supposed it led to that monument; though from the great distance (between four and five thousand feet), and the fall of the ground, as well as the interference of the river and its rugged banks, this conclusion is more than doubtful.

Indeed, it is by no means necessary that avenues should be connected with sacred circles. They are so at Stanton-Drew, at Abury, at Throwlsworthy, and in some other instances; but at Merivale bridge they lie parallel to, and at a distance of three hundred and eighty feet from, the sacred circle. They each terminate in a large upright stone; and one has in its centre a *carn* composed of earth and upright stones in two concentric rows. Other instances also occur of avenues terminating in *circle-carns*, as below Black Tor and in other places. Indeed, at Black Tor one avenue ends with a *carn* surrounded by upright stones placed at intervals, with concentric rows within it; and the other in a *carn* destitute of any circle of stones around it;[1] while a similar *carn* of earth and stone stands in the same locality, unconnected with those avenues, and not to be claimed as the serpent's head by either of them.

Having made careful plans of different avenues, some of which I lay before the reader, I leave him to decide whether any resemblance to the serpent's form can there be traced; and I shall introduce another plan (see pl. 8) of the avenue at Stanton-Drew in Somersetshire, which has been brought forward in so decided a manner as an evidence of serpent-worship among the Druids; where it will be seen that the line A, B, is perfectly straight; and that the other, C, D, if it really joined the avenue A, B, did so at a direct angle instead of a curve. What the other avenue may have been, which is supposed to have connected the large with another small circle at Stanton-Drew, I will not pretend to say; as no vestige of it remains, if it ever existed. At Abury, again, though little remains of the avenue leading from the great sacred enclosure towards Kennet, the only portion of it, in

[1] The outer stones may have been removed. The *carn* surrounded by upright stones placed at intervals, I call a *circle-carn*.

which its real course can be traced, indicates a perfectly straight direction for the distance of about two thousand and seventy feet; and if the outlying stone to the east, between the great enclosure of Abury and the remaining part of the avenue just mentioned, did really once form a portion of the same avenue, this deviation from the straight line was far more probably connected with a desire to avoid the steepness of the intervening hill (an example very wisely followed by the present road), than with any respect for the serpent, or its form. This may be seen from the plan of the temple and avenue at Abury, given by Mr. W. Long,[1] which being very accurate enables me to omit a copy of my own which I had made to accompany this paper.

Even the winding avenue of Carnac, in Brittany, so carefully delineated in Mr. Deane's *Serpent-Worship*, is very unlike the *form* of any serpent; for mere *sinuosity* does not necessarily imply the *imitation* of a serpent, as undulation does not imply *imitation* of waves.

The same plan of Abury will also fully demonstrate the fact that its *agger* and ditch are not made for defence, like those of fortified places where the fosse is on the outside of the vallum, but rather for separation and exclusiveness, serving to keep the *profanum vulgus* from the sacred area on which the priests performed the ceremonies, which the *laity* were only permitted to contemplate from without.

The same disposition occurs in a circular enclosure known as "Arthur's Table," near Penrith in Cumberland; where the central platform is surrounded by a ditch, and by an agger on the *outside* of the ditch; and a still more remarkable instance occurs at Arbe Low[2] in Derbyshire. (See pl. 9.) This has two entrances. The inner platform is 167 feet in diameter, and the ditch is 18 feet broad at the bottom. The stones are small compared to those of Abury, the largest belonging to the circle measuring 13 feet by 7; while one of the largest at Abury measures from 14 to 18 feet in length, 12 feet 3 inches in height, and 7 feet (varying to 2 feet 4 inches) in thickness: and the platform of Abury has an average diameter of 1,130 feet. The agger of Arbor Low is still about 15

[1] In the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, No. 59, and in the *Wiltshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Magazine*, vol. iv, 1858.

[2] Called Arbe or Arbor Low. *Lowe* or *low*, a Saxon word signifying a hill or mound, is the *law* of Northumberland. (See plan.)

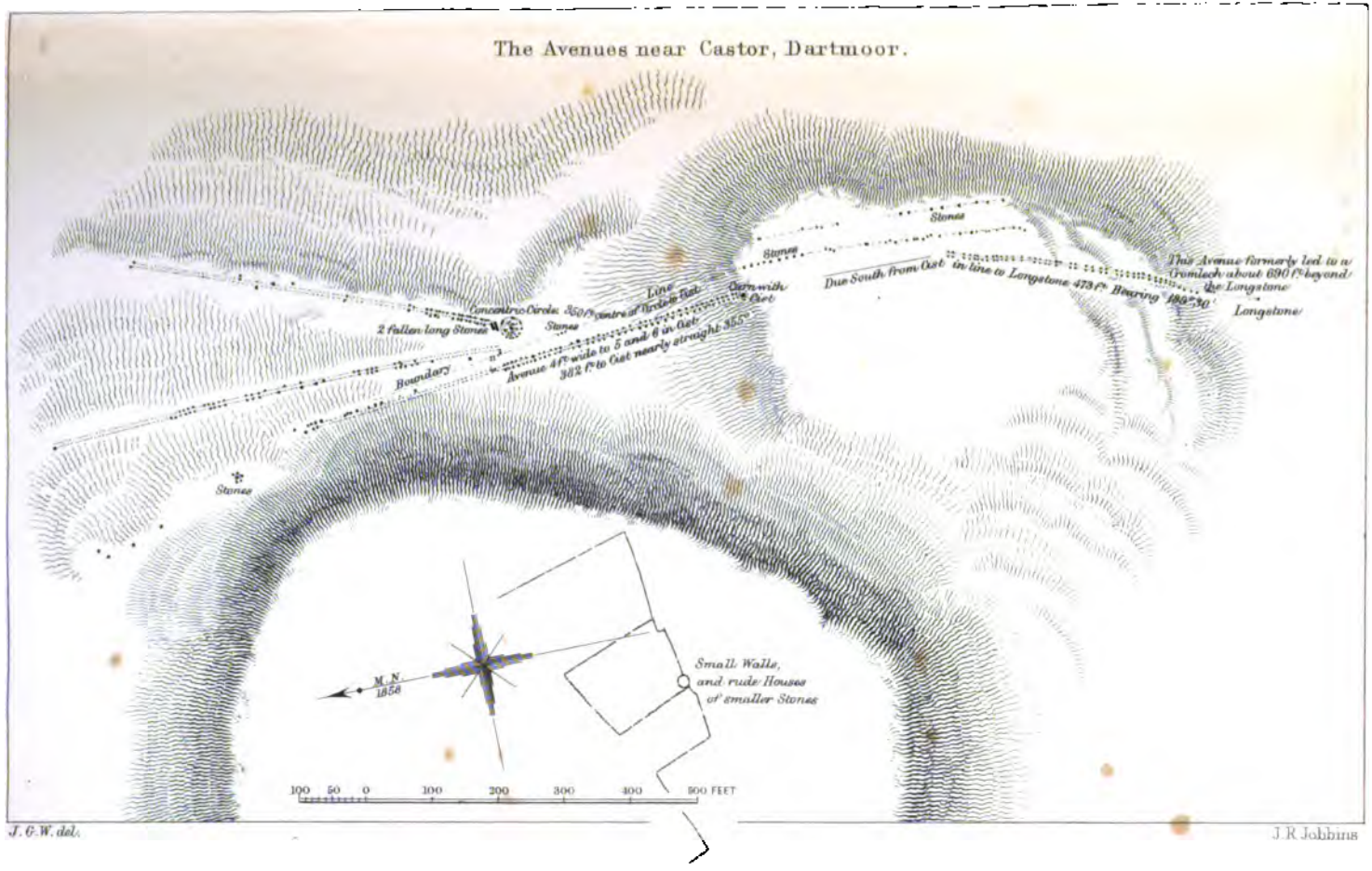
to 18 feet high, or from 20 to 24 to the bottom of the ditch; and the circumference at the top of it is nearly 820 feet.

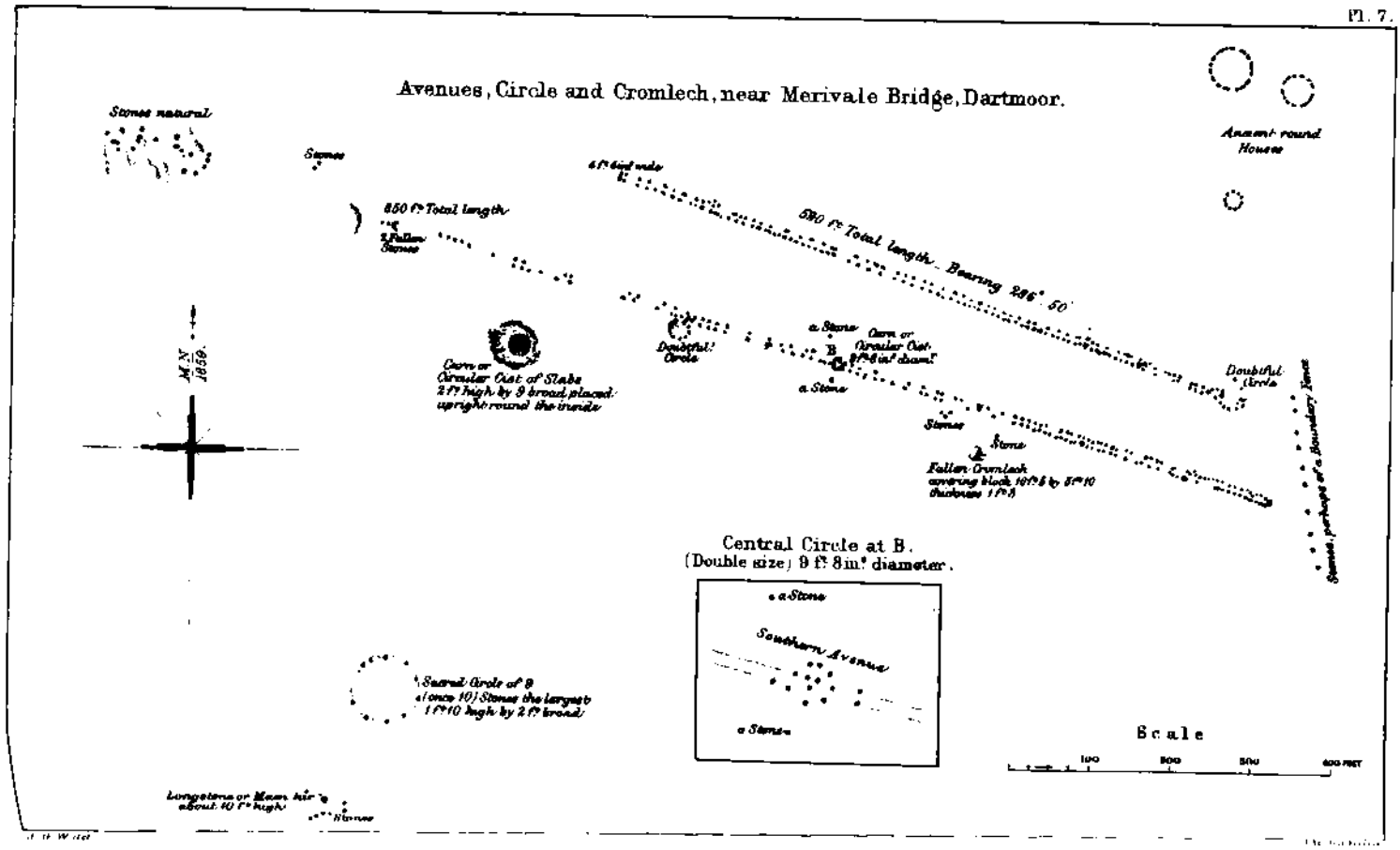
It has been stated that the narrow end of the stones points to the centre of the circle; but as Mr. Bateman[1] justly remarks, it points as often towards the ditch; and instead of radiating to or from the centre, as if to imitate the sun's rays, they lie in the direction in which they have fallen: for it is evident that they originally stood upright, as in other sacred circles; and the notion of those who doubt it is evidently erroneous, as some are even now in an oblique position, the upper end not having yet reached the ground; confirming the statement of an old man, mentioned by Mr. Bateman, who declared that he had seen them standing obliquely on one end. The entrances open towards the north and south, and the two passages leading from them to the platform measure each about 27 feet in breadth. Here the advocates of the ophite theory see in the wall, or dyke of stone and earth, which runs from the western side of the agger, near the southern entrance, the form of the wished-for serpent, and connect it by a proper curve with a large barrow or tumulus, called Gib Hill, standing about three hundred paces to the westward, which is conveniently made into the reptile's head; but as the dyke heedlessly continues its course even beyond the line of the tumulus, and there terminates in some broken stones, it plainly shews that it has no connexion whatever with the tumulus, or supposed serpent's head,—if, indeed, the dyke is of equal antiquity with it.

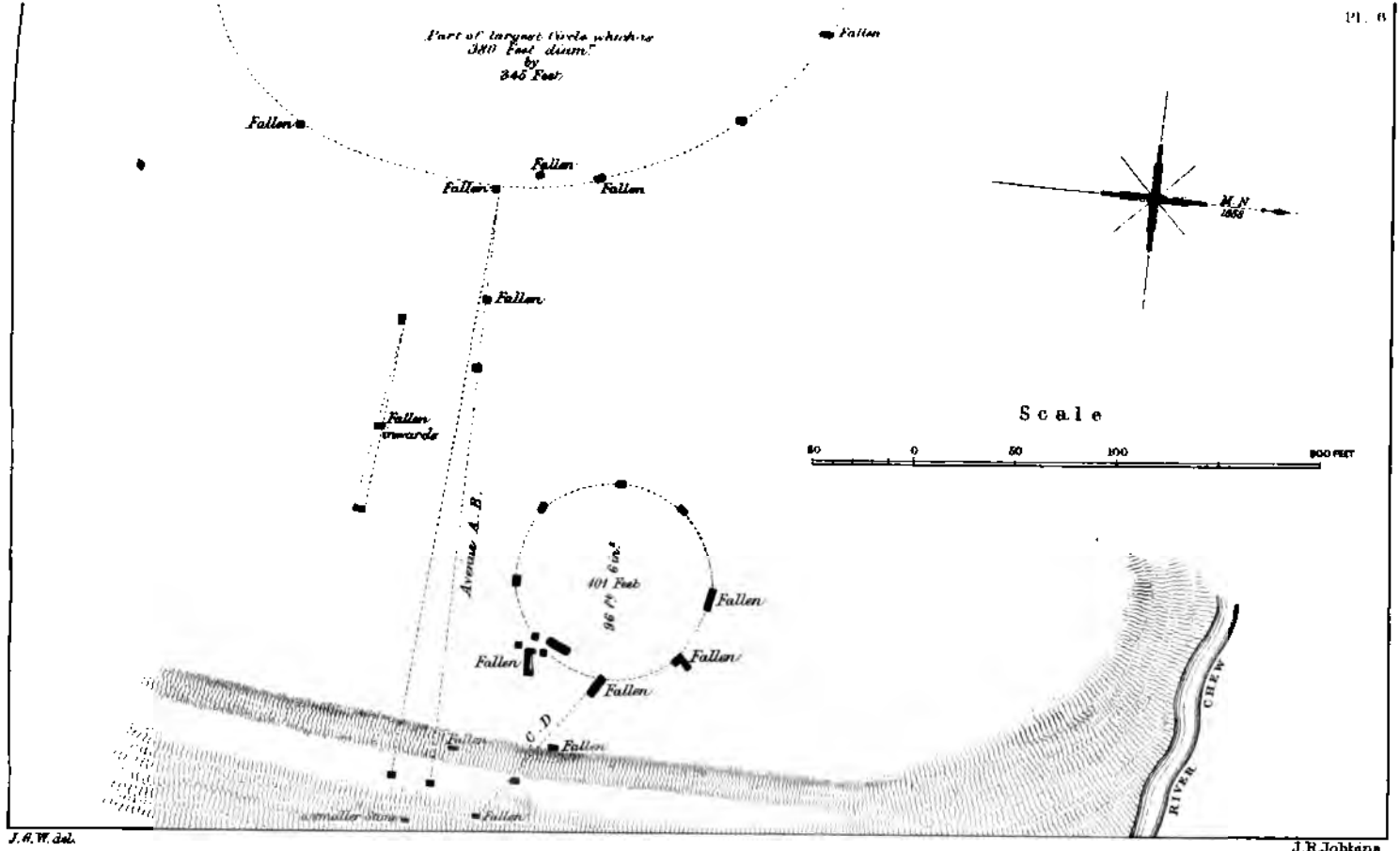
At Arbe Low, as in some other sacred circles, are certain stones in the centre which have the appearance of a sanctuary, or a cromlech,[2] as some imagine; and one of

[1] Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire.

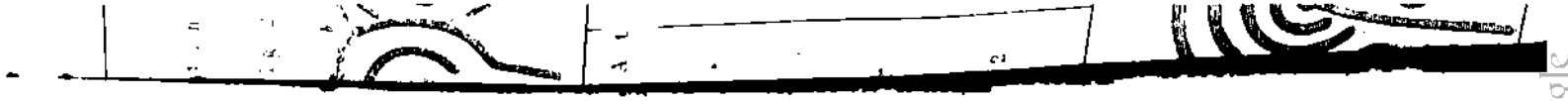
[2] Cists have been found in sacred and other circles, as well as in the walls of forts; and also a certain kind of *cromlech* covered with two or more flat slabs. The *cromlech proper* has only one massive cover-stone, generally *convex* on its upper surface, or sloping at one end; whence some suppose the name "cromlech" has been derived,—*crom* (or in Irish *crobm*) signifying bowed or bent, and *llech*, a slab. The *cromlech* has been confounded with the *subterraneous chamber*, which frequently has a long covered passage leading into it; especially in France and the Channel Islands. I divide the cromlechs into five: 1°, the *cromlech proper*, or *three-pillared cromlech*, supported on three stones; 2°, the *four-pillared*, or *cist-cromlech*, supported on four slabs enclosing a square space like a *cist* or *chest*; 3°, the *many-pillared cromlech* with more than four slabs or piers, as Arthur's Stone in Gower, and Trevethy and Zennor Quoits in Cornwall; 4°, the *chamber-cromlech* with high walled sides composed of several upright slabs (the Dolmen of France), sometimes with several large cover-stones; and 5°, the *subterraneous chamber* (*cromlech*) above mentioned. But this last is







Avenue at Stanton Drew, Somersetshire



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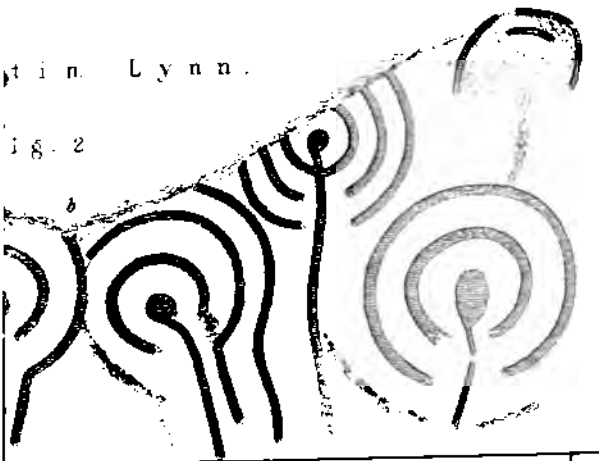
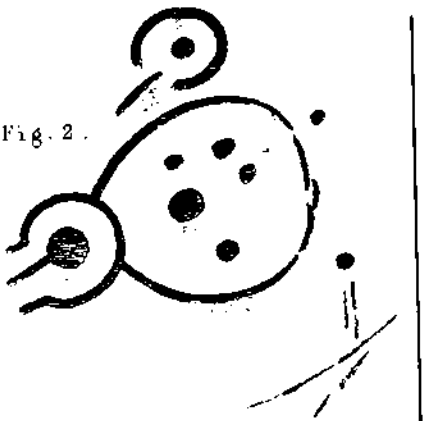


A t R o w t i n L y n n.

Fig. 2.



2.

Fig. 2.

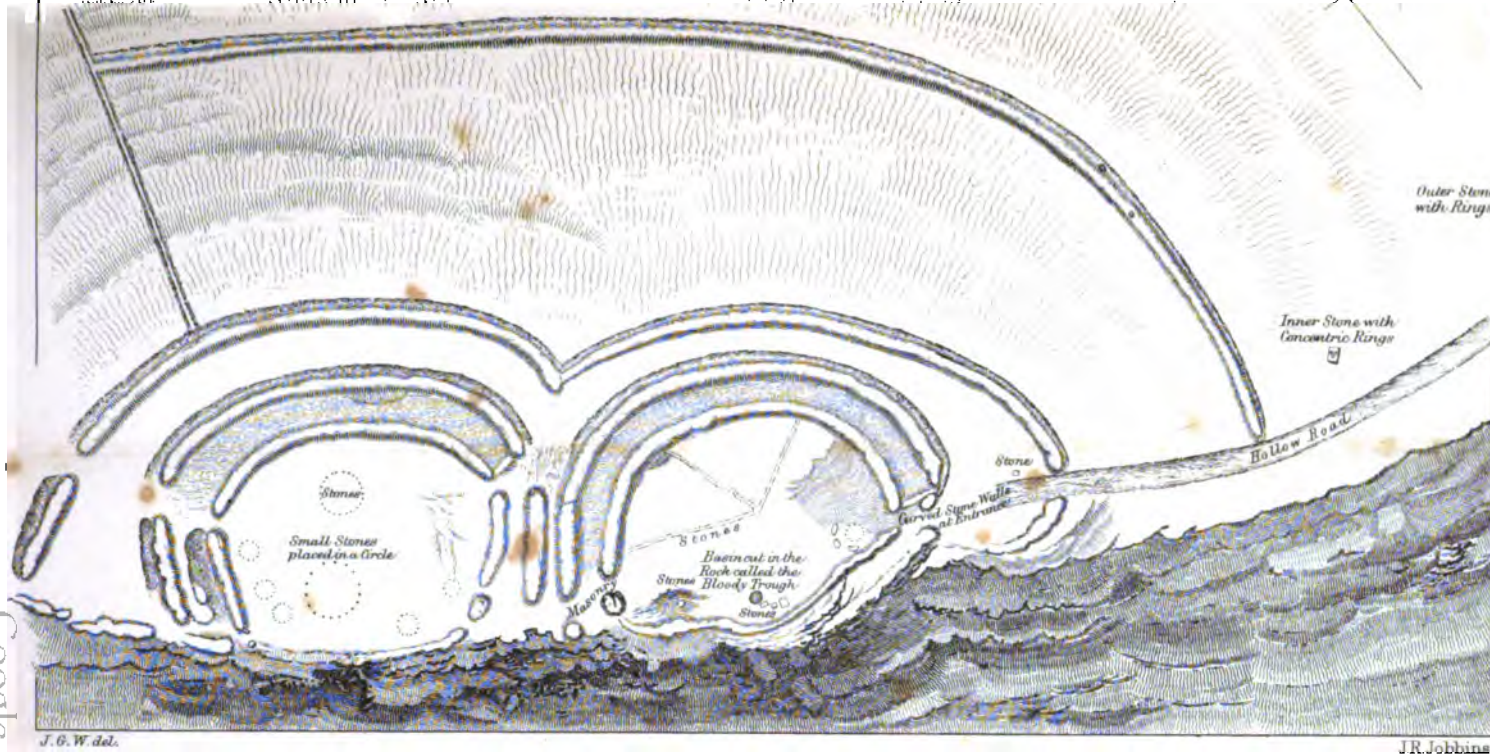
At Rowtin Lynn.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 2.

J.R.Jobbins

British Camp of Old Bewick in Northumberland in 1850.



them measures 14 feet by 8 feet 7 inches, being larger than any of those forming the circle. The agger had a counterscarp towards the ditch, fronted with stone, and was itself composed of small stones and earth. At the south-east corner, about fifty feet from the southern entrance, is another barrow or *tumulus*, projecting from the exterior of the agger, in which a vase was found, of British time; and in the large tumulus called Gib Hill, a cist was discovered, consisting of a slab placed on upright stones; both which are in Mr. Bateman's valuable collection at Youlgrave. (See vol. xv, p. 152, pl. 12, of this *Journal*, 1859.)

The number of stones composing this circle exceeds that of many others remaining in the country, which seem very often to have had nineteen or twenty,—the former being also the number in the inner part of Stonehenge, supposed to have reference to the Metonic cycle. At Arbe Low the number of stones was probably between forty and fifty, few of which now remain in their proper position; and as the two entrances do not accord with the centre of the circle, they were more numerous on one side than on the other. The old or inner circle of Stonehenge appears to have consisted of about fifty-six or fifty-seven: the larger circle, of more massive, and well-hewn stones, which is of a later date, having apparently thirty or thirty-one; and the five contemporary trilithons, outside the nineteen enclosing the sanctuary, consisting of ten. The number nineteen is certainly worthy of notice; and I cannot read the account given by Diodorus (ii, 47) on the authority of that greatest and earliest traveller, Hecatæus, of the circular temple of the Sun, and of the belief of the Hyperboreans (or Britons), that the god visited their island every nineteen years, during which the revolutions of the stars were completed (when great ceremonies were performed by their priests and bards, from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiads), without considering that this account connects the cycle of nineteen years with the number of those stones at Stonehenge. It must, however, be confessed that the number of stones in sacred circles is far from being always nineteen, or multiples of it; nor is twelve a "number more frequently found than any

not properly a cromlech. Some think *cromlech* a later name, and that it was originally merely *llech*; but *cromlech* is the name among the peasantry, who do not derive names from books. They are probably all sepulchral.

other"; nor are they confined to the range "from twelve to twenty-seven." But I will not now enter into this question; and I shall only observe that the three remaining stones, in the circular platform round Stonehenge, shew their position to have been fixed by the length of the radius of the circle, and that their original number, six, divided it into six parts.

Many other remarkable mementos of our British ancestors might be noticed; but I shall be satisfied for the present to invite attention to certain rude concentric rings carved upon stones, which, as far as my observations carry me, only occur outside the *enceinte* of ancient forts, or of sacred circles. They appear to be confined to the north of our island, and chiefly to Northumberland. I have also met with one on the long upright stone outside the sacred circle near Penrith in Cumberland, known by the name of "*Long Meg* with her Daughters"; but they are not found in Devonshire and Cornwall. They generally consist of three or four concentric rings, the outer one measuring from about seven inches to twenty-four in diameter; the innermost one, or centre, being a single dot, from which a line, more or less straight, runs directly through the successive rings, and extends beyond the circumference of the outermost one. (Pl. 10, figs. 2, 3, and 4.) The first that I observed was that on the stone called "Long Meg" near Penrith. (See pl. 10, figs. 1*a*, *b*.) This was in 1835, at which time, I believe, they had never been noticed;[1] and though I continued to search for them in many places, it was not till 1850 that, in visiting the double British camp called Old Bewick, in Northumberland, I met with other instances of these concentric rings. (Figs. 3 and 4.) I there found several, carved upon two large blocks respectively thirty and a hundred and thirteen paces beyond the outermost vallum of that camp; the positions of which, as well as the curious and unusual form of the encampment, will be seen in plate 11.

Though I had found at length, after so many fruitless inquiries, that the one in Cumberland was not a solitary instance of this device, I was unable to hear of any more, until, in 1851, the attention of the Archæological Institute, during their meeting at Newcastle, was directed to them by the discovery of others at Rowtin Lynn,[2] near Ford in

[1] I should not have mentioned this, had I not been told that others have laid claim to their first discovery.

[2] Rowtin Lynn is so called from a small cascade on one side of the old camp,

Northumberland; and I was gratified by the sight of a copy of them. But nothing was then, nor has since that time been elicited, to shew their object or their meaning; and I am not disposed to maintain the opinion which at first suggested itself to me, that they related to the circular camps, and certain dispositions connected with them, such as are traced in times of danger by the Arabs on the sand, to guide the movements of a force coming to their rescue.

I afterwards visited these of Rowtin Lynn also, and found that the rock on which they were cut, stands, as usual, outside the camp; the agger of which is still traceable, though there are remains of other mounds beyond it, which may have surrounded the external enclosure in which it stands. The rings are very numerous, amounting to between twenty and thirty; and the rock is rather more than seventy feet in length. Some are more varied in form than those of Old Bewick, though they seem mostly to be designed on the same principle, with the exception of some small rings, and one of a semi-elliptical figure. (Pl. 10, fig. 2*a*.) This last measures twelve inches in breadth and ten in height. The largest of the other rings are, respectively, of 2 ft. 0½ in., 2 ft., 1 ft. 10 in., 1 ft. 8 in., and 1 ft. 3 in. diameter.

On one of the blocks at Old Bewick are about five rings; and the other bears from ten to twelve, some of which are double, like others at Rowtin Lynn (fig. 2*b*), as may be seen in fig. 3*k* and *l*, plate 10. Other rings are said to be found in Northumberland, at Dowth, and at Fordwestfield; and another occurs on a stone in one of the cells of a tumulus opened in 1853 at Pickaquoy, near Kirkwall, in Orkney.[1] Some at

and is supposed to signify "the roaring fall," though the smallness of its stream scarcely justifies such an appellation. Lynn, though properly the *pool* formed by falling water, seems often to occur in the sense of "cascade," as in Cora Lynn, one of the falls of the Clyde, and elsewhere; and its general use as a British word is confirmed by its occurrence in Cornwall also; where, the language being Celtic, the meaning of local names is often explained by words from the Welsh and Gaelic dialects. Of this I recently met with a singular illustration. Walking with some friends in Cornwall, in quest of British remains, we passed a valley the name of which, as I learnt from them, was *Lyn-her*, or *Lynn-hir*. "There must, then, be a cascade in the river," I observed. "Yes" was the reply. "And," I added, "it must be a *long fall*:" when the answer, "It is a succession of falls half a mile in length," shewed how appropriate was the name *Lynn-hir*, "long fall," and how the two words bore the same meaning in the northern and southern dialects. The custom of giving similarly descriptive names is common to other early languages. *Llyn* in Welsh means "lake."

[1] See the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. ii, pt. 3, p. 61. Those in the walls of a Pict's house in Holm of Papa Westray, in Orkney, have not the same character.

New Grange, near Drogheda, in Ireland (on the upright slabs forming the entrance-passage to the sepulchral cell), representing a scroll-shaped design, may be thought to present a similar character;[1] but others, at the same place, which are convoluted, and consist of several spiral folds turning in opposite directions, differ essentially from the concentric rings here alluded to; and are more like those at Gavr Innis,[2] in the Morbihan,[3] which I shall have occasion to mention presently. Others are found on what are called the Calder-Stones, near Liverpool; but the principal one being convoluted, while two others consist each of a central and outer ring, with another device below one of them, of elongated and pointed form like an animal's nose, these may also be considered distinct from the concentric rings of Northumberland;[4] though they may assist in establishing the fact of circular devices having been common in the northern parts of the country. Those, which are of the very complicated character before mentioned, bear some analogy to the mazes or labyrinths met with in Cumberland, Yorkshire, Bedfordshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and other parts of England, cut in turf, and varying from about thirty to sixty, or a hundred and ten feet, in diameter; and to others formed of stone which are found in Italy.[5] But it may be doubted whether these mazes bear any relationship to the concentric rings; and if, as I before observed, these ring-devices are confined to the north, and are unknown in the south, of England, there is less reason to feel surprise or regret at this circumstance, as it appears to be consistent with the fact of stones inscribed with various emblems being common in Scotland. Indeed, one of those figured in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (p. 322), which was once the cover-stone of a cist found at Coilsfield, in Ayrshire, has concentric rings carved upon it, not very unlike some at Rowtin Lynn and Old Bewick; and that it is of British time, is proved by the pattern on the urn containing the burnt bones buried

[1] Others are *reported* to exist in some chambered cromlechs in Brittany.

[2] Innis, "island," is the νησος and *insula* of Greek and Latin. *Mor* is "*mare*."

[3] See below, p. 121; and Higgins, *Celtic Druids*, p. xxxix, pl. No. 19-20.

[4] I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. H. Duckworth for very careful rubbings and an admirable sketch of the stones; and though I cannot offer any opinion respecting them, I am enabled, by these satisfactory copies, to compare them with the other markings already alluded to.

[5] See the *Journal* of the Archæological Institute, No. 59, 1858, p. 216, "On Ancient and Mediæval Labyrinths," by Mr. Trollope.

in the tomb. There is also one given in plate 123 of Mr. Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, which was found at High Auchinlay by Wigton Bay, and has similar rings;[1] though the other sculptured stones contained in that interesting work are of Christian time, and have the western, or papal, cross; with the fish, the mirror and comb, and various fanciful devices of a much later period than the pagan æra.

The introduction of emblems such as the concentric rings, in which the monuments of the north differ from those of Devonshire and Cornwall, and other southern parts of Britain, may be owing to some diversity in the habits of the two people; for though similar in their general customs, and in their erection of sacred circles, cromlechs, and other monuments, the Celtic tribes of the north and south had some peculiarities, which may be traced in their tombs and dwellings, and in certain points where a difference might reasonably be expected from their being far removed from each other; and above all, from their belonging, in most cases, not merely to different *tribes*, but to two distinct *branches* of the Celtic family. It must, however, be admitted that those who lived still further to the south had the custom of engraving stones with various devices; and some found at Gavr Innis, in the Morbihan, are covered with most complicated patterns. (See *Journal* of the British Archæological Association, vol. iii, pp. 272, 275, 278.)

It is well known that the Celts[2] of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, are of the older branch of that race, who immigrated to these islands from the east; and that the Welsh and Cornish, like the Armoricans, and like all the

[1] My friend, Mr. Rhind, whose name is so eminently connected with British antiquities, tells me of others "on a small slab dug up in the fortified enclosure on a hill-top near Dundee."

[2] Despite Cæsar's assertion that the people called by the Romans Gauls (*Galli*), were by *some of themselves* denominated Celts (*Celtæ*), there is little doubt that *Gauls*, or *Gael*, *Galli*, *Galatæ*, and Celt (Kelt, Κελτοι), are forms of the same word (properly *Gael*); and there is every reason for applying the same to the names *Welsh* and *Wales* (*Pays de Galles*), and to Cornwall (*Cornubia*). *W* for *gu* is a common mutation in many languages, as *guad* (Spanish), and *wad* (Arabic), a river; *gwirid*, *viridis*; *Gwent* and *Venta*; and *gwint* and *ventus* "wind," in Welsh and Latin; *gwr*, a man, and *gwir*, true (Welsh), and the Latin *vir* and *verus*; *guastare* (Italian), to waste; *guard* and *ward*; *Walter* and *Gualterus*; *Wilhelm* and *Gulielmus*,—with many more; and the Teutonic *Wael* (sch) is equally a form of *Gael*, whatever difference may have taken place in its application, as often happens with borrowed words in other languages. The name may be a Saxon corruption; but when Wälsch is said to have been *given to the Welsh* because they were "*foreigners*" this is unreasonable, for they were not more so to the Saxons than were other Britons.

Celtic population of Gaul described by Cæsar, were of the later immigration,[1] which swept from Gaul and from eastern Britain the older Celtic occupants, and confining them to the west and north, occupied the plain and most eligible parts of Britain in their stead,—a proceeding which was afterwards partially imitated by the Belgæ,[2] who some time before Cæsar's invasion of Britain made themselves masters of the "maritime part," or the districts lying south of the Thames, and of a line drawn from thence westward to the Bristol Channel; though they did not, as some suppose, extend their dominions to the north of the Thames; Cæsar distinctly stating that it separated the "maritime parts" from the dominions of Cassivelaunus, and from the interior.

It is also sufficiently obvious that, in the case of immigration from the east (whence the stream flowed westward over Europe), the last invading wave was that which fixed itself in the most easterly position; the older immigrants having been pressed onward by it, and forced to retire before it to the westward. This was probably the case also with the early races which peopled Italy and Greece; and we may, on the same grounds, conclude that the parents of the Latin were an earlier immigration than those of the Hellenic race. Each found an earlier people in possession of the country; and the Latin and Greek races, in like manner, dispossessed older occupants of the soil when they first arrived in Italy and Greece. Among these, their immediate predecessors, were the Celts; who were driven westward by them, as by the Teutonic race in the north; and Celtic names, indicating the nature of the

[1] This was comprised of different tribes whose dialects varied slightly, but not to the same extent as those of the two main and distinct branches of the Celtic race; and the division of each branch into three or more tribes is confirmed by tradition (as by the Welsh *Triads*), by their various names (as Cymry and others), and by difference of dialect. Some of these Triads may be of late date; but Sir Samuel Meyrick has shown that one is given by P. Mela (iii, 2), and another by Diogenes Laertius. (See *Journal* of the Brit. Arch. Assoc., 1846, p. 103; see also Camden, p. xxxvii.)

[2] If the Belgæ had held central as well as southern Britain, Winchester would scarcely have been called Venta *Belgarum*, and Wells, *Fontes Belgarum*, by way of distinction. Nor would Cæsar have said "Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur quos natos in insula ipsa memoria proditum dicunt; maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgis transierant" (*Bell. Gall.*, v. 12); and the Wansdyke is evidently the agger and fosse made by the Belgæ against the inland Britons, being intended against an enemy from the north, and being backed by forts behind it to the south. A curious custom still prevails there when a man is about to marry a wife beyond the dyke; in accordance with which the neighbours pretend to drive him back across the dyke, as if from a hostile land.

former occupants of the country, may still be traced there. Thus the rock of Scylla bears the Celtic appellation, *scill*, a rock (found also in our Scilly Isles); and Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.*, i, 5) thinks that, of Latin words derived from a foreign source, those from the Gaulish or Celtic are the most numerous ("Plurima Gallica valuerunt.") It is not, therefore, surprising that many of the so-called aboriginal languages of Italy should have an affinity to Celtic; and its relationship to Etruscan may readily be explained by an intermixture of the Celtic element. But it is an error to suppose Latin to be a mere *compound* of other languages of Italy, formed by the accidental union of several people in Rome. It was an original tongue, like Greek or any other of the Indo-European family; and in its adoption of some foreign words, it only followed the example of other languages.

Though, in so limited a space, it is not possible to enter fully into this question, I cannot refrain from mentioning certain variations in these cognate languages, the Latin and the Greek, the Irish and the Welsh, which, like the Sanscrit and the Zend, follow fixed laws; and in which a striking analogy is observable in the use of the *s* in one case, and of the *h* in the other. Thus in words common to Latin and Greek, those which in Latin *begin* with *s*, in Greek begin with H: as, for instance, the Latin *sol* (sun) is ἥλιος (*helios*) in Greek; *sal* (salt) is ἅλς[1] (*hals*); *sex* is ἓξ (*hex*); *semi* is ἡμι (*hemi*); *septem* is ἑπτα (*hepta*); *salix* (willow) is ἑλικη (*helikê*); and the same interchange of *s* and *h* is found in Erse (as well as in Gaelic) and Welsh: the sun, in Erse or Irish, *sam*, or *sail* (*sajl*), "beam," being in Welsh, *haul* (*hâil*); the Erse *sajle*, Gaelic *saill* (salt), being in Welsh *halen* (the *halan* of Cornish); and the willow in Erse, *sajleog* (Gaelic, *seileach*), being in Welsh *helyg*, as in Cornish, etc. Analogous to this is the change in Sanscrit and Zend,

[1] We are always taught that in Greek minuscules the *alpha* should be written from right to left (ɑ); and a distinguished archæologist has actually been accused of ignorance of Greek because he writes that letter like our English *a*; but all ancient inscriptions on papyri, pottery, etc., shew that it was written by the Greeks like our English *a*, from left to right (*a*). It is high time that our custom so at variance with Greek usage, and the offspring of scholastic pedantry, should be abandoned. We may hope also that θεος will no longer be derived from θεσις, τιθημι (to place), or from θεω (to run); and that *deus* of a cognate language, and an older form of the word (like the Sanscrit *dev*, *divas*), will cease to be derived from θεος. It might be pardonable in the Greeks and other tyros in etymology to fancy such derivations; but not so to adopt them in the present day.

the Sanscrit *sahasra* (thousand) being in Zend *hazanra;* the Sanscrit *swar*, in Zend *hvare* (heaven or sun); and the Sanscrit *soma* (an intoxicating beverage) in Zend *homa*.

Nations have at all times prided themselves on their antiquity. Some have assumed it on very slender grounds; others have been more open to inquiry, though their method of conducting it was as ridiculous as their conclusion. The Egyptians are reported to have sought for the oldest language by observing what children would say if debarred from hearing any spoken words; and a similar experiment was tried in Scotland by order of James IV; but by some unaccountable accident, the Egyptian children used an Egyptian word, which strangely enough led to the conclusion that Phrygian was the oldest language; while the Scotch children are reported to have spoken (instinctively) pure Hebrew! In the present day, though autochthonous claims are no longer set up, many pride themselves on their excessive antiquity; and it has been considered by the Welsh almost an affair of national honour to maintain it, and to rank themselves as the oldest of the very ancient Celtic family. But a people of high spirit should rather be satisfied with the greater honour of having belonged to the victorious race which dispossessed the older occupants of a country, and established itself in their stead; and the fact of the greater portion of the inhabitants of Britain, south of Scotland (settled there long before the period of Cæsar's invasion), having belonged to the later Celtic immigration, is proved by the dialect they used, and by that almost invariable law which, as already stated, causes the later settlers to occupy the most fertile, and to confine those they displace to the less desirable and more mountainous regions. Of that later race were the Britons, of whom the Welsh formed a part; and if, in after times, a foreign conquest of Britain has obliged them in turn to remain satisfied with their mountain land, this is a question irrespective of their original occupancy of the country, and of the inroads of their ancestors on the earlier Celtic race in olden times.

This question is also one of too great extent to be fully discussed in a limited space; but I may state, in a few words,—1°, that it is evident *the whole* island of Britain was once possessed by those earlier Celtic tribes whose descendants still occupy Scotland and Ireland as well as the Isle of

Man, together with a few other settlers. 2°, that already, in the time of Cæsar, the greater part of Britain to the south of Scotland had long been possessed by other tribes of the later Celtic stock, who, as before observed, had dispossessed the earlier cognate race; and 3°, that before the same period, Gaul had been long inhabited by some of the same later Celtic tribes. Of this relationship, between the Gauls and Britons of that period, there is sufficient evidence; not merely from the former, as Cæsar tells us,[1] having derived the Druidical rites from Britain, and from the fact of those who, in his time, wished to become acquainted with them, coming over to this island in order to complete their religious education at the fountain head of Druidism; but from the similarity of the two dialects. And as the Armorican, to this day, resembles the Cornish and the Welsh (the former the remnant of the Gaulish, and the latter two of the British tongue), so also the names of places in the two countries, Gaul and Britain, mentioned by the Romans, fully bear out the identity of their dialects;[2] for both in Gaul and Britain the word *dwr*, *dŵr*, or *dour*[3] (water), which belongs more especially to the later Celtic dialect, is applied to rivers in preference to *usk* or *uisg*[4] (water) which occurs rarely in Gaul, and which is the word so long employed for water (instead of *dour*), in Scotland and Ireland, where it is found in *whisky* and *usquebaugh* (strong water).[5] Even in the north of

[1] He says the Druidical "disciplina in Britannia reperta, et inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur, et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur."

[2] Armorica, afterwards called Brittany, derives its name (as did the Morini of the present department of Calais) from *môr* (sea), being on the sea shore. It was to Gaul what Wales was to Britain, the westernmost corner where the Celtic race found a refuge when the eastern parts were overrun by later invaders. Armorica bears no relationship to Aquitania.

[3] The word, in another cognate language, is ὕδωρ, as *Avon* is *amnis* in Latin. *Dwr* is still the usual Welsh word "water," as *Dwr twym* "warm water;" *cf* Sanscrit, *uda*, "water;" the Latin *udus*, "moist;" and the Sclavonic *voda*, water.

[4] It may, perhaps, be traced in the Sequana; in Uxellodunum on the Duranus or Dordogne; in the Axona; in two towns called Axuenna; in Axicium on the Lot; and in Aix; but these are rare instances, and may be, like Usk, Esk, Exe, and others in Britain, the names given by the *older* Celtic inhabitants.

[5] *Wysg* is not used in Welsh for "water," nor for "river," though in that dialect *wysg* does signify a current, or a stream. *Wys*, or *Ys*, means "flowing," or a "current," as in *Isère*. *Wy* (*wee*) is used for "running water," and is applied to rivers, as the *Wye*, *Tawé*, *Tawy*, etc.; *Ta*, as in *Tamar*, *Tay*, etc., signifying "wide spread." *Ai* also is "water," as *Menai* (straight), is "narrow water," and not from *Mona I.*

England, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, *dour* is rarely met with in the ancient or modern names of rivers; and though traced in some, as Derwent[1] (*dur gwent*) and a few more, and in the ancient Duris (Ptolemy's Dour), near Tralee in Ireland, a preference seems to be given to the oldest name, *uisg*. And if some streams in Wales, and at the south-west extremity of England, have retained this name, as in *Usk;* and if it may be traced in *Exe*[2] and some others, both in central and southern England, this is at once explained by the fact of the older appellation having been given to them in the time of the earlier, and retained by the later,[3] Celtic inhabitants. This I believe to have been the case also with the name of the Severn, which, in accordance with the rule in the Welsh dialect, already noticed, is called *Hafren* (*Havren*); and the Roman Sabrina was evidently borrowed from the *earlier* name of the river, which until that time had been retained, as that of *Usk* still is for one river by the Welsh. But neither *usk* nor *dour* appear to have been used in the sense of "river."[4] They both signified "water." It is also certain that though the word *usk* may exist in the later dialect, it occurs much more rarely than *dour* or *dur* in the names of rivers, and towns[5] on their banks, mentioned by the Romans, both in Britain and Gaul; and some instances of the frequent occurrence of *dur* may be seen from the following lists:

[1] In Cumberland it is easily accounted for.

[2] Exeter was Isca Damnoniorum; and in Damnonii we trace the origin of Devon, the Welsh Dyfnant,—*v*, *f*, *b*, and *m*, being transmutable letters. The older race remained most probably in Wales and Devonshire longer than in central Britain.

[3] In the same manner, old British names of rivers and mountains were retained by the Saxons. They change less than the names of towns.

[4] The term "water" for a river, is older than the term "river;" and *wysg*, or *usk*, was used in the former sense, not as "stream." In Aix it evidently had the sense of "water." Thus, too, *avon*, or *afon*, which in Welsh is "river," really means "flowing." But it was not a common term, as it seldom appears in Roman names; and if *aufona*, or *avona*, is an exception, it is of rare occurrence. And we see how much more usual was *dur* at that time both in Britain and in Gaul. Nor is *avon* common in Scotland. Cf. *penj-ab*, "five *waters*," for "five *rivers*." The next term is "the river," and lastly a *name* for it, as "the Rhone" and others; though most of these are only taken from the idea of "flowing," or from some old word meaning water or stream. *Cf. βεω*, "to flow, *rièka* (Slav.), "river," *Rhean* (Welsh) a "rill," etc. Some were called from their supposed appearance, as Dee (*Dhu*, "black"); Nile (*Nil*, "blue"), a colour given to the god Nilus. Could the Latin *aqua* have been originally *asqua?*

[5] Which are *later* names than those of rivers.

IN GAUL.	IN BRITAIN.
Antissiodurum. *Auxerre.*	Derventio. *Derby* and *Derwent*, i.e., *Dur-gwent.*
Atur, the *Adour.*	Dorvatium, the *Dart.*
Augustodurum, in the present Normandy.	Durnovaria. *Dorchester.*
Brivodurum. *Briare.*	Durobrion. *Breg Casterton.*
Divodurum. *Metz.*	Durobrium. *Hertford.*
Divodurus, to the west of Paris.	Durobriva. *Castor.*[2]
Duranium, the *Dordogne.*	Durobriva. *Rochester.*
Durocasses. *Dreux.*	Durocobriva. *Stony-Stratford.*
Druentia, the *Durance.*	Durocornovium. *Cirencester.*
[Durias, the *Dora* at Susa.[1]]	Durolenum. *Lenham.*
Durocatalaunum. *Châlons* sur Marne	Durolipons. *Cambridge* or *Godmanchester.*
Durocortorum (afterwards called Remi). *Rheims.*	Durolitum. *Leyton.*
[Ganodurum on the Rhine, near the West end of Lake Constance.]	Durovernum. *Canterbury*, i. e., *Dur-gwern*, "water" or "river of the alder."
[Octodurum. *Martigny.*]	The modern *Adur* at Shoreham displays the same name.
[Salodurum. *Soleure.*]	
[Vitodurum. *Winterthur.*]	

Many other names of towns, of individuals, and of tribes, might also be mentioned in Gaul and Britain to prove the similarity of the two dialects; but my space forbids my noticing these and other facts in support of this opinion; and I also refrain from attempting to trace the migrations of the two main Celtic races which first peopled Gaul[3] and this island, the earlier of which was supplanted, as I have before stated, in Gaul and eastern Britain by the later branch found by the Romans, together with the Belgæ, in these countries. But I cannot conclude without observing that the occupation of Wales by foreign settlers, after the departure of the Romans, is neither probable, nor necessary in order to account for the destruction of Roman towns in that part of Britain; and though I give my opinion with great deference when it differs from that of so distinguished an archæologist as Mr. Wright, I must be permitted to doubt that the Armoricans from Gaul *conquered* and *peopled* Wales

[1] In Portugal and Spain also, as the Durius, now Douro, and in the extreme south, at Granada, etc. Can *Átûr*, or *Adûr*, an ancient name of the Nile, be related to *Dur?*

[2] *Dubris, Dover*, is from *dau brê* (two hills).

[3] Ortholithic remains are found in Savoy. At Regnier I have seen a three-pillared cromlech, called Pierre des Fées; and others are found in Germany, North Friesland, and Norway. They are also met with in very different parts of the world, in Persia and India, in Malabar, Sweden, Malta, Syria, and Northern Africa, etc. I may also notice the frequent occurrence of names in Savoy which are still common in Wales, as *nant* (a brook), *e.g.*, Nant d'Arpenes, Nant de Borgeat, etc.

"in the fifth century," or that there is any necessity for attributing the destruction of the Roman towns there to a *supposed* event which is at variance with the traditions and history of the country. Indeed, there seems to be no more reason for considering the Welsh a colony from Armorica, or the Armoricans a colony from Wales, than for supposing, in the case of any other two countries where the same language is spoken, that one was necessarily peopled from the other, rather than offsets from the same stock; and the occasional passage of any number of settlers from one to the other does not imply colonization.

Relations of amity and frequent intercourse had long before been established between Wales and Armorica. Britons from Wales had migrated to it A.D. 383; and about 456, Samson, one of the Welsh priests who passed over to Gaul, became bishop of Dôl. It was also to that country that many fled from Wales when alarmed by the Saxon invasion; and there seems reason to believe that the Armoricans, who retained their Druidical rites as late as 458 A.D., were converted to Christianity through this intercourse with, and this influx of, the Christian Britons. And if Armorica, in after times, received the name of Brittany, it is more reasonable to conclude (even if no other evidence were present to assist us) that a *greater* influx of settlers had taken place from Britain to Armorica, than from the latter to any part of Britain.

It cannot certainly be supposed that the Britons in Wales had lost their language, and received the present one, *after* the Romans had left Britain, from Armorica. Still less could they have derived it from Scotland,[1] as some have imagined, the dialects of Wales and Scotland being a *different branch* of the Celtic; and though Wales was occupied by the Romans, the language and race were not destroyed. Even if the

[1] This modern name of the ancient Caledonia is derived from the Scoti, a Celtic tribe which passed over from Ireland to Cantyre (*ceantir*, "headland"), A.D. 503. They are supposed to be Dalriads who had originally migrated from Scotland to Ireland; and as the Hellenes of Phthiotis gave their name to all Greece, so the Scoti gave theirs to all Scotland. But the name Scoti, or Scotch, which is that of a small fraction of the Celtic population of the country, when applied to the Lowland Scotch is really a misnomer, as they are not Celts, but descendants of the Anglo-Saxon invaders who confined the Celtic race to the west of a curved line extending from Nairn to the North Esk and Dunkeld, and thence to Dumbarton, which may be readily seen in the map of Browne's *History of the Highlands*. The Highlanders are Celts, but the Lowlanders are of the Anglo-Saxon race, as are the Anglo-Saxon English.

peasants of a conquered country become serfs, still they remain, and retain their language. Nor are the women destroyed; the invaders intermarry with them: so that half the community preserves the old language and customs, and their influence on the children has its effect. The natives also exceed in numbers the powerful minority by whom they have been conquered; and the invading race fails to constitute the *population* of a country. In this a conquest differs from an immigration, where a whole tribe dispossesses, and sometimes sweeps off, the entire native race. Nor is the character of the original race changed by an infusion of foreign blood; and it is curious to observe in how many particulars the character of the Gauls, given by some ancient writers, resembles that of their successors at the present day. This, too, is remarkable, that the mixture of races has an effect upon the face long after all foreign blood has been absorbed; and in like manner the peculiar features of some remote ancestor occasionally reappear in a late descendant, and are sometimes confined to this single repetition.

It would require more than an invasion, or a conquest, by a body of Armoricans, to change the language of a country like Wales, and impose their own; and experience abundantly proves that even the *occupation* of a country by a foreign race frequently fails to have this effect. On the contrary, conquerors adopt the language of the country they invade, whenever they do not establish themselves there in preponderating numbers; and thus the Normans abandoned their own, and that, too, at a time when the language of France was in embryo, and in a state of formation. French was only forming in the first half of the 900 A.D., and the Normans settled in Neustria in 911. Forty years after this, "the Danish language struggled for existence"; and according to Palgrave, it was in Normandy that the *langue d'oil* acquired its greatest polish.

The English, again (whom history proves to have had a power in Wales, to which the Armoricans have no claim either from history, or any authorised conjecture) never changed the language, which to this day continues to be spoken, and is in many parts the only one known to the Welsh, notwithstanding the many advantages which might be derived from a knowledge of English; and if a language continues unchanged under such circumstances, it is not

easy to credit its entire displacement by the irruption, or the temporary settlement, of any body of Armoricans.

The language of Wales, as of Cornwall, was the same, or a dialect of the same, which was spoken in the south of Britain by the Celtic tribes who constituted that branch of the Celtic population of the country; which is proved by the names of places and persons at the period of the Roman conquest, as I have already stated; and the frequent occurrence of the marked word *went* or *gwent*, as Venta Silurum (Caerwent), Venta Belgarum (Winchester or Caerwent), Venta Icenorum (Norwich or Caistor), Derventio (Derby and Derwent), and others, and that of *gwin* or *vin*, in the names of places and individuals, shew the common use of words still well known in Welsh,—the modern remnant and representative of the Celtic language of the southern portion of our island.[1] As the *Cymry*, or Welsh, continue still to be un-Anglicized, so the same people of old, as well as those of *Cumberland* and Cornwall, continued to be un-Saxonized Britons; and two of them have retained their peculiar appellation of "the conlinguar," or compatriot race, indicated by the word *Cymbro* or *Cymro*, which is still traced in the modern names *Cymro*, *Cymru*, and *Cumberland*.

If the Armoricans had gone over to Wales at the time of the Saxon invasion of Britain, their visit could only have had for its object the assistance and support of their kinsmen, and they would have had no reason for destroying the Roman towns. Such a visit will not, therefore, account for their destruction; and it is far more reasonable to suppose that when the Romans left those parts of Wales, which they occupied chiefly for mining purposes, the towns being deserted fell into decay; the people of the country, who then lived for the most part as an agricultural and shepherd race, not caring to inhabit them.[2]

The occupation of a country, of sufficient duration to change its language, would rather argue the possession than the destruction of the towns, which would have also served as strongholds; and their entire demolition would not only

[1] Aristotle (*De Mundo*, c. 3) mentions the "Bretanic Isles" under the names of "Albion" and "Ierné" (Erin), shewing that Albion is not from the Latin *albus* and the whiteness of its cliffs. Alban, applied to Scotland, signifies the "*highest*" part.

[2] They were very different in *olden* times, when they had their strongholds, as at Carn-Goch and other fortified places.

have been an Herculean task, but a neglect of the very advantages they offered to a people holding military possession of a country; for they were towns, not cities; and if these towns were fortified by walls, they would have been better adapted than mere entrenched camps for its permanent occupation. Again, if the towns were suddenly and completely destroyed, this is more likely to have been the work of the Welsh, to prevent their serving as strongholds for the Saxons; from whom they could protect themselves more effectually in their hilly retreats than in towns, which they had not the means of defending against such powerful adversaries.

By doing this they freed themselves from any formidable aggression of the Saxons; and the fact of these invaders not having occupied the country is in accordance with my view of the state of Wales at that period. It is, however, far from certain that all those towns, as towns, were strongly walled; and judging from the unfortified condition of some of them,[1] even in the most secluded mining districts, we may conclude that they were not generally furnished with defences of the same strength and durability as those in other parts of Britain. Moreover, where the remains of towns fortified with strong walls, like Caerleon and Caerwent, still exist, it is evident that even these were not occupied by the Britons on the retirement of the Romans; and this convinces me that the Welsh, feeling more secure in the natural fastnesses of their hilly country, did not require artificial defences, to which they had been unaccustomed; and that the circumstance of other Roman towns being no longer traceable may be attributed to the effects of time, rather than to their forcible demolition by a foreign invader.

In olden days, before the Romans had broken down the martial spirit of the old Britons of Wales, they might have willingly occupied any towns whose sites were calculated for defence; and we know, from the extensive remains of the walled and entrenched camps they once possessed, that the habits of themselves and their neighbours required those strongholds. But long before the Roman occupation had ceased, they had abandoned warlike pursuits; and the nature of their country enabled them to dispense with walled towns, persuaded, as they doubtless were, that greater security was

[1] "Tre-coch" (the red town,—doubtless from the bricks of the ruins), at the gold mines of the Ogófau, in Carmarthenshire, had evidently no wall.

afforded them in their mountain districts which offered no attractions to an invader.

In this they differed from the generality of the eastern Britons of England, to whom towns had become a necessity, and who could obtain no other refuge, except in a few distant hilly regions; and this sufficiently explains the occupation of the Roman towns by the eastern Britons, and the disregard of them by the Britons of Wales. The subsequent settlements in the *neighbourhood* of the old sites, as at Caerleon and other places, is a different question, and quite irrespective of any *occupation* of the Roman towns; and we know that these were not at once transformed into Welsh towns, which are of a later date.

A general migration of the eastern Britons did not certainly take place into Wales with a view of escaping from the Saxon invasion, which in reality was not a sudden one; nor was this influx of fugitives required in order to people the country. It was not till then uninhabited; and though many who lived on the borders did very wisely avail themselves of the refuge offered by that hilly and secluded country, they did not constitute the population of Wales. But to deny that any fled thither, is to suppose them incapable of following the ordinary dictates of self-preservation. If, however, it is unnecessary to introduce refugees from eastern Britain, in Saxon times, to account for the population and language of Wales, it is still more unnecessary to introduce them from Armorica, or any other country.