

IX.—*On Ancient British Barrows, especially those of Wiltshire and the adjoining Counties. (Part I. Long Barrows). By JOHN THURNAM, Esq. M.D., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Wiltshire.*

Read December 12th, 1867; February 20th and 27th, 1868.

THE results of explorations in the sepulchral tumuli of the pre-Roman or ancient British period of this country have never been exhibited in a distinct manner, or in a form useful for the purpose of comparison. Numerous investigations of these barrows, in nearly every part of England, some on a larger and some on a smaller scale, have at different times been made; but, if we except Sir John Lubbock's analysis of the results obtained by Mr. Bateman in Derbyshire and the adjoining counties, and of part of those obtained by Sir R. C. Hoare in Wiltshire,^a no one has been at the pains of analysing the results arrived at, or of pointing out the inferences to which they lead. As is well known, "Wiltshire is the county where the monumental remains of the ancient occupants of Britain are at once the most numerous and characteristic;"^b in no other district of the island are the barrows so numerous, and no examinations of them perhaps so important as those conducted by Sir R. C. Hoare and his coadjutor Mr. Cunnington; whether we consider the number excavated, the results obtained, or the character of the district, the seat of great Druidical fanes and places of resort, the ruins of which are found at Avebury and Stonehenge. In the magnificent but ponderous and costly folios of his "*Ancient Wiltshire*," Sir Richard Hoare printed the details of his researches; but in this work they are exhibited in a far from convenient or accessible form, and they have never been subjected to a full and complete numerical analysis.

Having during many years occasionally sought relaxation in what a former Secretary of this Society has designated, not inaptly, "a description of barrow-digging at once tedious, irksome, and laborious,"^c I had long been desirous to

^a Sir John Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, 1865, chap. iv. Tumuli, pp. 83-118. *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. N.S.* 1865, iii. 307; 1867, v. 114.

^b Dr. R. G. Latham, in *Dict. of G. and R. Geography*, article "*Belgæ*," i. 387.

^c J. Y. Akerman, "*On the Opening of Four Ancient British Barrows in South Wilts.*" *Archæologia*, xxxv. 480.

ascertain the results which might be deduced from the extensive researches of the Wiltshire Baronet; and about ten years since I extracted from the "Ancient Wiltshire," in a tabular form, all the descriptions of the tumuli the opening of which is recorded in that work. It is the results thus obtained, in connection with those yielded by my own researches, and with such other observations as serve to illustrate the subject, which are exhibited in, and form the basis of, the present papers.

INTRODUCTION.

External Forms. Observations of the older Writers.—It will in the first place be convenient to devote some attention to the outer forms of the barrows, which present no little variety. Considering the great number of these primitive sepulchral monuments in Wiltshire, it need not perhaps surprise us that all the earlier observations and classifications of barrows refer to this county. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, alludes to the "sepultures of men of warre . . . in dyvers places of the playne," near Avebury, by which he evidently intends the barrows;^a whilst he describes those near Stonehenge, with precision and even elegance, as "monticuli illi ex egesta terra conglobati."^b Camden added little to Leland. Writing of Wiltshire he says, "Many such artificial hills both round and pointed are to be seen in these parts, and are called burrowes or barrowes, probably thrown up in memory of soldiers slain thereabouts. Bones are found in them." More attention was paid to the sepulchral tumuli of this county by that "indefatigable searcher-out of antiquities"^c John Aubrey, the Wiltshire antiquary. In his *Monumenta Britannica*, which still remains as a whole unpublished, Aubrey has a separate chapter on barrows, and treats of them likewise in connection with Stonehenge. He seems to have been the first to question the common opinion, which was entertained by Leland, Inigo Jones,^d and Camden, that all barrows "were made for burying the dead that were slayne hereabouts in battels;" and with reason presumes "they were the mausolea or burying-places for the great persons

^a See also Leland's *Assert. Inclyt. Arturi*, eds. 1540, 1715, and *Collect.* 1770, v. 44; where he attributes the barrows to the Saxons who fell in battle.

^b *Comment. de Script. Britann.* De Ambrosio Merlino Cambro. 1709, p. 44.

^c Stukeley, who profited more by Aubrey's unpublished labours than he had the candour to avow, so designates Aubrey. *Itin. Cur.* ii. 169.

^d Inigo Jones's *Stonehenge*, ed. 1725, p. 62. Another author of the 17th century, Sir Thomas Browne, also regards barrows as "the sepulchral monuments of eminent persons, especially such as died in the wars." *Tract IX. On Artificial Hills, Mounts, or Barrows*, 1658.

and rulers of those times," whom, he says, "they chose to let lye drye upon such hilly ground; and those of the same familie would desire to lye near one another."^a Aubrey distinguishes the circular from oblong barrows, which last he makes the subject of a separate chapter, giving them, especially when surrounded by standing stones, the name of "sepulchres." Among round barrows he again distinguishes "some about Stonehenge," which, he says, "have circular trenches about them, and the trench is distant from the barrow," clearly the form afterwards known as bell-shaped. He likewise particularly notices those elegant barrows of slight elevation to which I have proposed to give the name of "disc-shaped."^b These he describes as "circular trenches, with a shallow protuberance, or little tump or two of earth, in the centre The diameter is of good length The graffes (*i.e.* ditches) of these circles are inwards." In more than one place in his MS. work he inserts a diagram of these earthworks, to which, though he treats of them in his chapter on barrows, he does not give that name, but, with his friend Colonel James Long, regards them as "places for the combustion of the dead, and for performing the funeral ceremonies."^c It is clearly these observations of Aubrey's put into a methodical form, probably by his friend Tanner, that form the basis of the classification of barrows which appeared in Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1695, whilst Aubrey was still living. This classification is as follows: "There are several sorts of barrows on these downs (of Wiltshire); 1. small circular trenches, with very little elevation in the middle; 2. ordinary barrows; 3. barrows with ditches round them; 4. large oblong barrows, some with trenches round them, others without; 5. oblong barrows with stones set up all round them."

This classification was adopted by Dr. Stukeley, who, however, applied to the different forms of tumuli designations having no better foundation than his own fancy.^d Of all the writers on our national antiquities, there is perhaps none whom it is so difficult justly to estimate as Stukeley. In no other works of his time is there such a mixture of minute original observation with crude and ill-

^a In other places in the *Monumenta Britannica*, Aubrey seems to adhere to the old opinion, that barrows are an indication of battles. This opinion was more decidedly contested by Stukeley.

^b *Examination of Barrows on the Downs of North Wilts.* Wiltshire Arch. and Nat. History Magazine, vi. 1860, 332.

^c "Within the circles," says Aubrey, "everybody was not permitted to enter; 'procul ô procul ite profani.'" The tump in the centre "was perhaps the remainder of the ashes of the wood, or perhaps it might be an elevation for the priest or general to make his harangue."

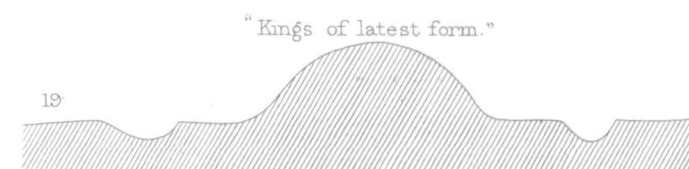
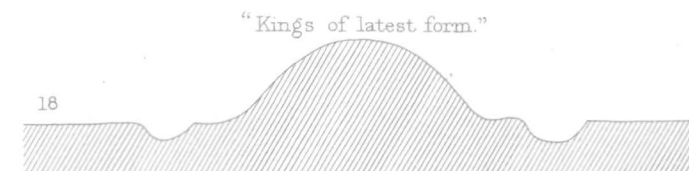
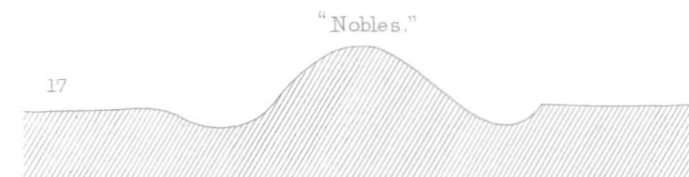
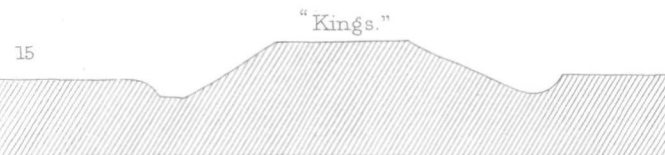
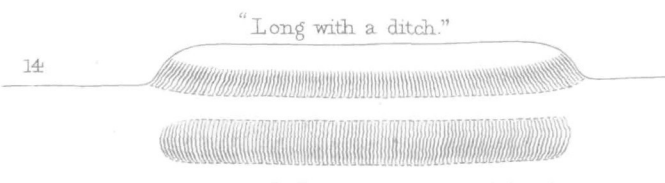
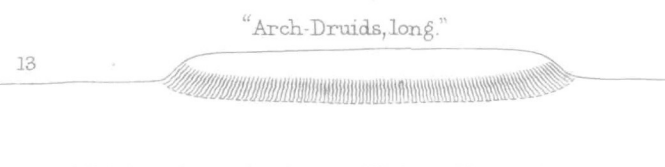
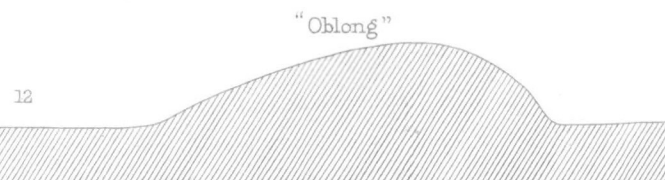
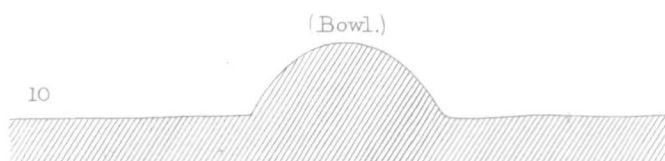
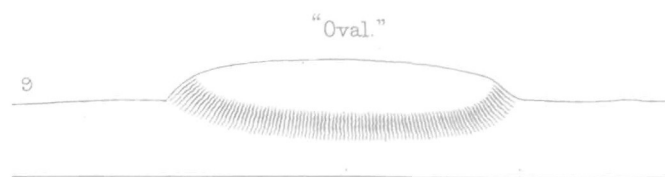
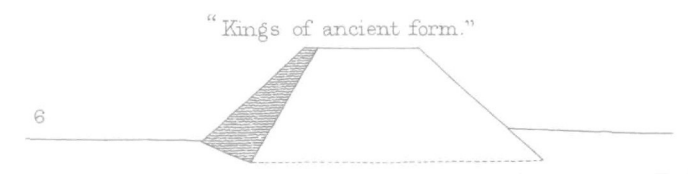
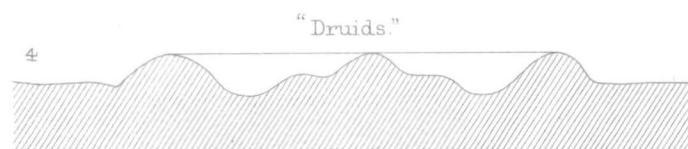
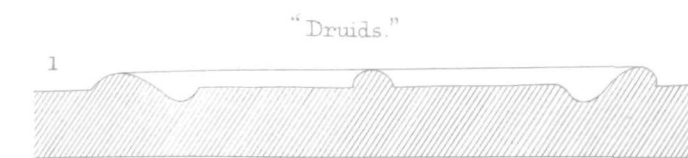
^d Stukeley, *Stonehenge*, 1740, p. 43. *Abury*, 1743, p. 40.

founded conjecture and hypothesis, and there are none probably which require to be used with so much caution. In his "Stonehenge" Dr. Stukeley draws attention to the "variety in the shape and turn" of the barrows in that neighbourhood, "and in their diameters and manner of composition. . . . They are assuredly," says he, "the single sepulchres of kings and great personages, buried during a considerable space of time, and that in peace. . . . The variety in them seems to indicate some note of difference in the persons there interred. . . . Probably the priests and laity were someway distinguished, as well as the different orders and stations in them." On no better grounds than these conjectures, and on the solitary fact, as he says, that a brass celt was found in the great long barrow furthest north from Stonehenge,^a he terms the "ordinary barrow," and barrows with ditches round them, "King barrows;" the "circular trenches" of Aubrey, "Druid barrows;" and the oblong tumuli, "Arch-Druids' barrows." Stukeley's imagination, however, did not stop here. Some years since, in looking through the large and unarranged collection of the Stukeley drawings and MSS., formerly in the possession of Gough and now in the Bodleian Library, I met with two sheets of elaborate and carefully-drawn sketches, the one entitled "The forms of the Barrows at Stonehenge, in Section;" the other, "Celtic Sepulchral Monuments at Abury." On the former are sketches of twenty-four, and on the latter of fifteen, varieties of barrows, four of the latter surrounded by peristaliths of standing stones. The designations^b attached to these sketches of barrows are remarkable for their wildly-fanciful character. They are "Druids," "Arch-Druids," "Druid and his wife," "Bards," "Priestess," "Kings of ancient, more ancient, and most ancient forms," "Kings of latest form," "King and his friend," "King and his wife," "Kindred kings," "Princes," and "Nobles"! From the ill effects of this terminology, quite enough of which was given to the world by Stukeley, the study of the primitive sepulchral antiquities of England has not yet entirely recovered.

^a No doubt Knighton Long Barrow, two miles due north from Stonehenge. "*Stonehenge*," p. 46; "*Abury*," p. 41. Stukeley maintained that the use of bronze celts was for cutting the mistletoe. *Stonehenge*, pp. 39, 46, tab. I. In speaking of another long barrow, likewise supposed by him to have been that of an Arch-Druid (loc. cit. p. 38), Stukeley pleads for "liberty in these kind of conjectures," in which he says "there is this present use, to affix thereby names to things, that we may talk more intelligibly about them."

^b In the two Plates (xi. and xii.) Stukeley's sketches are very exactly reproduced. His names are repeated (in inverted commas) merely as a matter of curiosity. To eleven of the thirty-nine figures he has attached no titles; to these I have supplied designations, included within brackets. Most of these sketches and sections are very accurate: but for one or two I am not aware that there is any authority: especially I question Nos. 5, 6, and 7, in Plate xi.

"THE FORM OF THE BARROWS AT STONEHENGE IN SECTION." (From Stukeley)



On the other hand, Stukeley's merits in regard to barrows ought not to be overlooked. He was one of the first to excavate them and to record what he found. In conjunction with Thomas the eighth Earl of Pembroke, he opened nine or ten barrows near Stonehenge. Two of these were disc-shaped; the sepulchral character of which, discredited by Aubrey, he was the first to prove.^a His excavations in the larger bell-shaped barrows were less successful, as in three out of the four, opened by him and Lord Pembroke, he failed to find the primary interment, having desisted before reaching the floor of the barrow, on meeting with secondary deposits—skeletons—at no great distance from the summit. In all three, cists scooped in the native chalk, and containing the primary interment of burnt bones with various ornaments, were found, about eighty-five years afterwards, by Sir R. C. Hoare and Mr. Cunnington.^b To Stukeley we owe the appropriate designation of campaniform, or bell-shaped, as applied to the more elegant circular barrows surrounded by trenches.^c

Another important observation of Stukeley's is that which refers to the relation of the roads formed by the Romans to certain tumuli adjacent to them. In three instances he shows that a Roman road passes across or encroaches upon a disc-shaped barrow, proving that the latter are earlier in date, and pre-Roman. Stukeley's accuracy in this statement may still be verified in the case of one, if not two, barrows at Woodyates, Dorset, and in that of another near Beckhampton, North Wilts; but all trace of that on the line of the Roman road near West Kennet is now obliterated.^d The bowl- and bell-shaped mounds would doubtless

^a In the two disc-shaped barrows opened by Stukeley, No. 149 and No. 159 of Sir R. C. Hoare's large map, he found a deposit of burnt bones in a hole scooped out of the chalk rock, but no urn; though in another place (*Stonehenge*, p. 10) he states that there "is commonly an urn" under the "small tump of earth in the middle."

^b The four bell-shaped barrows are two sets of twin-barrows, No. 29 and No. 147 of Hoare (*Ancient Wilts*, i. 161, 200). The other barrows, bowl-shaped, of slight elevation, opened by Stukeley, were one of Group 14 and No. 16 of the same map. In both of these, as well as in another on Windmill Hill, near Avebury, he found the primary interment of burnt bones. (*Stonehenge*, p. 45, plate xxxi. *Abury*, p. 45.) In the Bodleian MSS. Stukeley names having opened "the little long barrow near Stonehenge;" but whether he means by this designation No. 17, No. 165, No. 170, or No. 173 of Hoare's map there is no evidence.

^c I believe the first trace of this term is in the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, vol. i. 1724, p. 40; where Stukeley names "a curious barrow" seen by him at Souldern, Oxon, in 1712, which was "neatly turned, like a bell."

^d *Itin. Cur.* i. 133, 180. *Stonehenge*, p. 9, plate iv. *Abury*, pp. 26, 45, plate viii. ix. The surveys of Sir R. C. Hoare fully confirm Stukeley, and supply other examples. (*Ancient Wilts*, i. 243. Comp. pp. 181, 187, 232, vol. ii. p. 36, Roman *Æra*, pp. 29, 39, 88, and accompanying maps.) Stukeley's statement, that the Roman road near Kennet deviates from the straight line in order to avoid Silbury Hill, has, as now proved, been needlessly questioned; though that it was posterior in date to the ancient works of

"CELTIC SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS AT ABURY." (From Stukeley)

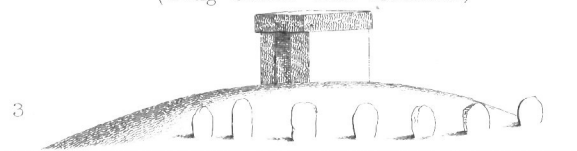
"Druids."



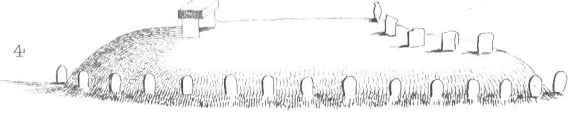
(Bowl with peristalith.)



(Long barrow with Cromlech.)



(Chambered Long barrow)



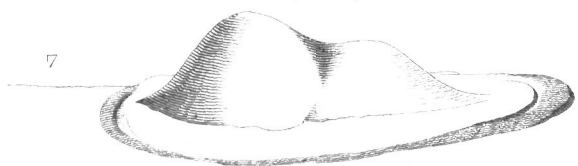
"Arch-Druids."



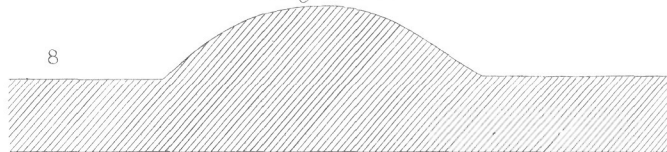
(Triple.)



(Twin)



"Kings oldest."



"Kings older."



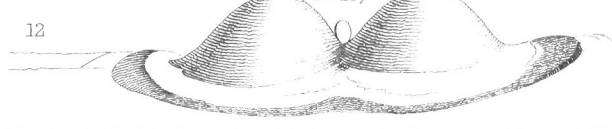
Kings old.



"Kings later."



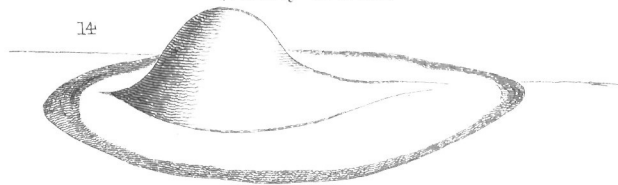
(Twin)



(Twin)

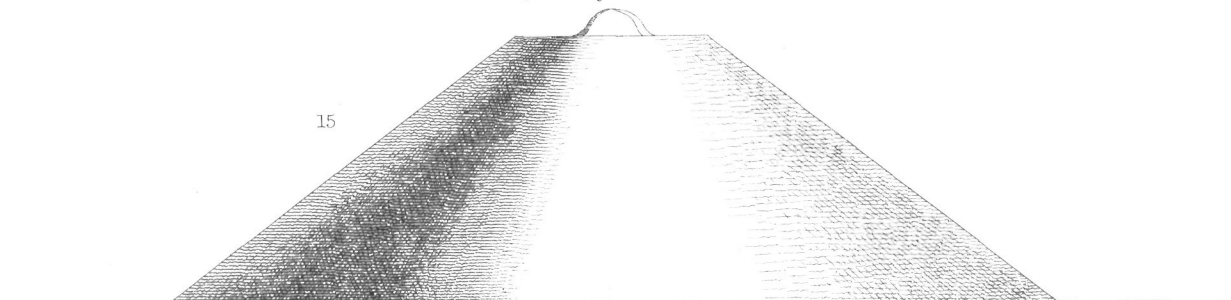


(Variety of Bell.)



(Silbury Hill.)

15



be avoided by the Roman road-makers; and it is precisely these inconspicuous flat tumuli which were liable to be invaded by them. The proof thus afforded of the prior date of the tumuli is the more important, as of all forms of British barrows the disc-shaped is probably the latest.

The next observations we meet with on the forms of the barrows are those by Sir R. C. Hoare, already referred to. The publication of the first volume of "Ancient Wiltshire" was completed in 1812; and in the Introduction to this work Sir Richard describes and figures no fewer than twelve different forms of barrow, all of which are probably of the British or pre-Roman period. He says, "I have marked the decided forms and the most prominent varieties, but many more of the latter might have been given."^a Those he enumerates are—I. The Long barrow; II. Bowl barrow; III. Bell barrow; IV. Druid barrow; V. Druid barrow (No. 2); VI. Pond barrow; VII. Twin barrow; VIII. Cone barrow; IX. Broad barrow; X. Druid barrow (No. 3); XI. Druid barrow (No. 4); and XII. Long barrow (No. 2). It may, however, be shown that of these forms the first four only are distinct types, and that the remaining seven^b are varieties of

Avebury is clear from its bisecting the eastern avenue of that great temple, just as the Roman road near Woodyates crosses the curious British "cursus" of Vindogladia. (*Ancient Wilts*, Roman Æra, p. 29). Stukeley, with reason, employs a similar argument to prove the British character of the Wansdyke, in his account of the curious junction of the Roman road with that celebrated boundary on Calston Hill, where "the bank of the dike is thrown in (down a precipice) in order to form the road." (*Abury*, p. 27.)

^a *Ancient Wilts*, i. 20-23, with three folio plates of the several forms.

^b I do not include No. VI. or "Pond-barrow," a misnomer introduced by Sir R. C. Hoare, it not being a barrow at all, but a circular excavation in the surface, similar to what might be made for a pond. The name "barrow" (Anglo-Saxon *beorh*, a hill,) necessarily involves the idea of a mound or heap, and, as applied to sepulchral monuments, implies a grave-mound: it is entirely inapplicable to such hollows as are here referred to. These circular excavations are often found among or adjacent to the barrows of Wiltshire, but the area within has scarcely ever yielded traces of interment. Sir Richard (*Ancient Wilts*, i. 22), and, as I find from the MS. notes kindly lent me by his son, the late Rev. E. Duke, of Lake House, Wilts, excavated the centre of three without finding sepulchral or other remains; in a fourth, however, in a hole in the chalk, there was a deposit of burnt bones. Dean Merewether opened others in North Wilts, and the Rev. J. H. Austen one in Purbeck, Dorset, (*Salisbury vol. of Arch. Institute*, p. 85; *Papers of Purbeck Society* for 1858,) and found nothing. I have also dug into two or three, including that marked No. 14 on Winterbourn Stoke Down (*Ancient Wilts*, i. 121), with the same negative result; save only that in one (No. 94 or 97, *Ancient Wilts*, i. 168), a mile to the north of Stonehenge, I found the skull and bones of the right arm of a woman *in situ*. The absence of the left arm and of the lower part of the skeleton was remarkable, and showed that the body had been dismembered before burial, which was probably long subsequent to the formation of the cavity. Stukeley opened one near Stonehenge (*Stonehenge*, p. 45), and found nothing but a bit of red pottery. He speaks of them as "circular dish-like cavities dug

quite secondary importance. In such a fourfold classification Sir Richard himself ultimately acquiesced.^a Those called by him Cone and Broad are in fact varieties of the Bowl barrow, of little importance, just as are Nos. 2, 3, and 4 of the so-called Druid barrow (No. 1). No. XII. or the Long barrow (No. 2)—the Oval barrow—with a trench all round, is, as I shall show, a compound variety of the bowl barrow; whilst No. VII. the Twin barrow, consists of two barrows, bowl- or bell-shaped, as the case may be, generally the latter, surrounded by a common ditch.

The classification of barrows by their outer form has often been objected to. I am not, however, aware of any geologist of repute who “makes out the barrows to be diluvial formations left by the flood and other waters,” though this has been gravely asserted by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* as an objection to Sir Richard Hoare’s classification.^b Mr. T. Wright objects to it on grounds less visionary, though to myself not convincing; and regards the outward forms of barrows as “frequently due to accidental circumstances.”^c Even the late Mr. Kemble objects to the distinction as “unnecessary,” and would designate all barrows, he says, whether long, bell, or Druid, under the general name of conical graves, the *kegelgräber* of the Germans.^d I believe, however, that when kept within proper limits the distinction by outer form is well founded, and that such will appear in the course of these papers.

There is nothing to object to in Sir R. C. Hoare’s designations of the three first of his primary forms of the long-, bowl-, and bell-shaped barrow. That of Druid-barrow, which he adopts from Stukeley, and by which he designates his fourth form, is, however, very objectionable; and, as involving a hypothesis without probable basis, ought to be abolished. I have for several years past designated this species of barrow by the term disc-shaped, which appears sufficiently to characterise the form, which is that of a circular shallow dish inverted. Adopt-

in the chalk, like a barrow reversed;” and elsewhere calls them “barrows inverted.” (*Abury*, p. 12.) His view of their use as “places for sacrificing and feasting in memory of the dead” is not unlikely. The earth and chalk excavated from them would be employed, we may suppose, in the completion of one or more of the adjacent barrows, whilst the hollow itself was perhaps temporarily roofed in, so as to form a place of shelter during the time occupied by the funeral ceremonies and in the formation of the barrows.

^a *Ancient Wilts*, ii. 1821, 109. *Modern Wilts*. Ambresbury, 1826, p. 54. Compare *Tumuli Wiltunenses*, 1829, p. 5.

^b *Edinburgh Review*, “*Bards and Druids*,” July 1863, p. 59.

^c *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, 1852, p. 50. 2nd ed. 1861, p. 50. *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1847, vol. ii. p. 50.

^d *Arch. Journal*, 1855, xii. 387.

ing these four primary forms, with their really important modifications, I propose further to classify the barrows of this part of England according to the following scheme :

CLASSIFICATION OF BARROWS.^a

		Examples in Plates XI. and XII.
I. LONG BARROWS. (<i>Stone period</i>).		
1. SIMPLE OR UNCHAMBERED LONG BARROWS.		Pl. XI. 12, 14.
2. CHAMBERED LONG BARROWS.		„ XII. 3, 4, 5.
II. ROUND BARROWS. (<i>Bronze period</i>).		
1. BOWL-SHAPED BARROWS	<i>a.</i> Simple bowl-barrows	„ XI. 8, 10, XII. 8, 9.
	<i>β.</i> Trenched „ „	„ „ 15, 16, 17, XII. 10.
	<i>γ.</i> Composite bowl or Oval barrows	„ „ 9, 13.
2. BELL-SHAPED BARROWS	<i>a.</i> Simple bell	„ „ 18, 19, XII. 11, 14.
	<i>β.</i> Twin	„ „ 20, 21, 22, XII. 7, 12, 13.
	<i>γ.</i> Triple	„ XII. 6.
3. DISC-SHAPED BARROWS	<i>a.</i> Simple—with flat area	„ „ 1.
	<i>β.</i> With one, two, or three small central tumuli	„ XI. 1, 2.
	<i>γ.</i> With one low mound nearly covering the area	„ „ 3, 4.

But, though the outer form is important, there can be no satisfactory classification of barrows which does not likewise refer to their internal contents. The scheme I propose is intended to group them in the order of their relative antiquity. In none of the first class, or long barrows, whether unchambered or chambered, have objects of metal, either bronze or iron, been found ; and, so far as we know, they are of the Stone period. In the second class, or round barrows, not only are there objects of stone, but also, and chiefly, those of bronze, and in very rare instances of iron also. They may be regarded, therefore, as belonging to the Bronze period, and to that of Bronze and Iron transition.

It will be convenient to divide the subject into two parts: I. Long barrows ; and II. Round barrows ; and to treat of them separately.

^a Nos. 5, 6, 7, 11, 23 and 24 in Plate XI., and Nos. 2 and 15 in Plate XII. are not classed. The occurrence of 5, 6 and 7 may be questioned ; Nos. 23 and 24 are not barrows, and No. 15, Silbury Hill, has not been proved to be sepulchral. No. 11 in Plate XI. and No. 2 in Plate XII. are rare and exceptional forms.

I. LONG BARROWS;

And in the first place—1. *Simple or Unchambered Long Barrows.*

The long tombs in Gwanas!

There has been found none who can their age determine,
Or tell who claims or who disowns them.^a

Geographical Distribution.—In no county of England are Long Barrows so numerous as in Wiltshire, where I count as many as sixty of these large grave mounds, of which eleven in the north of the county are chambered.^b If we estimate, as I think we may, the barrows of all sorts in the county at 2,000 in number,^c this will give a proportion of one long barrow to about thirty-five round barrows. Of the whole number, as many as forty-five are in the area represented by Sheet xiv. of the Ordnance Map, which extends over only about half of the county; and of these again, as many as twenty-four are on that part of Salisbury Plain, occupying less than one-fourth of the whole sheet, which lies between the valley of the Salisbury Avon on the east and Warminster on the west, and between the Vale of Pewsey on the north and that of Wily on the south. In no other part of England are long barrows so numerous as on this part of Salisbury Plain, where, in an area of 150 square miles or thereabouts, we have on an average one in every six square miles.

^a "Stanzas of the Tombs of British Warriors," in *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol. i. "There is here a remarkable confirmation of the theory which places the long barrows in the first class of sepulchral earth-works, a theory founded not only on the primeval form of the ground following the form of the human body, but also on the fact that the relics discovered in such graves indicate the lowest stage of civilization; . . . and never, as it appears, include any metallic implements." The Rev. John Williams (*Ab Ithel*, (*Arch. Camb.* 1852, N. S. iii. 81) here seems to refer to Dr. Daniel Wilson's excellent *Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*, ed. 1, pp. 48, 54.

^b The Rev. W. C. Lukis enumerates only "about thirty long barrows in Wilts" (*Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 1864, viii. 156); but there are, in truth, considerably more than this number, or at least forty-five, within the area of Sheet XIV. of the Ordnance Map, which embraces about half the county. The Ordnance Surveyors themselves show on this sheet twenty-four, or, counting those which though really long are shown by them as circular, thirty long barrows.

^c In this rough estimate I include the barrows levelled since the explorations of which there is the record in "*Ancient Wilts.*"

In the adjoining maritime county of Dorset, though the circular barrows are very numerous, long barrows are of comparatively infrequent occurrence. Mr. Warne tells us that "the examples on the coast are but few," whilst they are "comparatively numerous in the interior (and northern district) of the county," on the borders, that is, of Wiltshire. Mr. Warne draws especial attention to this fact, confessing himself "at a loss for a satisfactory elucidation."^a On examination of Mr. Warne's useful and very beautiful Illustrated Map, and its accompanying Index, I find a record of no more than twelve long barrows in the whole of Dorsetshire, the area, however, of which falls short of that of its northern neighbour by about one-fourth. The long barrows of other counties adjacent to Wiltshire, as those of Somerset and Hants, so far as my observations and inquiries have extended, are quite as rare as those of Dorsetshire. In Gloucestershire only, the chambered long barrows—to be hereafter referred to—are somewhat more numerous; but even here they are of much less frequent occurrence than the simple long barrows of central and southern Wiltshire. In the more eastern, midland, and northern counties the long barrows, as compared with the round barrows of the same districts, are still more rare. One, called Julaber's grave, at Chilham in Kent, was opened in the last century by Mr. Finch; and further on I append in a note the results.^b

In Derbyshire a few tumuli have been described as long barrows by the late Mr. Bateman; but I am by no means certain that every one of them does not differ in some material respects from the true long barrows of Wilts, Dorset, and Gloucestershire. On the wolds and northern moors of Yorkshire, districts abounding in circular barrows, or as they are there called, from their Norse name, *houes*, and redundantly *houe-hills*, I can from my own observation, confirmed by that of my friend Mr. Greenwell, assert their great rarity. Still they do occur,

^a Warne, *On the Primeval Archæology of Dorsetshire*, Proc. Gloucester Congress of Archæological Association, 1846; *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, 1866, p. 8; *Dorsetshire, Index to its Vestiges*, &c. 1865, p. 28, Illustrated Map. Mr. Warne observes that "the long barrow (of Dorset) has been, of the whole sepulchral series, the least explored, its colossal size presenting obstacles of a comparatively insuperable character." 1846. In his recent work he says, "The extent of labour attendant upon an efficient exploration of the long barrows has hitherto prevented my undertaking the task; an important and interesting inquiry is therefore still open, and awaiting a systematic investigation." *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, p. 8.

^b Stukeley, in his "*Itinerarium Curiosum*," names two long barrows in the Midland Counties, viz. that called Mill Hill, standing east and west near Dunstable (vol. i. p. 109), and that known as Shipley Hill, at Cossington, in Leicestershire (p. 102). This last is of very great size, and equals, or exceeds, in some of its dimensions that near the Old Ditch, Tilshead, Wilts.

and Mr. Greenwell has excavated one at Scamridge, one on Willerby Wold, and two others near Rudston, in the East Riding.^a

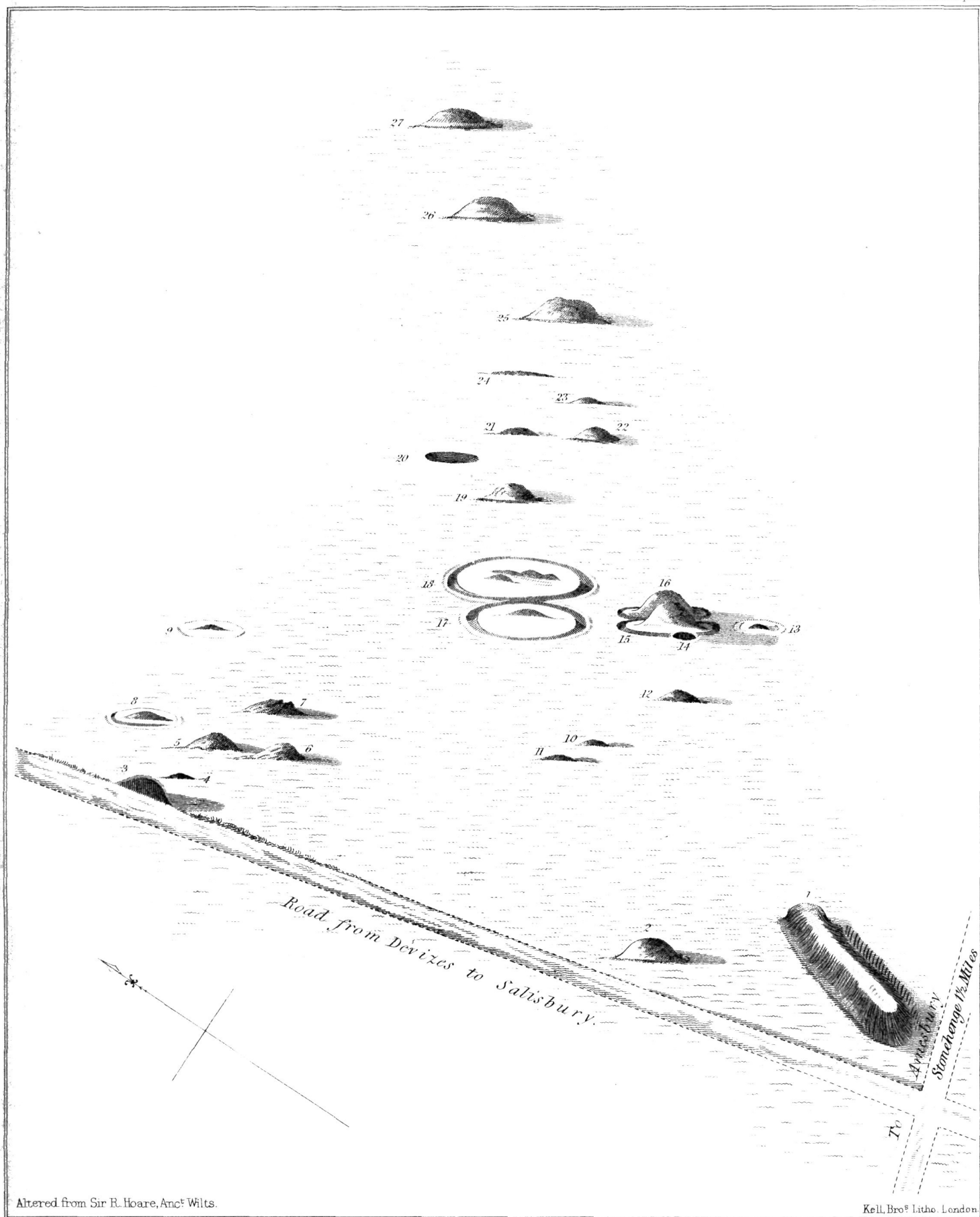
To the same effect is Professor Dr. D. Wilson's testimony as regards Scotland, in which he tells us that the long barrow is "comparatively rare."^b

Disposition and Arrangement.—The disposition and arrangement of the long barrows, in relation to each other, are circumstances as to which they materially differ from the round barrows. These last are commonly found to occur in groups or clusters, whereas the former stand apart and are isolated. It is a very rare circumstance to find two within sight, or even within a mile's distance, of each other; and generally they are at least two or three miles apart. In Wiltshire I know of only one decided exception to this rule, being that in the parish of Milston, on the very confines of Hampshire, where a small but true long barrow is seen to lie parallel with another of average proportions, and is only separated from it by an interval of about one hundred yards. At Knowl Hill, on the southern border of the county, near Fordingbridge, are two long barrows of large size, which I have not myself seen, but which are laid down on the maps much nearer to each other than is at all common.

As a rule, long barrows occupy the highest points on the downs, in situations commanding extensive views over the adjoining valleys, and so as to be visible at a great distance. Salisbury Plain may be said to be guarded as it were by a series of such long barrows, which look down upon its escarpments like so many watch-

^a Dr. Young (*History of Whitby*, 1817, ii. pp. 657, 676) writes of the long barrows of the northern moors of Yorkshire in general, and of those at Scamridge in particular, as follows:—"A very few (of the houses) are of the shape which Dr. Stukeley calls *pyriform*, being oblong, and rounded at both ends, but broader at one end than at the other. The only instances of this kind which I have noticed are (two) at Scamridge, near Ebberston. They are of stone, and of a considerable height and length, and have a circular depression on the top near each end." The larger, called Robhouse, is described as 40 yards long, 20 broad at the east end, and 9 or 10 at the west; the other as not much above half this size. They seem to have been two or three hundred feet apart. The smaller, apparently, was "much mutilated" when Dr. Young wrote, "a great part of the stones having been carried off, by which means many bones have been thrown out." It was the larger mound which, nearly half a century later, was excavated by Mr. Greenwell. (*Arch. Journal*, xxii. 102.) Another Yorkshire long barrow was supposed to be that at Dinnington, near Rotherham, excavated and levelled by the proprietor, J. C. Athorpe, Esq., of which some account has been given in the *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society*, i. pp. 132, 478,—*On the Two Principal Forms of Ancient British Skulls*, 1865, pp. 13, 68. This would seem, however, to have been really a circular barrow, the sides of which had been cut away. Rolleston, *Journ. Anat. and Phys.* 1868, iii. 254.

^b *Pre-Historic Annals of Scotland*, 1851, p. 48.



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF BARROWS ON WINTERBOURN STOKE DOWN, WILTS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1869.

towers. Others occupy elevated central spots on the interior of the plain; and some of these, as Ell-barrow and Knighton-barrow, are well-known landmarks to the hunter and wayfarer over these extensive and (in winter) dreary downs.

Several of the clusters of round barrows near Stonehenge are grouped around, or in close proximity to, a single long barrow. On inspecting such a group as that on Winterbourn Stoke Down, where out of twenty-seven tumuli we find a single long barrow (see Plate XIII.), or as that on Lake Down, where to twenty-three circular barrows of various forms we also have one long barrow,^a it might at first be thought that the long and circular barrows were of the same date, and that the elongated tumulus, as well as the variations in the forms of the round barrows, had its origin merely in the taste or caprice of those by whom it was erected.^b Knowing, however, as we do, that the examination of the long barrows discloses an entirely different method of sepulture, and indicates a much earlier epoch than does that of the round barrows, we come rather to regard them as the burial-places of an earlier race, probably the original possessors of the soil, around which the tombs of a later and more cultivated people were afterwards erected. As a rule, these tumuli stand apart from those of circular form.

External form.—The long barrows are for the most part immense mounds, varying in size, from one or two hundred to three and even nearly four hundred feet in length, from thirty to fifty feet in breadth or upwards, and from three to



Fig. 1. A long Barrow. (After Sir R. C. Hoare.)

ten or even twelve feet in elevation. Along each side of the whole length of the tumulus is a somewhat deep and wide trench or ditch, from which trenches no doubt a great part, or sometimes even the whole, of the material of the mound was

^a *Ancient Wilts*, i. 121. "Group of Barrows on Winterbourn Stoke Down," (see our Plate XIII.); and p. 209, plate, "Barrows on Lake Down." In a MS volume in the Stourhead Library (vol. iii.), the elder Cunnington, describing the various forms of barrows in the group of eighteen on Wilsford Down, adds, "but wanting a *long barrow* we cannot consider this a perfect group, like that on Winterbourn Stoke (and, he might have added, like that on Lake) Down."

^b Our Plate XIII. *Bird's-Eye View of Barrows on Winterbourn Stoke Down*, is copied, by the kind per-

dug, but which it is very remarkable are not continued round the ends of the barrow. This characteristic is not dwelt on by Sir R. C. Hoare^a or by Mr. Cunningham in their descriptions, though it affords an important means of distinguishing the truly ancient British long barrow from certain elongate grave-mounds of later epochs with which it has at times been confounded. In by far the greater proportion of long barrows, the mound is placed east and west or nearly so, with the east end somewhat higher and broader than the other. Under this more prominent and elevated extremity the sepulchral deposit is usually found, at or near the natural level of the ground; but, although this is the general rule, a certain proportion depart decidedly from such a system of orientation, being placed pretty nearly north and south, and this is an arrangement which I find obtains in about one out of six of our Wiltshire long barrows.^b In this case, as I have found by excavations, sometimes the south and sometimes the north end is the higher and broader of the two, and covers the sepulchral deposit.

Certain varieties in the form of the mound have been adverted to by both Stukeley and Hoare. Some are described as resembling an egg or a pear cut longitudinally, the latter constituting the pyriform barrow of Stukeley.^c Others, in which there is comparatively little difference in the width of the two ends, are said to be wedge-, ridge-, or roof-like in shape, or they are compared to the keel of a ship inverted; these last forming, as sometimes supposed, the "ship-barrows" of the northern antiquaries.^d All these varieties and peculiarities of form, however, seem to be very unimportant, and to have depended on the fancy, or the greater or less care and skill, of those employed in their construction.

Distinction from Elongate Tumuli of exceptional character.—It is essential to

mission of Messrs. Nichols, from that in the *Ancient Wilts*, certain errors therein only being corrected. The artist had shown trenches round several of the bowl-shaped barrows, which trenches have no existence.

^a It is not adverted to in his formal descriptions, but Sir Richard refers once to this characteristic in the body of his work (*Ancient Wilts*, i. 89).

^b The Rev. W. C. Lukis enumerates three Wiltshire long barrows (*Wilts Arch. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* viii. 156) as lying north and south. I count, however, as many as eleven; viz., 1. Horton; 2. Shalbourne; 3. Fittleton; 4. Stonehenge (No. 165); 5. Stonehenge (Cursus); 6. Knook; 7. Scratchbury; 8. Arne Hill; 9. Brixton Deverell; 10. Knowl Hill; and 11. a small long barrow about a mile south of the inn on the Plain called the Druid's Head. In Nos. 2, 9, and 10, I rely on Sir R. C. Hoare's, and on other, maps and descriptions; in the rest on my own observations.

^c Stukeley, *Abury*, p. 45.

^d Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, i. 92, ii. 109. Sir R. C. Hoare here quotes the description of Olaus Wormius, "Regii tumuli, ad magnitudinem et figuram carinæ maximæ navis." *Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan.* p. 43.

distinguish from the true primeval British long barrow certain other varieties of tumulus which are very liable to be, and have often been, confounded with it; though differing entirely as regards their epoch and the peoples by whom they were constructed. There are three or four forms of tumulus which must be thus distinguished.

1. That which I have ventured to denominate the Oval barrow, and which is at once recognised by having the trench continued around both ends of the mound.^a This is really a multiple round barrow—two or three circular barrows, each the seat of a separate interment for the most part after cremation, being combined into one oval mound. Sir Richard Hoare himself distinguishes this variety of tumulus as “XII. Long barrow No. 2,” and says it “differs very materially from those of the larger sort.”^b “Long barrow No. 2” is, however, in every way an objectionable name; and it is better to give it an entirely different designation. In these papers, under the name of the Oval Barrow, it will hereafter claim our attention. It is doubtless late-British of the bronze and pre-Roman period, like the round barrows with which it must be classed.

2. Another variety of elongate grave-mound, which may be confounded, on cursory observation, with the true primeval long barrow, is really of the Romano-British period. Such are the low oblong mounds sometimes met with immediately outside of camps occupied by the Romans, and of which that on White Horse Hill, Berkshire, excavated by the late Martin Atkins, Esq. F.S.A. and described by myself,^c is an excellent example. Though larger, it is very similar in external form to others seen on Bathampton and Lansdown Hills near Bath; and like them is an oblong mound rising a foot or two above the turf, which but for the slight ditch surrounding it would almost pass unobserved. This Berkshire example is about eighty feet in length and forty in breadth, and is further distinguished from the ancient British long barrows by its equal width and height at both ends. When explored, it was found to be occupied through almost its entire extent with skeletons stretched at length, lying for the most part east and west, and accompanied by various unequivocally Roman remains.

3. Some other ancient oblong grave-mounds without lateral ditches, are probably of a still later date than those last referred to, and may be of the Christian period, and perhaps of some century of our era between the fifth and the eighth.

^a I have described the *Oval barrow* in the *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 s. ii. 427, June 16, 1864, where several examples are noticed.

^b *Ancient Wilts*, i. 22, 242.

^c *Crania Britannica*. Descriptions of Skulls, pl. 51, XL.

Such, I think, is the oblong tumulus at Crawley, in Oxfordshire, which was examined by Mr. J. Y. Akerman, F.S.A. in 1857;^a and more fully, in 1864, by Professor Rolleston and myself. No objects of art were found, beyond two small buckles, one of brass and one of iron, probably belonging to some articles of dress in which the bodies had been interred, a small canula made from a bird's bone, and a few scattered shards of Romano-British pottery. The tumulus was full of skeletons ranging east and west, with the feet chiefly to the east. The crania, divided between the collection of the Oxford University Museum and my own, are very brachycephalous. This burial mound seems to me to belong to a period between the departure of the Romans and the final establishment of the Anglo-Saxons in this part of Oxfordshire.

4. Lastly, some Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been excavated in mounds of elongate form and slight elevation, which might loosely be called long barrows. Such was that explored by the late Hon. R. C. Neville (afterwards Lord Braybrooke) at Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire, and which measured 160 feet in length by 85 in breadth.^b

Relation of Long Barrows to Belgic Dykes and Roman Roads.—The position of some of the long barrows in relation to the very ancient earthworks known as Belgic dykes is indicative of the superior antiquity of the former. The earthwork (bank and ditch) which stretches across Salisbury Plain from north-east to south-west, and is laid down on the Ordnance and other maps as "Old Ditch," is especially prominent near Tilshead, where is one of the largest of our long barrows, measuring as it does 380 feet in length and 11 feet in height. On reaching the east end of this mound, which is situated on its north side, the ditch "makes a decided curve in order to avoid the tumulus," which, as Sir R. C. Hoare justly observes, "is a certain proof of the superior date of the barrow."^c Another example is on the southern border of the county, near the villages of Martin and

^a *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 432. The subsequent researches justify, it will be seen, Mr. Akerman's conjecture that this sepulchral mound is "of the late Romano-British period." It has, however, as I have shown in the text, no claim to be regarded as "one of the class termed by antiquaries long barrows," though, regarding merely its form, it might be so termed.

^b *Arch. Journal*, 1854, xi. 95.

^c *Ancient Wilts*, i. 90. This ditch is described by Dr. Guest, in his paper "On the Belgic Ditches," *Arch. Journal*, 1851, viii. 147, 148. "When these mounds" (Dr. Guest gives two mounds to the dyke) "approach the 'long barrow,' which lies about a mile from Tilshead, they turn at right angles, and, after having half inclosed the mound, pursue their former course. Our best chance of explaining anomalies like these would be a really critical edition of the 'Gromatici veteres.'" In this paper, the barrow in question is designated "Tilshead Old-ditch Long-barrow." (See Table 1, *post.*)

Tippet, where the course of a branch of Bokerley Ditch has been diverted, "in order to avoid a long barrow;" which, as Sir Richard again says, "proves the high antiquity of the sepulchral mound."^a

Previous Conjectures.—The long barrows were a source of much perplexity and doubt to their first explorers on a considerable scale,^b at the beginning of the present century,—Mr. William Cunnington and Sir R. C. Hoare. In the library at Stourhead, collected by the latter, is a manuscript volume containing copies of letters addressed by Mr. Cunnington to Mr. Wyndham, the Wiltshire antiquary of those days, from which I find that Mr. Cunnington at one time inclined to think the long barrows of more recent origin than the round, but implies that he had ceased to do so. Mr. Wyndham, it seems, entertained the notion that the

^a *Ancient Wilts*, i. 233. On this page Sir Richard gives good reasons for believing that Bokerley Ditch is of earlier date than the Roman road from Old Sarum to Dorchester, by which the former is crossed, near this long barrow. The long barrow referred to appears to be the same as that noticed by Mr. Warne, and illustrated with a wood-cut at page 5 of his "*Dorsetshire, its Vestiges; Index to Illustrated Map*." What Sir R. C. Hoare calls a branch of Bokerley Ditch Mr. Warne, probably more accurately, regards as a "trackway." Dr. Guest (*ubi supra*) regrets "that Sir R. C. Hoare was not more alive to the importance of distinguishing between the trackway and the boundary-dike."

^b The earliest opening of a long barrow of which I find any record is of that at Chilham, in Kent, called "Julaber's grave." Julaber, popularly fancied to have been a giant or a witch, was by Camden conjectured to have been the same as the Quintus Laberius Durus named by Cæsar (B. G. v. 15), and this to have been the grave of that military tribune (Camden, *Britannia*, by Gough, i. 314, 354). Stukeley gives representations of the tumulus, from which it is evident that it is a true ancient British long barrow (*Itin. Cur.* ii. plate 56, 57; cf. plate 54). It was explored in 1702, at the desire of the first Lord Weymouth, by Heneage Finch, afterwards Earl of Winchelsea (*Nichols's Illustrations of Literature*, 1822, iv. 96. See also Battely, *Antiq. Rutupin.* 1745, p. 109; *Antiquities of Richborough*, 1774, p. 109; Hasted, *Kent*, 1790, iii. 140). Mr. Finch describes the barrow as lying nearly east and west, as more than 180 feet long, 40 feet broad, and 7 or 8 feet high. It was examined by digging trenches from the centre, 21 feet in length, towards the east. This most probably fell short of the actual sepulchral deposit, but sufficient was disclosed to show its conformity with other true long barrows. After digging five feet through chalky earth and finding pieces only of the thigh-bones of a large animal (ox?), a stratum of dark moist earth, two feet thick, regularly spread over the natural chalk rock, was met with. In this were a few bones, mostly so rotten that they crumbled in handling, but whether those of men or animals was not determined. There were also some pieces of deer's horns; two or three large teeth, supposed to be those of horses; and some bones of birds, in size and form like the thigh-bones of pullets. Mr. Finch was of opinion that the barrow must have been "thrown up at once," and not "without a great many hands." He did not think it could be the burial-place of a family, in consequence of the regularity of the dark stratum, which in such case he rightly thought would have been "in patches, and not in a straight line." I will only add, that it is not improbable that the true sepulchral deposit of skeletons may yet remain intact at the east end of this long barrow.

long barrows had been raised over those who had fallen in war, and Mr. Cunnington thought that the appearances in Bowl's barrow^a favoured that view. Sir Richard Hoare combats this opinion, and says, "Others have supposed them to have been battle barrows, from the circumstance of finding the bodies thrown promiscuously together, without any attention to the usual revered rites of sepulture; but I can hardly suppose that such immense mounds would have been raised for that purpose, as the interments are in general confined to the broad end of the tumulus."^b Another view was rejected by Hoare, for reasons we must be allowed to regard as not conclusive. "At first sight," he says, "we should suppose them erected in honour of some great chieftain or the head of some British clan, but on opening them these surmises vanish, for they contain no gilded (bronze) dagger, no stone celt, not any of those articles that might lead to a supposition of riches or grandeur."^c And, again, "By the want of such articles of luxury and dress, we may be induced to suppose that they were appropriated to the interment of the lower class of people. Still it must appear wonderful that such gigantic mounds of earth, extending to three or four hundred feet (in length), should have been raised for the deposit of a few human bodies."^d But though thus baffled and diverted from the probable opinion, as I hope to be able to show, that they were the tombs of chieftains, Sir Richard was convinced, from the absence of all objects of metal, of their great antiquity, and was evidently disposed to place them prior to the round barrows in the chronological scale. "Their high antiquity," he says, "is confirmed by the fragments of rude British pottery, stags' horns, &c. found in the soil that composes them, and from the circumstance of cremation having been practised near the top of some of them."^e He confesses, however, that, after all the "expensive and continued researches in them" of himself and colleague, he must allow that "their original purport was still involved in obscurity, and that a further explanation of them would be a great desideratum."^f The desideratum thus referred to I trust in some degree to supply, and at the same time fulfil the expectation I held out to this Society some years ago, viz. that I would report the results of further researches in the long barrows of Wiltshire, and make some general observations in regard to their age, and to the people by whom they were probably erected.^g

^a *Ancient Wilts*, i. 87. *Mem. Anthropol. Soc.* 1865, i. 472.

^b *Ibid.* i. 92.

^c *Modern Wilts*, Hundred of Ambresbury, 1826, p. 54.

^d *Ancient Wilts*, ii. 110. *Comp. Tumuli Wiltun.* 1829, p. 5.

^e *Ancient Wilts*, i. 92.

^f *Modern Wilts*, Ambresbury, p. 57.

^g *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 407.

Researches of Cunnington and Hoare.—Mr. Cunnington—whose claims to the regard of the lovers of our primeval antiquities are somewhat obscured under the shadow of his better-known coadjutor, our munificent Wiltshire Baronet—opened the greater number of the long barrows described in “Ancient Wilts;” and in 1804, shortly before he became associated with Sir Richard Hoare, in a paper in the *Archæologia*, summed up his observations on them as follows: “Of eleven long barrows which I have opened nine have produced skeletons at the wide ends lying by a cist or cists; the tenth, a large quantity of burnt human bones; and the eleventh, one skeleton, interred near the centre of the barrow, three feet beneath the native soil.”^a He also mentions finding the skulls of oxen, in three or four instances, near the human remains; also deers’ horns, the skeletons or bones of large birds, and pieces of rude British pottery. He insists, likewise, on the absence of urns, weapons, and ornaments, such as are found in the circular barrows. Sir Richard Hoare sums up his description of the long barrows in very similar terms: “We have never found any brass (bronze) weapons or trinkets, incense or drinking cups, deposited with the dead, nor the primary interment burnt and deposited within a funeral urn. With a very few exceptions, we have always found skeletons on the floor of the barrow at the highest and broad end, which generally points to the east, lying in a confused and irregular manner, near one or more circular cists cut in the native chalk, and generally covered with a pile of stones or flints.”^b

In the first volume of his great work Sir Richard records the details of the opening of sixteen long barrows,^c which were explored either by himself or colleague, chiefly by the latter. They are arranged in the first part of the tabular view, on page 180, under letter A. In only eight of these sixteen instances are, I think, the details of a kind to warrant the conclusion that the primary interment was actually disclosed or at all satisfactorily examined. (A. iv. v. vii. viii. ix. xiv. xv. xvi.) Three of the remaining seven have been reopened

^a Vol. xv. p. 345; comp. 340. On abstracting and comparing the description of the sixteen long barrows in “Ancient Wilts” I cannot make the analysis accord, so far as was to have been expected, with the brief summary given by Mr. Cunnington in the *Archæologia*.

^b *Ancient Wilts*, i. 21, 92; ii. 110; *Modern Wilts*, Ambresbury, pp. 54, 57; *Tumuli Wiltun*. p. 5. In the text I have combined into one Sir Richard’s statements found in these various places in his works.

^c A seventeenth was attempted without success; see B. xv., in Table 1, *post*. There are notices of the excavation of five or six other so-called long barrows; but these were, I believe, all *oval* or *multiple circular barrows*, as defined above.

by myself, with the result of satisfactorily disposing of the history of two (x. XII.), and of adding important particulars to that of another (II.)^a

Researches of the Writer.—An abstract of my own experience in the excavation of simple long barrows is given in the second part of the same tabular view, under letter B. Altogether, counting those previously operated on by others, I have opened twenty-one of these long barrows. In eight or nine of this number the exploration has proved entirely satisfactory; the primary interments having been disclosed and carefully examined, and the whole yielding skeletons and crania. One or two opened by my predecessors disclosed nothing fresh;^b but generally speaking, even in the less satisfactory explorations, where I had been preceded by unknown barrow-diggers, the probable position and character of the primary interments were ascertained, or otherwise secondary interments were disclosed, or particulars were brought to light of more or less importance to the right comprehension of this class of barrows.

It is expedient to combine in one view the long barrows opened by my predecessors and by myself, and then to give the results to be deduced by an analysis of the entire series.

Analysis of the Table.—In the double table (A. and B.) are thirty-one long barrows, as to which the position and character of the primary interment were made out satisfactorily in fifteen, and less satisfactorily in seven, or in all in twenty-two cases. In nine other instances (Nos. 2, 5, 9, 10, 18, 20, 21, 26, 29) the result was more or less ambiguous, and in some (as Nos. 10, 26, 29) it must be allowed that the interment was not discovered.

Number of Skeletons.—Of the entire number of twenty-two there were twenty-one in which a skeleton, or more usually a pile of many skeletons, was found on or near the natural level at the base of the mound, and generally below the broad and high end of the tumulus, which is usually directed to the east. In seven cases there seems to have been a single skeleton; in two cases there were two, in two three, in two four, in two eight, in one fourteen, in one eighteen, and in four an indefinite number, described as “several” or “a great many” skeletons. In the remaining or twenty-second instance (No. 6), the primary deposit appears to have consisted of the burnt bones of as many as seven or

^a I have likewise re-opened No. IV. and, I believe, ascertained the true position of the interment, left somewhat doubtful by the vagueness of Sir R. C. Hoare’s description, (*Ancient Wilts*, i. p. 66,) where, for “near the centre,” we ought, I think, to read, *near the east end*. Here, at least, we discovered a “cist” or hole in the chalk rock, and, close by, the fragments of a disturbed skeleton.

^b From one of them, Bowl’s barrow (IX.), I obtained several skulls left behind by Mr. Cunnington.

TABLE 1:—EXPLORATIONS IN UNCHAMBERED LONG BARROWS, IN WILTSHIRE.

A.—By W. CUNNINGTON, Esq., AND SIR R. C. HOARE. 1800–1808.

Nos.	Locality and Name.	Page in <i>Ancient Wilts.</i>	Result of Exploration.			References.
			General Result.	Primary Interments.	Secondary Interments.	
I.	Rodmead	i. 47	Rifted before...	Several disturbed skeletons	— —	
II.	Bratton	i. 55	Not successful	— —	Sec' interments found	See B. xviii.
III.	Arn Hill	i. 65	Not successful	— —	Sec' interments found	See B. xxi.
IV.	Warminster	i. 66	Successful ...	One skeleton ...	— —	
V.	Heytesbury	i. 71	Successful ...	Many skeletons	— —	
VI.	Boreham, "King Barrow"	i. 72	Not successful	— —	None.	
VII.	Knook a.	i. 83	Successful ...	Burnt bones ...	Sec' interments found	See B. xvi.
VIII.	Knook b.	i. 86	Successful ...	Skeletons (4)	None.	
IX.	Heytesbury, "Bonil's Barrow"	i. 87	Successful ...	Many skeletons (14)	Sec' interments found	See B. vi.
X.	Tilshhead (Old Ditch) ...	i. 90	Not successful	— —	Sec' interments found	See B. xiii.
XI.	Tilshhead, "White Barrow"	i. 91	Not successful	— —	None.	
XII.	Tilshhead (Lodge)	i. 91	Not successful	— —	Sec' interments found	See B. x.
XIII.	Sherrington	i. 100	Not successful	— —	Sec' interments found	Re-opened 1856, without success, by Rev. A. Fane and Dr. Thurnam.
XIV.	Corton	i. 102	Successful ...	Many skeletons (8)	Sec' interments found	
XV.	Stockton... ..	i. 107	Successful ...	Skeletons ...	None.	
XVI.	Normanton, No. "173,"	i. 206	Successful ...	Skeletons (4) ...	Sec' interments found	

B.—By J. THURNAM, M.D. 1855–1867.

I.	Easton Hill	ii. Map, p. 3	Rifted before	Many skeletons	None ...	Wilts Arch. Mag. vi. 323.
II.	Willesford, "Ell Barrow"	i. 175	Rifted before	Skeletons ...	Sec' interment found	Mem. Anthropol. Soc. i. 140.
III.	Winterbourn Stoke ...	i. 121	Successful ...	One skeleton ...	Sec' interments found	Mem. Anthropol. Soc. i. 146.
IV.	Tilshhead (East)	i. 93	Successful ...	Many skeletons (8) ...	None	
V.	Tilshhead	i. 88	Rifted before	Skeletons ...	None.	
VI.	Heytesbury, "Bonil's Barrow"	i. 87	— —	— —	— —	See A. ix. Re-opened for skulls.
VII.	Fyfield, "Giant's Grave"	i. 190	Successful ...	Skeletons (3) ...	None ...	Proc. Soc. Ant. N.S. iii. 170.
VIII.	Bishop's Cannings	—	Not successful	— —	None ...	Stukeley, Abury, p. 45?
IX.	Wilsford, No. "170"	i. 206	Not successful	— —	Important sec' interments	
X.	Tilshhead (Lodge)	i. 91	Successful ...	Skeletons (2) ...	Important sec' interment	
XI.	Figheledean	i. 176	Successful ...	One skeleton ...	Important sec' interment	
XII.	Netheravon	i. Map, p. 113	Rifted before	Skeletons disturbed	None.	
XIII.	Tilshhead (Old Ditch) ...	i. 90	Successful ...	One skeleton and burnt bones	— —	See A. x.
XIV.	Stonehenge ("Cursus")	i. 158	Not successful	— —	Secondary interments	See <i>Ancient Wilts</i> , i. 206.
XV.	Stonehenge, No. "165"	i. 206	Successful ...	Skeletons (3) ...	Secondary interments	See A. vii. Re-opened without further result.
XVI.	Knook a	i. 83	— —	— —	— —	
XVII.	Norton Barant	i. 67	Successful ...	Many skeletons (18)	None.	See A. ii.
XVIII.	Bratton	i. 55	Successful ? ...	Burnt bones ...	— —	
XIX.	Fittleton	i. Map, p. 178	Rifted before	Skeleton, N. end ...	None.	
XX.	Horton	ii. Map, p. 3	Rifted before	Skeletons, N. end ...	None.	
XXI.	Warminster	i. 66	— —	— —	— —	See A. iv. Re-opened and doubts removed.

eight bodies, lying on the floor, near a hole or "cist" scooped out of the chalk rock. To this exceptional case we will return.

Position of the Interments.—The situation of the interment was at or near the east end of the barrow in fifteen out of the twenty-two cases. In six other tumuli, of which the orientation is nearly north and south, the interment was near the south end in four, and near the north end in two. In one of the twenty-two barrows (No. 12) the position is not stated.

Excavated Holes or "Cists" in the Chalk.—In eight cases out of the twenty-two, round or oval holes scooped in the upper layer or surface of the chalk, varying from a foot or two to three feet in diameter, and from one to two feet in depth, which were called "cists" by Mr. Cunnington and Sir R. C. Hoare, were found near the human remains. In other cases such holes probably existed, though they were not reached by the excavations. In all but two instances, in one of which the human skeleton itself is said to have occupied the "cist," and in the other the skull of an ox and the horns of a red deer, these excavated holes, evidently intended as receptacles for something, were empty when uncovered; *i.e.* they contained nothing but the loose grey or black soil peculiar to the bottom of these barrows. Sir Richard Hoare observes of these little pits or holes, that they "denote some particular ceremony that was practised in these tumuli."^a There may be some reason for conjecturing that they correspond with the cavities, not very dissimilar in size, which were excavated in the earth, and in which libations and the blood of victims were offered to the infernal deities by the ancient Greeks; as described at the end of the Tenth, and in the beginning of the Eleventh, Book of the Odyssey.^b Or, they may have been formed for the reception of perishable food or drink, deposited in them at the time of the obsequies, and intended as a *viaticum* for the dead. They would thus take the place of the fictile vessels called food-vases and drinking-cups, which are found with unburnt bodies in the circular barrows.

Stratum of Black Earth.—The upper strata of the long barrows of Wiltshire consist chiefly of chalk rubble and flint nodules; but these grave-mounds differ from the circular barrows around them, in having at the base a stratum often

^a *Ancient Wilts*, i. 92.

^b *Odyssey*, x. 516; xi. 25—28, 35. The hole or pit, *βόθρος*, dug out by Ulysses with his sword, was not smaller than some found in our long barrows. Such holes are still made by barbarous tribes, both in India and Africa, to receive the blood of human victims (Campbell, *Wild Tribes of Khondistan*, 1863; Wilmot, *Despatches presented to House of Commons*, (*Dahomey*), 1863). Further on we may see reason for admitting that the holes in the long barrows may have served for the same purpose.

two feet or more in thickness, in which the skeletons are found, of a black or grey-ash coloured, and often unctuous-looking, earth, formed probably by the decay of the turf and *humus* pared off from the site of the barrow, and from the space occupied by the lateral ditches on each side of it. This peculiar stratum was a source of much perplexity to Sir R. C. Hoare and his coadjutor; and two of the leading chemists of that day, Mr. Hatchett and Dr. Gibbes, were consulted as to its nature. Both agreed in denying that it was produced by the action of fire, to which some had referred it. Though very general, this stratum of black earth is not universal; and two of the most remarkable of the long barrows opened by myself, viz. that at Fyfield, called "The Giant's grave" (No. 19), and that at Norton Bavant (No. 28), presented no trace of it.

Remains of Funeral Feasts : Bones of Oxen.—Not far from the human remains, though at a somewhat higher level, but still for the most part in the stratum of black or grey earth, are often found the bones of oxen, those of the skull and feet being the portions of the skeleton most generally met with. Those I have found (in Nos. 22, 26, 27, and 28) are of the small short-horned species, the *Bos longifrons* or *Bos brachyceros*. In the long barrow of Tilshead Lodge (No. 22) there were two skulls,* one of which, that of a male, I have been able in great measure to restore. With the second less perfect skull were six or seven cervical vertebræ *in situ* and entire, excepting the *atlas* and *dentata*, which were each in two pieces, cleanly cleft as if by great violence, probably in the slaughter of the animal. In the same barrow, not far from the first skull, were the *metatarsus* and *phalanges*, no doubt of the same ox, all *in situ*. In another barrow (No. 26) were part of a skull and a great number of *metacarpi* and *metatarsi*, with every phalangeal bone of the digits in place, and in several instances the carpal, tarsal, and sesamoid bones likewise. The bones found indicated not less than four or five animals, and there may have been others not reached by the excavations. Altogether, the appearances justify the conclusion that oxen were slaughtered at the time of the obsequies for the supply of the funeral feast, and that the heads and feet, not being used for food, were thrown on the yet incomplete barrow, as offerings, perhaps, to the *manes* or to other deities. The appearances of the foot-bones, as well as of those of the neck, clearly proved that the entire members, head and feet, had been cut off whilst held together by the tendons, ligaments,

* The less perfect skull and cervical vertebræ are in the Museum of Anatomy of Oxford, as are likewise specimens of *metatarsi* and *phalanges* from barrow No. 26. I have also presented *metatarsi*, or *metacarpi*, or both, to the British Museum, the Museum of the College of Surgeons, and to that of the University of Basle.

hoofs, and probably the skin. In the two other barrows referred to (Nos. 27 and 28) were found broken bones of the fleshy parts of this small ox, viz., portions of two *tibiæ* and of the *os innominatum*. The remains of oxen found by me in the long barrows were uniformly such as zoologists and comparative anatomists refer to the ancient small species, the *Bos longifrons* or *Bos brachyceros*.^a In the remarkable tumulus called "Bowl's Barrow" (No. 8) Mr. Cunnington found the skulls of no fewer than seven or eight oxen, but he does not describe their size or other characteristics. Similar remains were found by my predecessors in two other instances (Nos. 6, 10); and Sir Richard Hoare says of the head and horn-cores of the former, that "a butcher pronounced them larger than he ever saw of that animal" (the ox).^b It might perhaps be conjectured from this inadequate evidence that this was the skull of an altogether different species—*Bos Urus* or *Bos primigenius*, but this is by no means proved.

Remains of other Animals.—It is very common to find in long barrows, in the same situation as that which yields the remains of *Bos longifrons*, large antlers and bones of the red deer, trophies probably of the chase, buried, it may have been, from motives similar to those hinted at above in regard to the head and hoofs of the oxen.^c Tusks and bones of swine, perhaps the wild boar, and bones of birds of considerable size, have also been discovered. Mr. Cunnington speaks of the skeleton of a large bird, but does not identify the species.^d In one of the barrows opened by myself (No. 27), in which bones of *Bos longifrons* and of *Cervus elaphus* were also found, was the entire skeleton of a bird, which, on comparison of the mandible with that of specimens in the Oxford Museum and in the Museum of the College of Surgeons, was indubitably that of a somewhat large goose. As the skeleton was complete it must have been interred entire, and its flesh could hardly have been eaten. So far as this single case goes, we seem to have in it a confirmation of the statement of Cæsar, that the Britons did not regard it as lawful to eat this bird, though, like the hare and the fowl, they bred it for amusement and pleasure.^e

^a The latest authors who treat of this species, and of *Bos Urus*, are Professor Rutimeyer, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i.; and W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S. *Proc. Geol. Soc.* March 21, 1866, pp. 391-451; Feb. 20, 1867, pp. 176-184.

^b *Ancient Wilts*, i. 83. This skull, and the horns of deer found with it, were in a much more superficial position than usual, and just below the summit of the barrow.

^c The skeleton of a horse is stated to have been found in the skirt of a long barrow. (*Ancient Wilts*, i. 73.) There is some doubt, however, whether this was a true long barrow.

^d *Archæologia*, xv. 345. Comp. Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, i. 72, 83, 90, 91.

^e *Bell. Gall.* v. 12. This statement of Cæsar's is somewhat vague and general; and in particular it

Mode of Burial.—The human remains belonging to the primary interments in the long barrows may be classed under two heads, according as they are the skeletons of one or at the most two bodies distinctly and separately interred, or as they are those of many bodies promiscuously piled together. As a rule, the former belong to the mounds of less, the latter to those of greater, elevation. In that of Winterbourne Stoke (No. 16) the single skeleton lay in the contracted posture on the right side, much in the same way as skeletons are found in the circular barrows of the bronze period. In that near Tilshead Lodge (No. 22) there were two skeletons lying not more than a foot apart. The space occupied by each was so very small, that either very unusual means had been resorted to for doubling up the body, or the flesh had been suffered to decay before burial. The bones, however, were observed to be *in situ*, joint to joint, so that the ligaments at least had not separated when the bodies were deposited in their final resting-place. Both skeletons lay with the head to the north, and on the right side. In the Figheldean long barrow (No. 23) the bones of a single skeleton formed a small pile, very little to the east of the centre of the mound,^a and in this instance they appeared to have been disarticulated by the decay of the ligaments before their final interment; the bones in many instances not retaining their proper relative position, the head of one tibia being in juxtaposition with the malleolus of the other, and *vice versa*. Much more usually, however, the human remains in the long barrows comprise numerous skeletons, which are described by Sir R. C. Hoare as “strangely huddled,” or “thrown promiscuously together,” or as “lying in a confused and irregular manner.” The bones found by me in Tilshead East Long-barrow (No. 17) comprised the remains of eight skeletons singularly cemented together, within a space of less than four feet in diameter, and about a foot and a half in depth. So much were they mingled and so closely packed, that it was scarcely possible to regard this as the original place of burial; and it is almost certain they had experienced a prior interment, and had been removed to the spot where they were found after the decay of the soft parts and the separation of the bones. The same seemed to have been the case in No. 27. In the long barrow of Norton Bavant (No. 28) the pile of bones consisted of the remains of at least eighteen skeletons, which were comprised

must be regretted that he does not say whether he is speaking of the maritime Britons or of the less civilized inhabitants of the interior, or of both. On this subject, see papers in the *Trans. of the Ethnol. Soc.* N.S. v. 162, 210.

^a There was great trouble in finding the interment in this mound, it being so exceptionally remote from the eastern end.

within an area of about 8 by 3 feet, and about 18 inches in depth. The idea conveyed by the exploration of this deposit was that of a prior interment. There was great commingling of the osseous remains; and it was noticed that many of the bones of the limbs were absent, judging as to their proper number from that of the skulls.

Cleft Skulls:—Evidence as to Human Sacrifices.—In a large proportion of the long barrows which I have opened, many of the skulls exhumed have been found to be cleft, apparently by a blunt weapon, such as a club or stone axe.^a A cleft cranium from a Wiltshire long barrow^b had been noticed by Mr. Cunnington in 1801, but no inference was drawn from it. Among the heaps of human remains I have sometimes found one skull unmutilated, whilst all the others show marks of cleavage. From a minute examination of the fractures, I think it evident that the violence was inflicted prior to burial, and in all probability during life. Such injuries might, no doubt, occasionally occur as an accident of war; but it is scarcely possible they should have thus occurred with a frequency so great as the careful examination of these remains discloses.^c I hence conclude that the skeletons with cleft skulls are those of human victims immolated on the occasion of the burial of a chief. Everywhere such human sacrifices, among barbarous and half-civilised peoples, have been and still are common; and notwithstanding the scruples of some modern writers, desirous of maintaining an exceptional position for humanity in the case of our own remote ancestors, there can be no difficulty in admitting the same practice in Britain. The Gauls were more civilized than the Britons of the times of Cæsar and Mela; but by both these writers we are expressly informed that they had, until quite recently, been in the habit of sacrificing human victims, whether self-devoted or not, at their funerals.^d

^a See the description of the skull of a Charca, from Bolivia, in which death had resulted from "blows upon the head made by a blunt instrument of stone, which have fractured the cranium in different places." Davis, *Thesaurus Craniorum*, No. 1425, p. 248. For Feejees and Tahitians, see pp. 314, 318.

^b Bowl's Barrow, No. 8; see *Ancient Wilts*, i. 87. Comp. *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 419; *Memoirs Anthropol. Soc.* i. 472; *Arch. Journ.* xxii. 106, 107. The connection of cleft skulls with human sacrifices was first maintained by the writer, in the description of the Chambered Long Barrow at West Kennet, in the 38th vol. of the *Archæologia*, as quoted above.

^c Reference may be made to the stone axes, one of which is figured in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries* (2 S. i. 103), as to which the Hon. Robert Marsham tells us "the Gaveoes (Indians of Brazil) do not use the axes in actual battle, but after the fighting is over, deliberately hack their prisoners with them." As has been well observed by Mr. Greenwell, the ordinary "accidents of war do not account for the scattered state in which the broken bones are found in the long barrows."

^d *Bell. Gall.* vi. 19; Mela, iii. 2. Among modern English investigators, the late Mr. Bateman and Sir John Lubbock both freely admit the existence of such sacrifices among our British ancestors. In all times

In the time of these writers the burials were usually attended by the cremation of the body, so that the remains of the victims might not be distinguishable from those of the chief at whose obsequies they had perished. It would be different when the body was interred unburnt; that of the chief would be as a rule un mutilated, whilst marks of violence might be expected to be met with in the remains of the slaves and retainers slaughtered in his honour. And in accordance with this conclusion it is not unusual, as already stated, to find one of the central skeletons with the skull entire, whilst in all the others it is more or less extensively cleft. The solitary skeleton which formed the primary interment in the Winterbourne Stoke long barrow (No. 16) was entire and un mutilated, and the absence of associated skeletons with cleft skulls renders it probable that the usual funeral rites were in this instance never completed. It is doubtful, however, whether this holds good in all cases in which single skeletons are found. In the Tilshead Lodge long-barrow (No. 22), in which were two skeletons, the skull of one was cleft whilst that of the other was intact.

Possible Anthropophagism.—Pliny is referring to the human sacrifices of Gaul and Britain, when he observes that the transition is very easy from sacrificing human beings to eating them.^a That under certain circumstances anthropophagism was practised in the British islands rests, we think, on the testimony of too many authors to be doubted;^b and, the older the date of any sepulchral monuments, the more likely are we to find in them traces of this practice. Altogether I see no difficulty in acceding to the conclusion of Mr. Greenwell, that in the disjointed, cleft, and broken condition of the human bones in many of the long

the abolition of human sacrifices implies a strong government and a vigorous administration. In Ancient Italy their suppression was attributed to Hercules. At Gades, it was effected by Julius; and in Gaul and Britain, by the Cæsars who succeeded him. In India, the British Government has only of late years effected their abolition (*Suttees* and *Meriahs*), if indeed it have every where done so.

^a Pliny, vii. § 2. "Nuperrime hominem immolari gentium earum more solitum: quod paulum a mandendo abest." He is speaking of Britain when he connects the eating of human flesh with a supposed benefit to health; lib. xxx. § 4; comp. xxviii. § 2. "In quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat, *mandi vero etiam saluberrimum.*" Cannibalism, as practised by modern savages, seems often to be caused by the desire of embodying the physical and mental qualities of the dead. In olden times it seems to have been the same. Thus, in the Norse Saga, Sigurd is represented as giving his wife a portion of the roasted heart of Fafnir to eat; a dish which, it is said, inspired her with ferocity. Like is still done, and for like purpose, by the Chinese. Tylor, *Early Hist. Mankind*, 131. Waitz (*Anthropology*, i. 161) appears to reverse the true order of connection when he says, "Where men eat each other, the gods are generally blood-thirsty, and receive their share." Well might Lucretius say of pagan systems of religion, "Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum."

^b Diodorus, v. 32; Strabo, iv. 5, § 4; Hieron. *Adv. Jovin.* lib. ii.

barrows, and especially in those examined by him at Scamridge near Ebberston, and near Rudston, Yorkshire, we have indications of funeral "feasts, where slaves, captives, and others were slain and eaten."^a

The idea of cannibalism is still more repugnant to modern and Christian civilization than that of simple human sacrifice; and numerous amiable attempts have been made to relieve our ancestors from the charge. All antiquity, however, is full of allusions to the practice; and down to the present day, in all quarters of the globe excepting only Europe, there are countries in which it maintains more or less sway. Some writers, who admit the practice of human sacrifice in the British islands, think that, "like those of the Peruvians, and unlike those of the Mexicans, the Britons stopped short of devouring the flesh of the victims."^b This was no doubt true of South Britain at the time it became known to the Romans, but may not have been so at the far earlier epoch to which our long barrows are to be referred. As the able writer from whose paper on this subject I have just quoted justly observes, "It is highly probable that all the races of man in their tedious march towards civilization must have passed through the stage of cannibalism;" and, as Mr. Crawfurd adds, in reference to our own quarter of the globe, "It was in northern and western Europe that cannibalism probably, and human sacrifices certainly, lingered the longest."^c That in Gaul and the British isles anthropophagism did once prevail rests on positive testimony, which might have been still stronger but for the reason that the practice had become extinct in the more civilized parts of Britain before the time of Julius Cæsar. Diodorus, however, expressly states that even in his day "it was reported that some of the more savage of the Gauls living in the north near Scythia eat human flesh, as also the Britons who inhabit Ireland." Seventy years after Cæsar, though still early in the first century of our era, Strabo repeats the statement, as to the authority for which he did not vouch, that "the inhabitants of Ireland, who were more savage and barbarous than those of Britain, fed on human flesh, and deemed it com-

^a *Archæological Journal*, 1865, xxii. 107. Mr. Greenwell adds, "The flesh must have been removed from the bones before they were buried; or they would not have been found displaced in the manner described." On this subject a paper by M. Garrigou, *L'Anthropophagie chez les Peuples des âges du Renne et de la Pierre polie, dans les Cavernes de la France*, may be consulted. *Bull. de la Soc. d'Anthrop.* 2 Ser. ii. 326.

^b See a paper by the late John Crawfurd, Esq. F.R.S. *Cannibalism in relation to Ethnology*, *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* N.S. iv. 108. See, in the same volume, an excellent paper by the Rev. F. W. Farrar, F.R.S., in which the anthropophagism of the ancient Britons is expressly asserted, p. 117.

^c *Trans. Ethnol. Soc.* N.S. iv. p. 124.

mendable to devour their deceased fathers.” That some of the Irish were really anthropophagous receives a tardy confirmation from the well-known narrative of St. Jerome, who at the beginning of the fifth century minutely describes the repulsive cannibalism of the Attacots, who in all probability were a tribe of Irish origin, though settled in Britain to the north of the great barrier of Hadrian, if not of that of Antonine likewise.^a The existence of anthropophagism in Britain is the more probable from the glimpses of the practice which we obtain in Homer, in his stories of the Cyclopes and the Læstrygones; and also in Herodotus, whose anthropophagi,^b the Scythian anthropophagi of Pliny,^c were clearly Europeans. The custom attributed to the Irish by Strabo of eating their fathers was paralleled in the old world by that of three Asiatic peoples, also described by Herodotus, viz. the Massagetæ,^d the Issedones,^e and the Padean Indians.^f The mode of procedure seems to have been very similar in the case of all these people, but is more fully described as practised by the Massagetæ, amongst whom the aged were sacrificed by their relatives together with various kinds of cattle, and a feast made on the boiled flesh. It was counted a great misfortune if the aged were carried off by disease, as in that case the dead were not eaten.

A similar practice, that of eating their parents, was ascribed to the Battas of Sumatra by Sir Stamford Raffles, and we may question whether the doubts which have been expressed in regard to it are well founded.^g How little in such cases we can reason as to what is probable from modern feelings may be seen in the case of the Carian queen Artemisia—the Victoria of her time—who in the middle of the fourth century B.C., and participating to the full in the Greek civilization of the period, mingled with “a passionate prodigality” the ashes of her husband in her daily drink!

That traces of a kind of Suttee—*gynethusia* as it has been termed—may be looked for in the earlier tombs of the ancient Britons is probable, not merely from what Cæsar tells us of the immolation of slaves and dependants, but still more so

^a Hieron. adv. Jovin. lib. ii. For the Attacots, see the author’s “Historical Ethnology of Britain,” being chap. v. of *Crania Britannica*, pp. 152, 153.

^b Herod. iv. 106. Comp. *Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1868, p. 418.

^c Pliny, iv. 26; vi. 20; vii. 2.

^d Herod. i. 216.

^e Ibid. iv. 26.

^f Ibid. iii. 99. Strabo tells us (xi. 12, § 8) that the Derbices (a people of Scythian origin) also killed and ate the bodies of those who exceeded 70 years of age, and that the nearest relatives ate them. What the same writer says (iv. 5, § 4) as to the Kelts and Iberians eating human flesh during the severities of a siege, is not conclusive, though the comparison with a passage in Cæsar (B. G. vii. 77) makes it probable that it was by no means in the last extremity that the old people were killed and eaten by the Gauls when besieged by the Cimbri and Teutones.

^g As to this worst kind of cannibalism, see Bickmore’s *East Indian Archipelago*, pp. 111, 446.

from his statement that, if the circumstances of the death of a chief were suspicious, the wives were put to severe torture and killed by fire.^a This passage is particularly interesting when compared with one in Strabo which refers to a tribe of Indians called Cathæi, in which the origin of the Indian custom of Suttee is actually traced to the jealousy, not always ill-founded, of the men.^b

Archaic methods of disposal of the Dead.—Some may think that certain peculiarities in the method of disposing of the remains of the dead observed among rude peoples of both ancient and modern times, will explain the peculiar condition of the bones in many of the long barrows, without the necessity for calling in the repulsive customs of human sacrifice and cannibalism. Though not sharing in this opinion, it is necessary to call attention to these customs, which may seem to illustrate some of the appearances met with in the most ancient tumuli.

The crouched position of the skeleton, with the knees drawn up more or less closely to the breast, is not confined to the long barrows, or to tombs of the stone age; but is also observed, almost if not quite to the exclusion of the extended posture, in the circular barrows of the bronze age. It is a very singular though well-known circumstance, that this contracted or crouched position of the remains is by no means peculiar to ancient British tombs, but is found to have been and still to be very generally resorted to by primitive and barbarous peoples in both hemispheres and in all the quarters of the globe. The earliest notice of it seems to be in Herodotus, who tells us that the Nasamones of Lybia buried their dead in a sitting posture, watching when one is about to expire, that they may set him up, that he may not die supine.^c Diodorus, writing of the burials of the Troglodytes near the Red Sea, tells us that they tied the neck and heels of the corpse together with twigs of a thorn-bush, and, having carried it to the top of a hill, they pelted it amid great laughter with stones, until it was covered with a cairn, on which they placed a goat's horn.^d Of obsequies like these, well might Montfaucon exclaim, "These are strange funerals!" But even they give place to those of the people of the Balearic Isles, who, as we are told by the same historian, pounded or mashed the body with their wooden clubs, and so forcing it into some sort of trough or receptacle raised over it a great pile of stones.^e

^a Bell. Gall. vi. 19. Capital punishment by burning was common amongst the Gauls. *Ibid.* i. 4, 53.

^b Strabo, xv. 1, § 30.

^c Herod. iv. 190.

^d Diod. Sic. iii. 2. Comp. Strabo, xvi. 4, § 18. These Troglodytes were those called Megabarei.

^e Diod. Sic. v. 18. In the three cases named in the text we have, perhaps, only different degrees of the same custom; the crouched, doubled-up, and neck-and-heels positions, were in all aimed at, but most completely attained by the Baleares.

Provisional Burial.—In reference to the subject before us there are other customs as to the disposal of the dead not yet exploded, which there is reason to believe obtained among many ancient peoples, and which must not be overlooked. Provisional sepulture is the practice of many North American tribes, who do not inter the dead in their final resting-place at once, but bury them in or near their wigwams, and at the time of their first remove disinter and carry the bones with them for interment in the cemetery of the tribe, it may be at a great distance. In the Society Islands the dead were not buried immediately, but were placed on a platform railed in with bamboo. When the body had entirely decayed, the bones were collected, carefully cleaned and buried, according to the rank of the deceased, either within or without a “morai,” a pyramidal stone structure, not very unlike a gigantic long barrow.^a But we have not to go so far as the islands of the South Sea, or the North American continent, for examples of this strange practice, or of one at least closely allied to it. No further off than Brittany the bones of the dead, to which a sort of religious reverence is paid, are disinterred when they are thought to be divested of the flesh, and are removed to a bone-house; whilst the skulls are placed in boxes, protected by gratings, and inscribed with the names of the deceased. These boxes are arranged in rows on the walls of the churchyards.^b A similar practice I myself have witnessed in the Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland, where an ossuary or bone-house is found in many, perhaps most, of the churchyards. Here are immense piles of bones, with hundreds of skulls on shelves, many of them labelled with the names of the dead and date of birth and death. At Rapperschwyl, on the lake of Zurich, some of these skulls were ranged on a rude altar, on which stood a crucifix and lighted candles. In all these cases it is obvious that when the body has once been disinterred the bones must necessarily become disarranged, mixed, and perhaps broken, in such a manner as may perhaps explain some of the appearances presented by the bones exhumed from the long

^a Lubbock, *Pre-Historic Times*, 1865, p. 384. In the same work (p. 431) the strange process of making skeletons of the dead among the Patagonian Indians, is described, after Falkner. See, however, Prof. Nilsson's argument against such a practice in the case of the chambered long barrows of the North, as maintained by M. Bruzelius, M. Boye, and Prof. Hildebrand. *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*, by Sir J. Lubbock, pp. 160—168.

^b Weld, *Vacation in Brittany*, 1856, p. 119, and *passim*. Miss B. R. Parkes, in *Gent. Mag.* Oct. 1867, N.S., vol. iv. p. 485. The same practice also obtains in certain parts of sub-alpine Italy. (Rev. S. W. King, *Pennine Alps*, 1858, p. 471). Any collecting of the bones of the dead was forbidden by the Laws of the Twelve Tables. (Cic. *De Leg.* ii. 24.)

barrows. It is indeed highly probable that, during the time the large and honorary grave-mound was in process of formation, the bodies of the dead and of those slaughtered in their honour were deposited in some temporary grave, and subsequently disinterred for final interment in the complete, or nearly complete, long barrow.^a I am, however, satisfied, by repeated and minute examinations of the bones, that the very peculiar appearances which they present cannot be entirely explained in this way; but that they are due, as already stated, to the manner in which those who were sacrificed in the course of the funeral ceremonies were slaughtered, and who seem to have been literally "brained" by the blows of a club or stone axe.

Cremation in Long Barrows very rare and exceptional.—When I commenced my researches in the long barrows of Wiltshire there was only a single instance recorded in which the remains of the dead found in them had been burnt. This solitary exception to the general law of simple inhumation was that of the Knook Long Barrow (No. 6), in which, in the year 1801, in the usual situation, and instead of the usual pile of skeletons, Mr. Cunnington found "a large quantity of burnt bones."^b Perhaps the largest long barrow of Wiltshire is that one, of which the peculiar relations to the "Old Ditch" at Tilshead have already been referred to, and which was opened by Mr. Cunnington in 1802, but without finding, as appeared to me, the primary interment.^c In September 1865 I made a large excavation at the east end, at its very broadest and highest part, and was rewarded by reaching the true primary interment, though at first under a form for which I was not prepared. At a depth of more than ten feet, under the accustomed stratum of black earth, was a pile of large flint-stones, beneath which, and on a sort of pavement of similar flints, many of them of a red or blue colour, and very rotten or brittle in texture, was a large pile of burnt human bones, being those apparently of one full-grown adult individual. It was observed that the fragments of bone were much larger than those so common in the circular barrows, and that they were far from being so completely incinerated. It was

^a I am not aware that it has been suggested that slaves were sacrificed to any great extent during our round-barrow or bronze period, which was also that in which cremation was principally practised. This, however, is the view which seems to be objected to by the Rev. W. C. Lukis. (*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 1866, x. 98.) Where we have reason to believe that the custom of immolating dependents did obtain, as during the long-barrow and stone period, there, it will be seen, is no difficulty in showing "what was done with the victims all the while that the mound was forming."

^b *Archæologia*, xv. 345; Hoare, *Ancient Wilts.*, i. 83.

^c The interment found by Cunnington at the extreme west end, if not secondary, may have been a subsidiary primary interment.

almost sunset, and we were on the point of abandoning the search for entire skeletons, when portions of a small female skeleton were seen on the same level, but about two feet to the north-west of the burnt bones, and, like them, covered by very large flint nodules, which formed, indeed, a common pile. The skeleton was very closely doubled up or crouched, and the head was directed towards the north, inclining to the right side. All the bones were slender and diminutive, the femur measuring 16, and the tibia 12·75, inches only; indicating a stature of scarcely more than 4 feet 10 inches. The skull presents indisputable marks of having been violently cleft before burial, and no doubt during life. When found it was in many fragments, several of which must have been deposited whilst still connected by membranes, ligaments, and integuments. The space around was extensively searched for other skeletons, but without result. The only article found with the skeleton was a very roughly chipped flint, possibly a rude hatchet, measuring 2·25 inches long, 1·75 inch broad, and about half an inch thick. In this instance the skeleton appears clearly to have been that of a slaughtered female victim, and the burnt bones those probably of the chief in whose honour the barrow was erected. The case seems to be one of suttee; only the wife was not immolated by fire, as was the Indian method, and likewise that amongst the Gauls in the time of Cæsar.

This discovery in Tilshead Old Ditch long barrow induced me to re-excavate that at Knook, in which, as I have just stated, a deposit of burnt bones was found by Cunnington early in the century, in order to ascertain whether in that likewise there might not be an unburnt skeleton which had been overlooked. This was done in May 1866, when in digging at the north-east end of the barrow we came to traces of the burnt bones and many scattered brittle flints, some of a red and others of a blackish-grey colour, as if scorched by heat. Though no pains were spared in clearing out the base of the barrow, no trace whatever was met with of any unburnt skeleton or skeletons.

Many excavations had at different times been made in the long barrow in the centre of the British camp or earthwork known as "Bratton Castle," but without leading to the discovery of the primary interment.^a In August 1866 our working party made two large openings at the extreme east end, and in the more westerly of the two, on the natural level, at a depth of eight feet and a half, and only one or two feet from the point where Mr. Cunnington's diggings appeared to have left off, was a heap of imperfectly burnt, or rather charred, human bones, as many

^a Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, i. 55; Camden, by Gough, i. 146.

perhaps as would be left by the incineration of one or two adult bodies. Careful search was made for an entire unburnt skeleton or skeletons, but without success. We have thus three cases out of thirty-one long barrows in which the burial was attended by the burning of the dead. The cremation however seems to have been of an imperfect and defective sort, quite different from that of the round-barrow period; when, moreover, instead of the burning having been practised at the most in a tithe of the instances,^a it was decidedly the more usual mode. According to my enumeration of the circular barrows of Wiltshire, the exploration of which is recorded in the "Ancient Wiltshire" of Sir R. C. Hoare, and which I reckon as three hundred and fifty-four in number, cremation had been practised in not fewer than two hundred and seventy-two instances, or in the proportion of rather more than three to one.

Associated Manufactured Objects. Flint Implements.—As to the objects found with the human remains in the simple long barrows, a great infrequency of all such is in the first place to be noticed. It is, however, of the greatest importance to insist on the fact, that in no case whatever has any object of metal been found in them with the primary interment. The rarity of objects of flint and other stone, and of those of bone, as well as pottery, is also very remarkable; and leads to the inference that those which have been met with have seldom been deposited intentionally, or as a necessary part of the funeral rites. It may however be observed, as I have elsewhere done,^b that "in consequence of the abundance of flint flakes on the surface of the chalk in Wiltshire, the presence of the simpler flint objects in the barrows was sometimes overlooked in the excavations of Sir R. C. Hoare and Mr. Cunnington. However this may be, it is certain that no flint implements or weapons^c are mentioned as having been found in the long barrows opened for the most part by the latter gentleman."

To enumerate the flint objects found by myself; one of these, discovered with

^a I am here speaking, as generally in this paper, entirely of Wiltshire and the south-west of England. Mr. Greenwell's researches in two long barrows, one in the North Riding and the other in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and the appearances disclosed on the levelling, by the occupiers, of one or two others, would seem to show that in this part of the North of England "cremation was the rule of the long barrows, but cremation after a singular and imperfect fashion."

^b *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. 1865, iii. 169; *Wilts Arch. Mag.* 1867, vol. xi. p. 47. Sir John Lubbock has made the same observation: "So far as stone implements are concerned, I must confess that Sir R. C. Hoare appears to have overlooked the ruder instruments and weapons."

^c A hard violet-coloured stone, polished, with the edge broken off, is however named as having been found in one of the long-barrows (No. 5), opened by Cunnington. *Ancient Wilts*, i. 73.

the skeleton in the long barrow at Tilshead Old Ditch, has already been referred to. In the Winterbourn Stoke Long Barrow (No. 16), close to the right arm of the single skeleton which formed the primary interment, was a naturally bludgeon-shaped flint about eight inches long, and well adapted for being grasped in the hand. From one end numerous flakes had been knocked off, and it had evidently constituted an object of considerable importance to its owner.^a

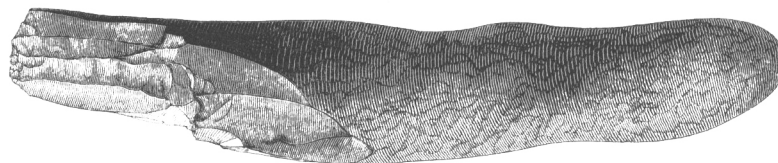


Fig. 2. Flint with Primary Interment. Winterbourn Stoke Long Barrow.

In the long barrow of Norton Bavant (No. 28), in which we found the remains of as many as eighteen skeletons, there was a curious globular ball or nodule of flint, much battered, and weighing three pounds and three quarters. It lay close to one of the skulls, and had obviously been appropriated to some special purpose.

It was possibly the instrument by which so many of the skulls had been fractured. The more interesting object of flint, however, is a delicate and beautifully-chipped leaf-shaped arrow-head obtained from the long barrow on Fyfield Hill, called the "Giant's Grave," and which was found close to one of the skulls.^b

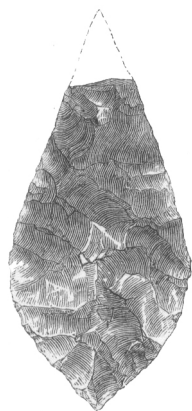


Fig. 3. From Fyfield Long Barrow.

As similar leaf-shaped flint arrow-heads, chipped to a great tenuity, have been found in two chambered long barrows, one in Wiltshire (Walker Hill) and one in Gloucestershire at Rodmarton, and as no barbed flint arrow-heads have so been found, I have ventured to designate this more primitive though very delicate form *the long-barrow type of flint arrow-head*, it being the only description as yet found in them.

Pottery.—Sir R. C. Hoare and Mr. Cunnington record the discovery of fragments of rude British pottery in the soil of which the long barrows are composed; but neither of them appears in any instance to have found earthen vases of any sort, or even fragments of such, with the primary interments. In the long barrow at Tinhead (No. 18), which had evidently been rifled at some unknown period, we found, in 1864, traces of human remains in the usual situation at the east end;

^a *Memoirs Anthropol. Soc.* 1865, i. 142; to the courtesy of the Council of which Society we are indebted for the use of the wood-block in the text.

^b See *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 170, where this arrowhead is described and figured, but not satisfactorily.

and near them a fragment or two of rude black pottery of a peculiar character, thin, smooth on the outside, and having the clay of which it is formed mixed with pounded shells, apparently fossil shells of the district. I was at once impressed with the similarity of these fictile fragments to others found in the previous year in a stone chamber in the long barrow at Rodmarton, and I carefully preserved portions of both for future comparison. In 1866, in removing the pile of skeletons from the long barrow of Norton Bavant (No. 28), imbedded among the human skeletons we discovered the greater part of a thin curious vase of a wide-mouthed semi-globular form, and which was capable of being partially restored. There

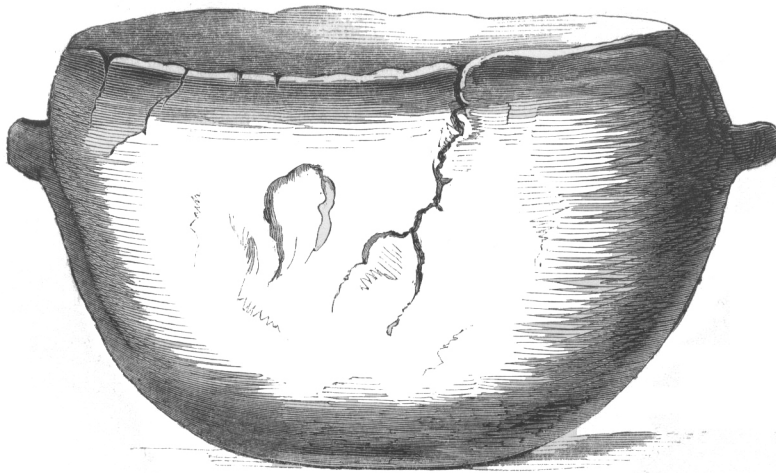


Fig. 4. Fictile Vessel, with Primary Interment. Norton Bavant Long Barrow. (Scale $\frac{2}{3}$ linear.)

are two ear-shaped handles projecting from below the rim, and the vessel when complete would have held perhaps two pints. The paste is lighter in colour than that of the fragments from Tinhead and Rodmarton, but, like them, is studded with white fragments of shells, among which I am assured those of a small fossil oyster from the tertiary clay beds of Wiltshire and Hampshire are to be distinguished. In these several instances, there is not the slightest trace of ornamentation, either by the pressure of cords or thongs or by any other process; in this respect the contrast being great with most of the pottery from the round barrows.

Secondary Interments.—The secondary interments not unfrequently met with in the upper strata, or near the summits of long barrows, are of great importance in forming an estimate of the probable relative date of these grave-mounds. In three instances at least (Nos. 5, 8, 10), Mr. Cunnington and Sir R. C. Hoare found skeletons, which, from their extended position and the character of the iron weapons accompanying them, were evidently Anglo-Saxon. In the long barrow

near Tilshead Lodge (No. 22) we uncovered within a foot of the summit a skeleton stretched at length from east to west, with the iron umbo and other mountings of a shield on the breast, and the remains of a small brass-bound bucket of wood at the head; both being objects as to the Anglo-Saxon character of which there can be no doubt.^a

But, if secondary interments of the Anglo-Saxon period were alone met with, the long barrows might belong to a much more recent period than that for which

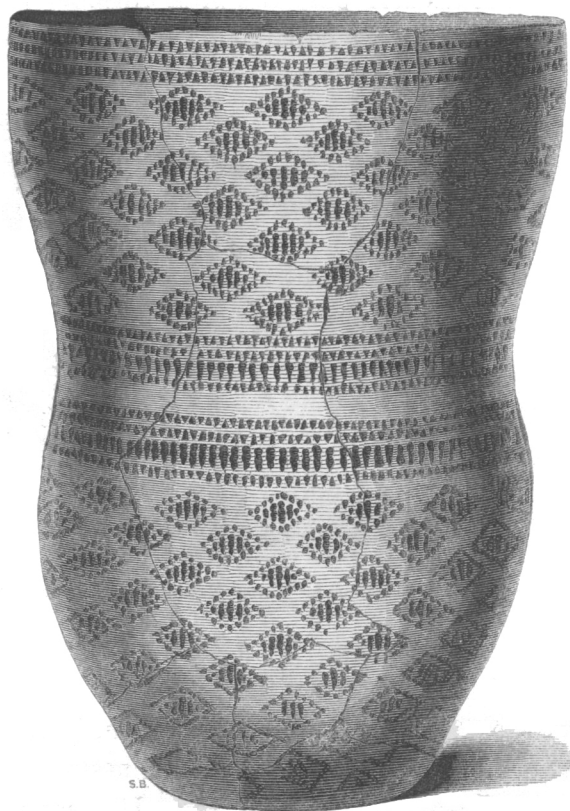


Fig. 5. Drinking Cup, with Secondary Interment. Wilsford Long Barrow. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear.)

I have throughout contended, and be of the late ancient British, or even of the Romano-British, period. It is certain, however, that some of the secondary inter-

^a In *Ell Barrow* (No. 15), likewise, I found a large male skeleton stretched at length, a foot or two below the turf, which was probably Anglo-Saxon. The long cleft in the skull (No. 148 of my collection) presents quite a different appearance from that observed in the skulls from the primary interments in the long barrows. It had probably been inflicted by a sword, in battle or other fight. Ecker (*Cran. Germ.* 37, Taf. xviii. 1, 2, 3) describes an ancient skull from Oberflacht, in which there is a distinct axe or sword-cut.

ments found in them are pre-Roman, and of the ancient British bronze age. In two if not three instances ^a secondary interments of burnt bones, in one case inclosed in a rude cinerary urn, were discovered by my predecessors, in their explorations, near the tops of long barrows.^b In the excavations conducted by myself, no secondary interments after cremation have occurred, but in no fewer than five instances (Nos. 16, 21, 23, 26, 27) I have met with skeletons near the surface, the contracted or crouched position of which make it probable that they



Fig. 6. Drinking Cup, with secondary Interment. Figgheldean Long Barrow (scale $\frac{1}{2}$ linear).

were of the ancient British and not of the Anglo-Saxon period. In the three first the evidence as to this was conclusive, from their being associated with pottery indisputably of the period referred to. The first (No. 16), from the Winterbourn Stoke long barrow, was a "food-vase," which, with a flint knife, had been deposited with a group of bodies, of a man, a woman, and several children, the very brachycephalic skull of the first of which has been engraved

^a Nos. 11, 25; comp. No. 3.

^b In no case whatever has urn-burial after cremation been found at the base of, or as the primary interment in, a long barrow.

and fully described in the *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society*.^a In the two other barrows (No. 21 Wilsford, and No. 23 Figcheldean) the vases found close to the skulls consisted (*see* woodcuts on the preceding pages) of beautiful “drinking-cups” of the latest highly decorated type, such as are usually only met with in the most modern circular British tumuli, and have in no case been found with the primary interments of long barrows. In these three instances, the associated skulls were of brachycephalous type, with a breadth-index of ·87, ·84, and ·78 respectively, being the same as that proper to the circular barrows of Wiltshire.

Type of the Skulls from the Long Barrows.—It is very much to be regretted that neither Sir Richard Hoare nor Mr. Cunnington preserved any of the human remains, and especially the skulls, found by them in the long barrows. The first skull obtained from an unchambered long barrow, and which was also the first to be described, was from that at Winterbourn Stoke in 1863.^b Since that time I have succeeded in procuring many more such crania, and there are now twenty-seven in my collection (twenty-one supposed to be those of men, and six of women), which are capable of being measured. In the following Table I show the numbers

SKULLS FROM UNCHAMBERED LONG BARROWS IN SOUTH WILTS.

B.	No. of Skulls.		Breadth-Index.	
			Range.	Mean.
III. Winterbourne Stoke	1	..	·75	·75
IV. Tilshead (East)	5	..	·68–·74	·71 ⁵
VI. Bowl's Barrow	4	..	·65–·70	·67
VII. Fyfield	1	..	·69	·69
X. Tilshead (Lodge)	2	..	·66–·68	·67
XI. Figcheldean	1	..	·67	·67
XII. Netheravon	1	..	·69	·69
XIII. Tilshead (Old Ditch)	1	..	·68	·68
XV. Stonehenge (165)	2	..	·70 ⁵ –·71	·71
XVII. Norton Bavant	9	..	·63–·73	·68 ⁵
Total and averages	27	..	·63–·75	·69

obtained from the several long barrows, and also the relation of the breadth to the length of the skull, the latter being taken as 1·00. This, which by craniologists is termed the *cephalic index* or *breadth index*, ranges between ·63 and ·75, and has an average of no more than ·69. The skulls are in fact remarkably long and narrow, or such as are designated *dolichocephalic*, *stenocephalic*, and *kumbecephalic* by modern craniologists. In Europe, at the present day, there is no people with skulls so long and so narrow; and we have to search for cranial

^a Vol. i. 1865, p. 145, plate ii.

^b *Memoirs Anthropol. Society of London*, 1864, i. 144, plate i.

proportions similar to those of the old long-barrow folk far away in Africa, India, Australia, or the Melanesian Islands.

The contrast in form between the long skulls from the long barrows and the short or round skulls, which, to say the least, prevail in our Wiltshire circular barrows, is most interesting and remarkable, and suggests an essential distinction of race in the peoples by whom the two forms of tumuli were respectively constructed. The subject, however, is too extensive to be treated of satisfactorily in this place, and is indeed the less needful, as having been fully discussed in memoirs presented to another Society in 1864 and in the present year (1867).^a

2. Chambered Long Barrows.

Researches of Hoare.—The Chambered Long Barrows of Wiltshire and the adjoining counties were described by Sir R. C. Hoare under the vague name of “Stone Barrows;” a designation which might more properly apply to mere cairns, as distinguished from barrows of earth. Writing of the chambered tumulus at Stoney Littleton near Wellow in Somersetshire, he says, “It varies from the simple Long Barrows, not in its external, but in its internal, mode of construction. None of this kind occurred to me in my researches in South Wiltshire; for the material of stone, with which they were partly formed, was wanting. But some I have found in North Wiltshire, and they will be described in my *Ancient History of that district*.”^b And accordingly we find him in the second volume of his “*Ancient Wiltshire*” several times referring to “the Long barrows with a cistvaen^c (as he terms the sepulchral chamber) at the east, which in general is the highest and broadest, end.”^d In 1816, aided by his friend the Rev. John Skinner, Sir Richard carried out the exploration of the Chambered Long Barrow at Stoney Littleton, in Somersetshire, his account of which, illustrated with three plates, is printed in the nineteenth volume of the *Archæologia*. In 1821 he excavated with partial success the chambered barrow at Littleton Drew;^e but, with the exception of some partial diggings about a ruined chamber at Temple

^a See vol. i. and vol. iii. of *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*; and *Two Principal Forms of Ancient British Skulls*. London, 1865 and 1869.

^b *Archæologia*, 1817, xix. 43.

^c Sir Richard repeatedly distinguishes the cistvaen or sepulchral chamber from the cromlech; the former being, as he observes, always sepulchral, whilst the true nature of the latter, he says, he had not evidence to determine. *Ancient Wilts*, ii. 114.

^d *Ancient Wilts*, ii. 99, 102, 114. *Roman Æra*, p. 101.

^e *Gents. Mag.* Feb. 1822, xcii. 160. See note *d* on the following page.

Farm, on the Marlborough Downs,^a this is the only instance of an attempt made by him to explore a chambered long barrow in his own county.

Researches of the Writer and others.—My attention to this remarkable class of sepulchral monuments dates from the year 1849, when I became acquainted with an unpublished memorandum of the exploration in 1821 of that at Uley in Gloucestershire, preserved, in connexion with two skulls, in the Museum of Guy's Hospital, where it had remained for twenty years or more unknown to antiquaries. With the view of obtaining sketches of the chambers, and a correct ground-plan, a re-examination of this tumulus was obviously desirable; and, with the kind permission of the owner, Colonel Kingscote, I succeeded in effecting this in the year 1854; shortly after which a fully illustrated report of this interesting tumulus was published.^b

In the following year I superintended the opening of the ruined chambered tumulus at Lanhill near Chippenham;^c and, likewise, assisted G. P. Scrope, Esq., M.P., in the exploration of that near Littleton Drew, also in North Wilts.^d In 1859 I conducted, on behalf of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, the exploration of the remarkable chambered long barrow at West Kennet, a full description of which was printed in the *Archæologia*,^e along with a brief notice of some diggings in the great long barrow on Walker Hill, also in North Wilts.^f In 1862 and 1863, through the kindness of several members of the Cotteswold Field Club, I had the opportunity of witnessing or assisting at the exploration of the four chambered tumuli of Nympsfield, Woodchester, Rodmarton, and Charlton Abbot's, all in Gloucestershire; of which excavations more or less detailed reports have been printed.^g

In addition to the above, there are other chambered long barrows in this part

^a Of these diggings I think there is some notice in the MS. Collections in the Library at Stourhead, to which, several years since, I had access, through the kind permission of the late Baronet, Sir Hugh Hoare.

^b *Arch. Journal*, xi. 315. See also *Crania Britannica*. Decade i. 1856. Description of Skull from chambered tumulus at Uley, Plate 5, xxiv. In the exploration of this tumulus I was associated with E. A. Freeman, Esq., at that time resident near the adjacent town of Dursley.

^c See account of "The Barrow at Lanhill," *Wilts Arch. Mag.* iii. 67.

^d "On the Cromlech-Tumulus called Lugbury, near Littleton Drew." *Loc. cit.* p. 164; and *Cran. Brit.* Dec. iii. 1858. Description of Skull from Littleton Drew, pl. 24, xxv.

^e *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 405. *Cran. Brit.* Description of Skull, pl. 50, xxvi.

^f *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 410. *Salisbury Memoirs, Arch. Inst.* 98.

^g For Nympsfield and Woodchester (Bown Hill), see *Proc. Cotteswold Naturalists' Club*, iii. 184, 199; for Rodmarton, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2 S. ii. 275; Lysons, *Our British Ancestors*, 1865, p. 150; and *Cran. Brit.* "Description of Skull," pl. 59, xxvii.; and for Charlton Abbot's, *Mem. Anthropol. Soc.* i. 474, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2 S. iii. 275.

of England, of the opening of which we have only meagre and imperfect accounts, or none at all. Such are those of Nempnet^a and Orchardleigh^b in Somersetshire: Luckington,^c Millbarrow,^d Temple Farm,^e Rockley,^f Tidcombe,^g East Kennet,^h and Oldbury,ⁱ in Wiltshire; and Leighterton,^k Duntlesbourne Abbot's,^l Avening,^m Gatcombe,ⁿ and Shurdington,^o all in Gloucestershire. In this county, also on the Cotteswolds, so prolific in these chambered tumuli, is that at Ablington, of the partial exploration of which the Rev. S. Lysons has given an account;^p that at Bisley, opened by Dr. W. H. Paine of Stroud in 1863, for a report of which, not printed, I am indebted to a brief note from Dr. Henry Bird; and a third at Nether Swell, particulars respecting which I owe to Professor Rolleston^q and the Rev. David Royce, as this paper is passing through the press.

To this enumeration we must add the ruinous but very interesting chambered tumulus of Wayland's Smithy, at Ashbury, which, though in Berkshire, is on the very borders of Wilts, and geologically connected with the district of the Marlborough Downs.^r Altogether I have here adduced twenty-eight examples of

^a Nempnet, near Butcombe, *Gents. Mag.* 1789—1792, lix. i. 392, ii. 605; lxii. ii. 1082, 1180. County Histories of Collinson, Rutter, and Phelps; and Sayer's *Bristol*.

^b Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, ii. 116; Roman *Æra*, 102. Phelps's *Somersetshire*, vignette, p. 137. I have sketches of the stones, three in number. The ground-plan of the barrow is still quite visible.

^c *Ancient Wilts*, ii. 100. Hoare here quotes Aubrey and Childrey.

^d Stukeley. *Abury*, p. 46, Tab. xxx. *Salisbury Mem. Arch. Inst.* 1850, p. 93. Aubrey's rude sketch in *Mon. Brit.* shows a distinct chamber of seven stones at the east end. In 1863 I dug on the site of Millbarrow, but without result. When levelled by the farmer, only a few human teeth, a jaw-bone and some teeth of horses, were met with.

^e *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 213.

^f *Ibid.* ii. 309.

^g *Wilts Arch. Mag.* viii. 155.

^h *Salisbury Mem. Arch. Inst.* 1850, p. 93.

ⁱ *Mem. Anthropol. Soc.* i. 473.

^k Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, 1779, p. 306. Aubrey, *Mon. Brit.*

^l *Archæologia*, xvi. 361, pl. 55, 56. *Gent. Mag.* 1806, lxxvi. 871.

^m *Archæologia*, xvi. 362, pl. 57. Fosbrooke, *Encyclop. Antiq.* 1843, pp. 544, 547. Etching by T. Burden.

ⁿ Bigland's *Gloucestershire*, 1791, p. 92.

^o *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* iii. 64. Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 53. *Anthropol. Review*, iii. lxvi., lxxi.

^p *Our British Ancestors*, 1865, p. 318.

^q Rolleston, *Journ. Anat. and Phys.* 1868, iii. 252.

^r "On Wayland's Smithy and the Traditions connected with it," by J. Thurnam, M.D. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 1862, vii. 321. "Plan of Wayland's Smithy," by Professor Donaldson. *Ibid.* p. 315. A good Plan, with a sketch of the stones, made for Sir R. C. Hoare early in the present century, is preserved in the library at Stourhead. "Sketch-Book, Wiltshire," vol. iii.

chambered long barrows in these south-western counties, of the internal character of nearly all of which we have details; though as to some it must be admitted these are meagre and insignificant. They will however enable us to give a tolerably complete history of this class of sepulchral monuments, as found in this part of England.

Of the twenty-eight chambered tumuli in the opposite table, eleven are in North Wiltshire, one in Berkshire, thirteen in Gloucestershire, and three in Somersetshire.^a

Early Notices of Chambered Barrows.—Chambered barrows seem at a very early period to have attracted the attention of treasure-seekers; and there is proof that, even in Roman times, they were often rifled by those who were unrestrained by any of those cautions with which the Gothic King Theodoric the Great guarded his decree for searching tombs for the gold which was ordered to be added to the public treasury.^b In the very early Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf, there is a notice of what was evidently a chambered tumulus, the main features of which are described with considerable minuteness. In its recesses were treasures,—weapons and rich ornaments and vessels of heathen gold,—watched over, as the story goes, for three hundred winters, by a dragon. The

^a Similar chambered tumuli may exist in Oxfordshire, and perhaps the Hoar-stones at Enstone in that county once formed a trilith on the broad end of a long barrow containing sepulchral cists or chambers. I understood, from Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., that, in his diggings about these stones in 1842, no human interment was found; but only the bones of lower animals, including the *metatarsus* and horn-cores of a small ox, the bones of fowls, and the horns of deer. With these were many worn fragments of coarse pottery, apparently Roman. *Comp. Gent. Mag.* 1824, xciv. 125. Lukis, *Bircham Barrows*, 1843, 12. *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 433.

^b Cassiodorus *Variarum*, lib. iv. c. 34. “Dudæ Sajoni Theodoricus Rex”—[decernit ut loca adeat, ubi thesauri lateant, et si inventi fuerint, fisco addicat publico.] This Gothic prince plainly tells us—“Aurum enim sepulchris juste detrahitur, ubi dominus non habetur; immo culpæ genus est inutiliter abditis relinquere mortuorum, unde se vita potest sustentare viventium.” This sentence was no doubt in his thoughts, when, referring to the searching of tombs for treasure, Sir Thomas Browne says, “for which the most barbarous expilators found the most civil rhetoric.” (*Hydrotaphia*, cap. 3.) The remains of the dead, were, however, to be left undisturbed. “Ita tamen ut abstineatis manus a cineribus mortuorum; quia nolumus lucra quæri, quæ per funesta possunt scelera repetire.” And the search was to be made “sub publica testificatione.” The decree, indeed, bears some similarity to the license, A.D. 1324, of our own king Edward II., “De Terrâ fodendâ pro thesauro abscondito querendo.” See Patent Rolls of 17th Edward II. The document is printed in Sir Henry Ellis’s “Letters of Eminent Literary Men,” published by the Camden Society, 1843, p. 32. See also *Arch. Journal*, xi. 322. Royal licences to dig barrows were still granted, *temp.* Henry VIII., and treasure was sought in them even by the clergy, with the rites of sorcery. (Mr. Dawson Turner, *Norfolk Archæology*, i. 41.)

TABLE 2.—EXPLORATIONS IN CHAMBERED LONG BARROWS IN WILTSHIRE, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, SOMERSETSHIRE, &c.

Nos.	Locality and Name.	Result of Exploration.		Primary Interments.	References.
		General Result.			
WILTSHIRE:					
1	Littleton-Drew, "Ingbury"	Successful, 1855	...	Many (25) skeletons	<i>Gents. Mag.</i> 1822, xcii. 160. <i>Wilt. Arch. Mag.</i> iii. 164. <i>Cran. Brit.</i> pl. 24.
2	Lanhill; by error "Habb's Lane"	Rifled long ago; re-examined 1855	...	Remains of skeletons	<i>Wilt. Arch. Mag.</i> iii. 67.
3	Luckington, "Giant's Caves"	Rifled long ago; cists left uncovered	...	Result unknown	<i>Ancient Wilt.</i> ii. 100.
4	Monkton, "Milbarrow"	Rifled and levelled	...	Result unknown	Stukeley, <i>Abury</i> , 46, Tab. xxx. <i>Salisbury Mem. Arch. Inst.</i> 93.
5	West Kennet	Successful, 1859...	...	Several (6) skeletons	<i>Archæologia</i> , xxxviii. 405. <i>Cran. Brit.</i> pl. 50, xxvi.
6	East Kennet	Only attempted as yet	...	—	<i>Salisbury Mem. Arch. Inst.</i> 1850, 98.
7	Walker Hill, "Old Adam"	Rifled; attempted again, 1860	...	Traces of skeletons	<i>Ibid.</i> p. 98. <i>Archæologia</i> , xxxviii. 410.
8	Temple Farm	Rifled and left uncovered...	...	Result unknown	<i>Proc. Soc. Ant.</i> 2 S. iii. 213.
9	Rockley	Rifled and left uncovered...	...	Result unknown	<i>Ibid.</i> 2 S. ii. 309.
10	Tidcombe	Probably rifled; attempted again	...	Result unknown	<i>Wilt. Arch. Mag.</i> viii. 155.
11	Oldbury	Successful, 1864...	...	Three skeletons	<i>Mem. Anthropol. Soc.</i> i. 473.
BERKSHIRE:					
12	Ashbury, "Wayland's Smithy"	Rifled and left uncovered...	...	Result unknown	<i>Wilt. Arch. Mag.</i> vii. 321.
GLOUCESTERSHIRE:					
13	Uley, "Hetty Pegler's Tump"	Successful, 1854...	...	Many (15) skeletons	<i>Arch. Journ.</i> xi. 315. <i>Cran. Brit.</i> pl. 5, xxiv.
14	Nympsfield...	Successful, 1862...	...	Many (12) skeletons	<i>Proc. Cottswold Nats. Club</i> , iii. 184.
15	Rodmarton, "Windmill Tump"	Successful, 1863...	...	Many (13) skeletons	<i>Proc. Soc. Ant.</i> 2 S. ii. 275. <i>Lysons, Our Brit. Ancestors</i> , 150. <i>Cran. Brit.</i> pl. 59, xxvii.
16	Charlton Abbot's, "Belas Knap"	Successful, 1863...	...	Many (30) skeletons	<i>Mem. Anthropol. Soc.</i> i. 474. <i>Proc. Soc. Ant.</i> 2 S. iii. 275.
17	Woodchester	Rifled; partially successful, 1863	...	Remains of skeletons	<i>Proc. Cottswold Nats. Club</i> , iii. 199.
18	Ablington	Successful, so far as gone, 1864	...	Skeleton ...	<i>Lysons, Our Brit. Ancestors</i> , 1865, 318.
19	Bisley	Successful in part, 1863	...	Remains of skeletons	Letters from Dr. Hy. Bird and Dr. W. H. Paine
20	Leighterton, "West Barrow"	Successful? c. 1700...	...	Many skeletons	Rudder, <i>Gloucestershire</i> , 1779, 306. Aubrey, <i>Mon. Brit.</i>
21	Duntesbourne Abbot's, "Hoar Stone Barrow"	Successful, 1806...	...	Many (9) skeletons	<i>Archæologia</i> , xvi. 361. <i>Gent. Mag.</i> lxxvi. 871.
22	Avening	Successful, 1806...	...	Many (11) skeletons	<i>Ibid.</i> 362. Fosbrooke, <i>Encyc. Ant.</i> 1843, 544, 547. Etching by T. Burden.
23	Gatcombe, "Tingle Stone Barrow"	Not yet explored	...	—	Bigland, <i>Gloucestershire</i> , 1791, p. 92.
24	Shurdington, "Crippett's Barrow"	Only attempted as yet	...	—	<i>Journ. Brit. Arch. Ass.</i> iii. 64. <i>Anthropol. Rec.</i> iii. lxxi.
25	Nether Swell	Levelled and explored, 1868	...	Several (3) skeletons	Rolleston, <i>Journ. Anat. and Phys.</i> 1868, iii. 252.
SOMERSETSHIRE:					
26	Stoney Littleton	Successful, 1816...	...	Many skeletons	<i>Archæologia</i> , xix. 43.
27	Nempnet, "Fairy's Toote"	Successful, 1789...	...	Many skeletons	<i>Gents. Mag.</i> 1789-1792, lix. (1), 392 (2), 602, lixii. (2), 1082, 1188.
28	Orchardleigh	Rifled and partially levelled	...	Result unknown	<i>Ancient Wilt.</i> ii. 116. <i>Rom. Era</i> , 102. Phelps's <i>Somersetshire</i> , 137.

barrow was of stone, with a passage under it unknown to men, the work of giants, the cave within built up with stone arches and made fast on props.

Beneath the hoary stone,
Under the earth-mound,
On giant's work he gazed ;
The eternal cave held fast
On props, with vaults of stone !^a

One of the commentators on Beowulf confidently assigns an exact locality for this tumulus, and places it at Eaglescliffe in Durham.^b Before leaving this passage in our old-world poem, it may be worth noting that in the great chambered tumulus of Maeshow in Orkney, which, from the Runic inscriptions on its walls, seems to have contained much treasure, there is actually the figure of a dragon drawn with much art and archaic skill. The notion that hidden treasure was watched over by dragons, was a common one in the middle ages; and as an instance, may be cited the barrow of Wormelow at Bromfield near Ludlow, where, in 1344, according to Thomas of Walsingham, the dragon that guarded it was slain through the incantation of a Saracen physician, and the retainers of Earl Warren obtained great treasure of gold.^c Again, in the *Life of St. Guthlac*, written in the ninth century, by Felix of Croyland,^d we read, "There was on the island (of Croyland) a great mound raised upon the earth, which of yore men had dug and broken up in hopes of treasure. On the other side of the mound a place was dug, as it were, a great water-cistern."

These notices of the rifling of barrows, and especially of those containing chambers, are of much interest, and not unimportant, when we endeavour to explain the great rarity of finding a tumulus of this description with one even of

^a Beowulf, c. 34, 36, 37.

^b Haigh, *Anglo-Saxon Sagas*, ed. 1861, p. 84. Mr. H. Morley (*Fortnightly Review*, Feb. 1868, p. 121—130) holds similar, though not identical, views as to the topography of Beowulf.

^c Thom. Walsingham, *Hist. Brevis Angl.* ed. 1574, p. 155. T. Wright, F.S.A., *History of Ludlow*, 1841, p. 27. Mr. Wright thinks the barrow referred to by Thomas of Walsingham may even now be identified. Ludlow probably derives the last syllable of its name from a tumulus, apparently chambered, described as a very large mound on the site of the present churchyard, which, in the year 1199, was cleared away. In effecting the removal three stone chambers or cists—"tria mausolea lapidea"—were discovered, containing skeletons, which the clergy of the place maintained were the relics of three Irish saints, and buried them within the Church, in the faith of the thaumaturgic powers of the relics. Leland, *Collect.* iii. 407. Wright, *loc. cit.* p. 14.

^d *Life of St. Guthlac*, sec. 4. Guthlac, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, died A.D. 714.

its chambers unrifled and intact.^a The practice indeed, as shown by the late J. M. Kemble, in his "*Notices of Heathen Interment*" in the "*Codex Diplomaticus*,"^b must have been quite common in very early times. Mr. Kemble, in the paper referred to, instances a *stone cist* named in an Anglo-Saxon charter of the time of Cnut, in the boundaries of lands at Cheselburne (not Chiselden, as he has here written, misquoting the Charter), as "the stone cist on Holcombe,"—*ða stáncysten on Holancumbe*—(the hollow hill or mound—the hill with a cavity or chamber in it), and which it is not improbable may have been a sepulchral barrow of the kind we are considering.^c The celebrated sepulchral stone chamber, *Wayland's Smithy*, is singularly passed over by Kemble in this paper, though named at length in one of the charters edited by himself.^d The term *smithy*—the workshop of the invisible smith—the Weland or Vulcan of the North—is not likely to have been applied to this monument, unless the chamber had been already disclosed and uncovered. We know, from the date of the charter, that it was so called in the time of Eadred, in the middle of the tenth century, but for how long before this we cannot even conjecture. That it formed part of, and was originally covered by, a *long* barrow, and not, as for the most part supposed, by a *round* one, I have shown in a paper printed in the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*.^e

The character of these megalithic tombs, so different from anything with which our rude Saxon ancestors were familiar, explains their being associated, as in the case of Weland's Smithy, with heathen and superstitious traditions. Their great size no doubt gave rise to their being regarded as the abodes or burial-places of giants. Giants' Chambers, *Jettestuer*, is the name by which they are commonly known in Denmark; and one with like signification, *Hünenbetten*,^f is their desig-

^a The Vikings of Norway were great riflers of grave-mounds. (Keyser, *Religion of Northmen*, 306.) In the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 862, is the record that the great chambered tumulus of Dowth on the Boyne was searched by the Norsemen of Dublin. ^b *Arch. Journ.* xiv. 119, and re-printed in *Horæ Ferales*, p. 107.

^c *Arch. Journ.* xiv. 129, 134. The *Ceósulburne* of this charter (printed in *Codex. Diplom.* No. 730, A.D. 1019), was clearly identified by Kemble with Cheselborne in Dorset. See Index to *Cod. Dipl.*, sub *vocibus* *Ceósulburne*, *Berteswell*, *Gretindún*, and *Holancumb*, all places named in the charter. It was perhaps by a mere slip of the pen that Kemble wrote "Chiselden in Wiltshire" in the article in the *Archæological Journal*.

^d "Welandes Smiððan." *Cod. Diplom.* No. 1172, temp. Eadred. A.D. 955.

^e Vol. vii. 321. "On Wayland's Smithy, and on the Traditions connected with it." Sir R. C. Hoare had already correctly described it as having been "a long barrow with a cistvaen of stones within it." *Ancient Wilts*, ii. 47.

^f The term *Hünenbetten* (Germ.), *Hunebedden* (Dutch), has been erroneously supposed to mean the Huns' graves. (*Archæologia*, xxxiv. 442.) *Hüne*, in German, is a giant.

nation in North Germany and in Holland. The same name occurs in Wiltshire, where the long barrow of Fyfield (Table I. No. 19) is the *Giant's Grave*, whilst the chambered tumulus of Luckington (Table II. No. 3) is known as the *Giant's Caves*, "in the language," says Childrey, by whom it was described in the seventeenth century, "of ignorance, fear, and superstition." In Denmark, chambered tumuli have as a second name that of Fairies or Goblins' Chambers, *Troldestuer*. The same term is applied to them in England. Thus that at Nempnet, in Somersetshire, was called the *Fairy's Toote*, being regarded, the Rev. T. Bere tells us, "as the haunt of ghosts, goblins, and fairies,—the electrical tremblings," he adds, "of very remote superstition."

Geographical Distribution.—Chambered barrows, though so much more common in the part of England to which our observations refer than elsewhere, are by no means confined to it. It is however doubtful whether those of distant counties do not differ from those of the south-west in more or less important particulars. Those of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, described by Mr. Bateman, might be thought analogous, but the descriptions given by him are wanting in that precision which would alone justify a confident opinion.^a We are indeed for the most part left in doubt whether the tumuli themselves were long or round. In other parts of England, including the Scilly Isles, in Wales, in the Channel Islands, in Britany, in the north of Scotland,^b in the Orkneys, and in Ireland, there are chambered barrows which are not elongate but circular in form. Some of those in Britany, originally circular, have been transmuted, apparently by successive additions, from the round to the long form;^c though there are others in that part of France which, like the chambered barrows of our south-western counties, were always and from the beginning elongate. No circular chambered barrow is known to exist, or has by any one been described, in this part of England; nor does evidence now exist that in any instance a tumulus of this

^a The best examples—Minning-low, and that at Five Wells, Taddington—both appear to be *circular* tumuli, but the megalithic structures covered by them are true *chambers*. *Vestiges*, 39, 91. *Ten Year's Diggings*, 82. Long-low, near Wetton (*Vestiges*, 144), though containing a *cist*, rather than a chamber, is perhaps a true long barrow, notwithstanding the doubts as to this, which arise from Mr. Carrington's latest diggings. (*Reliquary*, 1864, v. 27.) Mr. Ll. Jewitt believes that the elliptical barrows of Derbyshire were originally circular. *Intellect. Observer*, Oct. 1867, p. 181.

^b In Caithness there are, however, long as well as circular chambered cairns; but they are probably contemporary, as the principle of construction in the two is identical. See the descriptions and plans of these singular structures in *Mem. Anthropol. Soc.* ii. 226. That at Yarhouse, of the chamber in which a ground-plan is given in our Plate XIV. fig. 8, is a long cairn, 240 feet in length.

^c See paper by Rev. W. C. Lukis "On some Peculiarities in the Construction of Chambered Barrows." *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1866, xxii. 249.

description, originally round, has been developed into the long form by gradual additions. The lengthened oval form for this district of England has thus a generic value; which, however, the study of the chambered tumuli of other districts, and those not very remote, proves not to be of universal application. It may indeed be inferred that the circular chambered barrows of other parts of Great Britain, Ireland, and France are generally, if not always, of the stone period, and in a general sense contemporary with those of elongate form in the three counties of Wilts, Gloucester, and Somerset; but it is to these last as long known to myself that I shall restrict my attention; comparing them where it appears desirable with those of other countries and districts.

Geology.—At the commencement of the present communication it has been pointed out, after Sir Richard Hoare, that the absence of chambered long barrows in South Wiltshire and Dorsetshire appears to be due to the fact that in those chalk regions there is an absence of stone suitable for the construction of chambers. Scattered blocks of silicious grit or sarsen stone are indeed found here and there on the surface, but they are neither numerous nor large enough for this purpose. In North Wiltshire and the adjacent part of Berkshire the case is different; and sarsen stones of large dimensions and in great numbers are found in the hollows of the higher chalk downs. From these were derived the immense stones of the circles and avenues of Avebury; and, as most geologists and antiquaries believe, those out of which the great trilithons and mortised uprights and imposts of Stonehenge, itself in South Wilts, were formed. Of the chambered barrows of Wiltshire, which, inclusive of Wayland's Smithy, just over the border, are twelve in number, nine, all in the chalk district, have, as was to have been expected, the chambers formed of the hard silicious or sarsen stones to which we refer. These stones, requiring no dressing, and probably admitting of none with the tools then in use, have been merely selected from their beds on the surface of the chalk, according as their form was suited to the purposes of the builders. In the three other chambered barrows of Wiltshire (standing first in Table 2), the case is different. These lie on the oolite, and in a district geologically connected with that of the Gloucestershire Cotteswolds.^a Thus the chambers of seventeen of these barrows, of which thirteen are in Gloucestershire, are constructed of some form of oolitic

^a This "hill-country of Gloucestershire" has been described by the Rev. Sydney Smith, as "one of the most desolate countries under heaven, divided by stone walls, and abandoned to kites and crows." He is contrasting its sterility and nakedness with the comfort, opulence, and beauty of the adjacent deep and shaded vale of Severn. *Sketches of Modern Philosophy*, p. 213.

stone, such as occurs in quarries close to the surface and is very easily worked. Of the chambered barrows of Somersetshire that of Nempnet, the wanton destruction of which is greatly to be deplored, is said by Phelps to have been constructed of "white lias." I am informed by Mr. C. Moore, F.G.S., that the chambers of the Stoney Littleton barrow, still happily perfect, are of the *lower lias*; and, as may be safely assumed, from beds which are still worked in the immediate neighbourhood of the barrow.^a The two upright stones on the Orchardleigh barrow are of the inferior oolite; the third flat-stone is a quartzose boulder of the kind known as "water flints" in this part of Somersetshire.

Position and Size.—As we found was the case with the unchambered, so likewise the chambered long barrows do not occur in groups as do the circular barrows of the bronze period, but are for the most part a considerable distance apart. Those of East and West Kennet in Wiltshire and of Uley and Nympsfield in Gloucestershire are severally within a mile of each other, but such a degree of proximity is unusual. They occur on jutting promontories or on the summits of hills, with a prospect over the surrounding country in almost every direction, and often to a great extent. Generally speaking, they are not of such large dimensions as the unchambered long barrows; varying mostly from about 120 to 200 feet in length, and from 30 to 60 feet in breadth. Those of East and West Kennet, however, are not less than 350 feet in length; thus nearly equalling in their longitudinal dimensions those of the largest of the unchambered long barrows, viz. that of Tilshead Old Ditch.

Orientation.—As to their position in regard to the cardinal points, at least two out of three lie due east and west, with their chambered ends, which are usually the highest and broadest, to the east. This definite orientation, however, may have been equally intended in those barrows which point to the south-east rather than to the east or north-east; and the deviation, if not accidental, may imply that such barrows were erected during the winter solstice. If these be regarded as pointing eastward, then we count four out of every five as having a definite orientation. In about one out of every five, however, the mound lies distinctly north and south; and, as regards these, it is observable that in some the chambered

^a Though formed chiefly of liassic stone, this tumulus stands on the oolite, but the lower lias comes to the surface in the valley, about a quarter of a mile distant. Mr. Moore tells me that the two slabs which form the sides of the central chamber immediately within the entrance differ from the rest in being of a silicious sandstone of oolitic age. The smaller roofing stones and those of the original inclosing walls are of *lias*. Mr. Moore suggests that the two silicious stones may have been supplied when the tumulus was in part restored.

or broad end is to the north, in others to the south. Exactly the same variety of arrangement was observed in the unchambered long barrows. At Nempnet and in Wayland's Smithy, the southern end is or was the chambered one; at Charlton Abbot's,^a Ablington, and Gatcombe Park, the northern.

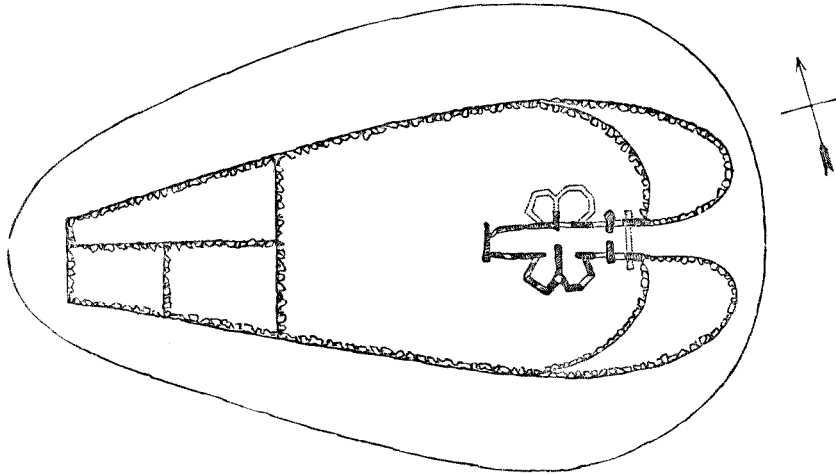


Fig. 7. Ground Plan of Chambered Barrow at Uley, Gloucestershire.

External Basement Walls and Peristaliths.—The lateral ditches, which are so marked a feature in the unchambered long barrows, are for the most part but slightly developed in those which are chambered. In a few, however, they are strongly marked; as in that at Walker Hill; and in some cases where not visible on both sides, are so on the south, as at Littleton Drew and Orchardleigh. In the oolitic region, in which these barrows chiefly occur, the superficial strata—whether “corn-brash,” “coral-rag,” or “Stonesfield slate,” afford a building material which the architects of these tombs did not fail to utilize. Nearly all of them are found to have been surrounded by a dwarf dry wall of this material, laid in horizontal courses, neatly faced on the outside, and carried up to a height of two, three, or four feet.^b In this way was produced a supporting wall or *podium*, which, as has been well observed, in regard to the artistic sepulchres of the Etruscans, “not only defined the limits of the tomb and gave it dignity, but

^a A plan of this barrow, termed Belas or Bellers Knap, will be found in *Mem. Anthrop. Soc.* i. 474, and in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 276.

^b At Rodmarton, “a double wall appears to have been erected entirely round the tumulus.” (Lysons, *Our British Ancestors*, p. 138.) It was double also at Ablington, and further researches may show that it was so generally. It is so at least in the chambered cairns of Caithness. *Mem. Anthrop. Soc.* ii. 242.

enabled entrances to be made in it, and otherwise converted it from a mere hillock into a monumental structure.”^a Such supporting walls were used from an early period, in the construction of the earthen tumuli of the ancient Greeks. Thus of that of Patroclus and Achilles, in the *Iliad*, it is said,

They marked the boundary of the tomb with stones,
Then filled the inclosure hastily with earth.^b

So likewise the tumulus in Arcadia, regarded in Homer’s time as that of Æpytus, is described by Pausanias as a mound of earth enclosed at the base by a stone-wall set round in a circle.^c Amongst the less civilized people of Northern Europe, the same mode of constructing barrows obtained; and in *Beowulf* we are told that the tumulus of the hero of the poem was “surrounded with a wall, in the most honourable manner that wise men could devise it.”^d

Not only were our chambered barrows surrounded by dry walling, sometimes single, but often double and concentric, but they were often intersected by transverse and longitudinal walls, which seem to have had no particular object, beyond that of giving strength and solidity to the whole; and of forming perhaps temporary causeways, over which those engaged in their construction might convey the stone rubble and earth with which to fill up the entire mound. At Rodmarton and at Ablington, it was noticed that the rubble stone of which the mounds were formed was not thrown together at hap-hazard, but had been piled up more or less regularly. At Ablington, in particular, the layers of loose stones had been placed in a slanting position, and converged towards the centre, in a ridge-like fashion, like the roof of a house; giving to the whole, as seen in section, an almost pyramidal aspect.^e It is of more interest, however, to notice the manner in which the enclosing wall was connected with the entrance to the chambers; in the neighbourhood of which it was usually carried up to a much greater height than elsewhere, and, as at Charlton Abbots, to an elevation even of seven feet. As the lateral walls approach the broad and high end of the tumulus, they turn inwards by a bold but gradual curve; and so finally abut on the two

^a Fergusson, *Architecture*, p. 290.

^b *Iliad*, xxiii. 255. Mr. F. A. Paley (“On Homeric Tumuli,” *Trans. Camb. Phil. Soc.* xi. 2) gives reasons for thinking that the tumulus of Patroclus and Achilles, here described, was not circular, but like our chambered long barrows, and the “ship barrows” of Scandinavia, of elongate form.

^c *Iliad*, ii. 604. Pausanias, lib. viii. c. 16, λίθου κρηπιδι ἐν κύκλῳ περιεχόμενον. Comp. Herod. i. 93.

^d *Beowulf*, c. xlv.

^e Lysons, *Our British Ancestors*, pp. 138, 318; also letter to the writer, of July 2, 1864; and see our woodcut on a subsequent page.

large standing stones, which in the best marked examples of these chambers form the door jambs to the entrance. The gracefully rounded double-convex curve of the walling in this situation has not inaptly been compared to "the top of the figure of the ace of hearts in a pack of cards."^a

On the Chalk Downs of North Wiltshire, where the natural sarsen blocks of which the chambers are formed are common on the surface, the base of the barrow has in several instances been surrounded by a series of such stones placed erect at regular intervals. Natural obelisks of this description formed complete peristaliths to the chambered barrows of Millbarrow, West Kennet, and Wayland's Smithy; as we know from the sketches made by Aubrey late in the seventeenth, and by Stukeley early in the eighteenth century, the accuracy of which is attested by the scanty remains in the two last now alone visible.^b It is a curious circumstance that the practice of erecting such *stelæ* is referred to by Aristotle, as existing amongst the warlike Iberian people, where he tells us that as many "obelisks were placed around the tomb of the dead warrior as he had slain enemies."^c I will not insist on this passage as evidence in favour of the Iberian origin of the ancient Britons of the stone period, for this part of our island, though it is not altogether without value in such connection. Continuing the description of the barrows themselves, it must be noted that in

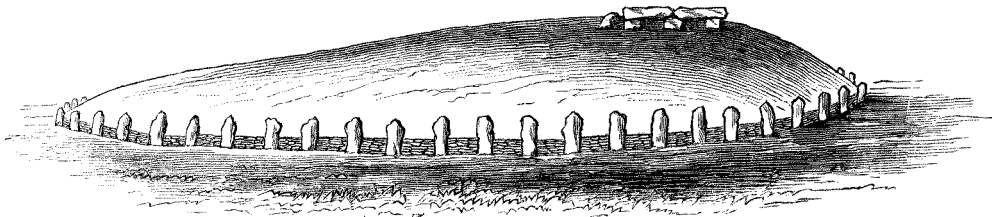


Fig. 8. Long Barrow at West Kennet, with Peristalith and Walling (restored).

two instances, by excavating between the ortholiths or standing stones, at the base of the chambered barrows of North Wiltshire, I have found distinct traces of dry walling, carried up for three or four courses, and formed of "coral-rag," such as

^a Lysons, *Our British Ancestors*, p. 318. In the Caithness chambered cairns the external basement walls form large double *concave* curves where they abut on the entrances. They have hence been designated "horns." *Mem. Anthropol. Soc.* ii. 227, 241.

^b *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 410, where will be found descriptions of the remains of such peristaliths at West Kennet and Walker Hill. Peristaliths, though rare, occur in the chambered long barrows of Britany, as at Mané-Lud and Kerlescant. In those of Scandinavia they are found not only at the base, but likewise high up on the summits of the tumuli, as seen in the ground-plan of that of Hammer, in the island of Zealand. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2nd S. iii. 309.

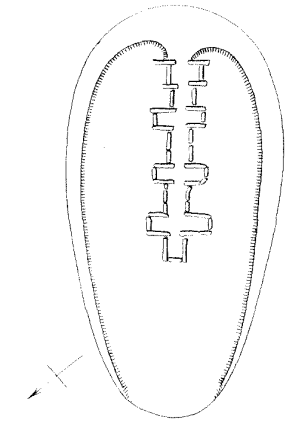
^c *Politica*, viii. 2. The term used is *ὀβελίσκοι*.

is yet used for walls, and which must have been brought a distance of several miles, from the oolitic valleys to the west. This dry walling was no doubt much higher originally, and not less probably than two or three feet in height. Supposing, as seems likely, that the bases of these tombs were originally uncovered by turf or rubble, a peristalith formed by a combination of standing stones and horizontal masonry, similar in its main features to that by which the topes of India are inclosed, must have exhibited a rude elegance, such as we should scarcely have looked for in the age to which these monuments must be assigned.

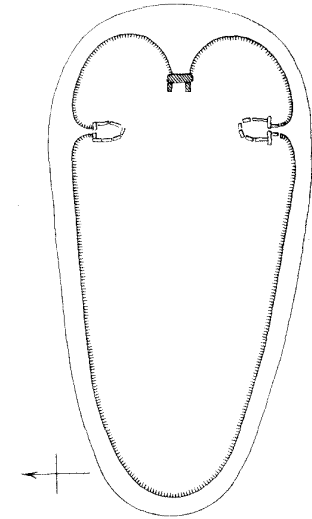
Internal Structure.—The chambered long barrows present three principal types, as regards the plan of their internal construction.

Type I. Chambers Opening into a Central Gallery. (Plate XIV. fig. 1.)—The first in order of importance, and to which the designation of chambered barrow is more especially appropriate, is that furnished with a central avenue or gallery, having a doorway or entrance at one end, by which it was entered, though frequently only in the stooping posture, or even by going on “all fours.” This mode of access may indeed be regarded as the essential character of a sepulchral chamber, as distinguished from a *vault* or *cist*, of however large proportions, the interior of which can only be reached, after raising the covering stone, from above. The central avenue or gallery is situate at the broad end of the tumulus,^a and, like the side-chambers often opening out from it, is formed of two rows of stones set on edge, supporting others laid horizontally across, and having the interstices between filled up with horizontal walling, similar to that described as supporting the base of most of these mounds. In the finest examples of chambered barrows, as those of Uley (No. 13), Stoney Littleton (No. 26), and Nempnet (No. 27), the entrance to the avenue is, or was, by a well-built doorway, formed of two standing and one transverse or horizontal stones, which three stones (*trilithon*) are, for the most part, of larger and more massive proportions than any of the others entering into the composition of the chambers (*see woodcut on the next page*). This door-way is found several feet within the skirt or general base-line of the tumulus, and fills up the bottom of the doubly-recurved, heart-shaped dry-wallings already described. The entrance, varying from two and a half to four feet in height, was closed by a large stone on the outside; which could be rolled

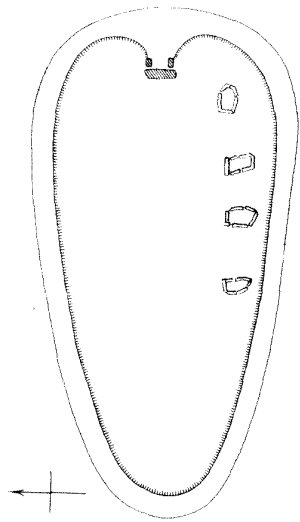
^a As a general rule, the narrow ends of the chambered long barrows are entirely devoid of any sepulchral chambers or deposits, for which many, if not most of them have been searched in vain. In those of Charlton Abbot's and Ablington, however, cists containing skeletons, apparently contemporary with the principal chambers in the former, have been found at the narrow end.



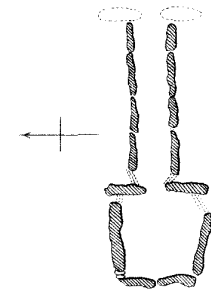
1. Stoney Littleton. (*Somerset*.)



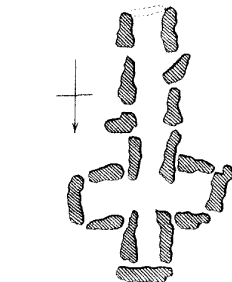
2. Rodmarton. (*Gloucestershire*.)



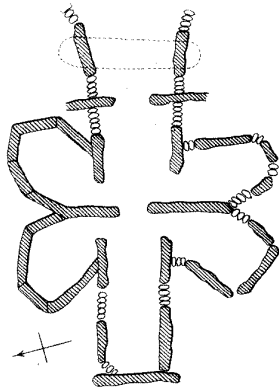
3. Littleton Drew. (*Wiltshire*.)



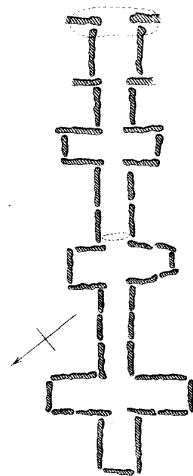
4. West Kennet. (*Wiltshire*.)



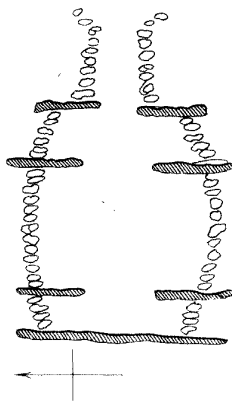
5. Wayland's Smithy. (*Berkshire*.)



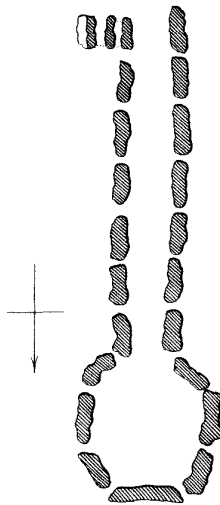
6. Uley. (*Gloucestershire*.)



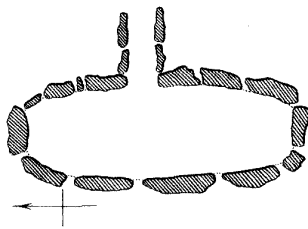
7. Stoney Littleton. (*Somerset*.)



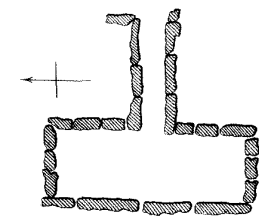
8. Yarrowhouse. (*Cathness*.)



9. Maré Lud. (*Brittany*.)



10. Hammer. (*Denmark*.)



11. Axevalle. (*Sweden*.)

J. THURNAM, CURT.

Kell Br.-8 Lith. London.

GROUND PLANS OF CHAMBERED LONG BARROWS, AND OF CHAMBERS CONTAINED IN THEM.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1869.

away as required, and was itself covered up with the rubble-stone and earth of which the barrow in general was formed.



Fig. 9. Entrance to Chambers at Uley.

α. (Plate XIV. fig. 4).—In the simplest variety of chambered barrows of the first type, as defined above, the gallery leads into a single terminal chamber of quadrangular form, as in that of West Kennet (No. 5). In this instance, the narrow covered passage or gallery (*allée couverte*) leads from the skirt of the barrow to the entrance to the chamber, formed, like it, of standing and horizontal stones, though of smaller dimensions. This variety of chambered barrow approaches closely to the type of those of Scandinavia, the well-known “gallery tombs,” or “giants’ chambers.”^a In these, however, the chambers are more usually of oblong form, and are placed at right angles with the longer or shorter avenues or galleries of approach, the ground-plan having a general resemblance to the Roman capital letter **T**. This prevalent configuration has given rise to their designation of *half-cross tombs*.^b (Plate XIV. figs. 10, 11.)

β. (Plate XIV. fig. 5).—In the second variety of the first type, of which Wayland’s Smithy is a good example, in addition to a small terminal chamber, there are two lateral chambers facing one another, one on each side of

^a For which, see the works of Worsaae, the late Lord Ellesmere, and the ground-plans by M. Boye, in Sir John Lubbock’s “Pre-Historic Times,” p. 105, in *Proc. Soc. Ant.* 2 S. iii. 309; and lastly those in Nilsson’s *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia—Stone Age*, by Sir J. Lubbock, p. 124, pl. xiv. figs. 243—245. For views of gallery and chambers at West Kennet, see *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 411.

^b Both oval and circular chambers do, however, occur, but in all the approach is by a longer or shorter passage or gallery. Hence their Swedish name of *Göng-grifter*, *passage* or *gallery tombs*. Nilsson, l. c. 147.

the central gallery, in the form of a Latin cross, so as to present an arrangement like that of transepts in a church.

γ. (Plate XIV. fig. 6.)—In other instances, as at Uley (No. 13) and Nympsfield (No. 14), there are two pairs of such lateral chambers or transepts.^a

δ. (Plate XIV. fig. 7.)—At Stoney Littleton (No. 26) there are three pairs, and at Nempnet (No. 27), there were probably not less than five or six pairs of chambers arranged opposite to one another on each side of the elongated central avenue.

Sometimes, as at Stoney Littleton, the interior has been divided into two portions by a stone placed across or at right angles with the central gallery. The entrance to the chamber at Uley was closed by flat stones similarly placed; and in other cases the passages leading to them were by the same means divided into two portions, just as the vestibules and entrances to the chambers in the Pyramids were closed by portcullises of granite.^b

Roofing. Horizontal Arch.—For the most part, as already stated, the roofing of the central gallery, as well as that of the side chambers, was formed of large blocks of stone laid across and supported by the opposed props or uprights. Sometimes, however, the principle of the horizontal arch was resorted to. At

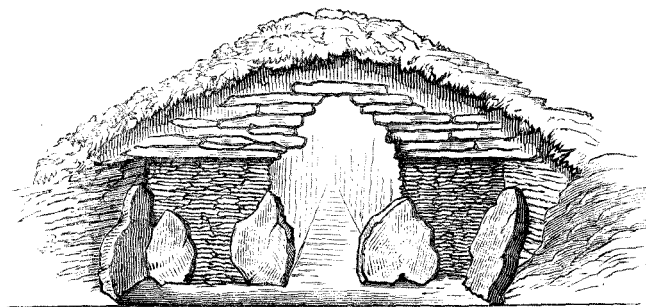


Fig. 10. Transverse Section of Gallery and Chambers, Stoney Littleton.

Stoney Littleton, as seen in one of Sir R. C. Hoare's plates, this plan is carried out in the central avenue; and "a rude kind of arched roof made by stones

^a At St. Guenolé, Finisterre, there is a circular chambered barrow, with two pairs of side chambers, like those at Nympsfield and Uley. (Rev. W. C. Lukis, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii. 259, pl. xvii. fig. 12.) Such complex chambers, however, appear to be rare in the tumuli of Britany. They are generally very simple, often more so than that of Mané Lud, selected for illustration in Plate XIV. fig. 9.

^b Kenrick, *Ancient Egypt*, i. p. 121. In the chambered barrows of Scandinavia, we are told,—“At the entrance to the chamber, and sometimes also in the passage itself, it was most commonly the practice to

so placed as to overlap each other.”^a At Uley, when opened in 1821, one of the side chambers retained the same kind of roofing: “near the top of the side walls, a course of the horizontal stones was made to overhang the course below it, the next to overhang this again, and so on, giving a domed form to the roof, which was closed in with a single flat stone at the top.”^b This structure of a domical roof, formed on the principle of the ancient horizontal arch, seen in the interior of the Pyramids, in the archaic Greek tombs at Mycenæ and Orchomenus, and in a ruder form in these tombs of barbaric Britain, is, as compared with the latter, still further developed in the great circular tumuli of the Boyne, in those of Caithness, and in that gigantic tumulus, or rather we may say pyramid of the north, Maeshowe in Orkney. In the chambered tumuli of Scandinavia this vaulted roofing is not met with, and we are expressly told in the *Guide to Northern Archaeology*, by the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Copenhagen, that “nothing has as yet been observed approaching to the form of an arch in the stone sepulchres of the North.”^c In Britany, on the contrary, several examples of it have been found; and it is not improbable, as Mr. Lukis suggests, that we ought to accept this mode of construction as evidence of advanced skill in the art of building, and as belonging to a later period than the simple flat ceilings of large stones laid athwart the upright props.^d

Type II. Chambers opening externally. (Plate XIV. fig. 2.)—In the second type of the chambered barrows of this part of England there is no central gallery, but side-chambers, which open outwards, near the base of the barrow, though at some distance within the inclosing wall. These side-chambers are generally in

place a door or shutter, which, if still remaining, must be carefully drawn up or out of the grooves into which it was inserted.” Sometimes this door had been of wood, and not stone, as seen by the mouldered remains. *Guide to Northern Archaeology*, p. 101. “The pyramids are but huge petrified barrows, and the same general principle of internal construction may hold good for both.” Rev. A. C. Smith, *Nile and its Banks*, 1868, i. 87.

^a *Archæologia*, xix. 46, pl. 3.

^b *Arch. Journal*, xi. 319, 326.

^c Edited by the Earl of Ellesmere, 1848, p. 78.

^d *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxii. 256, 262. See plate 16, figs. 6, 9, for such arched roofs, in the chambered barrows at Mané Lud and at Moustoir-Carnac, both in Morbihan, Britany. The presence of this horizontal arch, as it is technically termed, in the Pyramids of Egypt, is one of several features which would suggest the possibility of their having been the prototypes of the comparatively rude and insignificant chambered tombs of North-Western Europe. The chief passage in the Great Pyramids is roofed over with the help of eight over-lapping courses of stone; for, as Mr. S. Sharpe (“History of Egypt” and “Description of Egyptian Court,” p. 45) tells us, “though the form of the arch had been admired, its principle was not yet understood.”

pairs, the one nearly opposite to the other, not far from the broad end, and near what may be called the shoulders of the mound. The best examples of this type are the long barrows at Rodmarton (No. 15), Charlton Abbot's (No. 16), Avening (No. 22), and Nether Swell (No. 25): that as yet only partially explored at Ablington (No. 18) is probably of the same character.^a This type of barrow may be conceived of as the equivalent of that with internal side-chambers, with the chambers turned outwards. The "vaults" in the barrow at Leighterton, explored nearly two centuries since, and described as follows in Rudder's History, were, I think, chambers of this description:—"There is a large tumulus at Leighterton, called 'West-barrow,' which was opened by Mr. M. Huntley, in which he found three vaults, arched over like ovens, and at the entrance of each an earthen urn; wherein (*i.e.* in the 'vaults') were many ashes and men's bones imperfectly burnt and broken; but the skulls and thigh-bones were whole."^b

Access to the external chambers now under consideration was given by short and narrow passages formed of standing and horizontal stones; or more frequently by a mere continuation (or *diverticulum*) of the inclosing wall of the mound.^c These chambers or vaults are generally of a nearly square form. They are closed in front by two upright stones, naturally hollowed in the centre, so as when placed

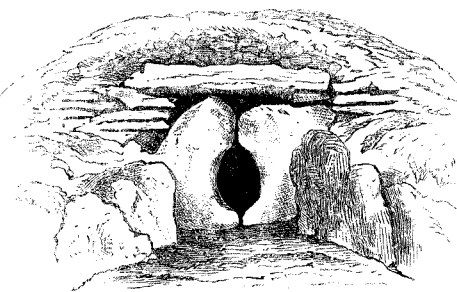


Fig. 11. Tolmen Entrance at Avening.

side by side, to leave a sort of port-hole in the centre, through which the tomb might be entered in the creeping posture (see fig. 11). The Gloucestershire antiquary Fosbrooke, who was present at the opening of the Avening tumulus (No. 22) in 1808, observes, "the structure was obviously adapted to the object of successive interments; the practice having evidently been to dig away the soil

^a The chambered tumulus at Fontenay, near Caen (*Mem. de la Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie*, 1831-33, p. 275, pl. xix.—xxii., *Mem. Anthropol. Soc. Lond.* i. 134), had ten domical chambers arranged in pairs opposite to each other, each with its gallery of approach opening on the exterior of the tumulus. The mound was circular, but the principle on which the chambers and their entrances were arranged is identical with that seen in this type of chambered long barrow.

^b Rudder's *Gloucestershire*, 1799, p. 306.

^c At Rodmarton the passage leading to the north chamber was constructed in the former, that to the south chamber in the second manner. At Charlton Abbot's the entrance to the two chambers (C. and D. on Plan, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 276) were likewise formed in this latter mode, the inclosing wall dipping inwards, and leaving a passage between of about two feet in width.

which filled the approach, to insert the body in the vault, and cover all up as before.”^a This was still better seen in the two chambers of the Rodmarton tumulus, in which the spaces between the tops of the two upright stones forming the port-hole and the lower surface of the horizontal covering stones were carefully filled up with dry walling (see fig. 12^b), and the stones containing the openings, or the *tolmens*, as they are termed by Mr. Lysons, were covered on the outside by second large stones, and these again by stone rubble, both of which had to be removed before the chambers could be entered from without.^c The mode of formation of the entrances to the external side-chambers in the tumulus at Charlton Abbot’s does not seem to have been ascertained; but, in spite of their ruinous condition, it is tolerably clear that the roofs had been formed of thin slabs of stone, which had been coved over so as form a rude arch, like that previously referred to as found in some of the central avenues and chambers.^d

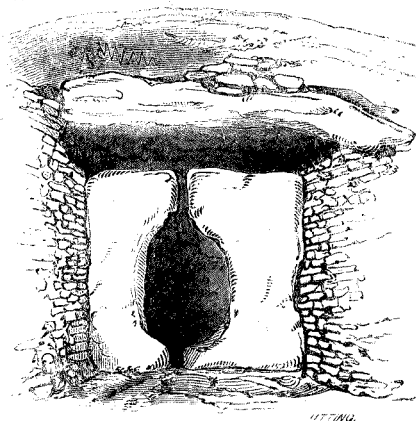


Fig. 12. Entrance to Chamber on the North Side of Barrow at Rodmarton.

Type III. Cists in place of Chambers (Plate XIV. fig. 3).—This third type of chambered barrows can only be classed as chambered, from its close relationship and clearly contemporary origin with those already described. Instead of *chambers*, properly so termed, entered from one end, they contain graves built up with stone slabs—vaults or cists—much too shallow to have been approached in that manner; and which could only have been used for successive interments, if so

^a T. D. Fosbroke, F.S.A. *Encycl. Antiq.* 1843, pp. 544, 547. In the Nempnet barrow there was “a perforated stone shutting up the avenue between the unmortared walls,”—another variety of the *tolmen* entrance.

^b From *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. ii. 277.

^c A similar method for entering the chambers is described by the Rev. W. C. Lukis in two parts of the chambered barrow at Kerlescant, in Britany. Here Mr. Lukis thinks that the hollows in the stones which, placed side by side, form the oval entrance holes, just large enough for a person to creep through (2ft. × 1ft. 8in. and 3ft. × 1ft. 6in.), are not natural, but formed by cutting away the edges of two contiguous props. See his paper “On a Chambered Long Barrow at Kerlescant, in Britany,” *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1868, xxiv. 40, Plates 2, 3.

^d *Mem. Anthropol. Soc.* i. 475; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 278.

intended, by lifting the flat covering stones. In the long barrow at Littleton Drew (No. 1), there were four cists of this description, arranged along the south side of the mound, none of which much exceeded two feet in depth. Cists such as these are evidently not *chambers*, and the barrow containing them can only be termed chambered from its analogy in other respects to those properly so designated, of which analogy and generic resemblance there can be no doubt. Now and then it is difficult at first sight to say whether the stone structure in some particular barrow is a cist or a chamber; as is seen in that of Avening, in which there are two chambers, one of them well marked, and a third cell or vault, more correctly regarded as a cist, capable only of being used from above. Other examples of this less perfect type of chambered barrows are found in the ruined mounds of Lanhill (No. 2), Luckington (No. 3), Monkton "Millbarrow" (No. 4), and Oldbury (No. 11), all in Wiltshire; and in that of Duntlesbourne Abbot's (No. 21), in Gloucestershire.

Sculptured Stones.—In no instance, I believe, have the stones forming the walls of our chambered tumuli presented any trace of sculpturings such as are so frequently met with in the more or less analogous megalithic tombs of Scotland, Ireland, and Britany. It is no doubt true, as observed by Sir J. Y. Simpson, that their walls, in many cases at least, have not been examined with the care necessary for the discovery of such markings.^a In those, however, which have been explored since the attention of antiquaries has been directed to this subject, it is probable that none exist.

Monoliths or Triliths at the Broad End of Chambered Barrows.—In the two last-described types of chambered barrows, in which either chambers proper or cists are found only near the base or skirt of the mound, and in which there could have been no need of an entrance to the interior, the inclosing wall is nevertheless found to curve inwards at the broad end of the tumulus, in the ace-of-hearts form, previously described. At the spot where the curve ends, in place of an entrance formed by two stones placed on end bridged over by a third, we meet with large stones placed in various fashions, never in two cases the same; sometimes a monolith, sometimes two standing stones with a third resting against, or it may be wedged in between them. In the fine chambered tumulus at Abington (No. 18) there is a double or concentric range of dry walling inclosing the base, which, at the broad end, makes the usual double curve inwards. Exactly at the point where these curves meet there is a large upright oval stone six feet

^a *Archaic Sculpturings of Cups, Circles, &c.* 1867, p. 136. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* App. vi. 119.

high and five wide, standing on a second natural block, perforated in the manner often found in the Cotteswolds, and by which it is steadied and kept in place. On the long barrow, as yet it is believed unexcavated, at Gatcombe is a massive monolith at the broad end, known as "Tingle stone." Such a stone is also figured by Aubrey as in his time standing "at the great end" of one of two long barrows at Leighterton, perhaps that opened not long afterwards by Mr. M. Huntley.^a

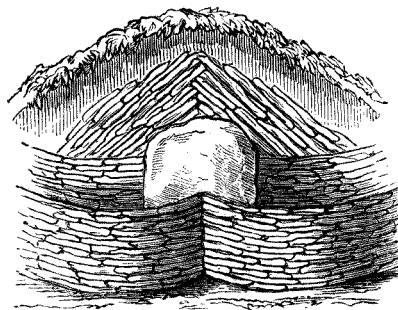


Fig. 13. Monolith, heart-shaped curves of double walling, and pyramidal piling in Long Barrow, Ablington.

Another on the barrow at Duntsebourne Abbot's is or was called "the hoar stone."^b Single standing stones of this description, if, as probable, intended to be seen on or near the summit of the barrow, were most likely simple *stelæ*—monumental stones or pillars—analogueous to the head-stones on modern graves. Sometimes, however, in place of one there are three stones in this position. At Littleton Drew (No. 1), are two standing stones six and a half feet apart, and about the same in height above the surface, and leaning against their western edges is a third very large flat stone twelve feet in length by six in breadth. These stones give a name to the field in which the tumulus is situated, "The Three-stone Field."

Campus ab illis

Dicatur, æternumque tenet per sæcula nomen.

Two centuries ago they occupied the same position as at present, and it was supposed by Aubrey that the large flat stone had originally rested on the summits of the two uprights, aided by two others which had been removed.

^a Aubrey, *Mon. Brit.* (MS. Bodl.) Under the head of "Sepulchres," Aubrey here gives rude sketches of several of the chambered long barrows of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. (Comp. *Wilts Arch. Mag.* vii. 322.) They are chiefly interesting as showing the progressive spoliation in the course of two centuries of these curious monuments. Nearly the same may be said of the three or four sketches by Stukeley of some of the same tumuli in his "*Celtic Sepulchral Monuments at Abury*," reproduced in Plate XII. 3, 4, 5. In the margin we give (by permission of the Rev. S. Lysons, F.S.A.) a small cut of the Ablington monolith.



Fig. 14. Monolith supported by holed stone, Ablington.

^b For the *στήλη*, or pillar-stone, as the usual accompaniment of the sepulchral tumulus among the ancient Greeks, see the tomb of Elpenor in Homer, *Odyss.* xii. 14. Comp. *Iliad*, xi. 371; xvi. 457; xvii. 434.

According to such a view this trilith was either a fallen "cromlech"^a or a ruined chamber. Subsequent researches, however, in the long barrows render this latter opinion improbable. Mr. Lysons in 1863, in excavating the chambered barrow at Rodmarton, found buried beneath the soil at the east end three large stones arranged somewhat similarly to those in the Littleton Drew barrow, and so supported and fenced in by three walls of horizontal masonry that the notion of their ever having occupied any other position cannot be entertained.^b

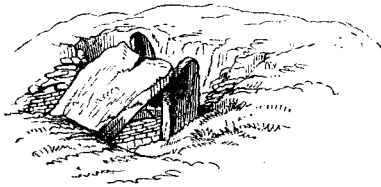
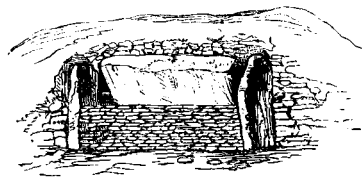


Fig. 15. Stones in Barrow at Rodmarton, as seen from the north-east.



16. The same stones, as seen from the west.

In this case the large table-stone occupied a sloping position and rested against the east, not, as at Littleton Drew, against the western edges of the two uprights. This may perhaps suggest the question whether the table-stone at Littleton Drew may not, centuries ago, have been removed from the eastern to the western side of the standing stones; or it may have originally rested upon them and have slipped down from its supports, as explained lower down.

It has sometimes been argued that stones such as we are considering are really the remains of sepulchral chambers, denuded of the earth and rubble by which they were covered. This is possible, but not very likely, where cists or chambers, obviously sepulchral and containing numerous human skeletons, are found in other parts of the same tumulus. The stones on the ruinous barrows at Temple Farm (No. 8) and at Rockley (No. 9) may perhaps be justly regarded as the remains of sepulchral chambers, but not so those at Littleton Drew. Sir R. C. Hoare, after a partial exploration of that barrow, concluded indeed by stating that no doubt the primary interment was placed "beneath the huge superimposing stones at the east end."^c In reference to this suggestion, I had great

^a In the Ordnance Map, sheets xxxiv and xxxv, several of the chambered barrows of Gloucestershire and North Wiltshire, those of Littleton Drew and Luckington amongst the number, are laid down as "tumulus with cromlech." See the lithographic plate of the "Tumulus with fallen Cromlech at Littleton Drew," in *Cran. Brit.* pl. 24, XXV.; and *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* iii. 164.

^b The woodcuts in the text, showing the exact relation of these stones, have been lent by the Rev. S. Lysons from *Our British Ancestors*, pp. 138, 139. Another view will be found in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. ii. 276.

^c *Gents. Mag.* Feb. 1822, xcii. 160. It must be remembered that the cists full of skeletons had not been discovered when Sir Richard wrote, nor, indeed, until thirty-three years later.

pleasure, at Mr. Scrope's request, in assisting in an excavation at the foot of these stones, when they were carefully dug round on all sides, to the very base of the barrow, without finding a trace of human remains. The only objects met with, not entirely superficial, were fragments of the bones and teeth of swine, including the tusks of boars, and two or three rude flakes of flint, not indigenous to this district. At Rodmarton, where the intact condition of the curious trilith or, as many would call it, "cromlech," cannot be gainsaid, there was not a trace of human remains in its vicinity, but beneath and in front of the sloping incumbent stone were many bones and teeth of oxen and horses and the tusks of boars. There were likewise distinct traces of fire at this part of the base of the barrow, there being a not inconsiderable deposit of fine charcoal, and the colour of the stone rubble being changed in some places to a blackish grey, and in others to a reddish colour. Mr. Lysons believes that these stones formed "the altar upon which the victims were offered up."^a It might perhaps be difficult to disprove such an opinion; but my own impression, after two visits to the tumulus whilst the excavations were in progress, was to the effect that the stones "formed a monument rather than part of the tomb properly so called," or were "a place where certain funeral rites were performed and the sacrifices of the dead eaten."^b To this latter opinion I still incline, more especially as it must be doubtful whether in the originally complete state of the tumulus the stones were above ground and exposed in such a way as could constitute them a monument.

There is, as has been shown, a great variety in the mode of construction, and if we may so term it the architecture, of these chambered tumuli. No two are precisely similar; but, whilst the principles of construction are the same, the diversity in the details is very remarkable. Of all yet examined, that at Charlton Abbot's most agrees nearly with that at Rodmarton in its two external side chambers, and in its megalithic erection at the principal and broad end. In this instance we have no longer a *monolith* as at Ablington, or a mere *trilith* as at Littleton Drew and Rodmarton, but triple stones with a fourth large incumbent stone resting upon them—in fact a *tetralith*. Occupying the position of the entrance in tumuli with central avenues and chambers, there was a massive slab standing edge-wise between two columns or pillar stones, in the form (as to the ground-plan) of the

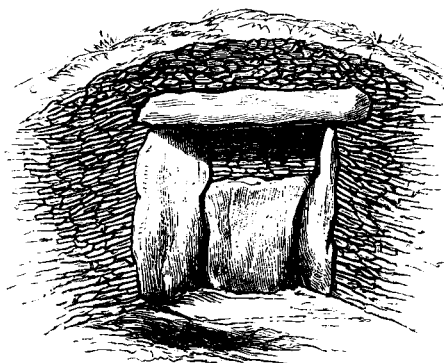


Fig. 17. Tetralith at Charlton Abbot's
(the large stones 8ft. high).

^a *Our British Ancestors*, p. 140.

^b *Crania Britannica*, Description of Skull from Rodmarton, Plate 59, xxvii. p. (2).

Roman capital letter **H**, but with the cross-bar disproportionately long.^a Resting on the two pillars, and on the slate-like stones of which the bulk of the tumulus is formed, was a fourth still larger stone, a slab, nearly eight feet square and two feet thick.^b On this stone, among the slaty rubble, was a large human lower jaw of the massive proportions which belong to the British brachycephalous type, but without a trace of any other bone near it. On raising the horizontal stone there were found immediately below it the remains of five children, from less than one to about seven years of age, every bone of the five skeletons distinguishable, though more or less warped and distorted.^c With these were the detached skull and jaw of a young man of about 18 years, unaccompanied by any other part of the skeleton.^d The cranial type of the children, probably brothers and sisters, could not be ascertained, but that of the young man was unquestionably brachycephalous (79), differing entirely from the very elongate form of the numerous skulls from the sepulchral chambers of this tumulus, of which fifteen were capable of being measured. Near these human remains were many bones and teeth of horses and swine, with several flakes of flint, one of which has a delicately serrated edge; and there were two or three fragments of coarse pottery. It appears most probable that the human bones in this part of the tumulus were those of victims of an alien race sacrificed to the *manes* of the dead interred in the principal chambers.^e

These facts must speak for themselves. There is no question as to sacrifices by fire, which have been generally thought to be implied when any appearances

^a A trilith arranged in precisely the same fashion was found on excavating the broad east end of the ruinous chambered barrow at Lanhill near Chippenham (No. 2), *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* iii. 68. Possibly in this case there was originally an incumbent stone which had been removed.

^b The trilith at Littleton Drew was probably of the same character as this at Charlton Abbots. The two pillar stones remain; the stone which may have stood edgewise between them has disappeared, whilst the large slab, resting originally on the two pillars, having been undermined by the removal of the stone-like rubble, has slipped down behind them. There can be little doubt that these changes in the position of the stones were effected by the mound-breakers of a distant age, by whom the large stones were naturally mistaken for the entrance to a sepulchral chamber.

^c The bones of these five infantile skeletons were examined and classified with great care by Mr. L. Winterbotham, M.R.C.S., of Cheltenham.

^d Had the decapitated trunk been left on the battle field, or had it served for the gratification of anthropophagous tastes? The five children's skeletons seem pretty clearly indicative of infanticide; they were, perhaps, the children of an aggressive enemy of the encroaching Belgic tribe.

^e *Memoirs Anthropol. Soc.* i. 474. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 275. There were no traces of burning or of charcoal near these four stones, as around the corresponding stones at Rodmarton. At some distance from them, however, and near the centre of the tumulus, a broken circle of stones, having a diameter of about seven feet was discovered. The soil all around was deeply impregnated with wood ashes, but no other remains were found near it.

are adduced in favour of particular megalithic structures being devoted to rites of a sacrificial or other religious character.^a

Analogy of Chambered Tumuli with the Huts of Esquimaux.—The surprising similarity between the winter huts of the Esquimaux and the chambered tumuli of Sweden and Denmark has been pointed out by Professor Nilsson.^b The two, in fact, are almost identical. The analogy is not in every respect so exact with the tombs which are here under consideration, but even in these the general principle of construction is the same. The huts of the Esquimaux have on the sunny side a narrow entrance-passage, so low that one must crawl through it to get in. So it is with our chambered tumuli; though all of them do not, like those of Scandinavia, present a distinct and separate gallery of approach. However, where this is wanting, the doorways are still so low as to enforce the crawling posture, and the central galleries and chambers are seldom high enough to allow of the erect position. On the principle that among rude nations the dwellings of the living and the sepulchres of the dead generally resemble each other, Nilsson infers that the houses of the people who erected the chambered tombs of the North must have been almost a counterpart of the latter, and as such they closely resembled the huts of the Esquimaux. Indeed, he believes that the remains of such dwellings have been discovered. In North Britain and its islands the structures called "Picts' houses" correspond so far with the chambered tumuli of the same district that in particular instances it has been doubted whether the structure uncovered by the antiquary was a dwelling or a tomb.^c The Clocháns of Ireland are analogous to the Picts' houses in their general arrangement. The people by whom the chambered barrows of South Britain were erected may during a great part of the year have been the inhabitants of caves and other subterranean abodes. Near the chambered tumulus at Ablington there were formerly several underground circular dwellings, one of which still remains, furnished with recesses and seats, which can hardly be regarded as other

^a As by Mr. H. Harrod, F.S.A., *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. ii. 311. I have not space here to enter into the vexed question as to the distinction between the *Cromlech* and the *Kistvaen* or subterraneous chamber. Sir R. C. Hoare repeatedly insists on the essential differences in the two structures; but these have been of late years more satisfactorily illustrated by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xvi. 116; xvii. 47; and by Mr. Du Noyer, *Proceedings Kilkenny Arch. Soc.* N. S. v. 474, 496. The opposite view respecting these megaliths held by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A. is maintained by that zealous explorer, in a contribution to the same journal, p. 492.

^b *Primitive Inhabitants*, &c. 132, 152, pl. xiv. fig. 246, compared with fig. 243. Compare Lubbock, *Pre-historic Times*, p. 88.

^c The entrance to "Picts' houses" is generally by a long passage often less than two feet wide and three feet high. *Archæologia*, xxxiv. 127.

than the abodes of the very people by whom the barrow itself was constructed. Habits of life of this description were probably continued far into the round-barrow period, as appears from what Diodorus tells us of the subterranean repositories for corn among the Britons.^a Tacitus says the same of the ancient Germans, adding that the people took up their abode in them during the cold of winter.^b

A curious confirmation of the troglodytic habits of the builders of the chambered barrows appears to be afforded by the discovery in several of them^c of human cervical and dorsal vertebræ united by ossification, in a manner which must have resulted either from disease or injury.^d It is not improbable that this anchylosed condition is the result of injuries received in the entrance to and exit from dwellings capable only of being entered on all-fours. The head and neck would be very much exposed to violent concussions against the sides and roofs of the low and narrow passages and doorways, and vertebral anchylosis would by no means be an unlikely result.

Mode of Burial.—The method of burial in this remarkable class of primeval tombs is by the inhumation of the entire body, to the exclusion, almost absolute, of its cremation. The unchambered long barrows have with great probability been shown to be the tombs of chieftains, in whose honour slaves and dependants, perhaps even wives and children, have been immolated. Such likewise, it would appear, was the case with the chambered long barrows, although, from their adaptation to successive interments, there is greater reason for the conclusion that they were in many cases family tombs or *mausolea*, and that they may even have been used as such by successive generations. From the fact of their having been so frequently rifled by treasure-seekers and others, the discovery of a tumulus with its contents undisturbed is a circumstance of the greatest rarity; and I am only able to refer to a single example, viz., the northern chamber at Rodmarton.^e The chambers at Charlton Abbot's had been disarranged by the falling-in of the roofs; whilst at Stoney Littleton, Uley, and West Kennet, though the human

^a Diod. Sic. v. 21.

^b Tacitus, *Germania*, 16. "Subterranei specus, suffugium hiemi." See also what Virgil says of other Northern nations, *Georgic* iii. 376.

^c In at least four (Table 2, Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16). I have likewise met with it in the unchambered long barrows of Fyfield (Table 1, No. 19). The cave or pit-dwellings discovered at Highfield, near Salisbury, in 1866, may have been the abode of the people by whom some of our Wiltshire long barrows were erected.

^d This peculiar morbid condition of vertebræ from the long barrows is described in *Further Researches and Observations on the Two Principal Forms of Ancient British Skulls*, p. 33, *Mem. Anthropol. Soc.* iii. 73.

^e The proof of not having been previously disturbed is finding the chambers free from earth and rubble, with which they are necessarily filled when they have once been opened by raising the covering stones, the usual method with treasure-seekers, who were ignorant of their actual construction, and of the position of their entrances.

remains were left behind, there was sufficient proof of the interior having been ransacked by tomb-breakers, intent on anything rather than the advancement of knowledge. It is only when examined by those more or less acquainted with anatomy that the original position of the bodies has been satisfactorily made out. A comparison of the imperfect notices we possess as to the position of the bones shows that the bodies had in general been placed round the sides of the tombs, in a sitting or crouching posture, or otherwise reclining in the same contracted position on the floor. In the chamber at Rodmarton, measuring about seven by five feet in superficial area and five feet high, and undisturbed unless by burrowing animals, foxes or rats, there were the remains of as many as thirteen bodies, as to which this description seems applicable. In the still smaller eastern chamber at Charlton Abbot's there were twelve skeletons, representing as many bodies, which, Mr. Winterbotham tells us, "must have originally been placed squatting on flat stones round the walls." In the western chamber there were the remains of fourteen bodies. At West Kennet, in a chamber of larger proportions ($9 \times 8 \times 7.75$ feet), the remains of six skeletons only were found, the original position of which must have been very similar. In the principal chamber at Avebury there were eight, and in the lesser one three skeletons; and Mr. Fossebrooke tells us that the bodies had been "placed in a sitting posture, with the feet crowded together." At Uley, too, the same crouched position against the walls, at least in one instance, was noticed. The observations of the Danish and Swedish antiquaries show clearly that a similar disposition of the bodies obtained in the chambered barrows of Scandinavia.^a

Cremation.—Burnt human bones, limited in amount, have been found in a few chambered long barrows, though under circumstances which seem to preclude the idea of cremation having been practised as part of the funeral rites. At Stoney Littleton Sir Richard Hoare tells us that in one of the chambers there

^a See the remarks of M. Boye as to the Giant's Chamber of Magleby, in the Isle of Mœn (*Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1858, p. 202, and Sir John Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 106), and as to that of Hammer, in Zealand, *Annaler*, 1862, and *Proceedings Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 310. "Some of the corpses appeared to have been buried in a sitting posture along the side stones, and others extended on the bottom." See also Nilsson's *Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia*, by Sir J. Lubbock, p. 128. M. Boye, however, suggests that the confused state of the bones favours the opinion that the chambered tumulus of Hammer was, in fact, an *ossuary*, destined to receive, not the entire bodies, but only the bones after the flesh had decayed from them. The same view is entertained by Prof. Hildebrand in regard to two chambered tumuli, one at Luttra, the other at Slöta, in Sweden, and both of which, he thinks, were *ossuaries*. These opinions are strongly contested by Prof. Nilsson (*Primitive Inhabitants*, &c. Eng. ed. 160—168); and the usually received view that the bodies were interred entire derives further confirmation from the report, in regard to Luttra, of Prof. Hildebrand's own colleague, the distinguished anatomist, Baron von Düben. See *Antiquar Tidskrift för Sverige*, i. 279.

“were fragments of an earthen vessel with burnt bones,” and he was of opinion there was proof “that the two systems of burial were here adopted, the interment of the body entire and cremation.” It must, however, be remembered that, though described by Sir Richard, the examination of the tumulus was conducted by the Rev. J. Skinner of Camerton. In the MS. letters of this gentleman, preserved at the Literary and Scientific Institution of Bath, Mr. Skinner, in describing the excavation, writes, “In the chamber marked C we met with some pieces of an unbaked clay urn, formed of very coarse materials, and a few burnt bones lying contiguous.” It may fairly be doubted whether the facts, as here narrated, afford sufficient proof that cremation had been practised as a contemporary sepulchral rite; they are certainly inadequate to establish the practice of urn-burial. At Uley, after a minute inspection of every fragment, I was able to say distinctly that “*none* of the bones had been burnt;” neither was there the slightest trace of cremation at Littleton Drew or at West Kennet. At Charlton Abbot’s, in an isolated portion of the tumulus, and therefore possibly a secondary interment, portions of a human skull and some bones of a boar were found, which are doubtfully stated to have presented “marks of cremation.” The association is suggestive of a comestible rather than a mere sepulchral rite; and at all events there is no proof of the practice of cremation at the time of the erection of the chambers. In the ruined and rifled chambers at Nympsfield there were “several fragments of burnt human bones, the largest being part of the occiput of a child.” These I very carefully examined, and reported of them that “they were very imperfectly burnt, many of them merely charred, and that they were very different from the cinders of bone which are found when unambiguous cremation has been practised.”^a In the chambers at Rodmarton, again, there were similar ambiguous appearances, “some indications,” says Mr. Lysons, “of fire upon a very small portion of the bones.” Those sent to me were mere fragments, and I wrote of them at the time that they were “very imperfectly incinerated, and some of them merely charred.”^b

In none of the cases referred to are the appearances presented by the burnt bones, or the quantity of them, such as would justify the assumption that even one body had been reduced to ashes by cremation.^c We are thus driven to search

^a Dr. Bird says that the burnt bones were in a separate cist on the north side of the chamber, which did not seem to have been opened before, *Journ. Anthropol. Soc.* iii. lxii. If so, this does not appear in Prof. Buckman’s report.

^b *Crania Brit.* Description of Skull, pl. 59, xxvii. p. (3).

^c In the chambered barrow at Fontenay, near Caen (*ante*, p. 214, note), there were human bones imperfectly burnt scattered amongst the skeletons.

for some other explanation. In his description of the chambered barrow at Hammer, in Zealand, M. Wilhelm Boye notices the burnt osseous fragments, and the scorching of the flint-stones, by a fire having been made in the chamber on the occasion of successive interments, for the purpose, as he thinks, of purifying it from the close and pestilent air with which it must have been filled—a mode of proceeding used, it is said, by many uncivilised tribes.^a Further observations may be desirable before this explanation can be regarded as established; but for the present it is perhaps as probable as any which can be suggested.

Cleft Skulls.—In the year 1855, in one of the cists of the chambered barrow at Littleton Drew, I first observed portions of a skull, of which “the fractured edges were very sharp, suggesting the idea of having been cleft during life.”^b I afterwards found that fragments obtained in the preceding year, on the re-examination of the chambers of the Uley tumulus, presented the same appearance. The evidence of cleavage in two out of the six skulls obtained from the West Kennet chamber in 1859 was still more unmistakeable, and served to fix my attention on the questions growing out of it. Such cleft skulls have since been met with in the great majority of the long barrows, both chambered and unchambered, which I have had the opportunity of examining. At Rodmarton, four of the thirteen skulls, being those of men from twenty to fifty years of age, had evidently been cleft in this peculiar fashion. The chambered barrows of Nympsfield and Charlton Abbot’s are the

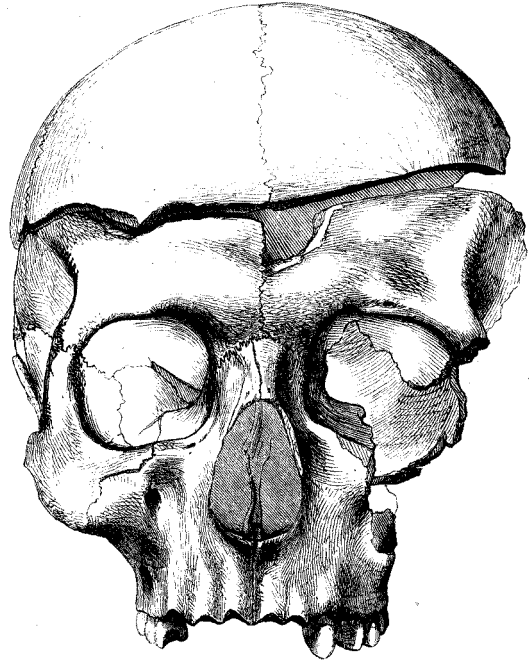


Fig. 18. Cleft Skull from Chambered Barrow, Rodmarton.
Scale, half-linear.

^a *Proceedings Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 315, 316. Professor Nilsson, writing of the chambered tombs of Sweden, says that no traces of burnt human bones have ever been found in them, *loc. cit.* p. 146. On the other hand, Mr. F. C. Lukis, F.S.A., in describing the contents of the large chambered tumulus at L'Ancrese, in Guernsey, expresses the opinion that “the bones were, from their position, brought to their final resting-place after the flesh had been removed by *burning* or some other means,” *Arch. Journal*, 1845, vol. i. p. 149.

^b *Crania Britan* Description of Skull, pl. 24, xxv. p. (3). *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 1856, iii. 173.

only instances, the human remains from which I have had an opportunity of examining, in which there have been found no traces of violent cleavage of the cranial bones, such as might have resulted from the forcible blow of a club or stone axe.

We need not again enter on the questions connected with this cleft condition of the skulls,—viz. those of human sacrifice and anthropophagism,—as these are sufficiently dwelt on in the preceding part of this memoir.

Remains of Funeral Feasts ; Bones of the Wild Boar and other Animals.—In about half of the chambered long barrows of this part of England, and in nearly all of the opening of which there is any record, the bones and teeth of animals, chiefly those still used for food, have been met with in considerable numbers. Such bones are found either in the chambers themselves, at the foot of the standing stones at the broad end, or more scattered, though still at a considerable depth in the mound itself. They are those of the swine, probably the wild boar, the red-deer and roebuck, ox, goat, horse, and dog. The remains of rats, mice, rabbits, foxes, polecats, and badgers, all of which are occasionally met with, may be disregarded as those of animals whose burrowing propensities lead them to infest these tumuli. As compared with the unchambered long barrows, these chambered mounds show a comparative infrequency of the remains of *Bos longifrons* and *Cervus Elaphus* ; whilst those of the wild boar (*Sus Scrofa ferus*) are much more abundant. From this we may perhaps infer that this species infested and prevailed extensively in the Cotteswolds and the adjacent valleys of the Severn and Upper Thames ; whilst the red deer may have found its principal haunts in the valleys of the two Avons, the Wily, and the Nadder, rivers of central and southern Wiltshire.^a At the entrance to the Uley chamber, the lower jaws of several wild boars were met with, to the exclusion curiously of other bones. Some of the tusks are still preserved and are of great size. The fragment of one, obtained by myself, had been cut and perforated for suspension, perhaps as an implement, or as a trophy or amulet. Bones and teeth of swine, including large tusks of boars, were obtained from the chambers of Littleton Drew, West Kennet, Nympsfield, Rodmarton, and Woodchester. The bones of ruminants, chiefly

^a In the twelfth century Henry of Huntingdon, enumerating the praises of Britain, quotes the line—

“Salisbury for the chase renowned;”

confirmed in the next century by our earliest poet, Robert of Gloucester, who says—

“Most chase of wild beast about Salisbury, I wis.”

The red deer has only become extinct in the neighbouring New Forest in our own times.

those of a small ox, probably *Bos longifrons*, though in small numbers, were found at Lanhill, West Kennet, Nempnet, Uley, Nympsfield, Rodmarton, Woodchester, and Nether Swell, and probably also at Avening. The Rev. W. C. Lukis presented to the Museum of the Wilts Archæological Society, at Devizes, the very large horn-core of an ox, possibly *Bos primigenius*, from some excavations made by him in the chambered long barrow at Tidcombe, in North Wilts (No. 10). The barrow however had been previously rifled, and it is doubtful whether or not this horn-core is of a period coeval with or subsequent to its erection. From the barrow at West Kennet were obtained some of the bones of a goat. From that of Nempnet the teeth of the red-deer; and from West Kennet and Charlton Abbot's bones of the roebuck. At Nempnet, Rodmarton, Charlton Abbot's, and Woodchester were many teeth, if not likewise the bones, of horses. At both Nympsfield and Woodchester bones of the dog were found, but, the exact position not being recorded, it may be doubtful how far they were contemporary with the tumuli in which they occurred. Nympsfield is the only chambered barrow in which the discovery of the bones of birds is recorded.

Implements of Flint and other Stone, and of Bone.—The paucity of manufactured objects of all descriptions in the chambered barrows is very remarkable, but may in part be explained by their having been so generally rifled. This may modify but does not altogether invalidate the conclusion naturally arising from the fact that in no instance whatever has any object of metal been found in the chambers, or at such a depth in the mound as not clearly to indicate a secondary or accidental deposit. It may not excite surprise that at West Kennet, in the heart of the chalk formation, the excavation of the chamber should have yielded so large a number of flint knives and scrapers, and of flakes capable of adaptation to such purposes; and that there should have been two or three large flint and sarsen stones evidently intended to have been used for hammering and pounding with the hand. As this chamber had undoubtedly been rifled, and perhaps even utilised as a dwelling, it is doubtful how far the flints found in it were contemporary with the original interments which had been suffered to remain. From its proximity to the skull of what appeared to have been the principal occupant of the tomb, the curious flint-scraper or knife here figured, with short projecting stem and edges finely chipped, may probably be regarded as coeval. Flint flakes, no doubt employed as cutting implements, and in two or three instances with delicately serrated edges, were found in the chambered barrows of the oolite region, many miles distant from

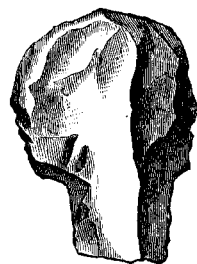


Fig. 19. Flint Scraper with Stem. West Kennet.

the flint-beds of the chalk. Such was the case at Lanhill, Littleton Drew, Uley, Nympsfield, Rodmarton, Charlton Abbot's, Ablington, and Nether Swell, in most instances either in or quite close to the sepulchral chambers. Under the left hand of the skeleton, forming the central primary interment at Littleton Drew, was a beautifully delicate flint flake, about an inch and a half in length, with a very fine



Fig. 20. Flint Flake, from Interment at Littleton Drew.

point, and which had evidently been selected for its fitness for piercing or cutting. "It was," says Sir Richard Hoare, "too thin for an arrow-head, but might have served for a lancet."^a

At Walker Hill (No. 7) I picked up among what seemed to be the *débris* of the chamber, a finely chipped leaf-shaped arrow-head of flint (fig. 21); and two others (figs. 22 and 23) of more elegant proportions were found in the undis-



Fig. 21.



Fig. 22.



Fig. 23.

Leaf-shaped Arrow-heads of Flint from Chambered Long Barrows.

turbed chamber at Rodmarton. Another and finer specimen, as stated in the previous part of this memoir (*see* fig. 3, *ante*), was obtained from the unchambered long barrow at Fyfield; so that many specimens of this particular type of arrow-head may, with great probability, be referred to the long-barrow period.^b It is curious

^a This woodcut, as well as several others in these papers, is reproduced, through the kindness of Dr. J. Barnard Davis, from the pages of *Crania Britannica*.

^b See *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 168. In this paper, at p. 171, note (^b), for "Roman Barrow" read "round Barrow."

that in every instance the points of these arrow-heads were broken off when found, and that, with the exception of that from the unchambered long barrow at Fyfield, the tang-end was also wanting.^a Of polished stone implements there has been a singular scarcity: but two stone axe-heads, partially polished, were met with in such proximity to the Uley chambered tumulus that they can hardly have done otherwise than have belonged to its builders. One is of flint, the other of a hard green stone. They each measure four inches in length by two in breadth. They are preserved in the museum of Guy's Hospital.

A very few implements of bone have been met with. At West Kennet there was a rude bone pin; at Woodchester a scoop, or gouge-shaped chisel, made out of the shank-bone of a horse; at Charlton Abbot's part of a rudely finished implement of bone, of concavo-convex form, with two perforations at one end; whilst from the ruined chamber of Temple Farm (No. 8) Mr. Lukis obtained a chisel of bone, with a sharp and well-formed cutting edge. Of this object, preserved in the museum of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, a wood-cut has been given.^b

Pottery.—The instances are rare in which fictile vessels, or even fragments of such, have been found in the chambered barrows. Passing over the notice by the old Gloucestershire historian of the discovery of "an earthen urn" at the entrance of each of the three "vaults" in the Leighterton barrow, and which differs from anything met with in the course of modern excavations, we next come to Mr. Skinner's notice of the "pieces of an unbaked clay urn of very coarse material" in one of the side-chambers at Stoney Littleton. At the bottom of the chamber at West Kennet we found piles of fragments of ancient British pottery, of very various descriptions, many of them highly ornamented, and, as would appear, portions of *food-vases*, like those of the round-barrow period. As, however, I have pointed out, these must have been deposited in the form of shards; and "whence the fragments came, and why here deposited, must be matter of conjecture."^c It is, indeed, a very doubtful question whether they belong to the people by whom the chamber was erected, and whose skeletons were found within

^a No flint arrow-head with separate tang and barbs has been found in any English long-barrow; but M. Boye describes one with a tang from the chambered barrow at Hammer, in Denmark (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 312); and Mr. Lukis obtained two with both tang and barbs from the chambered tumulus at Kerlescant, in Britany. (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv. 43, pl. 4, figs. 2, 3.) What is true of one district or country in respect of these monuments is not necessarily so of another.

^b See *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 215.

^c *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 417, where see woodcuts of several of the fragments of pottery.

it. Rather, perhaps, it may be surmised that whilst the tumulus was that of the primeval long-headed people, the fragments of pottery belonged to their successors the brachycephalous Belgæ, by whom the tomb may have been searched for treasure, and by whom, in accordance with some superstitious custom unknown to us, these fragments of pottery may have been piled up.^a In the ruined chamber at Nympsfield two bits of coarse pottery were found, one of which was "scored with the impressed marks so common in ancient British *fictilia*." In the intact Rodmarton chamber, "the *débris* of a vessel of very coarse pottery, nearly black," were met with. This I regard as the most important find of pottery yet made in the chambered long barrows of this district. On comparison with others found in the unchambered long barrows of South Wilts, including the vase nearly perfect from that of Norton Bavant, figured in the former part of this communication (*see* fig. 4 *ante*), the identity of the fabric is evident, and the two may be regarded as contemporary pottery, the product of the people by whom the long barrows of these districts were erected. Scattered coarse fictile fragments, almost black, and glistening with white pounded shells, were likewise found in the chambered barrow at Nether Swell. Some of these were of a very unusual rolled form, almost precisely resembling a cigar.^b

Comparison with Objects found in Chambered Barrows of Denmark and Britany.—The paucity of objects of manufacture in our English chambered barrows, whether fictile vessels or implements and weapons of stone or bone, is the more to be remarked, as in those both of Denmark and Britany, which on every ground must be referred to the same neolithic or polished stone period, both the stone implements and the earthen vases are often very considerable. For Denmark, it will suffice to refer to the chambered tumulus at Magleby, in the Isle of Möen, and to that at Hammer, in Zealand, both described by M. Wilhelm Boye, and previously referred to in this paper.^c In the former, containing perhaps ten skeletons, were no fewer than twenty urns, decorated with points and lines;

^a Since the above was written, it has been suggested by Mr. Albert Way (*Arch. Camb.* 3 S. xiv. 284), that the chamber in the West Kennet tumulus had been appropriated as a dwelling-place by the living. This, I think, is not at all improbable, and is not inconsistent with the view in the text.

^b The pottery from the chambered barrows of Britany is of a decorated character, and to some extent resembles that from our round barrows, if we may judge from the figures in *Revue Archéolog.* 1865, n. s. xi. and from those given by Mr. Lukis, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxiv. 43, pl. 5. A basin-form, however, seems to be prevalent.

^c *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed*, 1858, p. 202, and 1862, published 1864. For Magleby, see likewise Sir J. Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, pp. 75, 103, figs. 86, 101—103; and for Hammer, *Proceedings Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 308, where is a ground-plan of the tumulus.

six spear-heads; three small chisels; one beautiful axe, never used; and fifty-three flakes, all of flint. There were likewise fifty beads of amber, of ring, tubular, or hammer shape. The stone implements, beautifully formed, are in Sir John Lubbock's collection. In the chambered tumulus at Hammer, containing a large but uncertain number of skeletons, were a great number of urns, mostly broken. Some were of the flower-pot shape, others bowls or jugs, and some vessels to be hung up. They were generally ornamented with markings scratched, pressed, or engraved in the clay. The flint implements and weapons were very abundant. There were seven chisels; fifteen flat wedges of different forms, five of them very massive, and probably used for cutting trees; two lance-heads; one arrow-head; and fifty-five implements of uncertain use, more than half common flakes, but the rest more or less finely chipped at the edges. There was one beautiful, finely-polished battle-axe of green stone, with a hole for the handle. As ornaments for the person were a number of beads of amber, of the same form as those in the Magleby tumulus.

Several of the chambered barrows of Britany, some of which are long, and some circular, have been excavated of late years, and have yielded numerous polished stone axes and fine vases of pottery, which may be seen in the museums of Vannes and other towns in that part of France. The productiveness of these tombs, as contrasted with the poverty of our own chambered barrows in such objects, is indeed very remarkable. Two examples may here be adduced, viz. that of the great circular barrow called "The Tumiac," explored in 1853; and the chambered long barrow of Mont St. Michel, at Carnac, the excavation of which took place in 1862. In the entrance to the chamber of the Tumiac were as many as thirty polished stone axes, most of them of imported materials, as Asiatic jade, or hard tremolite. Many of these implements appear to have been purposely broken before being deposited. There were about three hundred beads, chiefly of jasper, though a few were of agate and crystal. They were of various forms, and were deposited in three groups, supposed from their position to be for the neck, waist, and wrist of the wearer. There were traces only of a single skeleton.*

The chamber of the Mont St. Michel tumulus, also as would seem devoted to the interment of a single body which is supposed to have been burnt, yielded thirty-nine axes (celts), eleven of them of jade, twenty-six of tremolite, and two of a coarser stone. As in The Tumiac, the axes of tremolite were much smaller than those of jade; and here, likewise, several had been broken before

* *Rapport sur la Grotte S  pulchr  le dans la Butte de la Tumiac, Vannes, 1853, p. 4.*

being deposited. There were also the remains of one or more necklaces of beads and pendants, mostly of jasper, but some made from bones, apparently those of a bird. There were two fragments of flint.^a In neither of these barrows were there any fictile remains, such as have been so often found in other chambered barrows of Britany.

I am not aware that in any of the chambered tumuli of this part of France, any more than in those of England or Scandinavia, implements or weapons of metal, either bronze or iron, have been met with; whilst those of stone, as we have seen, are very common. In one circular and triply-chambered barrow, however, at Ploubarnel, in addition to such implements of stone, the explorer, the late M. le Bail, was fortunate enough to find two broad collars of gold.^b Many reasons might be assigned for the belief that the precious metal gold has been known to and worked into ornaments by man, in various parts of the world, whilst in possession of no other tools than those of wood, bone, or stone. We have no record of any golden ornaments having been found in any of the chambered barrows of England; but this continental instance makes it not improbable that such have been met with by treasure-seekers in distant ages.^c The *auri sacra fames* may perhaps best explain the very extensive rifling to which this class of tombs has undoubtedly been subjected.

On the whole, the comparison of the objects found in the chambered barrows of South Britain with those from similarly constructed tombs in both Denmark and Britany, would seem to imply that whilst their builders were in no degree inferior, but in some respects superior, to their continental contemporaries in architectural skill, their implements and tools were both less highly finished

^a M. de Galle's Report of the examination, as abstracted by the Rev. E. L. Barnwell, *Arch. Cambrensis*, 1863, 3rd s. x. 47.

^b See the ground-plan of this barrow in the paper "On the Construction of Chambered Barrows," by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A., *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1866, xxii. 258, pl. xv. fig. 3. Mr. Lukis has lately devoted much time to the careful survey and planning of the chambered barrows of Britany, and has been aided in the work by Sir Henry Dryden. He is of opinion that most, if not all, of the elongate tumuli of this part of France were originally circular, and enlarged by subsequent additions. He finds likewise, I believe, that the orientation of the chambers differs from that of the English ones.

^c In the course of my excavations in Wiltshire I have often found among the peasantry the notion that there is abundance of gold in the barrows. At the tumulus called Ell Barrow (Table 1. No. 15,) I was told of a dream that a gold chair was concealed in it. I need scarcely say that the dream was not verified, as was the case at the Fairies Hill, near Mold, where the gold corselet was found. *Archæologia*, xxvi. 425.

and less generally diffused, and were perhaps too valuable to be deposited in great numbers in the tomb.

Secondary Interments.—Secondary interments have but rarely been found in the chambered tumuli of North Wiltshire and Gloucestershire; and no case can be adduced, as in the unchambered long barrows, which can be assigned to the bronze period of pre-Roman Britain. The stone period probably lingered much longer among the Dobuni of Gloucestershire than in South Wiltshire, where the Belgæ, if they did not originate, must at least have introduced, a much more free use of bronze, and where as a consequence circular barrows covering interments of the bronze period are common. In Gloucestershire, on the contrary, circular tumuli are comparatively rare. The only unequivocal example of a secondary interment in one of our chambered long barrows is that of Uley, where, above one of the side chambers, and within a foot of the surface of the mound, was a skeleton lying north-east and south-west, which, from three third-brass coins of the three sons of Constantine the Great, deposited with it, appeared to belong to the Roman period. In the tumulus at Nether Swell (No. 25), levelled since this paper was read, I am informed by the Rev. David Royce, that two skeletons broken and headless were met with in dispersed parts of the mound. Secondary interments of the Anglo-Saxon times, as we have seen, were found in several of the unchambered long barrows of South Wilts; but in no case, so far as I know, in the chambered mounds now under consideration. South Wiltshire was at an early date possessed by the West-Saxons; but they did not acquire Gloucestershire until a much later period, nor had much hold upon it until after their adoption of Christianity, when sepulture in the burial-mounds of the old pagan inhabitants of the land would probably be seldom resorted to.

Type of Skulls from Chambered Long Barrows.—The skulls derived from the chambered long barrows of North Wiltshire and Gloucestershire correspond in their general form with those from the unchambered long barrows. Though, on the average, not quite so long or narrow, they are very remarkable for their dolichocephalic and stenocephalic type. There are several reasons, from time to time glanced at in these papers, for believing that the Belgic immigrants very much if not altogether superseded the aboriginal population of South Wiltshire, so far at least as the governing classes, or those who would be buried under tumuli, are concerned. On the other hand, the more northern district, here in question, was clearly that of the Dobuni,^a doubtless an aboriginal tribe, whose

^a The capital of the Dobuni, the Corinium Dobunorum of Ptolemy, the modern Cirencester, is situated

area, prior to the advent of the Belgæ, had been more extended, and whose numbers were probably reinforced by migration from the Belgic district. In the midst of a somewhat inhospitable region, that of the Cottswolds, this tribe of the "Britons of the interior," may have lived on, perhaps down to Roman times, and have preserved their primitive mode of life, and with this, their ancient funeral customs, including the burial of their chiefs and other principal people in long barrows rather than round ones. It is not, however, improbable that as time elapsed some mixture with the adjoining tribes would take place; and by this means that the skull-form may have been to some extent modified with the result of some divergence from the extremely long and narrow form. To what extent such an explanation may apply will be best understood on a comparison of the following table of measurements of the skulls obtained from the chambered long barrows with that of the other series of skulls, from the unchambered long barrows, which has been given in the preceding part of this paper (*ante*, p. 198).

SKULLS FROM CHAMBERED LONG BARROWS IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE AND NORTH
WILTSHIRE.

	No. of Skulls.	Breadth-Index.	
		Range.	Mean.
13. Uley, Gloucestershire	2 . .	·71—·74 . .	·72 ⁵
1. Littleton Drew, North Wilts. . .	7 . .	·68—·74 . .	·71
5. West Kennet „	4 . .	·67—·73 . .	·70
14. Nympsfield, Gloucestershire . . .	2 . .	·74—·75 . .	·74
15. Rodmarton, „	5 . .	·71—·74 . .	·73
16. Charlton Abbot's „	17 . .	·68—·77 . .	·71
11. Oldbury, North Wilts	3 . .	·68—·74 . .	·71
Total and averages .		40 . .	·67—·77 . .
			·71 ⁵

On comparing this Table with the former one, it will be seen that, whilst the twenty-seven skulls from the unchambered long barrows of the more southern district have a mean breadth-index so very low as ·69, the forty skulls from seven chambered long barrows of the northern district have the somewhat higher breadth-index of ·71⁵. An average length of skull, however, which is represented by a figure for the breadth-index so low as ·71⁵, cannot be regarded as other than very remarkable. It is very decidedly lower than that observed in any people of modern Europe.

almost exactly in the centre of the area occupied by this tribe, and which area is likewise that of the chief distribution of chambered long barrows.

Religious Rites at the Tombs ; Anniversaries ; Practice of Necromancy.—Before leaving the chambered barrows, there is one subject in connection with them which deserves more attention than it has obtained. The bones and teeth of animals used for food, the fragments of pottery and flint flakes, all of which are so commonly found near the surface of these tombs, and in particular at or near the base of the standing stones, monoliths, or triliths, which occupy the broad ends of several of them, may, I think, be best regarded as the traces and remains of funeral feasts and offerings to the *manes* at the grave itself. Such customs, according to the testimony of all antiquity, appear to have been almost universal through Europe and much of Asia in early times. Virgil, so learned in all archæological questions, repeatedly enumerates the ceremonies of this description. In the obsequies of Polydorus,* the Trojan fugitives are described as heaping a great tumulus of earth, and raising also an altar to the *manes*, decked with dark fillets and wreaths of cypress; where the sacrifices of the dead consisted of libations of new milk, and cups of “sacred blood” (taken, that is, from the victim or victims killed on the occasion); but which, as other passages teach us, were not offered as a burnt sacrifice, but were cooked and eaten, either as boiled or roast.^b Many other passages might be adduced to show the nature of the funeral ceremonies in the earliest times among the Greeks and Romans; which *mutatis mutandis*, and allowing for their inferior material civilisation, may be presumed to have been practised even by the aboriginal population of distant Britain.

Nor must we forget the visits to the tombs on the recurrence of each anniversary of the death, when offerings of various sorts were made to the dead,—wine,

* Ergo instauramus Polydoro funus, et ingens
Aggeritur tumulo tellus; stant Manibus aræ,
Cæruleis mœstæ vittis atraque cupresso,
Et circum Iliades, crinem de more solutæ.
Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte,
Sanguinis et sacri * pateras; animamque sepulchro
Condimus, et magna supremum voce ciemus.

Æneid, iii. 62.

^b Læti

Dona ferunt; onerant aras, mactantque juvencos;
Ordine aëna locant alii, fusique per herbam
Subjiciunt veribus prunas, et viscera torrent.

Æneid, v. 100.

* Id est, “de victimis sumpti.” Servius *in loco*.

oil, milk, honey, the blood of victims, pure water, and flowers. It is with the prospect of such anniversary visits to his tumulus, and the presentation of such offerings, that Virgil represents Palinurus as being gratified.^a On the Hellespont, near Sigeium, was the reputed tomb of Achilles and Patroclus,^b where for many ages the people of the Troad performed periodically sacred ceremonies in their honour. This tumulus, said to be still visible, was visited by Alexander the Great, by Julius Cæsar, and by Germanicus. Plutarch describes the former as offering libations to the heroes, as anointing the pillar-stone or *stela* with oil, and, with his friends, according to the custom, running naked round the tomb.^c

The Romans had a festival in the month of February called *Feralia*, during which they carried to the tombs food for the use of the dead. This, as practised by some Christians, is denounced by St. Augustine, where he speaks of those who “banquet riotously over the graves and offer meat even to the dead.”^d All over the world, in certain stages of civilisation, such customs have prevailed. Even

^a Et statuent tumulum, et tumulo solemnia mittent;

Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.

Æneid, vi. 380.

The poet describes particularly the offerings in the case of the visit of Æneas to the tomb of his father Anchises, on the anniversary of his death,—“diem semper acerbum, semper honoratum,”—

Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho

Fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,

Purpureosque jacet flores, ac talia fatur.

Æneid, v. 77.

^b *Odyssey*, xxiv. 80. Comp. Strabo, lib. xiii. c. 1, s. 32.

^c Plutarch, *Vit. Alexandr.* No doubt Alexander passed round the tomb, in the direction of the sun, from right to left. Even the rude Esquimaux, as we learn from Parry, walks slowly round the grave, in the direction of the sun, five times, and then at the last circuit stops for a few moments at the head. According to Arrian (i. 12), Alexander placed chaplets on the tumulus. Mr. Lukis (*Bircham Barrows*, p. 10) tells us that “on the Continent processions and superstitious rites are still performed annually round tumuli, such rites originating perhaps with a remote pagan worship.”

^d *De Civ. Dei*, iv. 31. The custom seems to be referred to in one of the apocryphal books, where “messes of meat set on a grave” are spoken of. (Ecclus. xxx. 18.) When, several centuries after Augustine, many of the tribes of northern Europe had accepted Christianity, these pagan customs were everywhere prevalent. In the “Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum” appended to the Capitulary of Carloman (A.D. 743), in the epistles of our own St. Boniface, and in the edicts of different provincial councils, such feastings and “sacrificiæ mortuorum” (Psalm cvi. 28) are repeatedly condemned. Boniface (Ep. 82) refers to sacrilegious priests who even offered oxen and goats to the pagan gods, and eat these sacrifices of the dead. In one passage of the Capitulary (vi. 197), the faithful are admonished not to join in the pagan funeral ceremonies, nor to presume to eat or drink on the barrows; “et super eorum tumulos nec manducare nec bibere præsumant.”

now, the mountain tribe of the Arrians of Travancore, on the anniversary of the death, make offerings at the tomb of milk, ghee, and other things. In Madagascar, also, after the feast of the New Year, the tombs are visited, and offerings, chiefly of the fat of bullocks, made to the spirits of deceased relatives; one duty being that of seeing that the tombs are kept in repair.^a Such practices are said even not to have ceased entirely in Christian Europe; and Ford tells us that the Basques keep up the antique custom of offering oblations of corn and bread (*robos*), to the *manes* of the departed on the anniversary of death.^b

In this connection it may be observed that, when shorn of heathen if not entirely of superstitious rites, the remembrance of the dead, and the decoration of their graves, on the common anniversaries of All Saints (November 1) and All Souls (November 2, "Day of the Dead"), are practices common to a great part of Christendom. As I am writing I am reminded that only the other day—December 14th—the mausoleum of the "Father of our Kings to be" was reverently visited by the widowed Majesty of England. The pious observation of an anniversary such as this, full of touching memories, is not, it will be admitted, alien even to the purest faith.

To return, however, to pagan times. Not only were the tombs visited periodically, but also at uncertain times for a definite purpose, viz. that of divination, or for obtaining oracles from the spirits of the dead. Æschylus describes Atossa as going for this purpose to the grave of her husband Darius Hystaspes, and carrying with her the usual libations to the dead and to the Chthonian divinities of milk, honey, water, wine, oil, and wreaths of flowers.^c This practice of necromancy seems to have been all but universal among the ancients. Along with other profane attempts at obtaining supernatural knowledge and power, it was expressly forbidden by Moses, in whose laws consulters of the dead, or necromancers, are expressly denounced.^d The Nasamones, a nomadic people of Lybia, are described by Herodotus as betaking themselves, for the purpose of augury, to the tombs of their ancestors, where, after praying, they lay down to sleep, and by the dreams which then came to them guided their conduct.^e By the Greeks no less than by

^a Ellis, *Madagascar Revisited*, 1867, p. 404.

^b *Handbook for Spain*.

^c Æschylus, *Persæ*, v. 609. See many other cases from Greek writers collected by Buckley in his note on *Ædip. Colon.* 998 (Bohn's Sophoc. 87), where in particular the ghosts of the dead are invoked to declare their murderers.

^d Deuteron. xviii. 11.

^e Herodot. iv. 172. The Augilæ of Pomp. Mela (i. 8,) so termed by mistake, are the same people as the Nasamones. "*Augilæ*.—*Manes tantum Deos putant: per eos dejerant; eos ut oracula consulunt;*

barbarians such oracles of the dead were held in high estimation, that of the Thesprotians, on the river Acheron, being the most remarkable.^a The tomb of Tiresias, near Thebes, and that of Amphiaraus,^b were both celebrated for the responses given at them. Those who consulted the latter slept in the sanctuary, after having prepared themselves by fasting, and the answers were expected in dreams. It is evident that the modern poet finds full justification for the picture with which he presents us, where he makes Medea say—

And many a time, within the woods alone,
Have I sat watching on the heaps of stone,
Where dwell the giants dead; and many a time
Have my pale lips uttered the impious rhyme,
That calls the dead from their unchanged abode.^c

That such customs obtained among those peoples of the west and north of Europe from whom we are ourselves descended there is not wanting evidence. Tertullian tells us that the Celts were in the habit of remaining all night at the tombs of their brave men, for the purpose of obtaining oracular responses.^d He gives as his authority for this statement Nicander, whose work *Περὶ Χρηστηρίων Πάντων*, *De Omnibus Oraculis*, is lost. As Nicander wrote in the second century B.C., and lived at Colophon, in Asia Minor, it is probable that the Celts of Galatia were the people intended by him. The Galatians had, however, in his time not long been settled in Phrygia; and we can have little hesitation in regarding their customs as identical with those of Gaul, and in part at least with those of Britain. But, whatever may be thought of Nicander's statement, that the practice of necromancy did obtain in north-western Europe down to a much later period there can be no reasonable doubt, from the stories in some of the Scandinavian sagas. Thus of a certain Swein Briostreip, in the Orkneys, in the twelfth century, long after the conversion of the Northmen to Christianity, we are told that he was addicted to magic, and spent whole nights without sleep at the graves of the

precatique, quæ volunt, ubi tumulis incubuere, pro responsis ferunt somnia." So common was the practice that the Emperor Julian accused the Christians of magical purposes in their visits to the tombs of the martyrs, and of seeking prophetic dreams by sleeping on their tombs. Neander, *Church History*, Eng. ed. iii. 121.

^a Herod. v. 92, § 7.

^b Augustin. *Civit. Dei*. i. 40.

^c Morris, *Life and Death of Jason*, xv. 449.

^d Tertullian, *De Anima*, c. 57. "Et Celtas apud virorum fortium busta, eadem de causa (propria oracula captare) abnoctare ut Nicander affirmat."

dead, in order to consult them and obtain answers, which, as the story shows, was done for no good purpose.^a

It appeared desirable to review at some length the beliefs and customs of Pagan antiquity, in virtue of which the tumuli were visited by worshippers of the manes, either from motives of natural affection or for the purpose of divination. On those occasions, as we have seen, it was customary to take libations to pour on the tombs; and it is hence not improbable that many of the fragments of pottery, both primeval and Romano-British, so commonly found near the surface of tumuli, are those of earthen vessels in which such offerings had been carried. This explanation is applicable not merely to chambered long barrows, but doubtless, likewise, to tumuli of all descriptions, both long and round. Such practices would be more or less rife, according as local memories and traditions obtained more or less credence. In no case, probably, would they exert so strong an influence as in that of many long barrows, dignified either by standing monumental stones, or by being encircled with a peristalith, as was Wayland's Smithy, a ruined tumulus of this very description.

There are numerous superstitious usages which lingered during many centuries in all the countries of Europe including our own, and in which pagan sacrifices and oblations were more or less repeated or imitated. Localities held sacred under paganism were still so regarded by the vulgar; fountains, trees, and *stones* continued to be visited on certain days, and under particular circumstances; and offerings, including even the bloody sacrifice of animals, were made at or near them. "Stones" are named in the decrees of various councils of Anglo-Saxon times, so late even as those of Edgar and Canute, in whose laws such practices are denounced. "Heathenism," say the laws of Canute, "is that men worship idols, and the sun or the moon, or rivers, fountains, or *stones* of any kind." In the "*Indiculus Superstitionum et Paganiarum*" of Carloman, already mentioned, the pagan usages connected with stones reputed to be sacred are referred to under the seventh chapter—"De his quæ faciunt super petras." This may be understood as referring to the pouring of libations, the lighting of candles and torches, and the offering of other sacrifices. As to this there can scarcely be a doubt when we find St. Eligius (St. Eloy), in preaching to the Franks, early in the seventh

^a Torfæus, *Orcades*, c. xxiii. The story is also given from an original saga, in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1858, ii. 279. The sagas are full of stories of attempts to make the dead speak, or of necromancy. It may also be remarked that, according to Professor Rafn's interpretation of the Runic inscriptions in the great chamber of the tumulus of Maeshow, some of these state that the "barrow was formerly a *sorcery hall* erected for Lodbrok." There is at least nothing improbable in such an application of the chamber.

century, saying, "Let no Christian presume to carry lights or oblations to temples, or to *stones*, or to fountains, or to trees, or to cross roads."^a The "*stones*" named in these passages of ecclesiastical history and law were probably of various descriptions, and not all of the same epoch. Some, in countries occupied by the Romans, may have been sculptured and inscribed altars and cippi, such as the "*Lapides Dianæ*" in the Ardennes, which, with the adjacent fountains, are said to have been "*gentilismi erroribus polluti*."^b Others, no doubt, were much more ancient, and belonged to the indigenous tribes. The rude monoliths and triliths, the circles of stones and cromlechs of hoar antiquity, had probably never ceased to attract devotees, and we cannot doubt were among the "*stones*" referred to. They seem to be unequivocally indicated in a decree of a council held at Nantes in Britany—a country in which monuments of this sort are so common. By the 20th canon of this council, the "*stones which are venerated in ruinous places and in the forests*" are ordered to be dug up and thrown into such a place as to be concealed altogether from those who worshipped them.^c The partial execution of this difficult order may explain the ruinous condition of so many of the dolmens and menhirs of this part of France.

Returning to our own country, it may be remarked that such monoliths as the "*Hoar Stone*" at Duntresbourne Abbot's, and the "*Tingle Stone*" at Gatcombe, and such a trilith as the "*Three Stones*" at Littleton Drew, distinguished, as they all are, by their position on conspicuous long barrows, are monuments which on many grounds must have been attractive to a superstitious and half heathen people.

In illustration of this last remark, we may here refer to an ancient standing-stone, or menhir, called "*Long Stone*," in the parish of Minchin Hampton, and distant less than a mile from the Tingle Stone tumulus above referred to. Long Stone, which is seven or eight feet in height, stands on a slight elevation, the

^a Audoëni Rotomag. *Vita Eligii*, ii. c. 16. Quoted by Thorpe, *Mythology and Popular Traditions*, 1852, i. 255, to which work I am indebted for several of the authorities I have referred to. With the passage from the Life of St. Eloy agrees one in the *Collection of Decretals* (Burchard, xix. 5), in which are the following questions: "*Venisti ad aliquem locum ad orandum nisi ad ecclesiam, i. e. vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides, vel ad bivia, et ibi aut candelam aut faculam pro veneratione loci incendisti, aut panem, aut aliquam oblationem illuc detulisti, aut ibi comedisti?*"

^b Thorpe, *loc. cit.* i. 257, from *Vita St. Remaeli*, c. 12.

^c "*Lapides quos in ruinosiis locis et sylvestribus dæmonum ludificationibus decepti venerantur, ubi et vota vovent et deferunt, funditus effodiantur, atque in tali loco projiciantur, ubi nunquam a cultoribus suis inveniri possint.*"

remains, no doubt, of one of the chambered long barrows common in this part of Gloucestershire.* Near the bottom of the stone is a natural perforation, through which, not many years since, children, brought from a considerable distance for the purpose, used to be passed for the cure and prevention of disease,^b and in particular for the relief of hooping cough and measles. The stone in fact is a holed stone, a *men-an-tol* or *tolmen*, like those so called in Cornwall, which are resorted to by the peasantry for similar superstitious purposes. Naturally holed stones are very common in the oolite of this part of the Cotswolds; and there is a field not far from Long Stone, where on digging beneath the surface such stones are found in great numbers. They are generally small or of moderate size, and there is a dwelling-house at Burnt Ash, near Crackstone, which is built chiefly of them. The field in which they occur is called the "Devil's Churchyard," in which name there is probably a tradition of the locality having been associated with pagan sepulchral rites.

* Rudder, in his *Gloucestershire* (1799, p. 244), says that "Long Stone," like Tingle Stone, stood on the top of a tumulus or barrow. When I visited the spot in 1860 the barrow was scarcely visible, and the second "short stone" was found built into a stone wall which runs over the site of the mound, where it answers the purpose of a stile.

^b See the same custom, as regards the tolmen called Odin Stone, at Stenness, Orkney. *Archæologia*, xxxiv. 101. For tolmen and their uses, see a paper *On Holed Stones*, by Mr. R. R. Brash. *Gents. Mag.* Dec. 1864, pp. 686—700

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