

CHAPTER IV.

ORIGIN OF THE SEPULCHRAL RING.

The Circle symbolical of the Hut—The Round Hut in Greece— $\theta\acute{o}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ —The Round Hut in Rome—The 'Aedes Vestae'—Plutarch on the Foundation of Rome—The 'Ius Municipiorum'—The prehistoric Hut and Pit-dwelling—The Penannular Ring and the buried Circle—The Barrow modelled on the Hut—The Peristalith—The 'Cup-and-Ring' Mark—A symbol of the Grave—Developed to the Wheeled Cross—The Tomb and the Medieval Chantry—Irish Shrines and Dolmens—'Coped' Tomb-stones.

The circular *limes* marking the resting-place of the dead man was derived from the form of the dwelling in which he had lived. The grave-circle is the same figure as the hut-circle, and the primitive round barrow or cairn was the contemporary round hut translated into earth and stone.¹

That this was the origin of the round barrow has often been suggested. 'The Long Barrow is modelled on the long-galleried cave,' writes Edward Clodd,² and continues: 'the Round Barrows are modelled upon the hut-circles or pit-dwellings,' for 'among all barbaric peoples the home of the dead has been a copy of his dwelling when alive.'³ Those who have noticed this parallelism between hut and barrow appear, however, to have fixed their attention chiefly upon the elevation, as architects would say—the mound standing up against the sky just as did the bee-hive

¹ The Irish term for the true tumulus is *duma*, says Sullivan (O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, i, cccxxv), a rounded 'mound or hill having a chamber or *dum* (cf. Latin *domus*) containing the ashes or bodies of the dead.'

² *Story of Primitive Man*, p. 110.

³ *Ibid.* p. 104. So Sir William Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*, p. 338: 'The tombs were the habitation of the dead,

in which they were supposed to live.' See the whole of ch. viii of the same book. Herbert Spencer (*Principles of Sociology*, p. 273) wrote that 'the most primitive of burial practices is probably that where the dead man is simply buried in his own hut.' The tomb of the late emperor of Korea (*ob.* 1919) is a large circular hut of straw covered with a high roof of thatch (see *Illus. Lond. News*, 17 May, 1919), almost an exact reproduction of a Gaulish hut.

hut.¹ They have paid less attention to what architects would term the plan. Yet the foundation is surely as important as the superstructure.

The remark that 'all barbaric peoples' have sought to make the home of the dead resemble that of the living requires qualification at both ends. It is not true of all barbaric peoples, nor is it true of barbaric peoples only. Many peoples in no sense barbaric have continued so to fashion and furnish the tombs of their dead for long centuries after their emergence into the full flower of civilisation. The chambered and painted tombs of Egypt and of Etruria, the bee-hive tombs of Mycenae with their elaborate decorations, the elaborate architectural rock-tombs of Lycia, can scarcely be called the work of barbarians, to say nothing of other such monuments of Greece and Rome. Yet even those most famous of all Roman tombs, the burial-places of Caecilia Metella and of Hadrian, go back to the archetypal round hut as surely as does the humblest round barrow.²

The typical Gaulish round hut, as represented upon the column of Antoninus, was identical in plan, if not also in elevation, with the typical British dwelling at any time before the supersession of the round hut by the square under influences part Roman and part Saxon. That the Roman in historical times built square requires no proof: he literally thought in squares, as when he centuriated almost half of ancient Europe. The Saxon also built square, for he was a carpenter, and carpenters find the rectangular form more easily dealt with than the round. The square, or something approximating thereto, was occasionally developed even by the British Celts, as in the case of the lake-dwellers³ of Meare; but as the evidence

¹ Cf. the remark of Vitruvius (ii, 1, 5) about the Phrygians. They hollowed out *tumuli naturales* for huts, and heaped upon them hillocks (*grumos*) of thatch.

² There appear to have existed three types of house in very early times—the round, the oval, and the rectangular—in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean (Miss B. C. Rider, *The Greek House*); but there is no question that in the west of Europe the round was the prevailing type well into historical times.

³ Bulleid, *Glastonbury Lake Village*, i,

pp. 56, etc. Rectangular huts are figured side by side with round ones on the column of Antoninus, but these were probably due to Roman influence. They are mentioned, but as exceptional only, by A. Grenier, *Hab. Gauloises et Villes Romaines*, p. 26, etc. Some of the circular pits (*mares, mardelles*) representing the dwellings of Romanised Gauls (Mediomatrics) in the vicinity of Metz, attain a diameter of as much as 40 metres (130 ft.) and had roofs supported by wooden pillars. Such buildings illustrate the stubborn persistence of the circular

shows those people also to have been exceptionally skilful carpenters, the fact is not surprising, especially as the peculiar circumstances of their case forbade the use of any other material than timber. If the Greek and the Roman had as a general rule early abandoned the round form, that again was the result of their long experience as masons, which taught them that the rectangular form—except in the case of dry building with undressed stones—was easier as well as more economical; but that both these peoples adhered to the circular plan, not in some of their tombs only, but even in some of their temples and in certain specific details of their homes, is sufficient proof that at an earlier period it had been their customary mode of building.¹

The Greeks early developed the rectilineal house and temple (*ναός*), but they preserved to the end of classical times the older circular temple (*θόλος*), and it is significant that the latter was reserved almost exclusively for the ritual of ancestor-worship, whether that of the family within their house, or that of the community in their *prytaneum*.

In the classical period the *prytaneum* was the sign visible of the Greek self-governing community, a *locus consecratus* dedicated to the goddess Hestia,² whose perpetual fire burned always upon its hearth. That which made it holy ground was the presence, actual or symbolical, of the relics of the community's founder. It was at once his grave and his *heroön* or chapel. So long as those relics were safe, so long might the community hope to prosper.³ The qualities which were his in life,

plan in the face of very obvious inconveniences. Strabo (§ 218) says that the wine-casks of Cisalpine Gaul were 'bigger than houses,' from which it seems to follow that the round hut was still common in that region in his days, and that such huts were usually small.

¹ For a striking illustration of the difference between the rectangular and the circular plans, see the anecdote related by Rev. John Mackenzie in *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 485. He was building at Shoshong a rectangular kitchen, and the novelty of the plan struck a Makalaka native. It reminded him of the ruins of buildings which he had seen at Zimbabwe and on the Tatie river,

and drew from him the inference that those likewise must have been the handiwork of white men. In his book Mackenzie, being a white man, did not think it needful to mention that his kitchen was rectangular, but he emphasised the fact when relating the anecdote in person. (Information of Dr. Eliot Curwen).

² One of her titles was Prytanis or Prytanea.

³ When Theseus desired to put an end to the disunion of Attica, he suppressed (*κατέλυσε*) the *prytanea* of the other 11 independent communities, and provided all with one *prytaneum* in Athens. Plutarch, *Theseus*, 24; Thucydides ii, 15.

remained with his dust in death, a very present help to his people. In the city of Megara¹ the founder's tomb stood actually within the council-chamber of the government, that they might have the benefit of his influence in their deliberations. This, it appears, was a somewhat exceptional case,² and commonly the founder's tomb, the *prytaneum*, stood in the *agora*, that the hero's spirit might guard and guide the whole of his people impartially. There were local variations of course, and such inconsistencies as were bound to come with long history. Athens of the classical time had her *prytaneum*, where the Prytans messed together with certain others so privileged, and where they entertained the emissaries of foreign states; but the bones of the city's first founder Erechtheus lay within the Erechtheum on the Acropolis, and those of its second founder Theseus, when at long last brought home from Scyros, were enshrined in a special temple. Lesser towns had no such perplexities. Each had one *prytaneum*, and it was commonly a *θόλος*.³ That of Athens was generally spoken of as *ἡ θόλος*.⁴ The *prytaneum* was primarily the moot (*βουλευτήριον*), the place of council. It was also a court of law.⁵ Livy summed its functions in a single phrase, *penetrare urbis*,⁶ 'The city's holy of holies.'

The Roman also retained the older circular plan in certain of the more elemental parts of his very mixed religion. To the end of time the Roman tomb was as frequently circular as not. To the end of its history the temple of Vesta, eldest of divinities—she was the Greek Hestia, alike in name and in function, for she was the special guardian of the communal hearth and the eternal fire—was a circular building. So also was that of Hercules, a god whose real antiquity has been disguised under a quasi-Greek name.

¹ The magistrates there bore the style of *Aesymnetae*, and in Homer (*Od.* viii, 258) this is the style of the stewards of the *ἱερὸς κύκλος*, the Achean equivalent of the *prytaneum*.

² Pausanias (ii, 43, 2) gives the explanation. An oracle declared *τοὺς Μεγαρέας εὖ πράξειν ἢν μετὰ τῶν πλείονων βουλευσώνται*—they must take 'the majority' into the councils; and the Megarians understood 'the majority' to signify their dead. In this case, therefore, the founder's tomb

was regarded as symbolical of *all* their deceased forbears, their collective ancestry.

³ At Olympia the building by Curtius identified with the Gaeum (Paus. v, 14, 8) was a circular chamber, as was the Philippeum built in the fourth century B.C. See Miss Jane Harrison, *Themis*, pp. 258-9.

⁴ Plato, *Apol. Socr.*, 32 C; Pausan. i, 5, 1.

⁵ *Τὸ ἐν πρυτανείῳ δικαστήριον.*

⁶ Livy, xli, 20.

Such circular buildings were not the oldest form of Roman places of worship, for there had been a time when that people reared no buildings whatever to their gods, sharing the feeling of the ancient Germans, the Gauls, and even the Persians,¹ that the gods were not to be confined within walls and roofs. There were, however, holy places, and these were commonly—perhaps invariably—circular. Even in historical Rome there remained archaic survivals of the kind, such as the *Lacus Curtius*, the *puteal*, and the *bidental*, all grouped, it is to be noted, in or about the *forum Romanum*, the very heart of the city. Another was probably the *sacellum Larium*, for a *sacellum* was a circular *locus consecratus* having no roof.² In rural Italy, where the old order lingered longest, there were few *templa*, but many *sacella*; indeed the normal holy place of the *pagani* was commonly neither *templum* nor *sacellum*, but merely *lucus*, ‘a grove.’ Cicero cites from the Twelve Tables the law: *constructa a patribus delubra in urbibus habento, lucos in agris habento et Larum sedes*.³ There were famous and venerable *luci* even of Jupiter himself down to the days of the empire. Founding a new city in Sicily hard by the barrow of the dead Anchises, Aeneas, after marking out its bounds, proceeds to institute the regular cult of the dead Anchises as its *conditor* :—

Tumuloque sacerdos

Et lucus late sacer additur Anchiseo.⁴

So there was a priest and a ritual before there was any structural temple. The passage suggests also what was the origin of such ‘groves’: planted about burial-places—as indeed they still are planted in Italy—in the first instance to safeguard the spot from possible desecration, in the upshot they came themselves to be objects of veneration, when the barrow was perhaps forgotten. It was not needful to plant trees to safeguard such a spot within the walls, but every *urbs* must have at least one *delubrum*. As Cicero understood it, the word *urbs* meant a settlement ‘with ordered communal shrines and ordered communal places of meeting.’⁵ Whether he felt the two

¹ Cicero *de Legg.* ii, 10, 26.

² Festus.

³ Cicero *de Legg.* ii, 8, 19; cf. *ibid.* c. 27.

⁴ Vergil *Aen.* v, 760.

⁵ Cicero *de Rep.* i, 26, 41, *urbem . . . delubris distinctam spatiisque communibus*. For this use of *distinctus*, cf. Ausonius, *Ordo Nobil. Urb.* xiv, 14.

things to be identical, or originally to have been so, is not apparent; but there is evidence that it had once been so. Either way the ‘place of meeting’ and the ‘shrine’ were equally essential to the ‘city,’ matters of the first importance.

That the form of the temple of Vesta was derived from that of the primitive hut is a truism of classical archaeology,¹ and the memory of the fact was preserved to the end in its more correct name of ‘Vesta’s house’ (*aedes Vestae*). The close association of the peculiar form with the most venerated of their divinities reflects the old-fashioned Romans’ deep-seated regard for the sanctity of the home²; but that the same circular plan was once of wider prevalence is proved by its still surviving in connexion with certain other odds and ends of the ‘elder faiths’ of that people, shreds of beliefs far antedating the later influences—Etruscan, Greek and others—which so quickly came to dominate Rome. The temple of Dea Diva in the Arval grove was circular. So was that of Semo Sancus. So was the *bidental*. Circular was also the cryptic pit, the *mundus*, which was in ritual—possibly at one period in actuality also—regarded as the centre of the city.³

Plutarch’s description⁴ of the procedure followed in marking out and consecrating the Romulean city is suggestive. The steps were four: first to send (to Etruria) for properly qualified persons to direct the ceremony ‘according to the written rule’; secondly to dig a circular pit (*mundus*)⁵; thirdly to demarcate by a

¹ Guhl and Koner (*Life of the Greeks and Romans*, 3rd ed. English trans., p. 319) say the suggestion was first made by Weiss. Round temples, says Servius (on *Aeneid* ix, 408), were usually dedicated to Vesta, Diana, Hercules and Mercury. Cf. Vitruvius iv, 8, 3.

² W. Warde Fowler speaks of such circular temples as *tholi*. *Roman Festivals*, p. 282: ‘The whole house certainly had a religious importance, like everything else in intimate relation to man . . . but the door and the hearth (Janus and Vesta) were of special importance, as the folk-lore of every people fully attests.’ Cf. Jacob Grimm: ‘What we conceive of as a house . . . passes, the further we go back into early times, into the idea of holy ground.’

The hearth was the altar to which the house was the temple. This is true both of Greeks and of Romans, and ‘in the more spacious (Greek) dwellings of a later age it was transferred . . . to a small private chapel, vaulted so as to resemble the *θόλος*, the dome-shaped *ἐστία* of the State’ (*Smith’s Dict. Class. Antiqs.*, i, 868a). Sir J. G. Frazer (*Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 1919) has a whole chapter upon the ‘Keepers of the Threshold.’

³ *Smith’s Dict. Class. Antiqs.* ii, 773 b., 787 a; Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, pp. 140, 211; Ovid, *Fasti* vi, 261, *sqq.*; Plutarch, *Romulus*, c. xi.

⁴ Plutarch, *l.c.*

⁵ It is customary to explain the *mundus* as symbolical of the city’s store-chamber.

plough-furrow¹ the line of the city's wall (*pomoerium*) around the *mundus* 'as it were a circle'; and fourthly to lift the plough and carry it bodily over the space where was to be a gateway. Thus there was no lawful means of entering or leaving save by the gates expressly provided, and the sufficient reason for the legendary death of Remus was that he had overleapt the sacred *limes*.² Plutarch may, as Russell Forbes maintains,³ have made a mistake in attributing to Romulus ceremonies which belonged to another date, and he is certainly wrong in saying that Romulus sent to Etruria for properly qualified persons to help him,⁴ but there is no question that he conceived of the Romulean city as circular, whereas the later *pomoerium* was rectangular approaching to square. Clearly there was a fusion of the rituals of two distinct races: the rectangular plan of *Roma Quadrata* was that of a people who conquered the older Latini. The sacred figure of the latter was the circle, and the original Rome was a circular ringwork⁵ on the *Mons Palatinus*. Tradition could recall others like it on the Quirinal, Capitoline and Janiculan⁶ hills. Under the influence of the conquering race, perhaps also of the later conquest by the Etruscans, the square superseded the circle, and the augural *templum*

It is true that Plutarch says (*Romulus*, xi) that there were cast into it 'the first-fruits of all things accounted good and necessary,' but he adds that each man cast into it also 'a little of the soil of his own land'; a ceremony which is strongly suggestive of a sepulchral origin and at once recalls the handful of dust which mourners still cast upon a dead man's coffin.

¹ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* v, 755, *Aeneas urbem designat aratro*. According to Plutarch the share was of bronze.

² ἀπαν τὸ τεῖχος ἱερὸν πλὴν τῶν πυλῶν νομίζουσι, Plut. *Romulus*, xi. Cf. *ibid.* *Quaest. Rom.* 27. Some barrows are provided with a 'gate' where the surrounding *limes* (fosse or other) is broken; later barrows commonly show no such 'gate.' Perhaps there is no significance in the fact beyond a mere advance in the artistic sense, but more probably it points to a change in the manner of regarding the ghost. Originally the ghost must be free to come and go, as in life, and was therefore provided with a 'gate.' Later arose the feeling that it were better the ghost should not wander, and the gate was closed.

³ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, Dec. 1917. He shows that the term *mundus* was applied in classical Rome to 'a circular ritualistic pit on the *Comitium* in the Forum Romanum, sacred to the deities of the underworld,' and opened thrice only in the year—24 Aug., 5 Oct., 8 Nov.—'to enable the shades of the departed to pass from the lower to the upper world.' There is, however, nothing to show that the older consecration-pit of the earlier Palatine city was not called by the same name. The *Comitium*, it will be recalled, included also the *lapis niger*, the founder's tomb.

⁴ Dion. Hal. (i, 88) seems to make the same mistake.

⁵ The old-fashioned derivations of *urbs* from the root seen in *orbis* (see Varro in Servius on *Aen.* i, 12) and of *πόλις* from that seen in *πόλιος*, seem to have been abandoned; but it is a fact that the original 'town' of Greeks, Latins, and Celts alike, was circular, as also that of the Saxons when it at last took coherent shape.

⁶ Dion. Hal. ii, 1; Vergil *Aen.* viii, 355-8, and scholiast thereon.

came to be normally of square plan¹; but there is abundant evidence that at one period the Roman people, or one element in that mixed people, had regarded the circle as the symbol of sanctity, exactly as did the Celts of Britain.

The entire settlement, large or small, was sacred, just as was each house composing it. This indeed is the reason given in Roman law for prohibiting all burials within the walls, viz., *ne sanctum municipiorum ius polluatur*.² Each settlement required to be stabilised by the relics of its founder and safeguarded by unfailing worship at his tomb; but no lesser and later mortal might claim the right of burial within its walls.³ It was not the least among the changes wrought by Christianity that it entirely reversed the latter rule, substituting for the monarchic isolation of the oecist the democratic equality of all the faithful dead, and for the symbolical virtues of the founder's tomb the visible and personal bond of the churchyard.

The accustomed terms 'hut-circle' and 'pit-dwelling' together sufficiently emphasise the two essential features of the native Celtic hut: it was circular in plan, and it was more or less sunk into the ground like a pit. The circularity would seem to have been to all intents invariable. The depth of the pit would vary with the situation and the character of the soil, but rarely is there to be found one of which the floor was the natural level of the ground. The materials necessarily varied with the locality: if stone was abundant, it was used to make at least the footings of the circular wall, and in some cases to raise the wall to a considerable height, or even (as in the case of the bee-

¹ Therefore a circular temple, its peculiar sanctity notwithstanding, could not be a *locus inauguratus*; and for this reason again it could not serve as a meeting place of the later Senate (Servius on *Aen.* vii, 153; Gellius xiv, 7). The facts again point to the grafting of a newer cult of the square upon the older cult of the circle; and all Roman tradition declares that the former, which belonged essentially to the augural science, was a late introduction, from Etruria or elsewhere.

² *Codex Justinianus* iii, 44.

³ Instances to the contrary are rare. At Tarentum an entire ward of the city

was occupied as a cemetery (Polyb. viii, 30), and Megara (cf. above, p. 61) allowed intramural burial to those who fell fighting the Persians (Pausan. ii, 43, 2, with Sir John Frazer's *Commentary*, vol. ii, p. 533). Such special exceptions were allowed even in Rome, but very rarely; Cic. *De Legg.* ii, 23. When the mob insisted (44 B.C.) on burning the body of Julius in the *forum*, it was to emphasise their regard for him as the second founder of the state, and as much entitled to divine honours as Romulus Quirinus himself. They therefore burnt it 'in the mids of the most holy places' (North's Plutarch, *Julius Caesar*).

hive huts of Cornwall and Devonshire, Wales, Scotland and Ireland) to complete the whole building. Where stone was not available, the ring-wall would be of turves, or of wicker-work plastered with clay, or even of planks,¹ and the roof covered with grass, straw, fern, reeds, turves, skins, or whatever material could be had, laid over poles or boughs, which were commonly driven into the footings and bent over to meet in the centre. Sometimes there was a centre-post, and if the hut was a large one this was necessary.² There would be countless variations of detail according to the builder's whim and the facilities at his disposal, but in respect of plan and elevation there was none save in the dimensions. The diameter varied from as little as 4 ft. to as much as 20 ft., or even more in the case of stone-built 'bee-hives'; the height must have varied in more or less close proportion inversely with the depth. A deep pit would require a less lofty wall and roof, a shallower pit demanded a higher roof. And always the ring-wall was breached at one point to provide a doorway. The hearth was frequently inside—a few flagstones, or their equivalent, laid on the floor of the hut, the smoke escaping through the roof or by the door. Some huts, provided with a sort of lobby beside the entrance, where was the hearth, show the growth of a taste for less vitiated air. Probably in most cases, when the weather allowed it, the cooking was done outside. Other indications of advancing refinement are to be seen in the provision of a sort of raised dais or sleeping-bunk at one side of the hut, in the occasional presence of rudimentary partition-walls, and in the provision of means for ensuring efficient drainage of the floor, a matter in which the builders shewed no mean degree of ingenuity and resource. The most usual method was to dig a small fosse all round the outside, exactly as is done to-day about a military tent.

¹ So says Strabo (σάβιδες), § 197, speaking of the Gauls.

² Strabo (§ 197) remarks upon the great thickness of the roofs, the size of the huts, and the domical shape. Evidently the conical roof was the striking feature of the whole, and in districts where there was no stone to make walls or footings, the roof probably sloped down to the very ground, so that there was very little else of the

hut to be seen. At a little distance the whole would resemble nothing so much as a mound of earth, a tumulus. This, says Tacitus (*Germ.* c. xvi), was just the appearance of the huts of some of the Germanic tribes. Parrot (*Journey to Ararat*, pp. 89-90) described the villages in the vicinity of Mt. Ararat as looking exactly like heaps of rubbish. This was in 1829, their inhabitants indifferently Christians and Muhammadans.

In a very few cases, in localities where stone was the material employed, the hut assumes a plan approximating to the rectangular, but this is always the exception, and probably due to some accident such as lack of room. A few such sub-rectangular huts are to be found within the Welsh hill-fortress of Tre'r Ceiri, Carnarvonshire, apparently of a late date.

The description doubtless sounds but comfortless to modern ears. There is no doubt at all that such huts were in reality very comfortable. English charcoal-burners build them to this day, and until the close of the nineteenth century they were in common use in many of the Scottish islands amongst the crofters, who found nothing to quarrel with in the lack of light or the smell of peat-smoke.¹ The Welsh hills are covered with the remains of such dwellings. They are usually styled 'Irishmen's huts' (*cytiau Gwyddelod*) and attributed to a remote antiquity. Some of them are very old, and without doubt others—the majority perhaps—are relatively modern; and there is nothing Irish about them beyond the fact that precisely the same kind of huts (*clochauns*) was built, indeed is still built, by the Irish also. It was built by all Celts, Goidelic and Brythonic, wherever they went.

Presented in the form of an architect's plan the typical Celtic hut would figure as a circular area (the pit, or sunken floor) surrounded by another circle (the wall); and if the drawing were accurate, this circle would be penannular, the break showing the position of the single doorway. If the artist wished further to show the presence of a surrounding drainage-trench, he would add another circle, likewise penannular, for the trench would be interrupted in front of the doorway.

Now it is a remarkable fact, noticed again and again by all the more careful students of barrows, that the sepulchral circle, especially when associated with the older types of barrows, *i.e.* with the 'bowl' and the 'bell,' is frequently interrupted at one point. The circle is penannular. Dr. Greenwell, remarking that he had always found this to be the case where the circle—fosse or wall or peristalith—was buried within the mass of the

¹ Mitchell, *Past in the Present*.

barrow, goes on to add that 'this incompleteness appears to be almost invariable in connexion with sepulchral circles.'¹ In the case of very large barrows or circles there may be two such breaks, but in some form or other the breach is always present.² It has no structural significance, and it cannot be explained as meant to secure drainage, seeing that it is frequently found in the form of a penannular wall or a peristalith, and that even when presented as a fosse, it is commonly buried under the mound. It cannot well be explained as a 'ghost-hedge' to keep the spirit of the dead man from wandering abroad, for in that case there would be no break at all. There being no means of explaining it otherwise we must suppose that it was a survival, the symbol of something which had once been a reality; and the only thing which it can be shown to resemble is the penannular ring of the hut-circle, the familiar dwelling wherein the dead man had lived his allotted days.

A surveyor's plan of the typical Celtic hut roofed and complete, would be identically the same as that representing a 'bowl' barrow. If the hut were provided with an external drainage-trench, the figure would be precisely that of a 'bell' barrow with its surrounding fosse. To show in his plan the position of the doorway, he would have no other means than by representing the wall and trench as penannular. Only the lettering at the foot of the drawing would tell whether it represented a barrow or a hut.

Waiving the mass of analogues presented by non-European peoples, it must suffice to cite that offered by the Bedawin Arabs of the Belka and of Sinai. These tribes show small concern for the general dead, making exception only of those whom they esteem as sheikhs or as 'saints.' Such are buried under circular cairns, or within ringworks of diameter ranging from a few feet to as much as 125 yards; and in its ultimate development the actual grave is covered

¹ *British Barrows*, p. 6. On p. 8 he has some conclusive remarks upon the possible explanation of the fact.

² That the penannular circle was symbolical seems to be proved by the fact that, when composed of isolated stones (a

peristalith), between one pair of such stones is always constructed a rough sort of dry wall, so that instead of an actually continuous circular wall breached at one point by an entrance-gap, we have a free-standing circle interrupted at one point by a solid wall (Greenwell, *loc. cit.*).

by a square domed chapel, the precise analogue of the rectangular church which was (and is) the final development of the circular burial-place in Britain. But what is here of most immediate interest is the fact that the most rudimentary of such Arab ringworks almost invariably shows a formal doorway in the fashion of a trilithon, though its lintel may be no more than a foot above the ground. As the smaller ringworks (diam. 6 ft. or so) are occasionally roofed over with poles and straw, it may at first sight be impossible to distinguish the graves of the dead from the huts of the living, or from the small circular rickles of stone in which the wandering tribes make their beds of reeds and grass. Yet so completely sacred are these slight enclosures that the Bedawin confidently leave within them their ploughs and other implements of agriculture when moving, possibly for many months, to their seasonal pasture-grounds elsewhere.¹

As has been said above, some barrows, despite the denudation of centuries, still preserve a remarkable steepness of outline, only to be explained on the assumption that they were, at the time of building, literally roofed with turves, exactly as were many of the huts they represented. Most of them have, however, naturally wasted considerably, but without doubt many of these 'bowls' and 'bells,' when first reared, bore in elevation a more than faint likeness to the huts themselves. There was, it must be remembered, no standard height for roofs in those days, the elevation varying not with the locality only and the geology, but also with the rank, resources, and energy of the individual. Some of the German tribes lived in underground dug-outs so deeply sunk as to give no clue to their whereabouts, the entrance being concealed under a heap of dung. If the denizens of such habitations were consistent, they must have buried their dead under grave-mounds of no more distinguished or distinguishable outline, and Tacitus declares that they did so.² It is reasonably certain that there were wide local differences even within the narrow limits of Britain.

¹ See Guy le Strange in Schumacher's *Beyond the Jordan* (1887), pp. 301, 312; Conder, *Heth and Moab, passim*; Merrill, *East of the Jordan* (1881), p. 183, etc.; *Geog. Journal*, 1868, p. 243.

² *Germania* c. xvi. Their barrows were mere mounds of turf (*sepulcrum caespes erigit*) of no great size, for 'they accounted a large mound no compliment to the dead' (*ibid.* c. xxvii).

As the individual hut, so the aggregation of huts which formed a village or a town reflected also the same circular plan, if with less precision. In Hod Hill Camp, Dorset, are still to be seen small and perfectly circular ringworks—shallow fosses and feeble valla—surrounding each the sites of one, two, or three circular huts. Scattered over the country wherever cultivation has spared them, and notably on the uplands of Cornwall, Wales, or other remote parts of the island, are larger circular *enceintes* enclosing the remains of circular dwellings, pits or ‘bee-hives.’ Some of these are by no means prehistoric, while others unquestionably are so. The British village on Rotherley Down, Cranborne Chase, has for nucleus a very regular circular precinct 120 ft. in diameter,¹ and like features are to be seen at Woodcuts, at Oakley Lane near Farnham, on South Tarrant Hinton Down, and indeed in most of the settlements of Dorsetshire. Strabo tells us that the British *oppidum* was a circular stockade enclosing a collection of temporary huts.² Plateau-forts of the largest kind, like Yarnbury in Wilts, are as a rule circular, and many a hill-top camp carries with it the suggestion of perfect circularity. The suggestion, it is true, is frequently deceptive, but that is usually due to the accidents of contour; and in the case of a British village, as it was impossible to enlarge the nucleus—the circular is the one geometrical figure which cannot be enlarged without destroying it—the additions made from time to time inevitably blurred, ultimately destroyed entirely, the original plan. In Ireland, where there survive more numerous and more perfect specimens of the Celtic settlement than in any other part of the British Isles, the strictly circular plan is so predominant that any other is the exception. Thus just as the ‘bowl’ and ‘bell’ reproduce the individual hut, so the wider spread of the ‘disc’

¹ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, ii, 51.

² Strabo, § 200. His remark that the settlement, and therefore the huts, were but temporary is important. The Celtic hut was not designed apparently to last long, unless indeed it were of stone. Compare what Giraldus Cambrensis says (*Description of Wales*, i, 17) of the huts of the Welsh as late as the twelfth century. To-day one

thinks of a dwelling as something fairly solid and durable, but as late as the seventeenth century the general run of English dwellings, even in the towns, could be pulled down with fire-hooks. There are still certain rights attaching by law to the person who can run up a dwelling between sunset and sunrise. The thing can yet be done—if one refrains from calling in a builder or consulting a County Council.

reproduces the family settlement of several huts, and the ringwork with its two or three contained grave-mounds is the model in earth of the great man's *rath* and its attendant *clochauns*. The familiar Irish type of cemetery called a *killeen*, with its promiscuous graves, may be regarded as carrying the analogy a step further and representing the communal *rath*. It belongs to a time when even the humblest member of the tribe claimed the right of burial in the cemetery of his fellows. The circular graveyards of so many churches of this England of to-day conserve and perpetuate the same tradition of things as they were in the far-off Celtic days. The advent of the building which we call a church, the activities of generations of builders within and of local boards without, the whims of parsons and churchwardens *soi-disant*, the needs of parishes, have conspired to alter, to disguise, and to destroy, the pristine plan of the burial-ground; but wherever there survives a circular churchyard, it is still the time-worn relative of the least considered ‘bowl’ upon Salisbury Plain, and of those superbly perfect ‘discs’ that lie almost unknown upon the turf of Oakley Down.

The sepulchral circle of free-standing stones has obviously the same significance as the circular *limes* in any other form. Like the fosse and the vallum it marked holy ground, and its occurrence actually within the mass of the barrow (p. 261) proves that this also was symbolical. In the instances observed by Dr. Greenwell one of the inter-spaces was invariably walled up; later, when it was developed into an independent sepulchral monument, this detail was omitted, and it became a regular circle, a cromlech. Sir William Boyd Dawkins declares that it ‘sprang originally from the stones placed round the base of the circular hut.’¹ It certainly symbolised the hut. But both the free-standing circle and the disc-barrow exhibit an advance upon the older penannular fosse. They appear to belong to a later age when, as remarked above, the feeling towards the spirit of the dead had changed and the chief purpose present to the mind of the builders was to keep the ghost in. Such was the supposed virtue of the circle through the subsequent ages, and presumably

¹ *Early Man in Britain*, p. 377.

it was an inherited belief. There is, however, little profit to be got of the supposed workings of other men's minds, least of all when the other men are two thousand years removed in time. Very possibly the omission of the symbolical break in the ring is to be explained as merely the result of conventionalism. Even symbols have their evolution, and their last form is frequently something very unlike the first. There remains the certain fact that the sacred symbol of Celtism, originally the penannular circle, came presently to be the complete circle, and has so remained as the magic circle of astrology down to modern times.

Those various circular natural objects—*echini*, shells of various sorts,¹ and pebbles of flat or spherical form—which are so constantly found in the graves of the dead, are merely so many symbols of the same prehistoric hut. In the cases of the 'shepherd's crown' and of the common limpet-shell the resemblance is strikingly close. Less obvious cases are readily explained: symbolism rapidly declines from strict resemblance, and where 'shepherd's crowns' and limpets were not obtainable, humanity would make shift with something else that was but remotely similar. Commonly the pebbles are not white, but sometimes white quartz was chosen; and as they are found in unquestionably pagan graves, so also are they found with Christian interments.²

It was the ground-plan of the primitive hut again which gave rise to the puzzling figures known, according to the more or less complexity of their design, as cup-markings or cup-and-ring markings. In their simplest form these are mere circular cups, rarely more than 2 or

¹ In some parts of Brittany it is still customary to decorate a grave with shells of *H. Nemoralis* and *H. Hortensis*, a practice quite distinct from that of covering a grave with white shells, as e.g. in Wales. In Belgium, says Edward Lovett, the shells of *H. Pomatia* and *H. Aspersa*, filled with oil, are sometimes set upon graves, and left burning as lamps, 'to keep away evil spirits.'

² See on this matter Evans' *Ancient Stone Implements*, 2nd ed., pp. 467-8. He cites from *Arch. Camb.* 3d. ser., vii, 91, the finding of many skeletons, each accompanied by a white pebble, in the churchyard of

Penmynydd, Anglesey, remarking 'it is doubtful whether the bones were of Christians or not.' If they were Christians, how came they to be accompanied by the pagan symbol? and if they were not Christians, how came they to be buried in what is now a Christian churchyard? It has been suggested that Holy Church found excuse for this bit of paganism in the text of *Revelation*, ii, 17. The fishermen in many Celtic areas decline to have a white pebble in their boats, just as English sailors refuse to carry a corpse, and for the same reason.

2½ inches in diameter, sunk into the surface of rocks or stones. To this central cup may be added one or two or even more concentric rings, similarly sunk into the stone as circular grooves; and the figure is completed by the addition of a rectilineal groove drawn like the radius of the circle from the centre across the whole series of rings, and projected a few inches beyond. Sometimes this radial line is formed of two closely parallel grooves; and a final elaboration shows these connected by short transverse grooves, so that the whole figure might suggest a Lilliputian ladder giving access to the bull's eye of a (proportionately) Brobdingnagian target. What it actually represents is the circular hut: the central cup is the pit, the concentric rings are the wall and possibly the drainage-trench, and the radial line is the path of entrance¹ breaching the trench and the wall. The whole is precisely what the plan of the typical hut would come to if reduced to a symbol, and as would be expected, it shows on the other hand an over-elaboration with three, four or even five concentric rings, and on the other hand the irreducible minimum of the cup alone. It is to be noticed that, while the rings are multiplied according to the artist's fancy about the single cup-mark, there appears to be no example of several cups within one common enclosing ring.

Some English authorities, Greenwell amongst them, have regarded the designs as representing 'camps.' Dr. Graves believed the Irish examples to represent the typical national *rath*, and when found in groups, he believed those to be intended as charts of the various *raths* in the vicinity. A gamekeeper on the moors about Ilkley, Yorks., where there are many stones having the cup-and-ring marks, fancied them to have been 'intended for some sort of guide-post,' and actually so used them in training his underkeepers.² This was merely a coincidence, if a curious one. They were undoubtedly sign-posts of a kind, but all that they signified was the proximity of a grave or graves. It has been shown that the same *motif* underlay all the

¹ Or possibly the actual ladder which must frequently have provided means of access to the deeper pit-dwellings, such for example as those of Fisherton near Salisbury.

² Information of the late G. G. T. Treherne.

various forms of barrows from the first 'bowl' to the last 'disc,' and it is a fact that these carvings, be they simple or elaborate, are constantly found in the closest association with burials.¹ It is therefore no far-fetched suggestion that both the plan of the barrow and the design of the cup-and-ring markings had one and the same meaning, and denoted the proximity of a grave, a dead man's 'home.' That the marks occur in many cases where no burial has yet been found or recorded is no disproof. That it occurs in very many cases actually within the grave, as for example upon the covering slabs of cists, is very strong evidence indeed for its sepulchral significance. A barrow in Cleveland, Yorks, yielded no less than 150 several stones bearing cup-markings, and another near Saltburn in the same region² produced 24 such stones in association with two interments, as well as a great slab, apparently not covering any grave, decorated with 20 cup-marks and 5 cup-and-ring designs.³ A large number of such stones has been found again upon an Aberdeenshire site in close proximity to an extensive Celtic cemetery and a considerable 'village.'⁴ The marks are found upon the top and the side of the 'altar-stone' of a circle at

¹ In a barrow on Came Down, Dorset (Warne, *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, p. 37); in a barrow at Ford, Northumb. (Greenwell, *British Barrows*, p. 408), and in another at Kirk Whelpington (*ibid.* p. 433); in the barrow at Warren, Pembroke, associated with a Christian symbol (below, ch. xx). Examples showing multiple concentric rings are almost confined to Great Britain, Ireland, and Sweden. See Tate, *Anc. Brit. Sculptured Rocks of Northumberland* (1865); Sir J. Y. Simpson, *Archaic Sculpturings* (1867); and various articles in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1881, 1882; *Journal R.S. Antiq. Ireland* (iv, 349; v, 16, 195; vii, 28); *Journal Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 1881, 1882. For cases of its occurrence in conjunction with Christian symbols, see Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art*, pp. 58-60. The last-named writer endorses the view that the markings are more probably symbolical than decorative.

² The majority of English examples are from the northern counties.

³ W. Hornsby and R. Stanton in *Yorks. Arch. Journal* (1917), p. 267. The writers ventured the suggestion that such cup-marked stones may have been 'akin to our memorial wreaths . . . sent in from the

neighbourhood as tokens of respect.' This suggestion, which had been previously made by G. Rome Hall (*Arch. Aeliana*, 2d. ser., xii, 279), in no wise contradicts that advanced by the present writer, while it suggests further a new, and very probable, origin for the form of the funeral wreath.

⁴ Rev. F. Gordon in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 2d. ser., x. Other examples at New Deer, in an oval grave, and at Fyvie (one upon the covering-slab of a cist and another upon a stone used in building up the end of the grave; see *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1913-14, pp. 191-2); yet another at Old Rayne (*ibid.* xli, 126). All these are in Aberdeenshire. Near Grantully in Perthshire, at Clochfoldich, is a single stone bearing 52 plain cup-marks, and at three different localities in the same county occur single stones each bearing 13 such marks (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1910-11, p. 49). The numbers are curious, 13 being the quarter of 52, and the latter the number of weeks in a lunar year of 13 months. Whether the numbers bear any relation to the traditional monthly sacrifices to the new moon (Hector Boece, *Chronicles*, ii, 3) must be matter of opinion, for at present it is certainly not matter of proof.

Rothiemay in Banffshire.¹ That the cup-and-ring mark is as old as the early Bronze Age is held to be proved by its being found in barrows attributed to that age.² It is to be seen (a cup with two concentric rings) carved upon the two lower corners of a Roman sepulchral tablet found at Birrens in Annandale³; two slabs at Cilurnum bear as many as 10 and 5 cups respectively.⁴ That it continued to be in use until early Christian times is proved by its being found associated with the wheeled cross, as at Warren in Pembrokeshire, carved upon the shafts of sepulchral crosses at Mylor in Cornwall and at Lonan in Isle of Man,⁵ and associated with the Christian cross upon Merovingian sarcophagi at Poitiers. This explains the fact that stones bearing the symbol have been deliberately built into the walls of Christian churches,⁶ which proves that the memory of the symbol's meaning was still green at a date approaching A.D. 1000. In Aberdeenshire occur cup-marks arranged with purposed exactitude in the form of the Latin cross.⁷

Very much the same conclusion is that of W. Paley Baildon,⁸ who sees in these markings the equivalent of the ghost-houses and hut-urns which are a feature of the burial-furniture of many peoples. He does not, however, carry out the analysis of the designs to the logical conclusion, and he would see in the ladder-like *motif* of some of them a reference to the hill-side terraces (lynchets) upon which the dead man may have lived.

In Wakeman's *Survey of Inismurray* are given several illustrations of very early slabs, altar-stones and others,

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxxvii, 136. In *ibid.* xl, p. 206, it is said that such marks had to date (1906) been found upon the stones of twelve Scottish circles.

² *V.C.H. Yorks*, i, p. 381. There is no reason to doubt that it is very old, quite possibly of the date asserted; but in the present writer's opinion that assertion is based upon insufficient premisses, because we cannot be sure of the age of the barrows. See Appendix A.

³ Wilson, *Prehist. Ann. Scotland*, p. 400.

⁴ *Arch. Aeliana*, 2d. ser., xv, 43.

⁵ *Reliquary*, 1896, p. 113. This was a wheeled cross, and the cup-mark has a deep radial process.

⁶ Boyd Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*,

p. 339. The examples he cites are from Switzerland, Prussia and Scandinavia. There were no churches built in Scandinavia until the tenth century at the earliest (see ch. xxviii), and probably none of stone until much later, while in Prussia things were if anything later still.

⁷ Bishop Browne, *Antiquities in Neighbourhood of Dunecbt*, p. 165.

⁸ *Archaeologia*, lxi, pp. 361, *sqq.* He reviews the various theories which have been advanced by others, and cites the finding of some 150 'soul-houses,' clay models of actual houses and their appointments, in Egyptian graves of vi, x-xii dynasties at Rifeh (Flinders Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 1907).

bearing the Christian symbol, and whoso chooses may see therein various suggestions of the fusion of the pre-Christian motive of the cup-and-ring with the Christian sign of the cross. Two of the designs are here reproduced (fig. 4). The one figure shows a cross of four arms, the extremities of which are splayed into circular form, each having a cup-mark in the centre; the

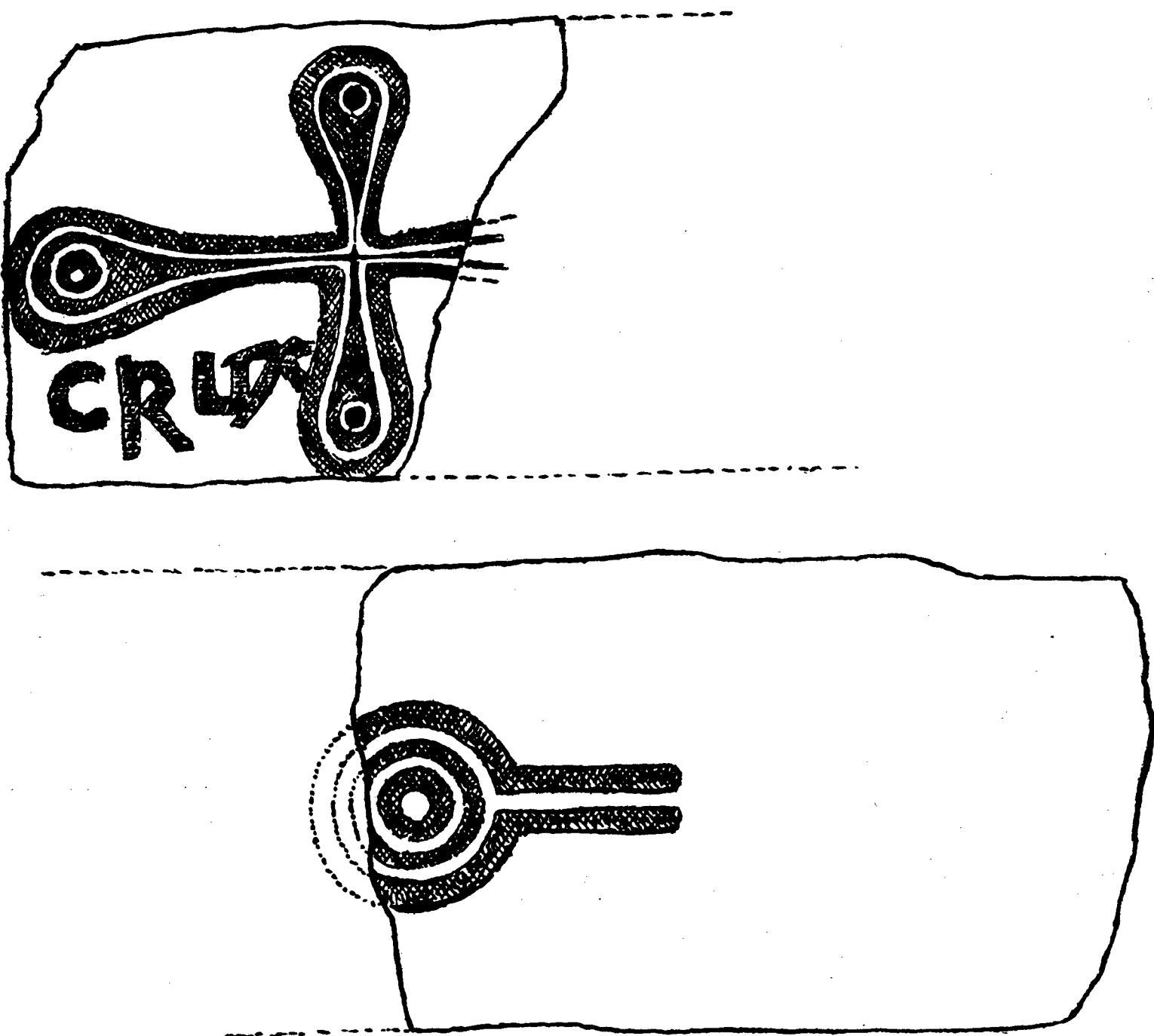


FIG. 4. ALTAR-SLABS AT INISMURRAY.
(After W. F. Wakeman.)

whole being made up as it were of four identical cup-and-ring marks conjoined at the gorges.¹ The other, on an altar-slab in the Teach Molaise, apparently the oldest Christian building on the site, shows the pre-Christian symbol only, viz., the cup-mark surrounded first by a con-

¹ 'A small central ring with two larger concentric ones is placed at the intersection of the arms of a cross on a sepulchral slab found at St. Peter's, Jersey.' W. Paley

Baildon in *Archaeologia*, lxi, 379, citing Cutts, *Manual of Sepulchral Slabs and Crosses*, pl. viii.

tinuous ring, and that again by a penannular ring, its extremities produced to form the usual radial lines; but the small size of the slab precludes the suggestion that in this case the symbol was intended to be completed in a cross and was accidentally left unfinished. One surmises that in Ireland, as in Scandinavia and Prussia, the meaning of the symbol was long remembered, and that its appearance upon a Christian altar-slab had direct reference to the relics without which no altar was felt to be complete.

The feeling which prompted early peoples to fashion the graves of their dead actually or symbolically after the pattern of the homes of the living, was so wide-spread and so deep-rooted that it would be matter of wonder if it were not traceable even in Christianity. In effect it has furnished our churches with many of their most exquisite pieces of artistry. Speaking of St. Chad, who died in 672 at his 'stow' by Lichfield, Bede relates that he was at first buried 'near the church of St. Mary' at Lichfield, his monastery and his episcopal see; 'but soon after, when the church of the blessed chief of the Apostles St. Peter was completed on the same spot, his bones were translated thereto. . . The place of his burial is a tomb fashioned of wood in the form of a little house with an opening in the wall'¹ through which the devotee might pass an arm to reach a little of the holy dust, or to take a very solemn vow.² The 'little house' was intended without doubt to represent the small rectangular building, *oratorium* or *habitaculum* or both, in which Chad, like all his colleagues of the Scotie *regula*, aspired to spend at any rate the closing days of his life and in which he wished ultimately to be buried. The larger ambition of later times substituted stone for wood, and glorified the once modest structure with all that medieval faith and skill could do in the way of fretted tracery and crocketed canopies; but to the last these 'shrines' or 'chantries' retained the rectangular

¹ H.E. iv, iii, §265. The S.V. has *is ofer his byrgenne stowe treowgeweorc on gelicnesse medmicles hus geworht*. . . *thonne is on thaem medmicel thyrel geworht*. On the word *stowe*, see below, ch. xxiv.

² Cf. *Life of St. Cadoc* (Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, 1853), c. 33, of the saint's *cenobium* at Bannawc. In the *porticus* of

it were buried three of his disciples in *busta marmorea*, and *nullus audet sarcophagos inspicere, nisi caelebs aut virgo, seu ordinatus*; but 'there was an aperture in the wall of the *porticus*, so that great persons, kings and notables of the vicinity, if any dispute had arisen, might lay their hands thereon (on the *busta*) and so take oath.'

form, sometimes the pitched roof, the single door, and commonly the window of the primitive oratory, until in post-Reformation times Italian influence introduced the type of the *baldacchino* and finally the uncanopied portrait-tomb of modern times.

In Ireland the faith and the practice of men are still very much as they were in Bede's England. 'At Bovevagh, near Dungiven, co. Londonderry, there is in the church-yard a little building like a tiny stone-roofed Irish church; its length is about 9 ft., its breadth is 6ft. 6 in., its height a little more than 7 ft. Its stone roof is much ruined on the south; on the north about half of it is formed of two large slabs. It has a hole at the west end . . . probably made to get at the holy dust in the saint's tomb . . . At Banagher . . . the tomb of St. Muiredhach O'Heney is of similar form, but more elaborate. It is like a miniature stone-roofed church.'¹ Here the virtues of the dead are believed to extend beyond the limits of his tomb, for a handful of the sand gathered from the ground near the tomb, if thrown upon a passing horse in a race, is believed to ensure its winning.²

The 'coped' tombstones still to be seen in many English churchyards are the direct descendants of the tomb-houses of earlier days, and both are the outcome of the feeling which prompted the pagan Celt to shape his barrow on the model of his hut. Originally the coped tomb reproduced merely the plain pent-roof of the contemporary dwelling. Presently this was embellished with a carven cross, the apex of the roof as shaft and the arms merely chiselled upon the sloping sides of the stone. The final development, in which the arms were raised to the same plane as the shaft, produced a tomb-stone in the form of a transeptal roof.

Sometimes the tomb was provided with an aperture big enough to allow of the pilgrim's entering it with more or less effort. 'The Irish peasants of the early part of this (nineteenth) century, and still perhaps in some places, crawl on their hands and knees into the little shrines, such as that of St. Declan (at Ardmore), and after having lain on the bare ground carry away some of the blessed

¹ Champneys, *Irish Eccles. Arch.*, p. 108.

² Murray's *Ireland*, p. 113.

clay, which is supposed to contain the relics of the dead.'¹ In Cornwall in quite recent times it was believed that epilepsy could be cured by the patient's crawling underneath the altar.² Similar practices are traceable in Wales. At Llangeler, Carmarthenshire, for example, infirm persons used to lie and sleep in the grave of the saint (St. Celer), 'deeper than any grave our sexton hath digged hitherto.'³

The hole in the side of the shrine or tomb at once recalls those to be seen in many dolmens. Possibly this had its origin in the same beliefs as produced the gap in the penannular ring, and the ghost-windows of Egyptian tombs and Chinese coffin-houses⁴; and possibly the later sentiment which led men to wish to finger a dead man's dust⁵ was grafted upon the older practice of providing the ghost with the means of egress and ingress. But seeing that the building of dolmens continued until some long time after the establishment of Christianity,⁶ one is led to doubt whether the two practices, and the states of mind which prompted them, were separated by any such vast length of time as is commonly believed—whether holed dolmens are necessarily as old as they are said to be. The attempt to explain such apertures as part of an astronomical use of dolmens is least of all convincing, and Christianity providing an indisputable and perfectly adequate analogy, it is safer to believe that the purpose of the holed dolmen and of the holed shrine was the same. If so, there was a period when dolmen and shrine overlapped, which means that some of the dolmens, holed or otherwise, are of a

¹ Borlase, *Dolmens of Ireland*, p. 709. Rev. J. W. Hayes has drawn my attention to a passage in Pausanias (ix, 17, 4), where it is said that the people of Tithorea in Phocis were in the habit of stealing soil from the grave-mound of the Thebans Zethus and Amphion, 'for if they do so, and put the soil on the tomb of Antiope (in Phocis), their own land gains in fertility, while that of the Thebans loses.' Herein, he suggests, may be found a reason for the denudation of some dolmens and the immense size of other grave-mounds.

² Andrew, *Antiqs. and Curiosities of the Church*, p. 237.

³ *Inventory Carmarthenshire*, no. 473, citing from Lhwyd's *Parochialia*, iii, 76. It would seem that the grave, originally outside the rectangular church, has been

included within a chapel attached to the south wall of the building.

⁴ Another theory is that it served for the passing of food into the tomb, as was certainly done in ancient Greece and Rome, and still is done by certain Indian tribes of North America. The roof-slab of one of the cist-burials in the Aylesford urn-field was thus perforated; *Archaeologia*, lii (1898), p. 326.

⁵ In the church of Ste. Radegonde at Poitiers, for example, one may to-day see a crowd of devotees quietly wiping the dust from the saint's sarcophagus as they pass round it in its crypt, and thereafter deliberately transferring the dust to their own faces.

⁶ For examples, see below, ch. xviii.

date very much later than popular sentiment would wish to believe. It is this sentiment which chiefly stands in the way of an impartial estimate of the evidence, for there is no obvious reason why the same veneration for a great man's dust which is illustrated by the cases of St. Chad and St. Declan, should not have prevailed at any earlier date. In sober truth it was likely to be more prevalent then than later.