NENNIUS'S CHRONOLOGICAL CHAPTER

Mr A. O. ANDERSON has sent us the following extract from an unpublished work of his on 'Materials for the History of North Britain in the Fifth Century':---

HISTORIA BRITTONUM, chapter 66 (translated from the text in MONUMENTA GERMANIAE HISTORICA, AUCTORES ANTIQUISSIMI, XIII, 209).

From the world's beginning to Constantinus and Rufus [A.D. 457], 5658 years are found (1).

Also from the two Gemini, Rufus and Rubelius [29], to the consulate of Stilitio [400], are 373 years (2).

Also from Stillitio to Valentinianus, son of Placida, and the kingdom of Guorthigirnus, 28 years (3).

And from the kingdom of Guorthigirnus to the quarrel of Guitolinus and Ambrosius are 12 years; which is *Guoloppum*, that is, *Catguoloph* (4). And Guorthigirnus held empire in Britain when Theodosius and Valentinianus were consuls (5); and in the fourth year of his reign the Saxons came to Britain, when Felix and Taurus were consuls [428], in the 400th year from the Incarnation of our Lord, Jesus Christ (6).

From the year in which the Saxons came to Britain and were received by Guorthigirnus, down to Decius and Valerianus, are 69 years (7).

NOTES

1. reperiuntur; in Victorius, referentur. 5658 A.M. = A.D. 457. This calculation is taken from some copy of Victorius of Aquitaine's Cursus Paschalis (M.G.H., Auctores, IX, 682), which was published to take effect from A.D. 457.

2. This means that Stilicho was consul in 373 A.P. (Victorius) = A.D. 400, and is correct. The consulate of Rufus and Rubelius (in reality A.D. 29; but a year earlier, according to Victorius) was the year accepted by Victorius as the year of Christ's crucifixion. The calculation in the text was taken through Victorius from Prosper, and

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also from Sulpicius Severus's History, II, 27 (Patrologia Latina, book xx, 144).

3. From the consulate of Stilicho (A.D. 400) to the reign of Valentinianus and Placidia (A.D. 425) are 25, not 28, years. This is a calculation, made in connexion with the *Historia Brittonum* extracts from a *Liber S. Germani*, of the date of Germanus's visit to Britain; it is no doubt derived from Prosper, who places the visit in A.D. 429. As it stands, the calculation in the text would make Valentinianus and Vortigern begin to reign in 428; but that is probably intended for the year of the visit of Germanus; especially if the date given below of Vortigern's accession (425) was entered by the same writer. The Lives of Germanus say that Germanus (\uparrow 448), on his second visit, left Britain after the death of Vortigern (\uparrow 446×), and died in the reign of Valentinianus III (\uparrow 455) and Placidia (\uparrow 450): but it is not there stated that Vortigern reigned in Britain at the time of Germanus's first visit.

4. This is derived from some Welsh source, now lost. The word *Guoloppum* (erroneously *Guoloppuni*, in Harleian Ms. 3859, fo. 189 verso) probably means ' at the villages of Wallop ', on the Hampshire river Wallop; *Catguoloph*, ' the battle of Wallop '. See O. G. S. Crawford, in ANTIQUITY, v, 236-8.*

5. This statement that Vortigern began to reign in the consulate of Theodosius and Valentinianus (A.D. 425) is derived from the statement in chapter 29 of *Historia Brittonum* that the previous ruler in Britain, Maximus, was killed by those *consuls*; a statement erroneously derived from Prosper of Aquitaine, who says that Maximus was killed during the reign of the *emperors* Theodosius and Valentinianus (A.D. 379-391).

6. By 'the fourth year' of Vortigern, A.D. 428-9 is meant: Felix and Taurus were consuls in 428. For the 'Incarnation' we must certainly read 'Passion'; and Mr Anscombe says that most MSS. have '401st'. 401 A.P. (Victorius) = A.D. 428. But the writer of this chapter 66 seems to have placed both the arrival of the Saxons

^{*}Since Mr Anderson's note was in print, I have discovered another Wallop in Shropshire. It is not unlikely that this may have been the original name of the river Rea, rising northeast of Montgomery and joining the Severn near Shrewsbury. Further research is required here to discover early forms and the precise attribution of the name.-O.G.S.C.

and the visit of Germanus in the one year, A.D. 428. This is a deduction from the *Liber S. Germani*, and has no independent authority.

7. 69 years after 428 would bring us to A.D. 497; Decius was consul in A.D. 486. There is therefore some textual error, which would no doubt be explained if we found the source from which this calculation is derived.

According to De Rossi, Paulinus, the consul of 498, was a Decius (*Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae*, 1, 493; cf. Mommsen, Auctores, XII, 495, s.v. Inportunus). De Rossi based this assertion upon the Letters of Cassiodorus. The more probable explanation of the text is that there is an error in the numbers of the calculation. For 'to Decius and Valerianus' we must read 'to Decius', with Gutschmid and Mommsen; and for 69, perhaps 59 years.

Chapter 66 of the *Historia Brittonum* is a collection of quotations and deductions drawn from known and unknown sources. It has no original value for the date of Vortigern's reign, or for the date of the arrival of the Saxons.

Immediately after the passage translated above, and before Nennius's 'Marvels of Britain', the 'Annales Cambriae' and Welsh pedigrees are entered in Harleian Ms. 3859, fos. 193-5 verso.

RECENT DISCOVERIES IN SHETLAND

At the extreme southern end of Shetland, and on the western coastline of the low-lying isthmus that links the Ness or headland of Sumburgh to the mainland, there was discovered some 25 years ago a group of prehistoric ruins that centred round a broch, to which the bulk of them were secondary. A large part of the group was thoroughly explored at the time by the proprietor, the late Mr Bruce of Sumburgh, but progress was hampered by the existence of a ruined dwelling having no great antiquity, but over which Sir Walter Scott had cast a glamour, bestowing on it the fictitious name of Jarlshof. The various remains on the site having been handed over to the care of H.M. Office of Works, it was decided to make a further exploration. The supervision was entrusted to Mr A. O. Curle, F.S.A., and results of particular interest were obtained last summer in the limited period during which the excavation was carried on. At a distance of some 50 yards inland from the sea, and in rear of the secondary buildings above referred to, there was found a dwelling sunk as regards its floor level to a depth of 6 feet at shallowest below present surface, and some 5 feet below the ground



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level of its epoch, with walls formed of flat unhewn sea-worn boulders still standing to a height all round of from 3 to 4 feet. The exploration of the interior was complete up to the inner end of the entrance passage, and revealed a house measuring some 18 by 20 feet in length and breadth, consisting of a main chamber, or hall some 12 feet long, out of which there opened two large chambers and three cells of which the hall and two cells were carefully paved. One of the larger chambers had been used as a cook-house for in it were found the hearth, food refuse, bones of domestic animals, of birds and of fish, cereal grains, portions of saddle querns and rubbers. The bulk of the remains found disclosed a neolithic culture, rude stone axes, saws of slate, scrapers of white quartz, and adzes of bone; but the discovery of a number of fragments of clay moulds for casting bronze implements, among which pieces of moulds for a sword and a bronze socketed axe are recognizable, show that the period of the occupation is clearly of the Bronze Age. The significance of this discovery is marked by the fact that the record of bronze in Shetland is confined to one object, a spear-head. An interim account of the excavation has already been communicated to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and it is hoped, if funds permit, that the work may be continued next summer.

THE PLETTENBERG SKULL

Dr L. H. DUDLEY BUXTON writes :---

'The recent discoveries of early man and of his artifacts in South Africa have excited considerable scientific interest, and recently we have had the opportunity of examining various skulls and a long series of beautiful photographs of existing racial types from that region in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in Wigmore street, London. Professor Drennan, who has done so much to further these studies, now reports a new skull from Plettenberg Bay, about 300 miles east of Cape Town. No data are at present available as to the age of this interesting specimen, and details of its exact character are lacking. It appears however to be remarkable for its extremely large size—a characteristic, it will be remembered, of the Boskop skull-and to be remarkably different from the Bushmen, who are notably small brained. Professor Drennan is of opinion that this large size is due to the retention of foetal characters in the adult, and that the skull represents a forerunner of the Bushman, and shows how man has arisen from a lower form. Without further details it is difficult to discuss critically Professor Drennan's most interesting theory. The position of the Bushmen is a

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problem of considerable difficulty. In some ways they are noticeably different from the other races of man; presumably they originated in South Africa. Sir Arthur Keith has drawn attention to the affinities of the Boskop type—to which as far as one can gather from the scanty details this new skull belonged—with the Bushman–Hottentot type, but differing from them in having large brains. It is not improbable that we are actually dealing with a type that is akin to the ancestral type of man, although already specialized in the Bushman direction. The actual mechanism of evolution must be considered uncertain, and therefore the publication of Professor Drennan's detailed studies will be awaited with particular interest'.

THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN

Miss CAROLINE RYLEY writes :—It has always seemed to me that arguments for the antiquity of Man have been based too exclusively upon 'finds', and too little upon other, possibly equally cogent, considerations. The conclusion has been forced upon me that the dating based upon finds cannot possibly explain the equally wellestablished facts of distribution.

The first, and fundamental, hypothesis that I would like to put forward is, that most of the 'finds' of sub-Man himself are not, as has been implicitly assumed, representative of the period to which they belong, but survivals from an earlier time. Almost a corollary to this is the hypothesis that the locality in which they have been found was, so to speak, a 'back-water' region of their own timethis fact helping to explain the reason for their survival both in their lifetime, and, as fragmentary remains, to this day; the more progressive regions having ousted them in their day, and swept away their remains in the more active life that followed. Colour is, incidentally, lent to these time-hypotheses by the 'marginal' character of the localities in which were discovered the remains of *Pithecanthropus* and *Sinanthropus* respectively. Such marginal regions might well allow an out-of-date form of life to survive while the rest of the world was (comparatively speaking) hustling forward; and allow their remains to lie undisturbed until the changes due to lapse of time themselves would aid in the work of permanent preservation.

To regard *Pithecanthropus*, say, as a survival rather than as representative of his age would help to explain an otherwise inexplicable fact of the widespread distribution, during the Ice Ages, of a 'man'

(whether sub-Man or *Homo sapiens*) intelligent enough for the Chellean and Acheulean cultures.

There would seem to be grounds of distribution and differentiation for the assumption that the work of the Chellean and Acheulean periods was that, not of sub-Man, but of Homo sapiens himself. . . . For Homo sapiens, at the close of the Ice Ages, is not only 'evolved', and in possession of a strictly limited field-he is widely distributed over areas which have been barricaded off from each other for the greater part, if not the whole, of the Ice Ages. Not only this, but he has been long enough in existence to have evolved physical types, or 'races', of which the fundamental characteristics are so deeply rooted as to be permanent-or at least to have survived until now. Upon what hypothesis can this world-wide distribution of Homo sapiens at the close of the Ice Ages-this deeply marked differentiation into races-be explained, if not by the assumption that, at the opening of the Ice Ages, Homo sapiens was not only already in existence, but already distributed over areas which, in the Ice Ages, became almost impassably separated from each other (thereby giving the conditions for differentiation)?

As to where the emergence took place, and where was the centre of radiation-that is an entirely different matter. Judging from the facts of distribution, one would expect it to be fairly central as regards the 'Old World '---one whence a distribution and a growing differenti-ation could be carried on in Europe, Asia, and Africa, more or less pari passu'. Judging from established facts of later developments (especially those concerned with the emergence of civilization from a mere food-producing stage) one would expect the evolution from sub-Man to have taken place under conditions which were at the same time stimulating (or 'urgent') and encouraging-such conditions as may perhaps be roughly approximated to those of our present-day 'Warm Belt'.* Possibly the Chellean and Acheulean artifacts are those of *Homo sapiens* in situ (though not delimiting his distribution); forced southwards and sunwards by recurring Ice Ages, but returning in the warm interludes of which the so-called 'Post Glacial' may be one. In this later 'Warm Stage' he would, however, find his more congenial habitat somewhat further south than formerly—*i.e.*, in the Mediterranean and similar regions. Though adapting himself also to harder conditions in a colder clime, here would, and did (?), take place, his

^{*} The later developments have been worked out in detail, but quite independently, by De Geer ('The subtropical belt of Old World Empires', see pp. 118-20, post.)—ED.

evolution of the food-producing stage of culture, and of that more properly called civilizations.

The conditions of the 'Warm Belt' have always, as far as facts can be established, been conducive to 'progress' properly so called. To it belong, probably, the emergence of man from the 'savage' stage of a dependence upon wild 'nature'. To it belong, certainly, the first perfecting of beautiful handicrafts, the first shaping of efficient tools in metal, the first reliance on acknowledged law, the first architecture, art, literature; the first conception of spiritual religion. The great achievements of the Greeks and, later, of the Lombards, were those of a race with the physical and mental robustness of cooler climes plunged into the opportunities of a civilization evolved in warmer regions (now grown too warm for the maintenance of an effectively progressive physical type). The achievements of early modern 'Western' Europe are those of the same Northern races enkindled by (mental) contact with the South, through the Renaissance.

Possibly those conditions which have produced the most notable established facts of human progress, were those also of the emergence of humanity itself—of *Homo sapiens*.

However this may be—and wherever this emergence may finally be located—there is surely some solid ground, on the known facts of distribution and of differentiation, for the following hypotheses as regards the *time* of the emergence:—that the discovered remains of sub-Man are those of forlorn survivors of an otherwise already extinct type of *hominides*; and that humanity proper, *Homo sapiens*, had not only emerged, but was fairly widely distributed in the Northern Hemisphere before the oncoming of the Ice Ages.

NEOLITHIC POTTERY

It is only within living memory that British neolithic pottery was recognized, but our knowledge of it since then has increased rapidly. The following is a summary of a recent lecture by Professor Gordon Childe. It first appeared in *The Times* (11 Nov. 1931), and as here printed it has the Professor's approval as a correct summary.

Professor Childe re-stated the division of British 'Stone Age' pottery into two quite distinct groups—Windmill Hill and Peterborough wares. Dealing with the Windmill Hill class, he said that his collaborator, Mr Stuart Piggott, would show that despite local and temporal variations it preserved a striking uniformity from Sussex to the Orkneys, from the North Sea to the Atlantic coasts. The leathery character of

the vases revealed them as belonging to a great family, extending all across Northern Gaul from the Rhine to Brittany and the Channel Isles, comprised under the general name Western. This family might be divided on the Continent into three principal groups, localized respectively in Belgium and the Rhine Valley, in the Seine basin and in central France, and in Brittany.

As a whole the British pottery showed no special affinity to any one of these, so that it might rank as an independent group that split off from the Western stem before the specialization of the rest. Exact agreements, however, linked a small sub-group of the Windmill Hill ware localized in Scotland and Northern Ireland, with a similarly restricted group in Brittany. These were the sole valid evidences for the theory which derived the Windmill Hill culture from Armorica and brought it to our shores along with long barrows and dolmens. That theory must, however, be rejected on other grounds and the agreements noted above explained by a reaction on Brittany from Britain. Windmill Hill culture either came from northeast Gaul across the Straits in pre-Megalithic times or direct from the Iberian peninsula with the chamber tomb complex, in which case the analogous cultures in Gaul would be parallel but independent offshoots of the same stem.

The affinities of Peterborough ware (which flourished principally in Eastern Britain) lay notoriously on the Baltic. A series of slides illustrated astonishing correspondence in curious patterns made with twisted threads and cords between British vessels and others from Denmark, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. The rise of this style could be traced only in the Ukraine, whence it was transmitted again in pre-dolmen times to Denmark, and eventually to Britain. This country was, accordingly, the meeting place of two cultural currents even at the beginning of the New Stone Age.

THE BEAKER INVASION OF BRITAIN

Miss MARGARET MITCHELL sends the following observations on the paper in our December number by Mr J. G. D. CLARK, whose reply is appended:—

Mr J. G. D. CLARK has adduced evidence from England to show that the beaker invasion of Britain was of a dual character—a fact already brought forward by Professor V. G. Childe in his *Bronze Age*. The evidence from Scotland leads to a similar conclusion. Distribution maps show that the penetration of the 'A+C' complex has been principally by seaboard or river valley routes from the North of England. Yet beaker settlement sites at Hedderwick, Gullane Bay, North Berwick and Tents Muir in Fife—all suitable landing places on the East coast south of the Firth of Tay—have yielded 'A+c' sherds which show that some at least of the invaders must have come by sea. This disagrees with Mr Clark's assertion that the northern beakers demonstrate a subsequent development rather than a point of arrival. On the other hand the distribution of the B beakers in Scotland is predominantly coastal and points to a sea-borne invasion probably independent of the 'A+c' penetration.

In treating of the different types of beaker represented in Britain, Mr Clark has omitted to mention one important form, designated by Abercromby BC. It is due to the crossing of a pure B tradition with the debased C variety. Now in Scotland BC and C beakers predominate on the eastern seaboard of Aberdeenshire. It would seem therefore as though the B complex arrived after the 'A+C' tradition was already established there and that the resultant intermingling produced the hybrid BC. This conclusion would bear out Mr Clark's suggestion that there was a chronological difference in the arrival of the two complexes.

On the West of Scotland the 'A+c' group is well represented and includes three very early examples from Closeburn (Dumfriesshire), Stoneykirk (Wigtownshire), and Kilmartin (Argyllshire). Their provenance points to a relationship with the northwest English beaker group rather than with the Northumberland area, and they must be accounted as early as, if not earlier than, the East Scottish examples south of the Firth of Forth. Pure B beakers are represented on the West coast by single finds as at Largs on the coast of Ayrshire, or in settlement sites such as the Island of Coll and Ardnamurchan Point. Dr Cyril Fox (Arch. Camb., 1925) has made the tentative suggestion that some of the West of England and Welsh beakers may have come direct by sea, but later he abandons the idea in favour of an overland route from East Anglia for which there seems much less evidence. I would here reassert the theory of a sea-borne invasion from the southwest as providing the most rational explanation of the distribution of B beakers on the West Scottish seaboard, as well as for the more northerly 'A+c' group in Lewis, Uist and Skye.

REPLY by Mr CLARK:---

I must hasten to agree with your correspondent that the evidence from Scotland confirms that of England and Wales in demonstrating

the dual character of the beaker invasion. My only reason for omitting the Scottish evidence was that the dearth of objects associated with beaker burials and the restriction of human settlement to a fraction of the country, owing to the infertile and inhospitable nature of the greater part of its area, combined to render unsuitable the application of my method of research.

It is necessary, however, to correct a certain misapprehension, for I appear to have been misread into asserting the northern beakers in general to 'demonstrate a subsequent development rather than a point of arrival'. If my remarks are re-read it will be appreciated that I refer only to the 'A+C' group (ANTIQUITY, 1931, p. 418 top). I agree entirely that the 'B' beakers of Scotland may well be explained as direct arrivals from the Continent, but, returning to the 'A+C' group, I do not see anywhere in my paper any claim that they arrived exclusively, whether by land or sea, from northern England. At the same time I feel myself to be on safe ground, when I say that, for the most part, 'they represent a subsequent development'. If I have made this 'assertion', I fear that I am unrepentant and will continue to make it until faced with evidence of sufficient weight to render my position untenable. It may not be out of place here to point out that this was the view of Lord Abercromby himself, so that my 'assertion ' may be said to dwindle into a meek statement of the orthodox view. It is incumbent on your correspondent to find the destructive arguments : I am content to rest upon the very solid evidence adduced by Abercromby. Many beakers have been found since the publication of his great work, but there is no reason to suppose that they would materially affect the conclusion to be drawn from the following condensation of his table :---

Beaker types			'A'	' AC '	ʻc'
South of Humber	••	••	97	0	2
Rest of England	••	••	11	37	76
Scotland	••	••	3	27	130

I submit that the only possible deduction to be drawn from this table is that type 'c' beaker is a development from type 'A' via 'AC', the geographically intermediate distribution of 'AC' being most significant.

Your correspondent seems to be worried over my omission of any specific reference to type 'BC'. As it was embraced in my remarks concerning hybrids and is furthermore numerically unimportant in the area with which my paper dealt, I saw no immediate necessity for doing so. Since it is mentioned, however, we may enlarge upon its significance. In bringing forward further very welcome evidence in support of my suggestion of a chronological difference between the 'B' and 'A+C' complexes, your correspondent argues for the view, in which I concur, that the 'B' complex is the earlier of the two, producing by admixture the 'BC' group of which we are speaking. It will occur to the reader that, in view of the fact that Abercromby records no fewer than 126 'BC' beakers and not a single 'AB' hybrid from Scotland, we may further infer that the 'C' type of beaker is subsequent in time to the 'A' beaker.

On the basis of these two lines of evidence I re-assert my belief that the 'c' beakers of Scotland, representing over 97 per cent. of the 'A+c' complex of that country (according to Abercromby), are a subsequent development of British 'A' beakers, and not a fresh arrival from the Continent. I must thank your correspondent once more for the interest shown in a problem which has been on my mind for some time, and especially for drawing attention to the matter of the 'B' hybrids.

STURGEON IN ANGLO-SAXON TIMES

Dr J. TRAVIS JENKINS, Superintendent of the Lancashire and Western Sea Fisheries Joint Committee, writes in reference to the note on 'A Saxon Fish-pond near Oxford ' published in ANTIQUITY for December 1930, pp. 480-3:--

'Although the sturgeon is now a very rare fish in British waters there is evidence that it was abundant in Anglo-Saxon times. In addition to the 'Styrian Pol' of the *Cartularium Saxonicum* there are two references to 'Stirigan Pole' in the fourth volume of Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*. This is the first reference I have ever seen to the keeping of sturgeon in ponds, as it is undoubtedly the sturgeon that is referred to. *Porcopiscis* is the dolphin (a mammal), *rombus* is the turbot, but *cragacus* cannot be associated with any known fish. I should think the association of these names with Styria was due to ignorance.

'An extensive search reveals no records of the keeping of sturgeon in ancient or modern times in storage ponds, and I should be grateful for any references to this subject'.