

ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΧΕΤΗΤΙΣ
ΙΔΩΝΤΥΜΒΩΣΚΕΦΘΕΝΤ
ΥΠΟΜΟΙΡΗΣ ΕΡΜΗΝ
ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΟΝΕΠΟΣ
ΦΡΑΣΑΤΩΤΟΔΟΔΕΙΤΗΣ
ΧΑΙΡΕΣΥΠΑΙΤΑΡΕΜΟΥ
ΚΗΝΠΕΡΘΝΗΤΟΝΒΙΟ
ΕΡΠΗΣ ΩΚΥΤΑΤΕΠ
ΤΗΣΓΑΡΜΕΡΟΠΩΝΕΠΙ
ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΩΝΓΗ ΚΟΥΨΕΥ
ΣΕΙ....ΓΑΡΟΠΑΙΣΕΡΜΗΣ

.....

From the Brough Stone.

ART. XX.—*The Brough Stone*.* By E. C. CLARK, LL.D.,
Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of
Cambridge.

Read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Feb. 23, 1885.

THE plaster casts now exhibited were taken from the stone by one of the first artists in that kind of manipulation. The printed slips† in your hands are copies of a reading which has been at length generally agreed upon by scholars who have examined the original or the casts.

The great points of interest in the matter are these. Here we have the most important of the very few Greek inscriptions—five or six in the whole—that have been found in Britain; a possible connecting link in palaeographic science; a personal record, with a touch of human interest in it not confined to ancient times; and a little poem, which, even in its half interpreted condition, is no contemptible addition to the Greek anthology.

I have assumed the language to be Greek. This was by no means a settled matter to those who first saw the stone or casts from it. An extremely ingenious attempt was made by Professor Stephens of Copenhagen to read the inscription as Runic. When it is remembered that the Runic characters were, according to our best authority on the alphabet, Dr. Taylor (*Alphabet* 2, 8, 8), derived from the Greek, this was not so extraordinary a suggestion as it may appear. The inscription is an epitaph, in hexameter verse, on a youth bearing the name of the god Hermes, and

† Article xvii. was printed before Professor Clark's paper came to the knowledge of the Editor. As it is desirable that this Society should have at once all that is known about the Brough Stone, the Editor, after consulting with the President, resolved not to wait until Professor Clark's valuable paper could be laid before a meeting of the Society, but to print it forthwith.

* Given as a Illustration on the opposite page.

coming

coming from the northern part of Syria, Commagene. I will, with your permission, say a few words first upon the general subject, the local surroundings, and the probable date of this monument, and conclude by interpreting the epitaph as best I can.

When we think of a Syrian youth, we are not to suppose fleecy locks and black complexion, or even what I may roughly term oriental blood. This youth's parentage may have been as pure Greek as Cleopatra's own. For Syria was a Greek kingdom, under one of the dynasties which succeeded Alexander; full, no doubt, of Greek settlers, bringing with them their literature and their religion. One of its kings indeed—Antiochus Epiphanes—had made a strong attempt, 170 years before Christ, to impose the Greek religion exclusively upon all his subjects. How he failed in Judea we learn from the book of Maccabees. That he also failed in Syria proper, we may gather from that strange development of the national religion of the country about which we read, 170 years after Christ, in Lucian's essay or paper on "the Syrian Goddess." This very startling collection of traveller's tales, tends to identify the Dea Syria with "*Astarte*, Queen of Heaven, with crescent horns," worshipped by the Sidonians. In close juxtaposition is mentioned a *Tyrian Hercules*, older and more venerable, at least in Tyre, than the Grecian hero.

You will, I fear, be inclined to say to me ὦνθρωπε, τί τὰντα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον—or rather Ἑρμῆν—what has this got to do with our Hermes? Well, I introduce the subject of the Syrian gods, not merely because the worship of these very deities in England is one of the most curious features of the Roman occupation, but because they furnish an important connecting link in the account of our present subject.

From Syria

Where soft Orontes murmurs Amidst his laurel shades

to

to Westmorland,

Where fur-clad hunters wander Amidst the northern ice,
or, speaking in Mallet's more prosaic words, to

Stanmore's wintry waste,

is, as the Scotch say, a "far cry." I think the first feeling on reading this epitaph is surprise at this connexion of the two extremities of the Roman empire, and wonder how a child of Commagene could find his way to Brough. In order to show you *how* he could do so, as I found the steps of proof rather interesting, I will still ask your patience for a few words on this *Brough* with the undoubtedly Teutonic name, before I come to the Greek stone.

With respect to the Teutonic name itself, I have little or nothing to say. It is merely the Saxon *burh*, a strong place, often, but not always, designating a former Roman encampment, which appears here in its Norse or Anglian pronunciation—further south as *berough* or *burg*. Brough-under-Stainmore lies on the old north road which ran from York through Borough-Bridge (or originally Aldborough) to Catterick Bridge; there it divides, one branch going directly north, crossing the Tyne at Corbridge, and the Roman wall at a station called Hunnum (now I think, nameless); the other branch bends westwards, through Bowes and Brough, to Penrith and Carlisle. These roads are shewn to be Roman, not merely by that straitness and disregard of minor inequalities which Romans roads elsewhere show, but by the repeated appearance of Roman remains along their line, including many fortified stations or camps. The camps can in most cases be identified by inscriptions discovered in or near them, or by their position on the particular line of route, with places mentioned in contemporary Roman documents, and Brough is thus shewn to be on the site of a station bearing the name of *Verterae*.

Brough

Brough or Verterae, is connected with the wall, not only by the direct road to Carlisle, but by another and much more romantic route. This is the famous "Maiden Way," which branches off to the north at Kirkby Thore, or more probably Appleby. It runs, with an uncompromising directness truly Roman, across the hills of which Cross Fell is the highest point, passes a camp called now Whitley Castle, near Alston, and reaches the wall at Carvoran, the Roman Magna; there it crosses the barrier, and skirting it for some time on the left, strikes off north-west for Bewcastle and Scotland. In this latter part, it is the causeway by which Dandie Dinmont escapes to his home in Liddesdale with his guest and preserver, Bertram, in the charming romance of Guy Mannering. Sir Walter Scott knew this country well, and his graceful lines on the peculiar Flora of the wall, were written very near here.

I have not, however, now to follow the fortunes of the Maiden Way, or to explain its curious name. It may mean the "fair" way (Lysons' *Cumb.* cxxxv). It may, more probably, have been the "great ridge" or causeway (Gough *cit.* by Dr. Bruce), but we have only to do with it as a road by which it is believed that a great deal of traffic passed to the North (*Bruce* 241), and as a direct connexion, interesting to us at present, between Brough, or Verterae, and Magna.

I must add however that Horsley (*B. R.* 453) made out a branch of the Maiden Way leading from Whitley Castle to Corbridge, on the principal north road—the Watling street. This Corbridge is the place in which the two other most interesting Greek inscriptions in our country have been found, one an altar dedicated to Astarte, by a priest, another to Hercules of Tyre by a high priestess.

Magna, to which I now return, was evidently a place of importance. It stood near the watershed, from which the rivers run east and west. It protected the weakest point in the line of fortification, that point where the wall was
first

first, according to tradition, *thirled*, or bored through, and Thirlwall Castle afterwards erected out of its ruins.

The Roman remains at Magna, even in the time of Stukeley, were very extensive, and the name of the place may possibly have indicated its size, for, although, so obvious an explanation is generally distrusted by the antiquary, Big Camp or Camps does seem to be the literal meaning of the British name *Cair Voran*, which Magna still bears, and which appears to have been retranslated in the name assigned to the adjacent camp of *Great Chesters*.

Further, Magna was a stronghold of the worship of the Syrian goddess, and contained two altars to her honour, which directly concern us, because of the corps, the *Hamii*, by whom they were erected. One is in the library of Trinity College, and still has the inscription *Deae Syriae*. The lower part of the stone has now unfortunately peeled off, but the inscription is preserved by Camden, and shews that this altar was dedicated by the *Hamii* under Calpurnius Agricola, whom we know to have been in command at the wall in 163 A.D. (*Lap. Sep.* 155). The other altar, in ruder characters, and probably later (*Bruce*, 405), is now in Somerset House. It was erected by a certain Sabinian body of these same *Hamii*, almost certainly to be identified with an *Ala Sabiniana*, of which we read elsewhere, named, it is believed by some, after Sabina, the wife of Hadrian, by others after a general of his.

Now these *Hamii* have been attributed by several first rate authorities to that town of *Hamath* on the Orontes, now Hamah, which Antochus Epiphanes honoured or dishonoured with the name of Epiphaneia. If so, they are, I believe, almost the sole instance of an Asiatic people in the North, or even in England, and the other indications of Syrian worship which occur, besides those already mentioned, may be traced to them. I have not time to go into this interesting subject further. I can only mention the extraordinary tablet in Latin Iambic verse, containing

containing a sort of *creed* in the Dea Syria, and an altar to the Phœnician Belinus, both found at Magna, (*Bruce*, 401, 395); while at Cilurnum, where the wall crosses the North Tyne, not far off, is an interesting inscription in honour of that bad Emperor, Antoninus, who called himself Antoninus V., or of the sun god Elagabalus, whose priest he was (*Bruce*, p. 161). The inscription bears data which fix it to the year 221 A.D.: the Emperor came, as you know, from the temple of the sun at Emesa on the Orontes.

Lastly, there was a curious discovery made some years ago, at *Brough*, of certain leaden seals, undoubtedly Roman, from their bearing names of Roman cohorts and legions. They are scattered about in various collections, and I only know them from the *Collectanea Antiqua* of Mr. Roach Smith. It was ultimately thought that they were fastenings to bales of merchandise. They bore, as I have said, names of military bodies, to which they might belong, and on one of them was ALA. SAB. clearly referring to the body of Sabinians whom we found at Magna, belonging to the people of Hamath. These seals furnish the last connecting link between the Syrian fortress on the wall and our Verterae, to which I now return. It would be curious if Brough turns out to have been a centre of trade in those early days—lying as you see just below the central point in the wall—and still more curious if the great horse fair, which I can just remember in its palmy days, were a revival of the traffic which brought our young Hermes here,

Inured to Syria's glowing breath

to meet his death on

Stanemore's wintry waste.

Thus then I have endeavoured to shew, by local evidence,
how

how our Syrian family, whether military or commercial, could get to Brough without any great violation of historical probability. I have no further use to make of the Syrian worship. There is no trace of it in this epigram, nor is there any trace of Christianity. The epigram is purely classical in feeling; plaintive and affectionate, but regarding the future life as simply a matter of somewhat incredulous fancy, and quite devoid of any mysticism.

With regard to the probable date of this inscription, I can give you no precise information, either based upon external or internal evidence. The Hamii do not help us. We know that they were at Magna in the latter part of the second century, but we do not know how long they staid. There is nothing to prevent their having been in the district up to the close of the Roman occupation. Other army corps had a longer settlement than that; one legion for instance (the *Secunda Augusta*) was there 350 years. In the time of the compilation of the political directory, known as the *Notitia*, at the end of the 4th century after Christ, the Sabinian squadron was at Hunnum, not far off Corbridge—in fact the station where the Watling street crosses through the wall—though the Hamii seem to have been replaced at Magna by another regiment (the *Delmatae*). As far, however, as they are concerned this Syrian family may have been in the country at any time between the end of the second and the end of that fourth century.

On general considerations, I scarcely think this inscription can have been made before the construction of that wonderful defensive work which extends roughly speaking from Newcastle to Carlisle. The date of the Roman wall has been, as you know, sharply disputed. To myself the arguments of our chief local authority, Dr. Bruce, based mainly upon inscriptions, are conclusive. I am disposed to attribute the whole work to Hadrian, and place it in the first half of the second century

century, about 121 A.D. I admit, however, that additions or repairs may have been made, the system of roads more fully organised, and the peace of the country more securely established, by Sep. Severus. This emperor died in 211 at York, where the strangely named St. Seṽrus' hill, in popular speech, commemorates his tomb at the expense of prosody, and adds a reputed Christian persecutor to the list of Christian saints. I do not think that this inscription can date before the comparatively peaceable and settled times following Severus—a time when there might fairly be residents with leisure to put up monuments in memory of their friends, and travellers with leisure to read them. On the other hand, I cannot consider these necessary conditions as possible of fulfilment in the rough times which follow the Roman departure. The exact year when the Britons were left to their fate, is not known. We learn from the poet Claudian, that a considerable force was withdrawn from the country by Stilicho in 403, to meet the Huns; and I believe the latest coins found are those of Arcadius, whose connexion with the West ceased in 395.

With regard to the inscription itself, I do not intend to go much into the internal evidence, as to its date, based on the characters. Dr. Bruce informs me that the stop resembling a leaf, at the end of the lines, does not occur before the time of the Antonines; but without that evidence, we should put the inscription later than those sovereigns. Two of the other Greek inscriptions found in the north, contain clearly Roman names of men and officers, and therefore cannot have been later than 400: nor, I think, for the reasons just alleged, can this inscription; but it is probably not much earlier. The letters are rude, and there is a marked intrusion of *uncial* forms amongst them, which only occur in MSS. of a much later date than that just mentioned. But Dr. Taylor is my authority (Alph. 148), that these uncial forms began to
appear

appear in inscriptions long before the date of the earliest extant MSS.

The pattern on the top of the stone distantly resembles that on the altar to the Dea Syria, in Trinity Library. The stars *there* I am inclined to think *really* emblematic of the host of heaven. To *these* squares, with the radii inscribed, I attribute little meaning. The stonecutter may have been a moon worshipper; the mourner, or the author of the epitaph, was certainly a classical scholar, acquainted with Homer and the tragedians. To the stonecutter's ignorance or carelessness I also attribute the omission of the three final N's; one after EPMH in the third line of the inscription, which is not of much moment; one after BIO in the seventh, which is essential to both metre and grammar; and one, after ΓH in the tenth, which is required by sense but not necessarily by metre. I have found similar omissions in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* at very different dates, and I do not think much can be inferred from them.

The reading before you is due to the investigations and suggestions of several scholars, among whom we must not forget our friend Mr. Browne. I have compared the original very carefully with the version which you have, and I think I can guarantee every letter except the N at the end of the third line, and the C at the end of the last. After the CEI at the beginning of this last line, I think there was possibly a *sigma*, and after that, almost certainly, an *alpha*.

The first line EKKAIΔEXETH, &c. (where the X is of course a mistake for K) has a syllable too much. I have found the word EKKAIΔEKA spelt EKKEΔEKA, and scanned as if it were EKΔEKA in an inscription of the *Corpus* (5699, 718 of Kaibel). I should not be surprised if our author meant to write EKΔEKA, as if *we* were to say six-twenty for six-and-twenty, but the conscientious mason inserted the KAI. He committed a converse error
to

to that of his English successor whose metrical taste required the well-known

Requiesce Cat in pace.

On the reading TIC ΙΔΩΝ for the previous suggestion ΠΡΟCΙΔΩΝ, I have no doubt. In CΚΕΦΘΕΝΤ the stone gives no possible hope of CΚΑΦΘΕΝΤ, so that we must leave that out of the question, and choose between σκεφθείς *beheld*, which does occur, from σκέπτομαι, and σκεφθείς, *covered or hidden*, which does *not* occur, but would be regularly formed, from σκέπω. I am for assuming the latter form, and taking the meaning to be "hidden in the tomb." I may here remark that this translation is absolutely inconsistent with any notion of a *cenotaph*, to which, moreover, I do not think the word ΤΥΜΒΟC is often applied. The spelling of ΟΔΕΙΘC with the diphthong ει may be an affectation of antiquity, but I found both spellings in the Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum at equally late periods.

We proceed then to translate the two first lines. "When some wayfarer sees Hermes of Commagene, at sixteen years hid in his tomb by fate, let him say as follows." As to seeing a person who is hidden, I suppose no one accustomed to the freedom of epitaph language will take exception to the slight bull.

In the next hexameter line lies, as it seems to me, the *crux* of the whole epigram. Yet classical usage ought not to leave much doubt about the meaning of the first words ΧΑΙΡΕ CΥ ΠΑΙ ΠΑΡ ΕΜΟΥ.

Χαίρει undoubtedly often means Farewell! in our most recent sense; but with the dative, or this easier construction of *παρά* with the genitive, it is rather a word of *benediction* than *valediction*. When Achilles says χαίρε μοι ὦ Πάτροκλε καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι (*Il. ψ. 179*) he means "accept my blessing or my greeting, even in the halls of Hades." I do not mean to say that the notion of taking leave may not enter into the phrase, but it is not the principal

principal notion. Virgil saw this, when he divided the idea into its two parts "Salve aeternum mihi maxime Palla Aeternumque vale." (*Aen.* II. 97). "Well do I bid thee fare for evermore—aye and for evermore bid thee farewell." But the best help to the rendering of this phrase is in that beautiful chorus of the *Alcestis*, which I have not the least doubt the writer of this epitaph had before him. Addressing the spirit of the queen, who has just died for her husband, the chorus begins ὦ Πελία θύγατερ, χαίρουσά μοι εἰν Ἄϊδα δόμοισι τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον οἰκετεύοις. "With my blessing on thee mayst thou dwell in thy sunless home."

If then the first words of line three mean, as I feel sure they do, "a blessing or a greeting to thee, O boy, from me;" what can the last words Κῆνπερ θνητὸν βίον ἔρπης mean? βίος, in your version, of course stands for βίον, a cognate accusative after ἔρπης, for which construction, though somewhat bold, there is sufficient classical authority. Literally translating these words "even if thou creepest, (or "proceedest"), on a mortal life," can we say this means simply "even though thou art dead?" I do not think any Greek writer could have meant merely this, and I have been driven to two courses of interpretation, one of which, much preferring it, I have had to abandon in favour of the other. I should like, however, to mention my first view to you, as some may still prefer it to my second.

I took the καί to be a connective particle (=and, not even) and supposed the half line to refer to some continued existence of a dim semi-human character beneath the tomb. "And if thou indeed draggest on some human life." Then comes a parenthetical clause, and then, according to this interpretation, some other wish or prayer.

The parenthetical clause is comparatively easy. "Since very soon (or "all too soon") thou didst flit"—ἐπτης
being

being a perfectly known form—somewhere, where being the question. μέροπες is in Homer the standing epithet of ἄνθρωποι. What it originally meant I doubt whether we yet know, but it is a very early explanation that it meant “gifted with articulate speech.” In this sense, whatever the Kimmerians mean, I do not think it could possibly be an epithet applied to them. On the other hand μέροπες continually means in the Anthology as a substantive, simply *men*. That is, I believe, its meaning here, and the genitive expresses the not uncommon idea of removal from a place—“thou didst flit *from men* to the land of the Kimmerians.”

The accusation ΓΗΝ seems to be required for this translation, in which case we must suppose an N to have been lost here, as after BIO. ΕΠΙ with the dative is however, though rarely, found in the pregnant construction of motion to a place and rest there.

Again referring to our author's models, I do not believe the Κιμμέριοι to be either the sons of Gomer, or the Tartars of the Euxine, or even the Cymry of our own country. I take them simply to be the poetical folk of gloom and night, amongst whom Homer places his entrance to the shades. The reason, why the youth should still be living some sort of life, is the rather pretty fancy that he had nothing like fulfilled his tale of years, when he flitted to the silent, or rather, here, the gloomy land.

Last of all, then, in line five, should come another wish, and the wish which I myself entertained was that these few and scattered letters might be read into the prayer, “Light be the turf of thy tomb;” which occurs once or twice in its Latin form S [it]. T [ibi]. T [erra]. L [evis]. on the Roman wall. The first three letters KOY will suit for the beginning of KOYΦOC “light” if the next can be regarded as a Φ; the following two are certainly EY; then, after a slight flaw at the beginning of the last legible line on the stone, comes CEIA. My suggestion was KOYΦ
EYΔHCEIAC

EYΔHCEIAC "lightly may'st thou rest;" and that some graceful reason was given for this in the remaining two half lines, where I can only make out the words ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙC, and perhaps the name EPMHC following. Whether the boy was to sleep lightly because he was young and fair, or because he was light himself, I could not say; but some such wish was I thought the end. The change, from addressing the boy, to speaking of him in the third person is by no means uncommon. I will not trouble you with a verse rendering which I made of this interpretation, but proceed to criticise it.

The fatal objections were, that the Φ of my ΚΟΥΦ' is, I am afraid, an undoubted Ψ; that there is no room for my ΔH before the C of the last legible line; that, of the letters after CEI of the same line, while the first is probably A, the second is not C but more like one of the tall Y's of the inscription; and that, if this be the case, I cannot pack in before the undoubted ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙC any words which will give the desired meaning.

With great reluctance, then, I have had to hark back to line 3 (7 of the inscription) and to interpret the latter half of that line thus: "Though it is but a mortal life which thou trauest (present for past)," as opposed to the immortal course of the boy's divine namesake. I find a similar play on names in the Corpus Inscriptionum, where a mortal *Helius* is clearly contrasted, in his epitaph, with the divine (Kaibel p. 285). The parenthetic clause then contains, as before, the poetical statement of death, with perhaps a little more reason for the ἔπειτα didst *flit*, when the *flight* of the messenger god has been suggested. Finally, this rendering, though inferior in my mind to the other in meaning, does work in the fragmentary letters at the end fairly well. ΚΟΥ ΨΕΥCEI, "And thou shalt not cheat us" (ΨΕΥCEI the ordinary middle form), "or be false to thy name, after all: for the boy" (a transition to the third person, not, as I have remarked, unusual) "though not the god Hermes himself, is gone with him."

[ΑΥΤω]

[ΑΥΤω] ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙΟ ΕΡΜΗC is the reading which I now suggest of the last legible line. The Α of the first word I consider certain, the ω probable, and the other two letters possible. A last, entirely illegible, half line is to be inferred from the appearance of something like a stop after the fatal flaw with which the inscription ends, and from the metre, which requires an additional word of two short and two long syllables. On this inscription being set in a recent examination, one of the candidates very ingeniously suggested ΕΡΜΗ ΓΑΡ Ο ΠΑΙC ΕΡΜΗC ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘΕΙ. This reading I myself should willingly accept, but I cannot make the traces of letters in the first hiatus suit. They do, I think, possibly suit ΑΥΤω. The last legible word should, according to my version, be ΕΡΜΗ, dative, rather than ΕΡΜΗC, nominative. One does not like to fall back on the easy method of suggesting a mistake of the stonecutter, though I think that is not improbable, as the word comes next to the nominative Ο ΠΑΙC. The nominative can however be construed, "For with the God himself the boy Hermes is now journeying."

I conclude with a punctuated version of the reading which I propose, and a rough metrical paraphrase.

Εκδέχεται τις ἰδὼν τυμβῷ σκεφθέντ' ὑπο μοιρῆς
 Ἑρμην κομμαγήνον, ἐποῖ φρασατὼ τις οὔδειτ' ἑ,
 χαίρει σὺν πατρὶ παρ' ἐμὸν κήνπερ θνήτον βίον ἐρπῆς,
 ὡκυτάτ' ἐπτήσ' γὰρ μεροπῶν ἐπὶ Κίμμεριων γῆν,
 κούψεται, αὐτῷ γὰρ ὁ παῖς Ἑρμῆ ἀκολουθεῖ.

Hermes of Commagene here—
 Young Hermes, in his sixteenth year,
 Entombed by fate before his day,
 Beholding, let the traveller say :—
 Fair youth, my greeting to thy shrine,
 Though but a mortal course be thine,
 Since all too soon thou wingd'st thy flight
 From realms of speech to realm of night;
 Yet no misnomer art thou shown,
 Since Hermes is with Hermes flown.

{ or Who with thy namesake god art flown.

NOTE.

NOTE.—I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to represent the lettering of this inscription by ordinary Greek type, in capitals. The semicircular Sigma is, I presume, sufficiently familiar to all Greek scholars, and the other letters speak for themselves, with one exception. I have been obliged to use the small Omega, because the ordinary capital form is entirely different from that on the stone. Only personal inspection, however, can do justice to the letter-forms actually employed in this very interesting inscription, which will probably constitute, as I have already intimated, a missing link in paleography.

A good autotype has been taken of the stone, and impressions may be seen at the Carlisle and Kendal Museums, at the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and in the Museum of Yorkshire Philosophical Society at York.—E. C. CLARK.
