THE SCULPTURED CROSS AT GOSFORTH
WEST CUMBERLAND.

By the Rev. W. S. CALVERLEY.

It is necessary that we should get a correct idea of the cross as a whole before beginning to study its details. It is a red sandstone Christian monument, and is a monolith. It is not a heathen pillar surmounted by a cross. The lower part of the shaft is cylindrical and measures forty inches round the bottom. The upper part of the shaft is squared off and measures at the top, on the east and west faces six inches, on the north and south faces, five inches. The head is twenty inches across. The cross is fourteen and-a-half feet high, and stands in a rectangular socket of three steps, plain, and a foot high. Rather more than the lower half of the rounded surface of the shaft is uncarved, the upper part is ornamented with a design found on the Dearham cross; curvilinear mouldings divide this round part of the shaft from the four plane surfaces above, which contain the sculptures: above all are the four arms of the cross joined by a circle ornamented with plait work and having a boss in the centre projecting more than two inches.

Some years ago I came to the conclusion that the design carved in relief on the east face of the cross at Dearham represented the World Ash Yggdrasil. Shortly

1 Drawings, Measurements, and some details by C. A. PARKER, M.D., Gosforth, Engravings by Prof. MAGNUS PETERSEN of Copenhagen.
2 A preliminary paper on the cross was read by the author before the Archaeological Institute, at their meeting at Carlisle, Aug. 3rd, 1882. Drawings were exhibited by Dr. Parker. Full-size drawings and a second paper were also laid before the Institute at their meeting, Dec. 2nd, 1882. See Journal, v. xl., p. 110. See also "The Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society" for 1883, pp. 373-404.
afterwards, my attention was drawn by the Rev. Canon Knowles to a cross socket at Brigham, almost unknown. A study of this socket convinced me that the true meaning of sculptures of this class was to be sought amongst the songs and beliefs of the Anglian or Scandinavian peoples, who must have settled here at a very early period. I am now able to prove the truth and value of these convictions.

Any one who looks at the huge monster on the top of the Brigham cross socket, coiled round the hollow (in which, at one time was the cross), and biting its tail with its teeth, must at once identify the Midgardsworm.

Now the socket of the Gosforth cross has no carving, but simply three steps. Nevertheless, from the centre rises the Mundane tree, the World Ash Yggdrasil, the tree of the universe, of time and of life; its closely intertwined branches shooting out from the smooth bole or trunk may be seen:—

I know an ash standing Yggdrasil hight, a lofty tree, laved with limpid water: thence come the dews into the dales that fall; ever stands it green over Urð's fountain.

The stag Eikthynir browses upon its leaf-buds; its roots below (not seen on this cross) are gnawed by the Helferdron Nid-hogg. Still the ash cannot wither until the last battle shall be fought. Its highest point, Larad (peace-giver) overshadows Walhalla. There are the twelve halls of the twelve gods, and the plain Idavollr where the champions combat; in the centre, on the summit, is Odin's throne. So may be seen the cross head with its threefold divisions in the four arms around the central boss, and connected by the circular band—to the followers of Odin typical of the twelve halls of the gods in Walhalla—to the Christian, the sacred symbols of the Trinity, the Triquetra. The great snake does not here lie coiled round the tree; the monster has to take part in the events sculptured above, for the scenes portrayed are

1 Idem, part i, vol. vi, p. 211, &c.

In "Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord" for 1884, at pp. 1-5, and pp. 24-25, Professor Stephens of Copenhagen copies the drawings referred to in these notes, and agrees with the author in his identifications; the professor having visited, in company with the author, the cross and the socket named.

2 Thorpe's translation of the Edda of Sæmund.
from the Vala's prophecy in the Voluspa, and deal with that last battle, Ragnarok, the twilight of the gods when Fornungander and all Hel's kith and kin are arrayed against the Æsir.

In considering the episodes we have now chiefly to deal with the four plane surfaces on the sides of the cross, and we will begin with the west face thereof.

**West Face.**—From the Ægisdrekkja we learn that after Loki had disgusted the gods with his many treacheries and upbraiding, he, in the likeness of a salmon, cast himself into the waterfalls of Fránangr, where the Æsir (the gods) caught him, and bound him with the entrails of his son, Nari, according to the words which Skadi, the wife of Niord, at Ægir's feast, had spoken to the taunting traitor:

"Thou art merry, Loki! For thee, on a rock's point, not long wilt thou frisk with an unbound tail; with the entrails of thy ice-cold son, the gods will bind."

And the words of Thor, who replied to his scoffing:

"Silence, thou impure being! Hrúngnir's bane shall cast thee down to Hel, beneath the gratings of the dead,"

but his other son, Narfi, was changed into a wolf:

"Skadi took a venomous serpent and fastened it up over Loki's face. The venom trickled down from it. Sigún, Loki's wife, sat by, and held a basin under the venom; and when the basin was full carried the poison out. Meanwhile the venom dropped on Loki, who shrank from it so violently that the whole earth trembled. This causes what are now called earthquakes." See Loki panel.

This scene is thus described in the Voluspa, strophe 38:

Bound she saw lying, not right glad.
under Hverslund, Then the Vala knew
a monstrous form, the fatal bonds were twisting,
to Loki like. most rigid,
There sits Sigún, bonds from entrails made,
for her consort's sake,

Thus the false one lies bound in Hel's dark home beneath the gratings of the dead until Ragnarök.

In the very faithful engraving of the panel at the bottom of the plane on the west face of the cross, here shewn, every particular is clear. The gyves round hands and feet, the bond round the neck, the head of the adder
to the left, its body twisted and made fast by a ring above. Sigiñ with her woman's hair and her long gown, kneeling with poison-cup in hand, but the cup is removed to empty the venom, and the horrid slime eats into the monster's flesh; he writhes in agony; every bond is stretched to its utmost strain; the gyves are bent awry; the last great struggle soon will set the giant free.

Let us now look at the upper part of this western face of the cross:—The first figure beneath the Triquetra, (which is on this side formed by a double band) has its wolfish head upwards, open-mouthed, a single large tooth in either jaw, eye and ear conspicuous; its body consists of eleven vertebrae with double pairs of ribs:— [See general plate, (Lithograph.).]

Loki begat the wolf with Angrboda (Hdl. 38).

and his (Fenris's) children grew into horrible monsters, being fed by the old giantess on the marrow, bones, and blood, of murderers and evil-doers, in the last age when the bonds of laws were broken, and the destruction of the world drew near:—

East sat the crone, the moon's devourer,
in Jarnvidir, (ironwood) in a trolls semblance.
and there reared up Fenris's progeny:
of all shall be one specially
the god's seat he with red gore defiles.

Here then we see the monster attacking the seat of the gods, ready to gulp down sun or moon,—in the eyes of Christians gaping with wide jaws to swallow the Triquetra.

Beneath are two other of the horrid monster kin, parallel to each other, having knotted worm-like bodies and tails, lower jaw to lower jaw, with open mouths, fierce staring eyes, powerful tusk-like teeth, (one in either jaw) heads downwards, eager to attack the belted, bearded man clad in a tunic, who stands athwart the cross, and calmly with his staff, as tho' with the staff of omnipotence, in his right hand, keeps the Hel worms back. In his left hand the man holds a horn.

The accompanying engraving of this episode must be studied with the engraving of the Loki episode preceding. Thus will be seen—between the man with the staff who holds the horn in his left hand, and the bound fiend,—a
man mounted on horseback, belted and armed with a javelin or dart—man and horse upside down. A few strophes from the Vala’s prophecy makes all plain; above, towards the top of the cross stem, on this and on the south side, the great wolves (Skiöll and Hati) rush up to attack the sun and moon; beneath, on this west side, Loki struggles in his final effort to be free; in the midst, Heimdall, the warder of Asgard, restrains the monsters eager for the fray when all bonds shall be loosed, he has blown a mighty blast on the Giallahorn to awaken the Ases and Einheriar, and to warn them to prepare for the last battle. Odin has armed himself and mounted his horse Sleipnir, and now rides away down to Mimir’s well to consult the fates.

Further forward I can see, much can I say of Ragnarok and the gods’ conflict: an axe age, a sword age, shields shall be cloven, a wind age, a wolf age, ere the world sinks.

Mim’s sons dance, but the central tree takes fire, at the resounding Giallahorn. Loud blows Heimdall, his horn is raised; Odin speaks with Mimir’s head.

Having clearly before us the idea of the impending Ragnarok, let us pass from the west face of this “column of the universe,” with its Odin and Heimdall, its Loki and the wolf’s progeny, to the south face.

South Face.—A reference to the lithograph will at once show the belted horseman, armed with javelin point downwards in his right hand, and holding the loose bridle in his left, in an attitude of living motion. Below this horseman is the coiled body of an adder which separates the home of the living from Nastrond the strand or shore of corpses:—

“She saw a hall standing, entwined is that hall far from the sun, with serpents’ backs.”

in Nastrond;

Underneath the adder’s body is a human figure, with limbs interlaced and one great eye.

Odin has sought of coming things the knowledge which

1 The cross is perfect save that a small piece has been chipped off the top towards the south. On the ends of the arms are interlaced patterns; round the circle, plait work.
lies hid in Mimir’s well, the ocean, the womb of the future, whose sons are the restless billows the offspring of the past and the present, where the god left his eye in pledge once when he craved a draught of its water, as says the Vala, replying, when Odin enquires concerning the fate of Baldr:—

“Of what would’st thou ask me? Why temptest thou me?
Odin! I know all,

Such a ride as is sculptured here is well described in the Lay of Vegtam, which tells us that after the mighty gods, in conference, had consulted “why Baldr had oppressive dreams,” and after that “all species swore oaths to spare him,” still fearing some coming great calamity:—

“Up rose Odin
lord of men,
and on Sleipnir he
the saddle laid;
rode thence down
to Niflhel.
A dog he met,
from Hel coming.
It was blood-stained
on its breast,
on its slaughter-craving throat,
and nether jaw.
It bayed
and widely gaped

What questions Odin asked, and what were her answers, will be shewn further on; the last words of the prophetess are:—

“Home ride thou Odin!
and exult.
Thus shall never more
man again visit me

Now above the armed horseman (Odin) is the figure of a dog or wolf and the coils of a serpent or knotted bonds—see the engraving—beneath the hart and above the head of the horseman—this engraving does not shew the long bushy wolfish tail of the beast, which is plainly to be seen on the stone itself, now that it has been cleaned; the coils or knots have, in the engraving, much the appearance of adders or serpents, the heads spitting venom on
him who rides below, and they are faithful reproductions of the photograph, though a close inspection of the stone leaves one in doubt whether they were intended to represent anything else than loosened bonds of the wolf.¹

(See lithograph). Be this as it may:—The chief of the Æsir has made that last visit to the home “beneath the gratings of the dead.” He has passed the howling dog; he has looked into the well of the future, and—behold—it is Ragnarok:—

“Trembles Yggdrasii’s Ash yet standing; groans that aged tree, and the jotin (Loki) is loosed, beholds Bagnarok:—

Loud bays Garn (Hel’s dog) before the Gnupa-cave, his bonds he rends asunder, and the wolf runs.”

This episode, from the Voluspa, is quite clear: the strophe (48) follows that in which Heimdall blows the horn, and “Odin speaks with Mim’s head,” “the wolf runs” vigorously enough.

As on the western face the central figure was Heimdall “the gods’ watchman” at whose right hand (above) we saw the evil powers restrained, but at whose left (below) were those powers in the very act of breaking loose, whilst the ever-watchful, the fellow-worker with gods and men sounded the alarm, and the all-powerful Father himself prepared for the conflict, so on this southern face the central object is the hart—the divine hart—the fountain of living waters:—

“Eikthymir the hart is called, that stands o’er Odin’s Hall, and bites from Lærad’s branches; from his horns fall drops into Hvergelmir, whence all waters rise.”

Next to the hart, above, lies a monster, here engraved, most truthfully, much like the uppermost figure on the west face, consisting of eight vertebrae and eight pairs of ribs, but these are single; and the beast is gagged and does not shew his teeth; nevertheless the life in his full round

¹ At the last great battle the wolf breaks loose, the waves of the sea overflow the land, and the great snake joins in the struggle alongside the wolf: the wolf howls, and the snake hisses and spits out poison which fills the air.
eye and in his jaws, indeed in the whole design, forcibly reminds us that the wolf is only bound and gagged, not killed, even as Frey pictured him to Loki, whom she threatened with a like fate at Ógir’s feast:—

“I the wolf see lying at the river’s mouth until the powers are swept away. So shalt thou be bound.”

When the gods had bound the wolf, with a sword they gagged him, the hilt in the lower, the point in the upper jaw; here the iron passes through the lower jaw, round the cheek bone, and behind the ear; then round the front of the snout, and again into the lower jaw.

Above—with toothed mouth wide open, gaping upwards—is a serpent form knotted upon itself, the curled tail of which is shewn in the engraving: another form of the old serpent no longer “frisking with unbound tail,” but still struggling in his bonds and menacing the holy powers above.

On the lower part of the plane, beneath the hart, who walks calm and unhurt, we have seen the wolf escaping from his bonds, and possibly the serpent writhing with a giant’s strength, eager for the fray; whilst Ódin, armed rides up from the sacred well or the Vala’s grave, to lead his brave Ases in this last and most terrible encounter. The battle rages—read we the story and its parallels on the eastern plane of this wonderful cross—a churchyard picture Bible at once to the Pagan and to the Christian.

A glance at the outline of this east face will shew that the artist is faithful to the plan of his design—a central

1 Such a curled tail is also seen on the cross socket at Brigham.
figure calm and majestic, though below the powers of Hel rage terribly, and above those powers are conquered or brought into subjection.

But who is this central figure on the east side of the cross? who with stretched out arms grasps the rope-like border of the oblong panel, whose side is pierced with the spear. It may be that same Odin whom we have already twice seen; for does not Odin's Rune-song say:

"I know that I hung, myself to myself;
on a wind rocked tree,
nine whole nights,
with a spear wounded,
and to Odin offered,
of which no one knows
from what root it springs;"

or it may be Baldr the beautiful, the peace-giver, the bright son of the Father, who by the treachery of Loki was slain, pierced by a dart sent forth by blind Hodr, and made of the mistletoe, which had been overlooked when Frigg, his mother, took vows of all things else that they would not harm her son.

And so the beardless man to the left, holding the spear, may be blind Hodr, who, with the fatal mistletoe shaft, has unwittingly (for it was false Loki who, unseen, guided the blind god's aim) done the deadly deed; and the woman to the right may well be Nanna the wife of Baldr:—

"Nanna sorrowing in earth's deep sanctuaries" as the gods saw her when Baldr was no more, and Nanna, had fallen from her high place, fallen down beneath the tree, and peace had departed from Valhall—or it may be Frigg, who should grieve a second time over the death of Odin, her beloved.

Whether here, in the panel, we see Odin, or Baldr, or Heimdall, or all the THREE IN ONE, and so each impersonation or incarnation of the god confronting his fate in the general struggle "with the dark followers of the goddess" (Hel), or Thor himself, the father of Victories, the scene as a whole is the same; it is "The twilight of the gods." Baldr has been slain: the battle begins. "Odin goes to meet the wolf." At the foot of the plane (see lithograph) "The mundane snake is coiled in jotun rage," he is the bane of Thor, who, in the final hurly, shall bruise his head and kill him, though he himself shall die nine
paces off, poisoned by the monster’s venom-breath and slime:

“Midgard’s Veor (Thor) in his rage
   Will slay the worm.
Nine feet will go
   Fiorgyn’s son, bowed by the serpent,
   who feared no foe.”

In this last hurly, Heimdall and Loki fight hand to hand, and each the other slays; and so above the panel lies the headless creature, the incarnation of all evil, slain. Before the battle, when the ship sails from the east, bringing Muspell’s people o’er the sea and Loki steers:

“The monster’s kin
   goes all with the wolf.”

Against Odin (who rides foremost in the fight, with quivering spear in hand), comes on the wolf rushing with gaping maw; his upper jaw touches heaven, and his lower sweeps the earth, as is shewn in the figure at the top of this plane, of which, one great open mouth, upwards, appears to attack the holy place and the Triquetra; the other, downwards, in vain opposes and is opposed by the belted, bearded man, with staff. Here Odin is not seen, nor his horse, for the wolf swallows him at one gulp, as Loki fore-threatened at the Egisdrekkja:

“Why dost thou chafe so, Thor? fight,
   Thou wilt not dare do so, and he the all-powerful Father
   when with the wolf thou hast to swallows whole.”

But no sooner has the wolf swallowed Odin, than Vidar, the silent god, another son of Odin, or another incarnation of Odin, the avenger, confronts him, and placing his heavy iron shoe on the nether jaw of the beast, with one hand he seizes the upper jaw, rends his maw asunder and slays him, as in the Voluspa:

“Then comes the great victor-sire’s son,
   Vidar, to fight
   with the deadly beast
   Then avenges he his father.

And again in the lay of Vafthrudnir:

“The wolf will
   the father of men devour;
   him Vidar will avenge:
   His his cold jaws
   will cleave,
   in conflict with the wolf.”

How vigorously this episode is here sculptured, the engraving will shew. The attack of the wolf upon the holy

1 Mother Earth; mother of Veor-Thor “who feared no foe,” and of Frigg, Odin’s wife.
forces, and his punishment are shewn by doubling his form; his fiendish nature by giving his body the form of a serpent (each double worm being plaited with the other making a fourfold plait); the upper head, with full round living eye, and powerful teeth and jaws great in strength, attacking the Triquetra; the lower head, in the very action of defeat and death, being wrenched open by the mighty Vidar—his left arm forcing upwards, and his right foot crushing downwards, as he throws all his weight and god-like energy into the mortal fight by firmly pressing backwards on his staff which his hand grasps well up—until the monster’s fangs drop powerless and his eye dims.

Prof. J. F. Hodgetts writes in an article in the Antiquary, December, 1882, entitled “Paganism in Modern Christianity”:—“It would seem as if in all mythology there were a sort of prophetic perception of what had to be completed in a holier, higher form in the mighty works which Christianity has taught us to contemplate. Let us not be accused of irreverence when we fancy that there are such traces of prophetic truth in these wild poetic teachings? But when Odin, in a wondrous weird song, tells his worshippers that he hung from a cursed tree three times three days, and saw the bitter evil of man! When the God-principle (under another name) descends into Jotunheim to combat the Giants, we are rather awe-struck at the evident harmony in some parts of what we know to be true, and what we have long ago rejected as false.”

Let any one look upon the Baldr-Odin or Crucifixion scene engraved from our miraculously preserved cross:—Is what the cross says true to the Eddaic stories! and is it not wonderfully true also to the very circumstance and event of the great Christian sacrifice:—“But one of the soldiers with a spear pierced his side, and forthwith came there out blood and water,” St. John, xix, 34; and as the arms of Jesus are stretched out wide do we not see that double stream, that sacred fountain for all men opened!

If the pagan Northern colonists of this coast saw the blind god piercing unwittingly with fatal spear their hero’s side, no less clearly did the native British Christian see that he whose spear opened the fountain in the side of
their Christ was a Roman soldier\(^1\) with shaven face who knew not what he did.

If the Angel saw Nanna weeping for her beloved, or the mother of Baldr holding forth the mistletoe branch on which she collected the tear drops of all who lamented her dead lord sorrowing, holding in her hand the Alabastron\(^2\) filled with precious ointment for his burial, waiting till the body shall be taken down from the cross and the last sad honours done to Him she so much loved.  St. Mark xv, 47; St. Luke xxiii, 56; St. Matthew, xxvii, 61.

If one saw beneath this death scene the great serpent coiled which Thor should slay and be by its venom slain, the other saw that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, tho' that serpent should bruise his heel; if the jaws of the great wolf swallowed Odin, the sepulchre was opened for Jesus and he entered the jaws of Hel; if Vidar wrenched asunder the maw of the monster and overcame him, God the Son, after the "harrowinge of Helle," after he had visited the spirits in prison, rose again victorious over death and the grave, heralding a new era, a new kingdom of brightness and beauty, purity and love.

"There shall the righteous people dwell for evermore happiness enjoy."  

So says the Voluspa, and so teaches the Christian.

**North Face.**—And now we come to the last, the north side of the cross. There is again a central figure, in

\(^1\) The face of the soldier is the only one on the cross which is shaven after the fashion of the Romans, between A.D. 300, and the time of Hadrian. Heimdall, all the horsemen, the Christ, Vidar, each one has a pointed beard, distinctly seen. "The censors compelled Marcus Livius, who had been banished, on his restoration to the city, to be shaved before he came to the senate." (Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities.)

\(^2\) The Alabastron was a vessel used for containing perfumes or ointments; it was usually made of the Onyx Alabaster, which was considered to be better adapted than any other stone for the preservation of perfumes. (Pin. xiii., 3.) Hence the name. "These vessels were of a tapering shape, and very often had a long narrow neck, which was sealed; so that when Mary, the sister of Lazarus, is said by St. Mark (xiv, 3) to break the alabaster-box of ointment for the purpose of anointing our Saviour, it appears probable that she only broke the extremity of the neck which was thus closed." (Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities.) The figure of Mary Magdalene holding this tapering Alabastron in her left hand is very faithfully engraved. I took a rubbing of the whole cross, after the South Kensington moulds had been taken, and when the stone was most free from lichens, and from this rubbing and the photographs Prof. Petersen has been able to give us absolutely correct representations of this and the Heimdall, Vidar, and gagged wolf episodes.
this case a horseman armed with a spear as we saw the horseman on the south side; beneath him is a like armed horseman upside down as we saw on the west side; above him is an uncommon figure taking up fully half the sculptured space; its head is downwards having mighty teeth and fiery eye; its tail above is the sign of the Blessed Trinity; its body has eight pairs of wings attached to it by eight rings, the rings passing alternately over the wing bone and under the vertebrae, and under the wing bone and over the vertebrae, the lowest ring passing under the wing.

Surtur has come from the south,—

"On the wings of the tempest riding Surtur spreads his fiery spell"

and he and his warriors have cast their flames over all the earth, the dynasty of Odin is overthrown; but there is to arise from the conflagration a new heaven and a new earth purified by fire—hither Baldr shall return from Hel:—So the eight winged orbs, the perfect number in one creature, rushing down over all things, restrained or held in order by the "three in one," and so the Baldr-Christ returning from Hel and riding up the rainbow in majesty after Æstra had opened the gate at the glorious resurrection.

Thus we may either see in the central figure Surtur riding at the head of the fiery flying sons of Muspell whilst the horseman beneath tells of the fall of Odin and the power taken from Gungnir, the death spear in Odin's hand, or (which is better, for the lower horseman is in active motion, not overthrown, and is exactly like the upper one in every detail and even attitude) we may see in the lower horseman, on this plane, another representation of that Odin who, on the west side, rode down to Hel's dark home, and who as Baldr, and Odin, and Thor, each, and all in one, was fated to go thither at the last battle; and in the central figure (the upper horseman) we may see the same personification of the Deity riding back in majesty to rule and dwell in peace in

"Gimill-gold-bedecked than the sun brighter."

The same figure being doubled and two positions shewn
on the same plane, as is often the case in ancient art, Pagan and Christian. Below the horsemen is the eternal endless knot the last home from which none return until Christ or Baldr leads the way.

As on the Ruthwell Cross the song of Cæd-mon was written in Runes, so on the Gosforth Cross is “The Vala’s Prophecy,” and much of the god-lore afterwards gathered together in Sæmund’s Edda carved in stone, sculptured in relief,—parallels are drawn and contrasts shewn between the heathen and the Christian faith:—Ragnarok, “the twilight of the Gods” is graven in stone—a miracle of art—and the new heaven and new earth are shewn to be those in which Christ takes the place of Odin, and Thor, and Heimdall, and Vidar, and Baldr, and even of the great Surtur himself.

Much more might be written. Many deep truths lie hid in this “sermon stone.”

These episodes have never before been recognised, and I rejoice that I have thus been made an humble pioneer in a cause worthy of the efforts of the more learned. How successfully pure heathendom is used on this monument as a means of teaching the Gospel, may be clearly seen by comparing it, beginning at the west, the Loki side, with the prayer of the priest and people in the Baptismal service when the child is grafted into Christ’s body—“that he may have power and strength to have victory and to triumph, against the devil, the world, and the flesh”:

On the west face we have a central Heimdall-Christ, ¹ the incarnation of the Deity, holding at bay the dread offspring of Satan, whilst Loki” himself lies bound beneath.

¹ Heimdall was he who brought day to the world, whose path from Asgard to the outer worlds is by the rainbow or the milky way, he is the watchman who can hear the faintest sound afar off, even the grass growing on the mountain tops; who summons the gods by the blast of his horn, kept under the sacred tree; in the hour of danger he himself assists the mild ones in their struggle with the giants. Thus the sculptured planes have the central figure, as it were, in the midst of the rainbow, whose one end joins Valhalla, the other Hel’s domain.

² There are known to the world only two other representations in stone of Loki bound. One is at Kirkby Stephen Church Westmoreland (see part I, vol. iv, Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Society, opposite page 187). The other at Vinding Church, Velle Amt, Jutland, Denmark, which will be published in Professor Stephen’s lecture on Northern Mythology early this year. I saw the Kirkby Stephen stone on the visit of the Cumberland Society to that place, and from it I was led to the discovery of the bound traitor on the Gosforth Cross. Since this discovery, the Vinding Loki has been found and communicated to Professor Stephens, who has kindly sent me a woodcut, which shews the binding
and Odin the father, approaches the future. The devil overcome.

On the south side we have a central divine Hart triumphantly walking through the world unhurt by the slime and venom of the great worm of the middle earth, or by the howling dog;—the Christ, the fountain of living waters, the incarnation of the deity who below rides armed to battle with and to “overcome the world.”

On the east side we have a central Thor, Odin, or Baldr—Christ who fights the last great battle and overcomes the flesh which is crucified and pierced with a spear; who, though the jaws of Hel gape wide and swallow him, in another personification—Vidar the Silent—he who opened not his mouth before his foes—rends asunder those very gates, victorious over death and the grave, and as we see on the north side rides on, the everlasting conqueror through His glorious resurrection.

—by the wrists and ankles, and round the neck by a twisted cable—of the giant; but in this case, apparently to a horizontal bar which he clutches with his hands. In Asgard and the Gods, published by Sonnenschein and Allen, 1880, opposite page 293, the modern artist has pictured Sigun with her poison cup, in an attitude much resembling the Gosforth panel; this I had not seen when I first detected the figure kneeling by Loki’s side. I thought the figure might be that of him who fastened the gyves to the rock, and that he held the bolt with his left hand whilst with the other he hammered it home. After the stone had been cleaned, it was plainly seen that the left hand held a hollow bowl, and that the figure was that of a woman with abundant hair. From photographs sent to Professor Stephens, he recognized this beautiful story of woman’s love and faithfulness before I had again been able to visit the cross. He also, at the same time, recognized Heimdall with his horn.

As an example of the way in which the early Christian teachers made use of the traditions and beliefs concerning the Pagan deities, and like St. Paul continually announced “whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you,” and especially as shewing an illustration of how thoroughly St. Michael and his host who fought against the dragon and his host, took the place of Thor, my attention has been drawn by the Rev. T. Lees to the fact that the church of Kirkby-Thore, in Westmoreland, is dedicated to St. Michael. What an interesting chapter in the history of the district is opened up by the simple mention of the place name and the church dedication, Kirkby-Thore, St. Michael’s Church.

Writing concerning the Vidar episode above the crucifixion, I learned from Professor Stephens that he “had already forestalled me,” each having independently come to the same conclusion by different modes.

My first formed opinion (expressed at the Egremont meeting of the Cumberland Society in 1881,) concerning the horsemen was that the upper one represented the triumphant Christ, or the Christian Faith. The lower one, the heathen faith, or death, overcome. Odin with his spear of death, man and horse upside down, may well be taken to be death on the pale horse carrying his dart, here overthrown and conquered—cast down to his final perdition by the entrance into the world, the life, the death and the resurrection of Christ. Still, I think that the horseman is always the same—twice doubly shewn even as Odin’s horse Sleipnir had eight legs—once seen (west side) going down to the place where Utgard Loki lay bound, and (the same figure turned round on south side) coming back from the tomb of prophecy to the world’s battle. Again seen (North side, lower horseman) coming up from Hel, and (upper horseman) riding in majesty, the conqueror; for Heimdall, and Baldr, and Odin, are the same god-principle in three persons.
NOTES.

In examining the fac-similes of the Irish MSS., Part I, published by command of Her Majesty, 1874, I was struck by the similarity of one figure in illustration xi to the head of the winged creature on the north side of this cross. The illuminated page is from the Book of Kells, St. Matthew xxvii, 38, “Tunc crucifixerant Χ β I cum eo duos latrones,” and the figure is to the left of the page; it is a monster, head downwards with full eye, dilated nostril and fierce teeth, one in either jaw, trying to swallow the Holy Shamrock, whose stem below buds out into palm fronds which curve upwards and inwards around the sacred symbol’s stem, like flames of fire. Around the neck of the creature, and behind his up-pricked ears, is a sort of ornamental collar at the throat having the Triquetra, in shape like those upon our cross, not the shamrock.

Again, in illustration viii, on the illuminated Z of Zachariae sacerdotis apparuit Angelus, &c., from St. John’s Gospel, I noticed the dog with the red lolling tongue, in action so like to the dog on the south side of our cross, having under his feet lacertine interlacing. Other similarities in design made a strong impression on my mind. I then wrote again to Dr. Stephens with the result that he cordially accepted my suggestions and declared in a letter to me that the style of the work, and the character of the symbols, shewed the deep influence of Keltic art on the Northumbrian through the great Irish-Scotic missions.

At the Carlisle meeting of the Archaeological Institute in 1882, the Professor, after having seen the cross gave his opinion that the date of this cross could not be later than that of the equally grand Ruthwell Cross (7th century), on which Christ is “Baldor;” and of the Kirkby Stephen stone; and he said that these two representations (the only ones then known) of the Devil as Loki must be exceedingly early, as they were survivals in the same way that the word Baldor-Christ on the Ruthwell Cross was a survival. That the oldest purely Christian art represented the evil one by a serpent or dragon, or (as at Bewcastle and Ruthwell) by a couple of swine—not by a bound man-fiend or human chief devil—but that Cædmon (7th century) and other old English poets, following Scandinavian traditions, represented the man-fiend as bound; and that out of the fifty drawings in the unique Cædmon Codex, five shewed the devil as bound, but variously treated according to the fancy of the artist.

I desire to thank most heartily for their kind help in many ways, the Rev. Dr. Simpson; the Rev. T. Lees, and Mr. R. S. Ferguson, whose libraries have been open to me.

1 Mr. Lees also drew my attention to a representation of blind Longinus, at Naworth Castle, in a similar attitude to that of the soldier in the crucifixion compartment of this cross, as illustrations of the manner in which both the earliest Christians and those of the middle ages (when the miracle plays were performed) adapted the traditions of the people to their purposes.