

ART. XXIX.—*Runic Inscription found at Brough, Westmoreland. Date about A.D. 550-600.* By GEORGE STEPHENS, Esq., Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Copenhagen.

*Read at Penrith, January 19th, 1881.**

THIS is the most valuable English-speaking monument found in Great Britain during this century, and is the first in Runes known to have turned up in Westmoreland. Whether we regard its striking general character, its great age, or its peculiar and long inscription, it is equally costly. It was first brought to my notice by my learned and watchful helper the Rev. James Raine, M.A., Canon of York, who sounded the alarm and sent me a sunbild. Thereafter I was kindly assisted by the Rev. James Simpson, LL.D., Vicar of Kirkby Stephen, in the east of Westmoreland, which is only about four English miles from Brough (pronounce BRUFF), where the stone was met with. Influenced by the friendly representations of these gentlemen, the Cumberland and Westmoreland Archæological Society generously forwarded me (in April 1880) two fine casts, one in Plaster of Paris and one in type-metal. The former is now in the Danish Museum, the latter in the Husaby Museum, Smaland, Sweden.

Thus I have had excellent materials provided me, for which I am deeply thankful. But in addition hereto, Canon Simpson has consented to my prayer, and drawn up the following valuable sketch of the circumstances con-

* Printed from advance sheets, kindly furnished by the author, from the 2nd volume of his "Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England." The notes to the paper are also by Professor Stephens, unless otherwise signed.—*Editor these Transactions.*

nected

nected with this noble find, permitting me to add it to my pages* :—

“Vicarage, Kirkby Stephen, March 16, 1880.

“When repairing and partially restoring the Church of Saint Michael, Brough-under-Stanmore, in the County of Westmoreland, in October 1879, it became necessary to take down the old porch, a comparatively modern erection, and rebuild it in a style more in keeping with the rest of the structure. When removing the old walls, it was found that grave covers and other memorial stones had been used in building them. There were fragments of five or six, having on them crosses of different patterns and of different periods, two of them having also the Shears; one with a Roman inscription nearly obliterated, headed *IMP. CÆSAR*; † and one with a Runic inscription in twelve lines. This stone is ornamented across the top with squares divided by cross lines into eight triangles, and up each side by what is probably intended to represent a Palm-branch, but looks very like the frond or leaf of a fern that grows in the neighbourhood. Across the other end of the stone there is no ornamentation at all, and so far as can be judged by its present appearance there never has been. The stone itself is carboniferous sandstone, and has probably been taken from a quarry in the immediate neighbourhood. It measures twenty-three inches in length, about twelve and a half in width (being rather broader at one end than the other), and varies from about five to three inches in thickness. On the sides and across the top, the stone appears as if portions had been chipped off with a mason’s hammer to fit it for the place where found, and at the bottom it seems as if a chisel mark might have been cut across the face of the stone, and then the end broken off by the stroke of a hammer. The face of the stone bearing the inscription has of course been dressed, but the back or opposite side has never been touched by a mason’s tool. It is apparently in the same state as when first separated from its native rock or split from some larger stone. It is by no means improbable that it was originally one side of the shaft of a cross, about fourteen inches square, and that the mason who placed it as a foundation stone finding the portion of the pillar, upon which he had first cast his eye,

* On the 11th of September, 1866, Canon Simpson observed in his address at Penrith, in connection with a passage in my vol. 1 :—“I think it probable that we may find monuments in these counties [WESTMORELAND and Cumberland] belonging to that [RUNIC] period, sculptured, and, it may be, inscribed with Runic characters that have never been studied or figured, or even noticed.” (Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vol. 1, 8vo, Kendal 1874, p. 10). Canon Simpson little thought that, fourteen years after penning the above, he would have the pleasure of thus describing the precious Brough stone.

† Ante p. 285.



BROUGH STONE, WESTMORELAND.

too thick for his purpose, split it in two with the point of his walling hammer. Of this however there is no proof. It is mere conjecture. The stone was found in its present condition in the foundations of the wall on the east side of the door of the south porch of Brough Church by John McCabe, a labourer employed in removing the walls of the old porch. Great credit is due to the Rev. William Lyde, Vicar of Brough, for his care of the stone since it was discovered, and for his kindness in permitting the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society to take a cast of it. It is intended as soon as possible to have the stone set in the inside of the north wall of the church tower, where the light from the west window will fall upon it at a favourable angle, and have it protected by a plate of glass.

“Brough (sometimes written Burgh sub morâ) was a Roman station on the Roman road from York (Eboracum) to Carlisle (Luguvallum). That road would be the most convenient and easiest way by which the Angles, Danes, &c., landing on the east coast of the north of England could cross the Pennine chain (of which Stainmore forms a part) to the west side of the country, and after traversing that wild and bleak moor from east to west Brough would be their first resting place, and there they would find the remains of a Roman station.”*

After these interesting details, we will now examine the slab itself, doubtless as suggested by Dr. Simpson the center stone of a grave-cross. It bears twelve lines, nearly all of the last line scaled away. The number of runes is 171, besides three partly obliterated, with room for about six more. The alphabet is Old-Northern, yet with several remarkable and scarce peculiarities. See especially the types for A (λ), E (\mathcal{W} and \mathcal{W}), K (\mathcal{K} and \mathcal{K}), M (\mathcal{M}), and P (\mathcal{P}). There is no NG-stave; for this is used KK or kc, which is therefore voiced NG, as in M. Gothic and in

* Close to the churchyard is Brough Castle, a pile whose ruins attest its former grandeur. It stands within the clearly marked ramparts of the Roman Camp. Dr. Taylor says hereon (see *The Westmorland Gazette*, Kendal, August 21, 1880, p. 6, col. 2):—“Eighteen hundred years ago this site was pitched upon by the Romans for the establishment of a camp. Whether it had ever been occupied previously by Celtic tribes as a defensive place does not appear. No sepulchral or other remains, so far as I know, have been found in the immediate neighbourhood. During and after the building of the Roman wall, it was a matter of military necessity to have the safe possession of roads over which came the supplies and supports for the garrison of that defensive position. The chief road from the western portion of the wall to the great northern metropolis of Eboracum, passed close by on the east side of the rivulet of Helle beck, which washes the north base of this cliff.”

Greek.

Greek. Nor is there any Æ-stave. The q or qu sound is given by co. There are several varieties of the b, the c (𐌲, 𐌲, 𐌲), the f, the o (𐌺, 𐌺, 𐌺), the r, and the s. The letter d does not once occur. There is no bind-rune.

As to the date. Until we are favoured with fresh runic finds from the same local district, I think we shall not be able with any *certainty* to fix its approximate age. What do we really *know* of the accidental *beginnings* of Anglic Christianity in the north of England? And especially here in Westmoreland, at that time under another name a part of lands that had belonged to the old Brigantes, thereafter to territories called Cumbria and then the Welsh Strathclyde—which, as still largely Keltic were chiefly Christian, till the gradually overwhelming arrival of the Angle strangers? A family here and there, a chieftain or lady here and there, by marriage or conversion may have been Christian long before any formal Irish or Roman or Welsh “monastery” or “mission,” and some of these last were older than we think. St. Ninian evangelized the Southern Picts in the last half of the 6th year-hundred, St. Columba the Northern Picts about 565, St. Kentigern many of the Lowland Scots from Glasgow downwards about 560. Other efforts were made, of which we ken little or nothing. Welsh “kingdoms” were still many in this 6th age, and they were all Christian.—And we *know* very little of the old floating Anglic settlement-dialects, and of the various intermixtures of things seemingly old and new actually in use at the same time and place. Add to this, that new facts are continually turning up as to the modified runish stave-rows actually employed. The loud-voiced modern theories (grounded on knowing everything all at once) cannot stand. Here the Futhorc is Old-Northern, and has even the oldest O. N. type for g (𐌶), hitherto found only twice before in England, on the Gloucestershire Golden Trimessis (Bracteate No. 77 O. N. R. Mon. vol. II) and on the fragmentary Bakewell stone, Derbyshire (O. N. R. Mon.

Mon. vol. I, p. 373). We have also the scarce type for c, and that for e, the usual O. N. M turned upside down, and the so-called "Greek" and "Roman" K, and the simplified M upside-down, only found once before, on the late-Danish Sacramental Cup (O. N. R. Mon. vol. II. p., 148). If I am right in my reading, we have too the "Greek" mark for p.* Side by side with such peculiarities and antiquities, we have the so-called "later" or "Scandinavian" λ (on the stone all but once λ) for A, before found as "O. N." only on Bracteate No. 94, which can scarcely be "later" than the 6th century.

The general style and ornamentation of the Brough stone is also unique. The Cross-marks at the top are quite out of the common way. Here, on a Christian tomb, these transverse lines can scarcely be other than the Holy Symbol. Technically this is a union of the Greek Cross and the St. Andrew Cross. It is found on early Christian pieces, including a coin of the Emperor Constantius, down to the close of the 5th century. It is also on two costly ivory Screens or Pyxes from the middle of the 5th year-hundred, described and figured by Fr. Hahn in his "Fünf Elfenbein-gefässe des frühesten Mittelalters," 4to, Hannover 1862. But this mark on Roman leaden coffins may perhaps have been merely decorative. Two examples on such coffins are known in England; one described by C. R. Smith, Collect. Ant. 7, p. 194, pl. 19 A; the other by Mr. Pilbrow in Archæologia, vol. 43, p. 160.†—The twelve

* Apart from the question, what was the very oldest character for P in the Old Northern Runish Stave-row, and how far the P-marks now known to us on O. N. monuments were local deviations,—we must remember the Greek Colonies in the West, the wide-spread use of Greek in the Roman Empire (so that the oldest Christian Church in Rome itself had originally a Grecian Liturgy), the Greek inscriptions in the Catacombs and elsewhere, and the gradual intermixture of Greek or half-Greek letters in the Roman alphabets early used in the West. The P here before us *may* be *not* a survival, but merely such a fanciful or ornamental adaptation or imitation, as often elsewhere in *Latin* carvings and codices.

† A line of these Crosses or Marks, together with other regular Crosses elsewhere, is on a Christian grave-slab (in the churchyard of St. Aureus at Mainz) bearing, as the learned author expresses himself, "einen hochalterthümlichen Character," by which, as I suppose from his context, he means the 5th century. The inscription, in Latin, is to a lady called Bertisindis.—See L. Lindenschmit, Handbuch der Deutschen Alterthumskunde, 8vo, Part I, Braunschweig 1880, p. 103, where the stone is engraved.

ROWS

rows of runes, without lines or cartouche, are also very striking.—Still more so is the Palm-branch on each side. Such a decoration, as far as I know, has never been seen before on a funeral stone in any Northern land.* It is the oldest Christian symbol of the Resurrection, Life Everlasting, the Christian's triumph over Death. But it is also in the oldest time the emblem of Martyrdom. It naturally belonged chiefly to the early Church, yet in combat with heathendom, and it retired as Christianity became the prevalent faith. Accordingly it is in the Catacombs, in the finest Christian Mosaics, &c., here and there on an antique tombstone in Gaul, and so on. On this slab it cannot but announce very great age.—The grave-formula is also (for want of monuments) new to us.—Some of the folk-words are also unknown before on such funeral pieces. Should my reading be in general reasonable, the speech is English, and yet Scandinavian, a cross so old that it marks strongly the mother-land whence the Anglic population came. But it is rapidly becoming a North-English mole.†

* I have since found *one* example of the Palm-branch on a *lead*en tomb in England. In his valuable paper on "Roman Leaden Coffins and Ossuaria" (Collocanea Antiqua, vol. 7, part 3, London 1880, at p. 199, 200), Mr. Ch. R. Smith says:—"I have referred to the coffin once in the Crystal Palace. This, I think, may be accepted as shewing a Christian influence in the palm branch, a very common emblem, particularly in the catacombs in Rome, but the greatest rarity



in the north of Europe. It occurs on the Barming tomb described by the late Mr. Poste in vol. I; but I can point to no other example in this country. I understood from Mr. Fairholt that this coffin was about three feet in length."

† Even at a far *later* period, so near to each other were the Old-English and the Old-Scandian dialects, and so unlike was Old-Scandian to the common German, that the French of the early time look upon *Scandian* as an *English* folkspeech. Sir Francis Palgrave remarks hereon, speaking of Jarl Rolf or Rollo in the year 911, on his final return to the Gauls previous to his wresting Neustria from Charles le Simple. "Some of his squadron-crews were unquestionably Norskmen from Norway, others Anglo-Danes, Jutes, Englishmen;—whatever may have been the precise proportion of these national constituencies, the French were accustomed to

We

We have I for IN, o for ON, and there is neither the older -s mark in the nom. sing. nor the later -R mark; the -N falls away in the weak nouns, while the -TH of the 3 s. pres. indic. is already (if I am right in what stands on the block) lispt into -s; in Scandinavia the -TH, -s, became further softened into -R. The Ruthwell Cross has no verb in the 3 s. pres. ind., so we cannot see what the form was in that place-talk. We have no article, while we have the archaistic -o ending in the 3 s. p. (BECKCTO), and the in England rare Northern verb FAIÞU, 3 pl. p. (the N fallen away as so early in Scandinavia), and the Scandinavian negative particle AICI (*not*), here for the first and last time seen surviving on English ground.

On the one hand apparently the Age of Martyrs, the oldest Runic Alphabet and this with rare local peculiarities, the oldest Cross, an olden formula but *new* and severely *Early-Christian*, Gravewords which show that the tomb and funeral mound were overgang and built up in the usual style of the *heathen* Barrow, Words and Word-forms excessively antique;—on the other hand the “later” A-mark, the “Greek” or “Roman” K, and a local dialect slurred and “modern” in several important particulars. Who shall year-set a monument like this? On the whole, it *must* be either *very* old or *very* young. But all the arguments show the latter opinion to be untenable. Hence I venture on the approximate date—with a little elbow-room on either side—about A.D. 550-600. It may be a century *older*.

Generally speaking, the risting is wonderfully well preserved, from having been covered up so long. But it is

call their language English; and it is remarkable, that the very scanty vestiges of their dialects preserved in local denominations, and in the single exclamatory phrase which we possess in Rollo's words, are rather Anglo-Teutonic in their sound.” (See Sir F. P.'s *Normandy and England*, vol. 1, 8vo, London 1851, p. 671, and p. 755, note to p. 687).

I need not add that Sir Francis uses “Teutonic” in the sense of “Scando-Gothic,” and that by “Anglo-Teutonic” he means Anglo-Scando-Gothic in contradistinction to German-Scando-Gothic.

often

often not easy to read. The letters are rather small, lower down still smaller and more crowded, and are not so much *cut* in as *rubbed* in with a pointed tool, so that there is little depth and sharpness. Then there are no divisional points, at least none are now distinctly left. Add the usual weathering and chipping and dints and scatches, all the injuries made by frost and snow and idle hands during *many centuries* (ere the grave-cross was thrown down and the pieces flitted from the churchyard and used as mere building material),—as well as the variations in the letters themselves and the likeness of some to each other,—and we shall see how cautious we must be. Accordingly I offer my reading with all reservation. The facsimile plate is as exact as I and my artist could make it, but of course we must always appeal to the original or a cast.* Generally speaking, I believe my reading is trustworthy. Wherever a word is *doubtful I say so*. More I cannot do. The reader must study the Chemitype for the many letter-differences; in what follows I can only give the head types.

I suppose we all agree in the first word, **IKKALACGC**, IKKALACGC=INGALANG. This compound mans-name I have not seen before, but we have dozens of Scando-Gothic words beginning with INGO, INGA, INGE, INGI, &c., and others ending in LANG.

So we do in the next. **I, I', IN**, the **N** already slurred in this local N.E. mole. Prep. gov. dat. and accusative.

Clear also is the next group, **BNCIAXWHH8AA**, BUCIAEHOM, BUCKHOME. Apparently dat. s. masc. This place-name doubtless stands for the fuller BUCIAEN-HOM, with the usual early and especially N. Engl. and Scandian slurring of the end-N. We have BUCHAM in an O. Engl. Charter, and the same word, with the unelided N, BUCKENHAM, is still a common steadname in various parts of England.

* When my chemitype was ready, I sent a copy to Canon Simpson and begged him to oblige me by carefully comparing it with the original block, so that any error might be corrected. He answered, under date September 22, 1880 :—“ I do not think your copy can be amended, and taking stone, cast and photograph together it is almost impossible that there can be a mistake. It is curious to observe the variations in the lines of the letters caused by the slipping of the inscriber's instrument, and the want of junction between the lines of some of the letters, as well as the variation in depth of their different parts.”

Exceptionally

Exceptionally distinct next comes **ƁWƆKƆ ƧƧ**, BECKTO, the **Ɓ** and **Ƨ** much taller than usual, the legs of the **o** running close and the head small, as often. In several places on this stone where we have **o**, the head is small and sometimes has almost disappeared. But this is immaterial as to the reading, for in every such place the pair-of-compass legs are there, and there is no doubt as to the letter itself. The head, small or large or even altogether absent, makes no difference in this well-known **o**-type. This is the 3 s. past, the present North-E. *BIGGED*, usual English *BUILT*, *raised*, Scandinavian *BYGGEDE*, *BYGGDE*, *BYGDE*. The O. E. inf. is *BYCGAN*, the middle Scandian *BYGGJA*, *BYGGVA*. The ending is in the antique **o** (or **u**), as on so many of these oldest Old-Northern monuments both in Scandinavia and England.

In the following word the first **Ɓ** is much damaged, and a couple of other letters are dented. But the whole is plain enough. It is **ƆNƧΛƁIFƆIFƆ**, CUOMBILBIO, *CUMBEL-BOO*, *this-the-grave-kist*, last **I** with side-dints. Probably ac. s. neut. The very old Scando-Gothic neuter noun *CUMBOL*, *COMBOL*, *KUMBL*, *KUML*, *KUBL*, &c., of which I have spoken vol. 2, p. 915, meant originally a mark, sign, beacon, stamp. Hence on the one hand a military sign or badge or banner or standard, a sense which rapidly died out in Scandinavia; and on the other a grave-mark, death-pillar, grave-stone, how, barrow, a sense which so rapidly disappeared in England that it is found here *for the first time*. In Scandinavia, where *KUMBL* was oftenest used in the plural, for the *united stone-settings* in memory of the dead, it was long common but is now nearly extinct. It occurs frequently on the Scandian monuments given in my pages, but with the verb *KAURA*, *RAISA*, or *SETTA*, not *BYGGJA*, as here.—The old Sc. Goth, substantive *BU*, *BO*, of various local genders, now only left in England as a N. E. provincialism, *BOO*, *dwelling*, *homestead*, *farm*, *village*, also occurs often on Scandian runic monuments, but is here *for the first time* on such a piece in England.—I do not remember to have seen this particular compound, *CUMBL-BO*, before. In Norse-Icelandic however we have its derivative, *KUMBL-BUI*, *the dweller* in such a grave-house, vault or tomb, *the deceast*.—In older Scandian-English otherwise spelt *BU*, *BY*, *BO*; in Ohg. *BU*; in O. Sax. *BU*, *BEO*, *BEU*; in O. Swed. s. an. 1210—16, is the holding *BIORNWLF-BIU*;* thus the liquid sound here, *BIO*, is dialectic.

So, beginning with a large **c** and with each **o** damaged, comes **ƆIΛƧKƧΛƆ**, CIMOKOMS, *of-CIMOKOM*, a womansname

* Diplom. Svecanum, vol. 1, p. 163.

in the gen. It is so rare a compound that I have not seen it before. Possibly it is not of Scando-Gothic nationality.*

Plain is **Λ Μ Η Ν**, ALHS, *of*-ALH. This mansname must have been very scarce in England. For the moment I cannot call to mind another example. It is equally rare in Scandinavia, probably for the same reason, the drawing back of the noble animal (the ELK) from which it would seem to have been taken. (Förstemann thinks that this name-word usually was the ALAH, ALH, *temple*.) I only know of one later-runic instance, on the Lid stone, Gausdal, Norway, one of the *very few not funeral*. It bears, as copied by Arendt in Feb. 1805:

ΛΙΝΙΥΡ : ΜΥΡ × ΒΑΡ × ΥΙΥΥΑ × Ι × ΡΑΝΘΝ × ΗΙΔ × ;

AILIF ALK BARE FISHES (*spawn, planted out fish-spawn*) IN RAUDU-SIO (RED-SEA, a small hill-lake belonging to the estate). But it occurs frequently (ALH-, ALC-, ALK-, ALG-, &c.) as the *first* part of olden Sc. G. compound names.

COIIN, COINU = QUINU, QUENE, *wife*. The co are indistinct, and i close on to the o. Same genitive form (N fallen away) as in the usual old Scandinavian (KUNO, KUNU). The O. S. E. had CWEN, gen. CWENE, ac. CWEN, but also CWENE, gen. CWENAN. The O. N. E. had also slurred the -N, as we can see in the nom. pl. CUENO.

OC, oc, *but*. The head of the o indistinct. This O. E. particle, supposed by some philologists to be allied to EC (EKE, and, also,) is found in O. E. in the forms AC, ACH, AH, AK, AUCH, AU3, OC, OK. It died out in England in the Middle-E. period. It is not confined to the Scando-Gothic tungs, but is in them Mæso-Gothic AK, Ohg. OH, O. Sax. AC. Not yet distinctly found in Scandinavia. — See EC. lower down.

†ΙΛΛ Þ, TIMTH, TEEMED, *begotten, born*. The τ very high. This is the past part. n. fem. s. of the old English verb TIMA(N), TYMA(N), TEMA(N), so largely used in this sense of old in England, also by Cædmon the great Northumbrian poet. If once so used in Scandinavia, it must have drawn back very early. — Part of the M is dim and the Þ is broken below. But it is certainly Þ on the stone.

And the only *possible* other stave at this damaged spot would be ʀ (N) or R (R), neither of which is to be seen. Any word TIMN or TIMR, however, would be altogether meaningless.

ʀ. I', IN, as before. Top scathed.

* It will be observed that the name of the deceased lady is in the Genitive, as on the Danish Freersley stone (p. 142 above). This *Genitive formula* is found on grave-monuments with both Old-Northern and later runes, but it is scarce. See additional instances under Freersley and in the Chapter ARCHAIC MONUMENTS.

The next word I read as **MCBI**, ECBI*, but the lower hook of the c is faint, and the B is much damaged. The only other *possible* readings are ELBI and EICI. But I think ECBI is sure. I know of no such English place as ECBY or OAKBY, tho it is common in Scandinavia.

Œ, O', ON, at. Damaged. Prep. gov. Dat. and Ac.

ΛCNIHCX, ACLIHCG*, stead-name, probably in the dat. s. f., = ACLEA, ACLEAN, ACLIEH, ACLEIA, &c. ACKLEY or OAKLEIGH, variously spelt in old monuments and found in many English counties. The less guttural S. E. LEAH is fem. The mod. E. LEA has lost even the H.

ΛIINIC, the A with a dint across the middle, giving it a Roman look, and the AI very close, as commonly on this stone, the last I worn below; AILIC, as very frequently, with dialectic absence of the tip-H. Thus = HAILIC, HOLY, nom. sing. fem. See HÆILÆG in the Word-row, p. 933, Vol. 2.

I, P, IN, into, to, as before. A large bending flaw on the stone at the top of the stave.

RAIRΛ, RAIRA, probably dat. s. masc. But as AILIC was = HAILIC, so here RAIRA is = HRAIRA. The central bend in each R is very faint, but neither letter can be U. If RAIRA, as I think it must be, I do not take it to be a Scandinavian form of the side-word REYR, m. RÖR, n. &c., for RAISE, RASSE, cairn, tomb, of which I have spoken Vol. 2, p. 960 under RIUSII, but rather as a N. Æ. form of the S. E. HRYRE, gen. HRYRES, m., *ruin, death*. (The Mid. Engl. forms are RYRE, RERE, &c. O. E. inf. HREOSAN, to RUSH, prov. E. RUSE, Scandinavian RUSA, RUSE. This verb — *to rush, fall, go to ruin* — has many side-forms and side-meanings, active and neuter; M. G. HRISIAN *to shake*. O. S. E. HRYSIAN *to cast down, shake*; M. G. RIUREI, f., *corruption, death*.) Meaning nearly the same, and the reader can chchose. But there is an important difference. If the latter be the word intended, then distinctly announces what we had expected from the whole character of the stone, that the deceased lady was a *Martyr* for her faith, had died a violent death at the hand of pagans. It also better explains the contrast with TIMÞ, *born*, which otherwise is as yet unheard-of on these funeral blocks, whether in Scandinavia or England, this being the only instance. I (IN) for INTO, to, is quite common in North-England as in Scandinavia and in M. Gothic, and

* Should the EC in ECBI and the AC in ACLIHCK both be = OAK, we are struck by the difference of the vowel. But we have thousands of instances of such things *close together* in the talk of near localities and in olden carvings and Mss., from mixture of immigrant families and other causes.

is not unknown in O. S. Engl. I RAIRA I therefore take to be *TO DEATH*. In this case she suffered at a place called ACLIHCK.

ƿ&ƿK, WOLK, the L, which ends the line, with a small arm the K beginning the next line. Can scarcely be other than a N. E. form of the 3 s. p. of the verb spelt in S. E. WEALCAN, to move, turn, roll, go, (whence has sprung our modern WALK in a more specific signification), with its S. E. p. t. WEÓLC. Here we have a dialectic N. E. WOLK, thus *WENT*. The Mid. Engl. p. t. is WELK, the Icelandic like the mod. Engl. WALKED, only weak, VALKADI or VOLKADI. In most of the Scando-Gothic tungs this verb (simplest form WALLAN) usually came to mean to *full* (cloth), to *fell* (stuff), but the sense to *walk, to go* was very early develop in England. It is from this verb we have our beautiful English noun WELKIN, rolling cloud, cloud-heap, sky, heaven-vault, O. E. WOLCEN.

H ƿ NH, with a dint on the top of the last stave, HOUH, ac. s. m., the o injured at the top, but the word plain enough. It is certainly *the-HOW, her-HOW*, her grave-mound, barrow, the large tumulus thrown up over the grave-kist.* In daily use in various local shapes all over Scandia and England, but very rare on Scandian runic stones. See *Word-row*, vol. 2, p. 932. It is a curious accident that it only occurs once in *vellums* in England, Kemble's Charters, vol. 1, No. 38, date 695, a document markt doubtful and given to Erconwald, bishop of London. Here we have a place called "manentium appellatur [Ba]dorices heáh." But local names in spurious charters, should this be one, would be *matters of fact*, else they would not be used as confirmatory evidence. The great mound raised over Badoric, BADORICES-HEAH, was doubtless well known.

ƿNCI ƿ, OSCIL, a dint between the c and the i, and the top of L damaged; a common O. E. and O. Scand. mansname, nom., short

* I see from a valuable late publication (*A Plea for Old Names*, by Miss Powley, in "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society," Vol. 4, Part 1, Kendal 1879) that *HOW* is still in use in these counties for Grave-mound. She says, p. 20: "I have not been able to discover from the accounts of Canon Greenwell or Mr. Clifton Ward whether there is any distinction between those Raises and other burial mounds bearing such names as LODDEN HOW or KEMPHOW. They may be only variations of expression by the same people. KÆMPE HOI is the common name of the numerous and well-recognised warrior's graves in Denmark."—Mr. Th. Edmoston (*Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*, 8vo, London 1866, Philog. Soc.) tells us that in those islands *HOWIE* (and *HOEG*) still means "a mound, a tumulus, a knoll;" and Mr. G. Goudie, of Edinburgh, adds that he has also heard it used in those districts with the sound *HEOG*.

The usual words in England for grave-mound *Grave, How, Hill, Low*, are of Scandian birth. So is *Raise, Rasse*, the stone-heap, Keltic *Carn, Cairn*. The now common *Barrow* is supposed to be also of Keltic origin. *Tump* is Latin from TUMULUS.

for

for OSCITIL (ASKITIL, ANSKITIL); found in endless shapes. Observe here and in the next word that ANS is already sunken to OS.

𐌺𐌆𐌆𐌹𐌺, both o's faint, the B large, OSBIOL, mansname, nom. I have not seen it before, but we have a similar *end*-link in RÆHÆBUL, on the heathen Sandwich stone, Vol. I, p. 367.—As in the 2nd line BIO was local for BO, so here BIOL is local for BOL. We have a crowd of names whose *first* part is OS-

𐌺𐌆𐌆𐌹, CUHL, mansname, n. s.* Very rare. I do not remember it in Scandinavian documents. We have it under king Eadmund, as the name (CUGEL) of an English moneyer. It is still used in Denmark (KUGEL).

𐌺𐌿𐌺𐌹, OEKI, mansname. Must be very scarce. I cannot put my finger on it elsewhere at a moment's notice. Nom.

𐌺𐌿𐌺𐌹𐌺, FAIDU, the F high and leaning, the þ small and faint and broken. The well-known verb, 3 pl. p., FAWED, *made*, threw up, raised.† We have this verb in the 3 sing. past ten times before in runics, and *every time* it is spelt differently, according to the age and locality of the piece on which it stands, from the oldest, FÆIHIDO, to the latest, FEGDE and FADI. Here it occurs for the *first time* in the 3 pl. p. And we see that the end-N has fallen away, as usually on the Ruthwell Cross (end of 7th century), and as so early in Scandinavia in 3 pl. p. verbs.

𐌺𐌿𐌺𐌹𐌺, LAICIAM; the first A straight, for the first and last time; last letter injured but plain. My-LIC-HOME, flesh-cover, body, corpse.‡

* There is a slanting mark on the foot of the last letter, making it look like C. Whether this is a mere dint, as so often on this stone, we cannot know, tho it is most likely. If C, the whole word will be CUHC, possible but very improbable. And we may divide CUHCO, EKI, two names, or CUHC O EKI, which would be. CUHC ON (of, at) EKE, = AIKE, a *place*. So difficult are these things.

† In later times in England the Southern MADE took the place of FAWED and GARED. Thus on a stone in Brougham Castle, Westmorland:

THYS MADE
ROGER.

On the pillar in St. Mary's Church, Beverley:

THIS PILLAR MADE THE MYNSTRELLS.

And there are other such. (See Canon Simpson's remarks in *Transac. of Cumb. and Westm. Ant. and Arch. Soc.*, vol. 1, p. 65, 67).

‡ It is curious to follow the endless variations in this as in other vocables, even in the same folkships. In M. G. we have only the neut. LEIK. In O. S. E. is only LIC-HAMA or -HOMA, weak m., gen. -AN. In O. N. E., this -N falling away, we have g. d. ac. LIC-HOMA or -HOME. But this oblique -N may survive in or fasten on to the nom., and then we get in the O. S. E. Gospels such variations
the

ΛPPI, ALWIN, nom. s. masc., a slanting dint on the middle of the L, making it look much like F (= æ); *the-ALL-WINE* (pronounced AL-WEEN-E), *all-friend, friend-of-all, all-loving*. I have not seen this compound before in any folk-talk. In form it is rather Scandian (which has VIN as commonly as VINR) than English, in which it was WINE in old days. It is now VAN in Swedish, VEN in Danish. (O. Fris. WINNE, O. Sax. UUINI, Ohg. WINI, but now killed in Germany by FREUND). It lives in mod. Engl. provincially as WIN, but otherwise is driven out by FRIEND (which is properly *kinsman*). It is a pity that this beautiful epithet of Our Blessed Lord should not have lived-on, side by side with the ecclesiastical HÆLEND (Healer), a translation of JESUS and *Salvator*.

KRINT, KRIST, CHRIST, nom.; much injured especially the T with its 2 side-dints, but readable.

INKE, IUKC = IUNC, YOUNG, *young-again, renewed*, ac. s. m. or neut. A flaw above the IU, at the end of line 9, and the c injured. Rather English than Scandian in form, the former having the older liquid sound, in E. commonly spelt GIUNG or GEONG, the latter the shortened sound, UNG.

RWEN, RECS. Worn and dim. 3 s. pr. REACHES (in its older meaning), *leads forth, brings*. An instance of the N. Engl. 3 s. pr. in -s, not -TH, and the oldest known to me. No 3 s. pr. occurs on our other Engl. runish remains, and therefore we cannot trace it. But in the Durham Book (Lindisfarne Gospels, about 950) the -is or

in the nom. as LIC-HAMAN, LIC-HAMEN. In O. N. E. it is also used as a strong masc., gen. LIC-HOMÆS, &c. In Mid. N. E. it is weak. LIKAME, LEKAME, LICAYM, LECAM. In N. I. it is both strong, LIKAMR, gen. LIKAMS m., and weak, LIKAMI, gen. LIKAMA, m. (the -N fallen away). So in O. Swed. LIKAMBER, gen. LIKAMS, m., and LIKAMI or LIKAME, gen. LIKAMA, m.; in later Sw. only LEKAMEN, LEKAMENS, m. the -N either fast from the oblique cases or else the late post-article become a part of the word. But in prov. Sw. it is frequently LEGEM, neut. So in prov. Norse it is LIKOM, LEKOM, neut., and the older Danish LEGEME is now LEGEM, neut. In O. Fris. besides the weak m. LICHAMA, LICCOMA, LICMA, LECAM, &c., now LICHEM, we have locally (LIC treated as a weak fem.) LICN-AM. The O. Sax. has only the weak form LIC-HAMO, gen. -N. In Ohg. LIC-HAMO &c. is weak m., but also (as in O. Fris.) LICHIN-AMO, &c. Hence the Mhg. LICHN-AME. The modern German has *only* LEICHNAM, gen. -S. — Let us now follow the crumbling of the forms in this part of North-England: Ac. s. LAIC-HAMAN, LAIC-HAMAN, LAIC-IAMA, LAIC-IAME, LAIC-IAM, identical with the mod. Scand. LEGEM, &c. Was it also locally *neuter* in North-England? It may have been, for it is followed by IUNG, not IUNGAN, or (the N slurred) IUNGA or IUNGE. If masc., then, as common in our old dialects especially in North-England, the adj. is used *absolutely*, without strict grammatical ending. At all events the stone has LAICIAM IUKC, whatever those words may mean.

ES

ES OR AS OR -S FOR ED, AD, IN SING. AND PL. (-AS SOMETIMES IN THE SING. AND -ES IN THE PLURAL) IS ALMOST *universal*. IT MUST THEREFORE HAVE COMMENCED *centuries* EARLIER. AS I HAVE SAID, THIS LISPI, STILL FURTHER WEAKENED, BECAME -R IN SCANDINAVIA.

IF†, IFT, THE FT SORROWFULLY INJURED. THE PREP. *AFTER*, WHICH HAS VERY MANY SHORTER AND LONGER FORMS ON THE MONUMENTS.

BR&K, BROK, PRETTY CLEAR. AC. S. N. *BROKE*, *sorrow, death*. FROM THE GREAT ROOT TO BREAK. WAS NEVER VERY COMMON IN ENGLAND, AND IS NOW ONLY PROVINCIAL. IN SCANDINAVIA IT WOULD SEEM TO HAVE BEEN STILL LESS USED. IS NOW ONLY FOUND IN SWEDEN AND NORWAY (BRAK, NEUT.) IN THE WEAKER MEANING OF TROUBLE, ADO, WEAR-AND-TEAR.

8C, OC, *but, and*, ALREADY SPOKEN OF ABOVE.

WC, EC, *EKE, also, truly*. THE E MUCH DAMAGED. APART FROM AFVEN (OUR EVEN, = ALSO), EC (USUAL MODERN SWEDISH OCH, USUAL MODERN DANISH OG) IS NOW THE ONLY WORD OF THIS KIND FAMILIARLY USED IN SCANDINAVIA, THE AND HAVING LONG AGO DIED OUT THERE, OUTTAKE SOME TRACES IN SUCH THINGS AS THE N. I. ENDA. ON SCANDINAVIAN-RUNIC MONUMENTS WE HAVE OF COURSE MANIFOLD LOCAL FORMS, A, AH, AIK, AK, AKU, AOK, AUK (THE COMMONEST), E, EK, HUK, IK, O, OAK, OG, OK (THE NEXT COMMONEST), OUK, ÖUK, UK (VERY COMMON), UK. IN OLD-ENGL., BESIDES THE USUAL EAC, THE VARIETIES ARE CHIEFLY ÆC AND EC.

ƿΛΑΡΝΙΧΙΑ, CEARUNGIA, GEN. S. F. *CARING'S, sorrow's, anguish's*. A WORD ENGLISH IN FORM, NOT SCANDINAVIAN, BUT PROBABLY IN OLD TIMES USED ALSO IN THE SAME MEANING AS HAS BEEN KEPT UP IN THE SCANDIAN VERB KÆRA, &c., NAMELY *accusation, dragging before a law-court*, &c. ALL THE LETTERS ARE DAMAGED AND DOUBTFUL. OBSERVE THAT THE NG-SOUND IS HERE GIVEN BY NG, NOT BY KK, &c.

ƿ&π, WOP, NOM. S. M. *WHOOP*, OUTCRY, CLAMOR, LAMENTATION, *WOOP, WEEPING*, TEARS. WHETHER WE TAKE CEARUNGIA WOP TO MEAN = *Care and tears*, OR AS THE SAVAGE CRY *The Christian to the Lions*, THE PICTURE IS EQUALLY AFFECTING. THE FORMER IS SIMPLER AND MORE LIKELY.

ΛICI, AICI, *not, never*. AGAIN A DINT ACROSS THE MIDDLE OF THE A, AND THE AI CLOSE TOGETHER. AS THE CAPRICES OF DIALECTIC DEVELOPMENT ARE WELL KNOWN, I NEED NOT DWELL ON THEM. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN EKE AND AND, BOTH *in common* IN THE OLDEST SCANDO-ANGLIC TIMES, BUT OK SURVIVING CHIEFLY IN THE ONE PROVINCE, SCANDINAVIA, AND CHIEFLY IN THE OTHER PROVINCE, ENGLAND. SO AGAIN WITH THE NEGATIVE PARTICLES NE AND EIGI. THIS WIDELY SPREAD NE OR NI WAS FORMERLY UNIVERSAL IN
both

both Scandia and its colony. It is now nearly extinct in the high North, living on for the most in NEJ (our NAY), and in such rarities as the Icelandic NEINN, = NE EINN (our NONE, = NE ONE), &c. In England we now meet it mostly in NO and the still later NOT (NE WUHT, NE WIHT, no thing), and in such rarities as WILL HE NILL HE (NE WILL), &c. The other nay-word was originally EI (AIW, AY, AI, AYE, ever) with the negative enclitic -GI, -KI, added to various non-verbal words. Thus came EIKI, EIGHI, EIGI, EGHI, EKKE, EKKI, ICKE, ÆIGH, EIGH, ÆGH, EGH, EYG, IGH, EGI, EG, AI, EJ, EY, EI, E, &c., = AYE-NOT, NEVER (NE-EVER), NO, NOT. But all this fell away in England so quickly, that no example has yet been found, at least in a form plainly recognisable. Here we have it as AICI. — So SIK (oneself, &c.) fell out so soon in England and Frisland, that no instance has yet turned up, altho we long kept its now dead adj. SIN (his, her, their), which still lives in Frisic.

We have unhappily come to the *last* word *partly* on the block, for nearly all the rest is fallen away. What is pretty clearly left in this 11th line is **IMX**, but the o is almost gone. In the under-line are slight traces of 3 staves, the first apparently **λ** (A), the next as it would seem an injured **N** (s), the third the beginning of an **M** (m). All the rest has perisht, save that there are spores further on which doubtless are remains of an end-mark, a stop. Between the supposed m and the supposed end-mark there is room for about seven letters. These I would suggest to fill in, as most likely what once stood, judging by the context, with ECMORE † This will give us COEC(AS MEC more), followed by the Cross-mark. As to COECAS, it will of course be 3 s. pres. indic. of the verb COECA(N), in O. S. E. spelt CWECAN or CWECCAN, Mid. Engl. CWCCHEN, now to *QUETCH*, *QUITCH*, *shake*, *move*. As FALL is to FELL, LIE to LAY and such, so is QUAKE, to tremble, to QUECK=*to make to tremble or quake*, in a moral sense to *frighten* or *affect*. This is an excellent word here. *Sorrow or suffering shall never QUECK, QUETCH, move, alarm, torment, me more*. In any case MEC MORE, ME MORE, or some such words, must have ended the line to make the sense complete.

I have thus done my best with this remarkable inscription, as shortly and honestly as I could, twisting and inventing nothing. An error may occur here and there—for future rectification—but I think the general result will stand fast. The whole is clearly 12 lines in simple stave-rime verse, and I here recapitulate it:—

IKKALACGC

IKKALACGC I BUCIAEHOM
 BECKCTO CUOMBIL-BIO
 CIMOKOMS, ALHS COINU,
 OC, ITM β I ECBI,
 O ACLIHCK
 AILIC I RAIRA WOLK.
 HOUH OSCIL, OSBIOL,
 CUHL, OEKI FAI β U.
 LAICIAM ALWIN KRIST
 IUKE RECS IFT BROK,
 OC EC CEARUNGIA WOP
 AICI COEC(AS Mec more).

that is to say

INGALANG IN BUCKENHOME
BIGGED (built) this-the-CUMBLE-BOO (grave-kist)
of-CIMOKOM, ALH'S QUENE (wife);
OK (but), TEEMED (born) IN ECBY,
ON (at) ACLEIGH
AILY (haily, holy) IN (into, to) RYRE (ruin, destruc-
tion) she-WALKT (went).
The-HOW (grave-mound) OSCIL, OSBIOL,
CUHL and OEKI FAWED (made).
My-LECAM (body) ALL-WENE (the All-friend, all-
loving) CHRIST
YOUNG-again REACHES (brings back, shall-renew
AFTER BROOK (death),

OK

OK EKE (*but indeed, and truly*) CARING'S WOOOP
 (*sorrow's tear-flow*)
 NOT (*never*) shall-QUEECK (*move, afflict*) (*me more*).

Whatever the date, all will admit that this remarkable block has belonged to the Grave-cross of a Christian Lady—most likely a Christian Martyr*—in *very* far-off days, and is written in a venerable and peculiar overgang Old-North-English (Westmoreland) folk-speech.—The last four lines are a general echo of 1 Cor. Ch. 15, Revel. 7, 17 and Ch. 21, 4.

As a proof how intensely Scandinavian this part of Westmoreland must have been at an extremely early period, I may mention that in a valuable paper by the Rev. J. F. Hodgson on "Kirkby Stephen Church" (Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, 8vo, vol. 4, part 1, Kendal 1879, pp. 178 foll.), among other excellent illustrations is (pl. 2, p. 186) a photograph of one of the many stone fragments found in repairing this church also, which is only about 4 English miles from Brough. I have to thank Canon Simpson for a large lightbild of this treasure, one block out of the several which had belonged to a per-antique Church-cross or Grave Cross. It is of carboniferous sandstone, 26

* Christians perisht for their faith in England in Roman times, as in other parts of the Empire, St. Alban in 304 being the first of note. He was put to death at Verulam, now St. Albans. But when the wild heathen Northmen came, the same would often take place, also as to each other, for their pirates warred against Christ as fiercely as some of the Christian princes did against Woden. And the Northmen begun to settle in Britain long before Hengist and Horsa in 428. Mr. J. Fergusson (Rude Stone Monuments, London 1872, p. 133) thus sums up the evidence workt out by Haigh in his "Conquest of Britain:" "My impression is, that even before the Romans left [in 410], Jutes, Angles and Danes had not only traded with, but had settled, both on the Saxonium littus of Kent, and on the east coast of Yorkshire, Northumberland, and the Lothians; and that during the century that elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the time of Arthur. they were gradually pushing the British population behind the range of hills which extends from Carlisle to Derby and forms the backbone of England."

inches

inches high by 14 broad and $7\frac{1}{2}$ thick, and has apparently stood near a wall as it has nothing on the back. On each side is carved the cable-pattern decoration. On the front, cut in relief, is the figure of a man with Ram's horns lying on his back strongly and curiously fettered to a rock-point. The gyves hold hands and feet hard enough. Mr. Hodgson calls it the figure of Satan, and so it is. But how is this to be understood? So exceptionally singular and rude is this piece, that it cannot be much later than the year 700. But the Early Church had no idea of a *Human Chief-Devil in its symbolisation*, much less of a BOUND man-fiend. In the oldest Christian Art the Evil One was always represented by a Serpent or Dragon, or (as on the Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses, see my vol. 1) with reference to Christ's famous miracle, by a couple of Swine, on which our Lord tramples.* Therefore the block which stood above this one with the fettered fiend doubtless bore the figure of Christ (or of St. Michael who took the place of the heathen THU(NO)R, the great foe of the heathen Lóké). The figure therefore is that of the *Scandian Devil*, LOKE, who was bound by the ANSES, the Gods (older ANSAS, O. Engl. ES, Icel. ÆSIR, Mod. Scand. ASAR, ASAR, ÆSER, ASER) till Ragna-rök, the Day of Doom.† This is a glaring instance of *survival*, as is that of BALDOR-CHRIST in the words on the Ruthwell Cross (see vol. 1, p. 431). Cædmon (7th century) and our other O. E. poets, following Scandinavian traditions, always represent the man-foe as BOUND, and out of the 50 Drawings in the unique Cædmon Codex no less than 5 show the Devil as bound, but variously treated, lying downwards, or upwards, once with wings, once with a tail, according to the fancy of the 10th century artist.

* The introduction of even half-human figures, such as Classical Centaurs and Sirens and Fauns &c., with other old local heathen beings, as helps to personify the Evil One, dates no earlier than about the 10th century. In the middle age fiends become merely and endlessly monstrous, while the Renaissance gives us Acheron, Charon, Hecate, Pluto, Cerberus and the rest. So often overcome or outwitted or mockt, the Devil at last became also a kind of Vice or Clown. I know of no work on the earliest Christian iconography of Lucifer at all worthy of the subject. One reason would be its expense; it would lose much in value unless richly illustrated. The best I have seen is that by Wessely, translated with improvements into Swedish ("Dodens och Djefvulens Gestalter i den bildande konsten, af J. E. Wessely. Svensk bearbetning af C. Eichhorn." 8vo. Stockholm 1877.)—The oldest Devil-figures I have seen (only half-human and ugly enough) are a couple on remains Assyrian or Babylonian. One, a slab, is in the British Museum.

‡ It is wonderful how long this trow held on in Scandinavia. Saxo Grammaticus tells us, as the Danish tradition, that Outyard-Loke (*Ugarthilocus*, see Hist. Dan. Lib. S) was BOUND hand and foot with immense chains; and in Sweden, in the horrible witch-burnings of the 17th century, the mad sufferers said that their master the Devil was BOUND with great fetters which they tried year after year to saw away, but the moment a link was nearly sawn thro an Angel came and soldered it fast again.

The

The half-heathen Scandinavian Lóké-Devil is therefore a welcome fellow to the half-English Scandinavian Grave-slab,* and was found close by.

* As a help to this work, the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society have kindly defrayed the expenses of my Chemitype. This and my text will appear in their "Transactions" long before this volume can be issued to the public.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.—This valuable paper is printed from advance sheets of the second volume of the author's "Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England," to which frequent references occur in the paper. It is to be hoped that Professor Stephens will favour this Society with a paper on the two Runic inscriptions at Bewcastle.
